

**"V-8 or Make and Break" - An Investigation of the
Development of Tourism in Canada:
A Case Study of Nova Scotia.**

by

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Abstract

The Maritime tourist industry has a long history that involved both public and private sector machinations. It has culminated in a flourishing industry that has become a significant multi-million dollar aspect of the Maritime economy. This thesis will demonstrate that prevailing economic conditions in the 1920s and 1930s predisposed the Maritime provinces towards developing non-traditional industries. By the late 1920s the economy of Eastern Canada was in a chronic economic spiral and there was a desperate need for a new beginning to resolve the areas' problems that had seemingly resulted from Confederation. Tourism was seized upon as the new engine of growth.

A larger discourse concerning the tourist trade was occurring at the same time on the national level which resulted in the appointment of a Senate Special Committee on the Tourist Traffic of Canada in 1934. During the sessions of the Committee the Maritime representatives applied pressure to the Federal Government to invest in the development of infrastructure necessary for Maritime tourism. Many Maritime interests believed that the Federal Government's rejection of traditional national policies favoured Central and Western Canada and resulted in the de-industrialization of the Maritime provinces.

The implementation of the Senate Committee's recommendations provided the foundation for modern tourism in the Maritimes. Nova Scotia will be presented as a case study to detail the emerging 'tourist consciousness' and to illustrate how the Special Committee on the Tourist Traffic affected the evolution of tourism in that province.

This is a valuable topic in tourism historiography because the Senate Committee marked the first time that the Federal Government became involved in directing tourist traffic as a national resource.

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Introduction: Setting the Stage.

Today, the tourist industry is a vital aspect of the Canadian economy. Vacations and travel are readily accepted as a norm and it is rare that we stop to think about how this evolved or why we embrace the images that the tourist industry packages for our consumption. Tourism is a particularly important industry in Nova Scotia and more specifically in Cape Breton. In 1996 tourism generated over nine hundred million dollars of revenue in Nova Scotia. Of this total Cape Breton produced one hundred and seventy-three million dollars. The Gross Provincial Product, directly attributable to tourism (net of costs), was three hundred and fifteen million dollars.¹

In an economically depressed area, like Cape Breton, it is especially important to understand the origins of viable industries because they are a lifeline. This thesis is concerned with the embryonic stage of tourism in Nova Scotia and federal government involvement in its development. In the next chapter (Chapter One), I examine the prevailing socio-economic conditions in the Maritime provinces in the 1920s and 1930s. These conditions resulted in a chronic downward spiral which gave rise to a desperate need to solve the problems seemingly brought about by Maritime

¹Nova Scotia Tourism Statistical Review. Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 1996.

participation in Confederation. In this context tourism came to be seen as a partial solution to stagnation in the East. Nova Scotia is used as a case study to demonstrate that tourism was a response to perceived economic problems in the region. This Chapter further illustrates the emergence of what I have labeled 'tourist consciousness' by the Nova Scotian government. Chapter Two will provide an examination of the larger discussion that occurred in Canada concerning tourism in the 1930s. The main forum for this debate was the 1934 Senate Special Committee on the Tourist Traffic of Canada. The Committee's recommendations provide some insight into what the people of Canada considered relevant aspects of tourism. It is apparent from the testimony that the Maritime representatives utilized this opportunity to voice their concerns about Federal Government neglect of tourist resources in the Maritimes. The Senate Commission brought a nation-wide focus to tourism and incorporated the belief that government could foster its growth as an industry. The third chapter deals with the implementation of the Senate Committee's recommendations and explores how this marked a new era of state involvement in the tourist industry vis-à-vis the Cape Breton Highlands National Park and the Canadian Travel Bureau. The Highlands Park became the focal point for Nova Scotian tourism. The

final section of this thesis discusses present day tourism in Cape Breton.

In order to provide a foundation for this thesis it is necessary to clarify what is meant by the term tourism. A traditional definition involves the movement of people across space in order to take part in leisure-related activity. This is however, a rather simplistic approach. Tourism is a complex phenomenon. A useful definition begins with the social relationships involved when people visit or vacation in different areas. In Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges tourism is defined as

...the sum of the phenomena pertaining to spatial mobility, connected with a voluntary or temporary change of place, the rhythm of life and its environment and involving personal contact with the visited environment, whether its natural, cultural or social.²

This personal contact with the landscape, people or other cultural representations provides valuable insight into the meaning and interpretations that people derive from tourism.

To facilitate understanding a review of a number of concepts concerning tourism that this thesis will discuss needs to be presented. In Tourism: A Gender Analysis, the author contends that tourism-related activity is one of a variety of "projects of representation" which are undertaken

²Douglas R. Pearce & Richard W. Butler, eds. Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges. (London & New York, 1993), 10.

through the perceptions and motivations of the tourist in relation to the nature and presentation of the 'product' as defined by the host.³ This implies that the tourist experience is constructed from two directions: the tourist and the producer. Tourism is also packaged by a variety of social relationships and institutions. Advertising is an example of a variable that affects what meaning we derive from tourism. Promotional activities can also determine how successful the tourist industry will be in certain regions. Advertising played a crucial role in the embryonic stage of Nova Scotian tourism.

Some authors contend that tourism deliberately packages certain identities. As Ian McKay discusses, Nova Scotia carefully created a promotion of the province based on an imagined Golden Age that spoke to people facing massive social changes brought about by the processes of modernity.⁴ This romantic legacy and the appeal of the 'simpler' life gained greater currency around the turn of the century. Warren Belasco argues that tourism enables modern industrial society to reaffirm its superiority by turning the pre-modern's artifacts and representations into tourist attractions. There is a certain validity to this claim. By

³Vivian Kinnaird & Derek Hall, eds. Tourism: A Gender Analysis. (New York, 1994), 4.

⁴Ian McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964", Acadiensis, vol. xxii, No 2 (Spr 93), 106.

the 1930s more of Canada's population lived in urban settings than rural.⁵ Tourism served to separate the modern lifestyle from the archaic. The simple life was venerated in Cape Breton for the tourist gaze, thereby reaffirming its inherent 'otherness'.

Humans and nature have a symbiotic relationship; they construct one another. Nature is not a timeless essence. Landscape is defined by Alexander Wilson as the way in which we produce our material culture. It is a way of seeing the world and imagining our relationship to nature. Tourism's institutions constantly differentiate and reorganize our experiences of the world. One way they do this is by naming the modern and separating it from the pre-modern and redefining land in terms of leisure.⁶ By the 1930s the preservation of the 'archaic' and the purification of certain ideals was a popular format for tourism promotion. In Cape Breton, tourism acted to entrench the difference between the modern and the archaic, the urban and the rural, and civilization and simplicity. As Raymond Williams argues, the concepts of the 'country' versus the 'city' creates definite images and clichés. Often, the country

⁵John Herd Thompson & Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord. (Toronto, 1985), 97.

⁶Alexander Wilson, The Culture of Nature. (Toronto, 1991), 12-22.

personifies bucolic innocence and the city reflects weary cynicism.⁷

Dean MacCannell believes that tourism is motivated by the desire for authentic experiences. He differentiates between the presentation of the front and the back regions in tourism. The front refers to the space that is produced and on display for consumption and the back refers to the experiences of host members.⁸ This thesis will primarily be concerned with the 'front' regions in tourism.

There are a number of works that focus on the North American tourist industry. John Jakle's The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century North America, Belasco's Americans on the Road, Patricia Jasen's work, Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914, and David A. Davis's article, "Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile to the 1930s," provided historical context for the development of tourism in Canada. The American studies were useful because certain aspects of Canadian tourism were influenced by developments in the United States. This was particularly true for road development. Ian McKay's works on Maritime history are essential for understanding Maritime

⁷Raymond Williams, The Country and the City. (London, 1973), 1-3.

⁸Dean MacCannell. The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. (New York, 1976), 92.

tourism.⁹

The beginnings of tourism are difficult to determine, but the practice of travelling for leisure is closely linked with the modern industrial age. During the nineteenth century tourist travel was the domain of the upper classes. The romantic values which shaped nineteenth century tourism were closely related to the values of consumerism. Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution the marketing of goods and services was increasingly affected by the creation of new needs fueled by appeals to the imagination and the promise of individual fulfillment. This romantic legacy also led to a growing obsession with the health of the body, mind and society as a whole. As a result nature tourism emerged. In nature tourism landscapes or space was usually represented as simpler, purer and untouched by civilization.¹⁰

⁹Ian McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964", "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia 1933-1954", Acadiensis, xxi, No 2 (Spr 92): 5-47. The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia. (Montreal & Kingston), 1994. Other Maritime works included Challenging the Regional Stereotype, and Maritime Rights: The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927, by E.R. Forbes, and a number of articles in Acadiensis provide invaluable information on the industrialization of the Maritimes and the National policy.

¹⁰Patricia Jasen. Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914. (Toronto, 1995), 150-151.

Recreation emerged in the early twentieth century as a necessary complement to work and leisure time, which in turn expanded the class base of tourism. The expansion of tourism in Canada went hand in hand with the founding of Canada as a nation and the process of colonization. The growth of railways, steamship companies, immigration, and resource exploitation were all affected by, and had an impact on, tourism.¹¹ This occurred simultaneously with advances in the infrastructure necessary to tourism. For example, by the early 1900s the railways dominated travel in North America. The railway companies with the political and financial support of the Canadian government, opened the wilderness areas of the country and linked Canada from coast to coast. Travelling the rails involved a specific mode of travel that was characterized by a lack of control over the experiences and a rigid and formal structure. Visitors remained isolated from the landscapes they travelled and did so on a timetable controlled by the railway.¹²

The advent of the automobile revolutionized the tourist trade. During the 1920s travel became democratized and tourism rapidly increased. Autotourism changed the face of

¹¹Warren James Belasco's Americans on the Road, and John Jakle's The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century North America, provide valuable insight into the evolution of tourist activity in the twentieth century. Unfortunately, both concentrate primarily on the United States.

¹²Jakle, The Tourist, 84.

travel in Canada. Unlike travel by rail, autotourism permitted a greater degree of freedom and individuality. The tourist was no longer chained to someone else's schedule. The growth of the automobile industry was accompanied by new services such as public campgrounds, parkways, and motels. The multiplier effects of autotourism seemed limitless.

During the early stage of Canadian tourism coordinated government involvement was limited. The Federal Government was responsible for creating the national parks in the West, beginning with the park reserve at Banff in 1885, and established the Parks Branch of the Department of Interior in 1911. The Canadian government of course, also supported the development of the railway system. However, the parks were often secondary to the exploitation of natural resources. In the 1890s the most crucial source of income for the Canadian Pacific Railway was from transporting natural resources from Western Canada.¹³ This often put tourism at a disadvantage.

One means of measuring the state's dedication to developing tourism is its road building program.¹⁴ Road

¹³Leslie Bella. Parks for Profit. (Montreal, 1987), 25.

¹⁴There were a number of decent sources available on the history of autotourism. Belasco's Americans on the Road, Davis' "Dependent Motorization," James Flink's Car Culture, John Rae's The Road and Car in American Life, Wilson's Culture of Nature and Edwin Guillet's The Story of Canadian Roads.

building was primarily a provincial and municipal responsibility. In the early decades of the twentieth century this sometimes resulted in road policies that were detrimental to the interests of tourism. Due to farm interests, in Prince Edward Island, legislation was passed that at first prohibited and then limited vehicular access to roads.¹⁵ On the federal level it was not until 1919 that a highway aid bill was passed to help subsidize highway improvement. Canadian highway building also suffered a serious setback during the Great Depression as the provinces reduced their expenditures.¹⁶

Even when government agencies did not directly discourage tourist travel, development of the industry was poorly coordinated and under funded. This occurred because most tourist activity and promotion was conducted by private agencies and local and provincial governments. It was the realization in the 1920s and 1930s of tourism's potential that prompted the appointment of the 1934 Senate Commission on the Tourist Traffic of Canada.

Tourism has increased in importance over the past several decades. It has gone from being a relatively insignificant industry in the 1920s to a powerhouse industry of the 1990s. In particular, it is one of the most

¹⁵Donald F. Davis. "Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile to the 1930s", Journal of Canadian Studies, v. 21 No. 3 (Fall 1986), 124.

important industries in Eastern Canada and contributes in excess of a billion dollars each year to the Maritime economy.

The sources utilized for this thesis were varied. The report and proceedings of the Special Committee on Tourist Traffic in 1934 and files concerning the Committee found in the Senate Committee and Private Legislation Library in Ottawa were the mainstays of the research. Newspapers from different regions of Canada aided in developing a sense of opinion towards the tourist industry and promotional literature and government reports from Nova Scotia were valuable in creating a picture of what was, in one area, packaged for tourists.

The next chapter will examine the socio-economic conditions in the Maritime provinces that set the stage for the acceptance of tourism. Many Maritimers believed that the development of the area's industries had been de-emphasized because of pressure from Central and Western Canada. The Maritime Rights Movement and the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims acted as a voice for Maritime grievances on a national level. Chapter One will also examine the increase in activities sponsored by the Nova Scotian government in order to promote tourism.

¹⁶Davis, "Dependent Motorization," 121.

Chapter I - The Socio-economic Climate of the Maritimes and the Growth of Tourism.

The Maritime Provinces experienced severe economic hardship in the 1920s and 1930s, including the failure of such traditional resource based industries as coal, steel and timber. As a result, Maritime governments and entrepreneurs began to look towards new opportunities that could offer sustainable economic growth. Given the natural beauty and 'unspoiled' features of the region, tourism began to emerge as a logical alternative industry. Thus the timing of the appointment of a Senate Committee to examine the benefits of developing the tourist trade in 1934 was not an accident. This action occurred within a wider discussion of tourism which was taking place at the local and provincial level across Canada.

The Maritime Rights Movement: A Struggle to Survive.

The decade following World War I witnessed the growth of regionalism in Canada because of a number of economic and social changes. In the Maritimes during the 1920s regionalism was manifested in a movement that agitated for Maritime rights. This movement supported economic and social policies particular to the needs of the East coast of the Dominion. After Confederation the Maritime provinces

had enjoyed a relative heyday that fostered the growth of their fledgling industries. However, by the 1920s Eastern Canada had become marginalized both economically and politically. Maritimers realized that they would need to organize if they were to respond to the waning of their political power on the national level. For example, in 1882 the Maritime provinces had forty-three Members of Parliament but by 1921 this number had fallen to thirty-one.¹ The percentage decrease was actually larger because it accompanied an increase in size of the House of Commons. The growth of the West and the importance of the 'metropolis' of Central Canada had usurped much of the original influence of the Maritimes in this Confederation.

The three primary concerns of the movement were the loss in federal representation due to population pressures, the need to increase their federal subsidies which had fallen far behind those of Central Canada and the West, and the reinstatement of traditional transportation policies including preferential freight rates and protective tariffs that were designed to develop and foster Maritime industry. The Maritime Rights Movement was not characterized by a single class of interests. Fishing, lumbering, manufacturing, farming and professionals were all active in

¹John Herd Thompson & Allen Seager. Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord. (Toronto, 1985), 108.

the movement with differing motivations. Proponents ranged from believers in progressive social reform to manufacturers interested in protecting their vulnerable industries.

The post-war period witnessed a serious recession that began in 1919. This recession exposed new weaknesses in the fragile Maritime economy. The fishing, lumbering, agriculture, mining and manufacturing industries faltered. Although this recession was experienced on a national level, the impact on the Maritimes was especially severe. Their difficulties were compounded by the loss in political representation and influence in the Dominion government. This was reflected by changes in government policy vis-à-vis Maritime interests. The Federal Government abandoned some of the traditional national policies, such as preferential freight rates, which had helped maintain Maritime industry for decades.²

The Intercolonial Railway, which linked Halifax to Montreal, had become an important instrument in creating and maintaining industry in the Maritimes. As part of the national policy, its rates had been twenty to fifty percent lower for the East Coast than the rest of Canada. The ICR also offered especially low rates between the Maritimes and Montreal for goods headed to the West, and a different

²T.W. Acheson. "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910", Acadiensis, vol 1, No 2, (Spring 1973), 3.

eastbound rate schedule protected local markets from competition. After the integration of the Intercolonial Railway into the National Railway system in 1918, the West and Central Canada clamored for the equalization of freight rates. The transfer of the ICR's headquarters from Moncton, New Brunswick to Toronto was an indicator of declining Maritime influence. The Federal Board of Railway Commissioners, acting on the principle that the cost of shipping freight should be the same all over Canada, raised the rates to the Ontario level. The year 1920 also witnessed a general rate increase of forty percent. This meant that the Maritimes experienced a rate increase of 140 to 216 percent.³ The rate increases not only affected manufacturers; wholesalers, retailers and consumers all experienced higher expenses. Many Maritime manufacturers were forced out of business by the inability to bring their products to Western Canada throughout the depression. Their business was often lost to financially stronger competitors from Central Canada.⁴

The increased freight rates compounded by a decline in the local and Canadian markets for produce also impacted negatively on the agricultural industry. The Maritime Provinces were suffering from the low or even negative

³Ibid., 103.

⁴S.A. Saunders. The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces. (Fredericton, 1984), 38.

growth of towns and countryside which resulted in a decline in the agricultural market. Between 1921 and 1931 the population of the Maritimes only increased by 0.9 percent and the populations of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island actually decreased.⁵ Simultaneously the population of the West was actually increasing. The movement vocalized the belief that the Dominion Government was deliberately shaping immigration policy that bypassed the East and went directly to agricultural areas of the West.⁶ American tariffs and competition from Argentina, Austria, New Zealand and Denmark for British markets also reduced the prices of Canadian produce.

The recession had also harmed the American economy. One result of this was the creation of the Fordney-MiCumber protective tariff of 1921. This tariff caused exports of Canadian coal, agriculture, manufacturing, lumber and fish to decrease because they became relatively more expensive for Americans to purchase. In 1921, the Americans cancelled a modus vivendi which had allowed Maritime fishermen to sell their catches in American ports directly. The fishing industry also faced another hurdle of renewed competition from Europe, Iceland and Norway for traditional markets

⁵Ibid., 37.

⁶Ibid., 106.

during the 1920s.⁷

The coal and steel industries also suffered serious setbacks because of increased freight rates and a number of other factors. The decline of railway expansion led to a decrease in the demand for primary iron and steel inputs. This was a serious blow to the Maritimes. The early decades of the century witnessed growth in the automobile industry which occurred at the expense of the railways. By 1929, private cars counted for six out of every ten miles travelled in Canada, and railway revenue had decreased by one-fifth since 1920.⁸ In addition, the two transcontinental lines, the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National, were competing for the same reduced traffic. The shift away from steel rails affected the major steel company in the Maritimes: the British Empire Steel and Coal Corporation in Nova Scotia. Canada lacked easily accessible iron ore deposits and steel producers were forced to import the raw material. The expense of transporting the steel to Central Canada compounded the situation. Only the Steel Company of Canada, based in Hamilton, adjusted well to the new circumstances.⁹

The misfortunes of the steel industry meant that the

⁷Ernest R. Forbes. Maritime Rights: The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927. (Montreal & Kingston, 1979), 55.

⁸Thompson & Seager, Canada 1922-1939, 92.

⁹Ibid., 95.

market for coal contracted significantly as the domestic demand for coal declined again. The arrival of electricity and petroleum as alternative energy sources reduced the demand for coal and markets in Central Canada shrunk due to competition from hydroelectric power sources. Regional coal and steel were dependent upon tariff protection from American competition. However, by the 1920s, pressure from the West and Central Canada resulted in an altered National Policy tariff system that made it cheaper for Quebec manufacturers to import American coal.

The secondary manufacturing industry in the Maritimes was also hit by the recession in the 1920s. The majority of the secondary manufacturing was controlled by businesses based in Montreal and Toronto. With the onset of the recession many closed their Maritime factories and concentrated their operations in Central Canada. The lumber industry also suffered some serious setbacks. Traditionally the largest markets for Maritime lumber was in the United Kingdom. However, there was a decline in the construction industry in the 1920s. The completion of the Panama Canal compounded the problem. The presence of the Canal was not really felt until after the war when it exposed the Maritimes to heavy competition from the Pacific coast.¹⁰

¹⁰E.R. Forbes, Maritime Rights, 57.

Cape Breton was an area of the Maritimes that was in particular economic jeopardy by the 1920s. Early in the century Cape Breton had prospered because of its success in the coal and steel industries. However, by the 1920s, the industrial areas of Cape Breton were suffering severely because of the recession. The area witnessed a series of dramatic industrial disputes that tied up thousands of man hours including a strike in 1925 that involved over twelve thousand coal miners and steel workers. Primary and secondary industry was under external ownership and outmigration occurred at an alarming rate.¹¹ These conditions of industrial collapse pre-dated the Great Depression and then worsened with the onset of the 1930s. Cape Breton, having already struggled through one decade of economic depression, was dealt another staggering blow by the 'dirty thirties'. Unable to rely on traditional industries the Maritimes turned to alternatives.

Grievances were manifested in a variety of ways. Agitators formed local boards of trade and sent petitions to local representatives and to Ottawa. Newspapers served as platforms to air concerns and to attack politicians who were not acting in the best interests of the Maritimes. The Halifax Herald under the ownership of Conservative W.H. Dennis was very vocal in airing the views of the movement

¹¹McKay, Quest of the Folk, 27.

and often worked with the Maritime Board of Trade. Professionals such as lawyers and economists were hired to write briefs which were presented to the Federal Government. The clergy were also active participants and Priests often spoke out on behalf of their parishes.

By the early 1920s local and provincial politicians were being elected based on their supportive stance for the Maritime Rights Movement. The Maritime Rights Movement also acquired a voice at the federal level. In the 1921 federal election campaign many Liberal candidates incorporated Maritime Rights into their platforms. MacKenzie King was elected but neglected to carry out campaign promises which addressed Maritime grievances. The federal Conservative Party addressed Maritime Rights to garner support in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, traditionally Liberal bastions. In 1920 only twenty members of Maritime legislatures were Conservatives. In the Nova Scotia provincial election of 1922 the Liberals were sent a clear message when the Conservatives won sixty-one percent of the popular vote and forty out of forty-three constituencies. In Cape Breton they were elected to every seat.¹² New Brunswick followed suit shortly afterwards. In the federal election of 1925, the Conservatives almost gained a majority in the House of Commons and Parliament was

¹²Thompson & Seager, Canada 1922-1939, 109-112.

dissolved. In the following year another election was held and the Liberals won a majority which was due in part to MacKenzie King's electoral promises made to Maritime interests. By 1925, the Movement had achieved what could be viewed as a significant political victory in that it had succeeded in clearly focusing the plight of the Maritime provinces in front of the rest of Canada. This national attention resulted in the appointment of the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims in 1926. In fact, at the Interprovincial Conference in 1926, it was representatives from Ontario and Quebec who introduced the resolution that urged that the Federal Government afford to "those provinces which by reason of conditions peculiar to them, have not progressed as anticipated...relief...in a form will ameliorate these conditions."¹³

**The Royal Commission on Maritime Claims, 1926:
If a Tree Falls...**

The Commission was appointed by an Order in Council on April 7, 1926, to

take every opportunity for the fullest and frankest discussion of the economic difficulties facing this part of the Dominion, the endeavours which have been made to overcome them, the causes of any shortcoming in these endeavours, and the most effective and practicable remedies.¹⁴

¹³Ibid., 123.

¹⁴Report of the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims (Ottawa, 1926), 4.

The Committee consisted of three members. Andrew Rae Duncan was appointed Chairman and his committee members were W.B. Wallace, Judge of the County Court, Nova Scotia and Dr. Cyrus Macmillan of McGill University. The Commission held public sessions in Halifax, Saint John, Charlottetown, Sydney and Montreal. Their witness list included presentations from the three provinces, representatives of trade, commerce and railway administration, and private citizens. They also met with Boards of Trade and visited a number of communities to acquaint themselves with the prevailing conditions and meet with representatives of fisheries and agriculture. Initially the Commission was presented with a history of the Maritime provinces both prior to and following Confederation in 1867.

The Commission made a number of recommendations for dealing with Maritime grievances. Both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick submitted extensive reports on the fiscal disabilities of their provinces under Confederation. The Commission concluded that with respect to grants for the operation of government and debt allowance, the Maritime Provinces had a genuine claim to a readjustment of the present terms, and in a readjustment their territorial limitations should be considered.¹⁵ The Commissioners recommended that the Dominion government should conduct

¹⁵Report of the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims, 19.

further in-depth investigation to determine how the financial arrangements between the Dominion government and the Maritime governments should be changed, but recommended that interim lump sum increases be given to them to relieve their immediate difficulties.

Another major issue addressed by the Commission concerned the controversial freight rates. The Committee recommended an immediate reduction of twenty percent on all rates charged on traffic that both originated and terminated at stations in the Atlantic division of the Canadian National Railways, including export and import traffic by sea. It was also recommended that the same reduction should be made on all traffic which originated in the Atlantic Division (excluding import traffic by sea) and destined to points outside the Atlantic Division. The cost of this reduction would be carried by the Dominion Government which would reimburse the Canadian National Railways, in the true spirit of the original intention of the Intercolonial Railway.¹⁶

The power held by the Railway Commission was another concern. The Committee agreed that the Maritimes suffered from handicaps given the present rate structure. The Railway Commission announced its intention to establish an office in Moncton in order to be better able to deal with

¹⁶Ibid., 22.

Maritime issues. The Commission concluded that the Railway Commission should be given discretionary powers to set special rates to promote growth and the protection of industry.¹⁷

The Commission recommended that the Railway Commission conduct a survey of the quality of the P.E.I. railway service with an eye to improvement, and that financial provisions for these improvements should be made as soon as possible. The Commission also recommended improvements in ferry boat service quality and that the ferry should not be administered as part of the railway operations but under a separate department.¹⁸

An issue that aroused strong sentiments on the part of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was the underutilization of Canadian ports. The Commission did not make any recommendations on this issue but believed the problems that arose in this area were due to inadequate facilities in these ports. This inefficiency made them unable to handle large shipments of grain from the west and therefore it was routed through American ports. As far as port development was concerned, the Commission supported the development of better facilities to encourage the growth of Maritime ports

¹⁷Ibid., 23.

¹⁸Ibid., 27-28.

and believed that Dominion ocean policy must act in concert with maritime port interests.¹⁹

The Commission also examined the concerns of the four industries hardest hit by the recession of the early 1920s, namely agriculture, the fisheries, timber and coal. Both the lumber and fishing industry had declined in these years because of world-wide economic conditions and competition. Representatives of the Maritime governments and industries expressed concern that the Dominion government was giving too much attention to the development of industrial and manufacturing interests in other parts of the Dominion and were ignoring natural resources.

The topics of coal and steel were brought before the commission on several occasions. These issues were of particular concern to Nova Scotia. The Commission suggested that the Dominion government review its custom tariff policies to provide better protection for these industries. However, this was not incorporated as an official recommendation.

As the largest industry in the Maritimes, agriculture received relatively little consideration by the Commission. This was primarily due to the belief that "the responsibility for its backwards condition rests primarily

¹⁹Ibid., 28-29.

upon the industry itself and the provinces."²⁰ Instead the Commission stated that the economic aid recommended earlier would enable the provinces to implement more modern and efficient agricultural programs and practices.

The report also included a section on Maritime tourist traffic. The Commission believed that the Provincial governments could do more to encourage the growth of the tourist traffic, particularly given the natural assets the region possessed. The fact that an examination of tourism was conducted reflected the growing interest that this industry generated. However, the Duncan Report did not recommend federal assistance to develop Maritime tourism at this time, and it was not until the country experienced a drastic downturn in tourist numbers in 1933 that this issue was again addressed by the Federal Government.

The Royal Commission on Maritime claims dealt with a wide variety of issues. It is certainly true that many of the suggestions presented by the provincial governments were found to have little substance in the eyes of the Committee members. On the other hand, certain recommendations made by the Commission could have proved valuable if they had been implemented. MacKenzie King had stated that the purpose of the Commission was to find "practicable" solutions to Maritime grievances. However, the end result left many

²⁰Ibid., 38.

Maritimers unsatisfied. The Federal Government did accept and implement some of the Commission's recommendations. The freight rate reduction of twenty percent was implemented but it excluded traffic on international lines or those entering Maritime ports. New coking plants were to be built in Nova Scotia and subsidy increases were to be implemented but only as temporary measures. Other recommendations were delayed for further study. These included the issue of coal and steel tariffs, and a survey of P.E.I.'s ferry service. The Federal Government also chose to ignore the suggestions that dealt with fiscal need and the National transportation system.²¹

By the end of the 1920s, many of the people who had been active in the Maritime Rights movement realized that their dreams and efforts were not going to be realized. The Royal Commission, which initially had seemed to be an avenue for resolving their grievances, had been used, they concluded, rather cynically by the Federal Government to appease Maritime activists. Much of the substance of the Duncan report had been lost. With the onset of the 1930s it became obvious that the Canadian government stressed national planning that de-emphasized industrial development in the Maritimes. This caused the Maritime provinces to look for newer sources of revenue and growth. Tourism began

²¹Forbes, Maritime Rights, 175-177.

to emerge as this alternative. This Maritime focus on tourism can be seen in the testimony of the 1934 Senate Committee on Tourist Traffic in Canada.

By 1927 the Maritimes Rights Movement had witnessed its zenith in the form of the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims and when its potential for change was not realized, the Movement dissipated and died. E.R. Forbes, a historian who specializes in Maritime history, argues that "the reason for the failure has less to do with Maritime methods than with the class of interests and imbalances of regional forces at the federal level."²² The Maritime Rights Movement, the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims, and the conditions that existed in the Maritimes in the 1920s and 1930s opened the region to the economic possibilities of tourism.

**The Growth of Tourist Consciousness in Nova Scotia:
The Seed is Planted.**

The prevailing economic conditions in the Maritimes, particularly Cape Breton, and the apparent failure of the Royal Commission led the Nova Scotian government to examine new industries in the late 1920s and 1930s. By this time, many public and private organizations and agencies, were engaged in tourism activity in Canada. However, this activity was often haphazard, unorganized and hampered by a

lack of funding. Although more and more people were beginning to recognize the growth potential of tourism, there was little coordination of effort. All three of the Maritime provinces began to embrace tourist traffic as a growth area. This section will examine, as a case study, the extent to which the provincial government of Nova Scotia actively participated in promoting the tourist trade in the 1920s and 1930s.

The first mention of the production of pamphlets, films and advertising on the advantages and attractions of Nova Scotia appeared in the provincial Department of Industry and Immigration's annual report for 1922 which discussed department responses to tourist inquiries. In 1925, publicity information fell under the auspices of the Industries and Immigration Branch of the Nova Scotia Department of Natural Resources. In 1927, their annual reports began to record the number of visitors to Nova Scotia. In 1928, the Provincial Tourist Bureau moved from the Department of Natural Resources to the Information and Tourist Branch (later the Information and Publicity Branch) of the Department of Highways.²³

By the 1930s both the public and private sectors became interested in the growth potential of tourism. In July

²²Ibid., 94.

²³Journals of the House of Assembly, Nova Scotia, 1922-1929. Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

1931, the Sydney Post Record included a special tourist edition that promoted the attractions of the area. The Journals of the House of Assembly record increased tourist activity and efforts on the part of the Provincial government to attract visitors and make the province more appealing to the tourist 'gaze' throughout the decade. The intentions of the provincial government were made clear in the annual reports of the Information Branch of the Department of Highways. The 1927 report stated "Nova Scotia wants to develop her resources and it is believed that the best methods to pursue in attaining that end is to induce the potential investor to spend his vacation in this province."²⁴

In 1930, the Information and Tourist Branch of the Department of Highways carried out an extensive publicity campaign on behalf of "our promising tourist trade."²⁵ It described scenic and sport resources, historic sites, hotel accommodation and improved highways. There were several other indicators of growing interest in tourism by the provincial government. For example, the hours of the Tourist Bureaus were expanded and in 1930 between June 1 and September 30, 218,082 visitors entered Nova Scotia. The reports also included, for the first time, the number of

²⁴JHA, 1929, part 2, 159.

²⁵JHA, 1931, 20.

cars that entered the province. This demonstrated the growing importance of the autotourist to the industry. In 1931, almost twice as much advertisement material was sent out by the Department and the number of visitors to the province again increased. The Department also extended the official tourist season to include May and October. Another new development in the industry was the promotion of short cruises on ocean liners.²⁶

The 1932 statistics for visitors to Nova Scotia increased by 92.9 percent from 1926 and the number of tourists travelling by car increased by one hundred and fifty-nine percent. However, 1933 witnessed the lowest number of visitors to the Province since 1928. The Department cited the prevailing economic conditions resulting from the depression as a primary reason for this downturn. Some secondary factors, in their view, were the competition from the Chicago World Fair and the poor roads and highways of Nova Scotia.²⁷

It is instructive to examine where the Department focused its advertising. Most of the promotion was aimed at the United States, Canada and Great Britain. Statistics suggested that approximately sixty percent of tourists originated in the United States.²⁸ However, it is difficult

²⁶JHA, 1931, 15-19.

²⁷JHA, 1934, part 1, 15-16.

²⁸Sydney Post Record, 1934.

to determine actual numbers because the Tourist Bureau only counted tourists who registered with the various Tourist Bureaus at the entrance points to the province.

In 1934, Alexander S. MacMillan, the Minister of Highways under Liberal Premier Angus L. Macdonald announced a far-reaching government plan to develop the tourist industry. This plan stressed advertising, improving transportation infrastructure, recreation, beautification, courtesy to visitors and the perpetuation of racial customs. MacMillan explained what he meant by racial customs when he cited the people of Nova Scotia with their "various traits, habits and customs as the greatest attraction for intelligent visitors."²⁹ This advertising was carried out in newspapers, magazines and radio broadcasts across North America. In 1936, the annual report of the Department of Highways highlighted the progress made in implementing MacMillan's plan. It listed greatly improved highways, an increased publicity campaign, new contacts with travel agencies and resorts abroad, improvements in the quality of Government information bureaus and an increase of 25.5 percent of motor tourists from the United States.³⁰

The construction of the Cabot Trail was one of the first major indicators that the state was firmly committed

²⁹Halifax Herald, 15 November 1934, Regan Collection, MG 9, vol. 207, PANS.

³⁰JHA, 1936, part 1, 21.

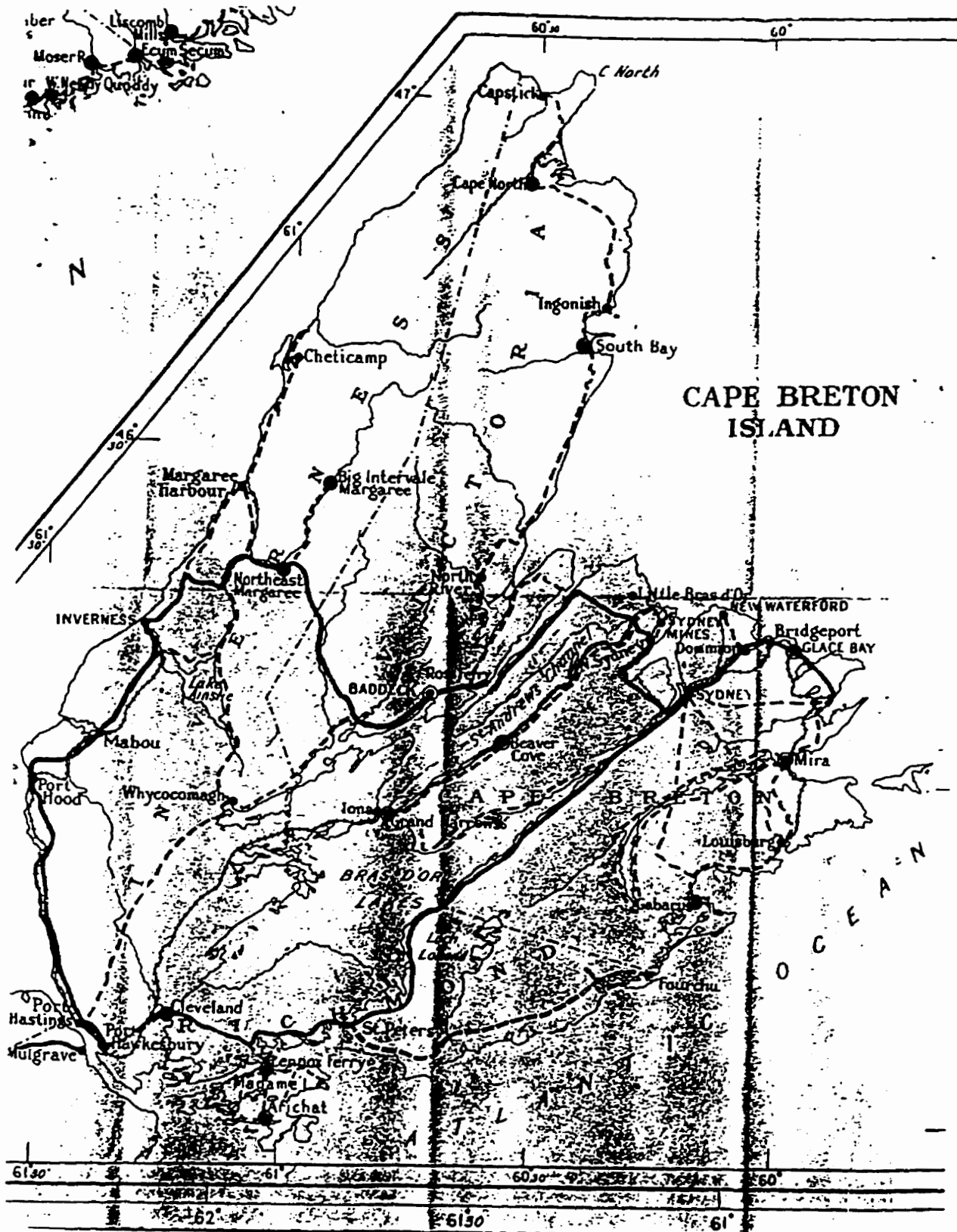
to developing the tourist industry. The Cabot Trail was a highway constructed in the Highlands of Cape Breton. (See page 34 for map.) No other area of Nova Scotia presented a greater challenge to the development of transportation. For example, in Northern Inverness county, Pleasant Bay was "shut in for months without any outlet, no doctor, mail only occasionally by dog team, no provision for getting a doctor..."³¹ This was not an atypical situation in northern Cape Breton.

For many years the residents and their representatives had pressed for changes, and in 1925, the Provincial (Highways) Act was passed, which allowed for a highway from Cap Rouge to Cape North. Yet this highway was not built simply for the benefit of local residents. Rather, it was regarded by the government and private tourist boosters as a way to cash in on the potential tourist industry. The Provincial Tourist Association recommended improving tourist facilities and highways. They believed that "the Cabot Trail should be seen as part of the overall government effort to stimulate tourism in the province."³² A loop or circular route was decided on because

little incentive exists for making the trip over the northern extremity of the island, even if the thrills of motoring over Smokey (Mtn) and the beauties of

³¹A.S MacMillan. "The Cabot Trail: A Political Story." Cape Breton's Magazine, vol. 62, 1993, 1.

³²R.H. MacDonald. Transportation in Northern Cape Breton. Parks Canada Manuscript. Report #363, 13. PANS.



*Road map of Cape Breton in 1924. Road Map and Travelogue of Nova Scotia, Chronicle Publishing Co., Halifax, 1924.

Ingonish Valley and Aspy Bay are keen, for the motorist must return along the road which he came out.³³

Alexander S. MacMillan, Nova Scotia's Minister of Highways, wrote after visiting the Pleasant Bay area, "I was trying to decide what the cost would be of building a reasonably good road over wild rocky mountains with rivers and gorges...and for the moment would be quite discouraged but when I pause and look at the beautiful scenery I would be buoyed up..."³⁴ MacMillan recognized and justified the expenses of the road construction in terms of the potential amount of tourist activity it could generate. "I could see underway numerous houses, cottages and tourist homes..."³⁵

Financial difficulties arose for the construction of the final link between Pleasant Bay and Big Intervale in 1930, due to the onset of the depression. After a short hiatus, construction continued with the assistance of the Government Unemployment Relief Plan. Its intention was to provide some relief for the unemployed mine workers in Cape Breton. The Sydney Post Record commented on the construction in 1932, "completion of this unit trunk highway will open up for travellers that which is conceded the finest scenic section of Eastern Canada."

This route was opened on October 15, 1932 and named the

³³Ibid., 26.

³⁴MacMillan, "The Cabot Trail," 66.

³⁵Ibid., 67.

Cabot Trail. This was an example of the provincial government adapting historical events to suit its own purposes. In actuality, it is highly contested that Cabot ever landed in Cape Breton. Many historians contend that John Cabot landed in Newfoundland.³⁶

Even though the Trail was open to the public, much work still had to be completed. The Nova Scotia Relief Directory in 1934 described the Trail as "the most thrilling and scenic drive in Eastern Canada... however, inexperienced or timid drivers should not take this drive, and under no circumstances should the drive be taken unless your brakes are working perfectly..."³⁷ In the travelogue, Away to Cape Breton, Gordon Brinley warned that the trail was so narrow and treacherous that the tourist was encouraged to start out as early as possible to reduce the chance of meeting another traveller coming in the opposite direction.³⁸

MacMillan had a fascination, almost an obsession, with the road construction process. He returned to office under Premier Macdonald in 1933, and reorganized the Highway Department. MacMillan was extremely concerned that a proper

³⁶In fact a reenactment of the voyage of Cabot's ship the *Mathew* sailed recently from Bristol with Newfoundland as its destination. Nevertheless, Cape Breton still demarcates the site where Cabot supposedly landed.

³⁷MacDonald, Transportation in Northern Cape Breton, 31.

³⁸Gordon Brinley, Away to Cape Breton. (Toronto, 1936), 94.

paving formula be developed and was proud that "our own engineering staff evolved a type of pavement suitable to our conditions...and has been adapted in other provinces."³⁹ The road program was increasingly enlarged and by 1939 the Department of Highways had paved approximately one thousand miles. In 1939, Robert Stead described quite a different Cabot Trail in "Canada's Maritime Provinces." He declared that it was quite passable "in its present state for careful drivers, is being rapidly improved, and promises to become one of the great scenic drives of the continent."⁴⁰ By 1941, construction of the Cabot Trail was completed.

In an acknowledgment of the importance of the tourist trade, in 1935 the Highway Department hired the Mandeville Press Bureau of New York to publicize Nova Scotia through newspapers, magazines, motion pictures and radio. The province also showed exhibits at the Sportsmen's Shows in Boston and Hartford.⁴¹ For the first time a tourist bureau was established in Port Hawksbury specifically for visitors to Cape Breton. The category 'tourist influx to Cape Breton' appeared in the yearly reports of the Department. The scarcity of accommodation in Cape Breton was also mentioned in the report. However, apparently "the majority

³⁹Alexander Stirling MacMillan Papers, MG 2, Reel 10,893, Doc 20(a), PANS.

⁴⁰MacDonald, Transportation in Northern Cape Breton, 31.

⁴¹JHA, 1936, part 1, 21-22.

of visitors felt that the kindness of many proprietors made the visitor forget all else."⁴²

In these expanded tourist promotion initiatives, the Nova Scotian government was not acting in a vacuum. These activities occurred in the context of a wider discussion of the tourist industry across the country, notably the 1934 Senate Committee. The fact that the Federal Government realized the potential for the tourist industry and made recommendations for its future demonstrated that the tourist state had entered new era. On the national level, J.B. Harkin, the Commissioner of National Parks (which had previously assumed sole responsibility for national tourist promotion) recommended that any new undertaking by the Dominion would be on the understanding that local organizations would still function.⁴³ The warm reception that the Senate Committee received had an obvious impact on the activities of the Nova Scotian government. During the hearings the Maritime provinces applied pressure to the Committee to expand national parks to include all regions of Canada, particularly the Maritimes. The importance of high quality highways was also stressed during the Committee meetings which was reflected locally in new highway construction. Much evidence was also presented to the

⁴²JHA, 1936, part 1, 23.

⁴³Report and Proceedings of the Special Committee on Tourist Traffic. (Ottawa, 1934), 272.

Committee which emphasized the possible revenue the tourist trade could generate. This reinforced Nova Scotia's belief in the endless potential of the tourist trade to enrich provincial coffers.

The Senate report contained a brief from the acting Premier of Nova Scotia, A.S. MacMillan. He stated that "it should be pointed out that Nova Scotia has the ocean...and that the Provincial slogan adopted in 1923, 'Canada's Ocean Playground' is fully justified."⁴⁴ MacMillan made several suggestions for the development of the tourist industry, including the safeguarding of the inland fishing waters, reduced fares on the Railways to Nova Scotia during the tourist season, the establishment of one or more national parks in Nova Scotia, special excursions to the area, motion picture films and the establishment of a Federal Tourist and Publicity Bureau.⁴⁵ Nova Scotia was, indeed, actively attempting to sell a product to tourists.

In 1936, the largest number of recorded visitors to date visited Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. The Mandeville Press Bureau arranged for four travelogues to be made on the province by Universal Pictures and two of these concerned Cape Breton. The films focused on the natural aspects of the area. One portrayed the seacoast of Cape Breton Island,

⁴⁴Ibid., 207.

⁴⁵Ibid., 211.

and another dealt with deep sea swordfishing. The other two films concerned the abundant deer and moose hunting.⁴⁶

In the 1937 annual report of the Department of Highways Angus S. MacMillan remarked that "undoubtedly we had a better class of tourists visiting our Province, and the amount of money expended by them we think exceeded that of any previous year."⁴⁷ It is not exactly clear what MacMillan meant by a 'better class' of tourist. It could be argued that the province was targeting certain groups with its advertising and seeing results. If more money was generated by tourists MacMillan would undoubtedly see this as classier. It is interesting and somewhat ironic that the province was attempting to attract a 'higher class' of visitors by venerating a simple and archaic lifestyle.

The optimism for tourist growth that provincial politicians felt was demonstrated in a 1938 interview with Angus L. Macdonald. Macdonald boasted that, "since 1933 we have, by a vigorous campaign, doubled the number of visitors to Nova Scotia...There isn't any reason why, with good roads, Nova Scotia should not become a tourist mecca."⁴⁸

The 1939 report of the Department of Highways stated that even though thirty million people visited the World's

⁴⁶JHA, 1937, 21.

⁴⁷JHA, 1938, 25.

⁴⁸Maclean's, 1 January 1938, Angus L. Macdonald Papers, MG 2, vol. 1499, f. 270, PANS.

Fair at New York, a record number of tourists came to Nova Scotia until the onset of World War II. The Department also had an exhibit at the World's Fair, and it highlighted home handicrafts, natural resources, the world record tuna and swordfish catches and the new national park in Cape Breton.⁴⁹ It placed particular emphasis on the simple and 'natural' lifestyle of the region by focusing on such home handicrafts as homespun, woodwork, woven baskets and clay products.

These expanded promotional activities demonstrate the growing importance of the tourist industry throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The Department of Highways spent an increasing proportion of the yearly budget throughout these decades (with the exception of 1932 and 1933) on advertising, roads, and improving the province's appearance and attractions in the hope of attracting visitors.⁵⁰

This chapter has discussed a number of factors that made Cape Breton particularly receptive to tourism development, including two decades of depression. Because of perceived economic problems the Nova Scotian government focused much of its energy on developing the tourist industry in this region.

⁴⁹JHA, 1940, 50-51.

⁵⁰Nova Scotia Public Accounts. (Halifax, N.S., 1922-1940).

The international phenomenon of anti-modernism that began to emerge in the late nineteenth century was another factor. Anti-modernism was closely tied to the culture of Romanticism. Cities had grown quickly and become crowded and polluted and people began to view nature as a tonic for unhealthy urban life. Some people believed that nature and the country could alleviate both physical and moral ills caused by overcivilization.⁵¹ Angus L. Macdonald realized the potential for cashing in on this anti-modernist wave through tourism.

Angus L. Macdonald was born in Inverness County, Cape Breton, in 1890. He attended Saint Francis Xavier University and Dalhousie Law School. He also served in World War I. On September 5, 1933, as leader of the Liberals, he became Premier and Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia. He remained in office until 1940 when he resigned to become the Minister of National Defense for the Naval Service. Macdonald returned to provincial politics and once again was elected Premier in 1945. He died on April 13, 1954.

Macdonald was primarily responsible for the growth of tourist consciousness in Nova Scotia in the 1930s. Macdonald held a romantic view of Scottish Highland traditions. He even spoke Gaelic, albeit poorly, and

⁵¹Alexander Wilson. The Culture of Nature. (Toronto, 1991), 23.

deliberately directed much of the tourist promotions to package Cape Breton and this identity. He was particularly attracted by the 'country' identity as a tourist draw. Premier Angus L. Macdonald not only emphasized certain cultural characteristics, but he initiated plans to revive a stagnating culture. In the mid 1930s, Macdonald encouraged the people of Cape Breton to study the language and literature of their highland ancestors and even initiated the teaching of Gaelic during the summer sessions of the Halifax Normal School. In a speech stating why Gaelic teaching was needed, Macdonald asserted that a man "may be a good man, a great man, but it is hard for him to be as good a Highlander as he would be if he had Gaelic."⁵²

Macdonald was a vocal supporter of the creation of a Gaelic College in St. Ann's, Cape Breton. This goal was realized when the College was established in 1939. At the dedication, Macdonald wore a Ronald clan kilt, and in Gaelic "bade the audience to look to old Scottish virtues of veneration of religion, love of education, loyalty to family, clan, chief and king...as well as independence and self-reliance."⁵³

Macdonald's correspondence illustrates that his plans for the province were quite methodical and deliberate. The

⁵²Angus L. Macdonald Papers, MG 2, vol. 1505, f. 409/48, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

⁵³ALMP, MG 2, vol. 1505, f. 28c f409/14, PANS.

Director of the Canadian Travel Bureau of the Department of Transport, D. Leo Dolan, wrote to Angus L. in 1939 concerning the opening of the Gaelic College at St. Ann's. Dolan commented "it has always been a mystery to me why the people of Nova Scotia generally have not grasped the importance from a tourist standpoint of the character of the people."⁵⁴ Macdonald agreed with Dolan and the College was even referred to as a 'Scottish Shrine.'

The Premier often wrote of the Scottish core of Cape Breton and was not very subtle in his intentions. In 1936, Macdonald wrote to Ian MacKenzie, the Minister of National Defense. He requested that if a reorganization of the Militia was to occur the name Macdonald be incorporated because "...outside of Old Scotland itself Nova Scotia is the most Highland part of the world, it would seem to me that no more suitable ground is available for the establishment of highland regiments."⁵⁵

In a speech to the Nova Scotia Tourist Advisory Council Macdonald once again decreed what should be sold to tourists: "when tourists come to N.S. they desire to see not so much what they can find in their own lands, but something authentically Nova Scotian - something with the atmosphere

⁵⁴ALMP, MG 2, vol. 1505, f. 28c f409/16, PANS.

⁵⁵ALMP, MG 2, vol. 1535, f. 1384/52, PANS.

of N.S. and the lure of bygone days in its preservation."⁵⁶ The romantic past that Macdonald spoke of marketing was characterized by Highland Scottish traditions. Macdonald discussed the highland Scottish character on many occasions and listed the following as some of their attributes: sturdy self-reliance, vigorous independence of spirit, honest pride that is the priceless birthright of the poorest Scot and a childlike purity of heart.⁵⁷ In a letter to the Federation of British Industries, Macdonald spread his vision once again, describing Nova Scotia as "an outpost of Scotland in the New World. It is, unquestionably, the strongest centre for Gaeldom in the world, outside of the motherland."⁵⁸

Norman MacDonald attributes the survival of the Scottish stereotypes in Cape Breton directly in terms of tourism. "It's not hard to see," he argues, "why some writers have viewed tourism as a determinant of large-scale economic and cultural changes which actually modifies the structures of these societies."⁵⁹ Certain traditions were retained and others rejected or doctored depending on what

⁵⁶Halifax Herald, 29 September 1934, Regan Collection, PANS.

⁵⁷ALMP, MG 2, vol. 1507, f. 436/10, Speeches, PANS.

⁵⁸Angus L. Macdonald to Moir MacKenzie, 21 March, 1938, ALMP, vol. 1504, f. 399/91, PANS.

⁵⁹Norman Macdonald. Putting on the Kilt: The Scottish Stereotype and ethnic Community Survival in Cape Breton. Paper. (UCCB), 6.

elements were deemed acceptable to tourists.

Such ideas resonated with many people from Cape Breton because they had some basis in reality. Cape Breton does have areas that were settled by people from the Scottish Highlands. Other areas were settled predominantly by lowland Scots, Acadian French, English, Dutch, Irish, Micmac and Ukrainian.⁶⁰ There were many possible identities that could have become the 'public identity'. That Cape Breton was essentially Scottish and was not a given; it only became a common sense idea after the state emphasized a particular identity using tourism as its vehicle.

The legacy of Macdonald's initiatives is evident today in Nova Scotia. Tourism has become one of the largest and most successful industries in the province and the Scottishness of Cape Breton is still packaged by the tourist industry.

⁶⁰Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. 2, Table 33, 322-336.

**Chapter II - The 1934 Special Committee on the Tourist
Traffic of Canada: A Forum for Change.**

Heretofore, the tourist industry has been nobody's baby; when the Government adopts it and gives it a little care and nurture, it will grow up and help support its parent in her old age.

- T. Morris Longstreth

The 1930s was, clearly, a crucial decade in the development of Canadian tourism. This decade marked the first time that the Federal Government became involved in coordinating and directing the country's tourist industry. In 1934, the Federal Government ordered that a special committee of the Senate be appointed to consider the tourist industry in Canada. It was to make recommendations to the government on how to encourage and expand the tourist traffic. Eight members of the Senate were appointed to the Committee. The Honorable W.H. Dennis of Nova Scotia was appointed Chairman. There were seven other committee members representing all the provinces of Canada except for Manitoba.

This chapter has three main components. To discover the issues regarded as crucial to the development of the tourist industry in Canada it will examine the testimony and recommendations of the major witnesses who appeared before the Commission. This chapter will also explore, with particular attention, the link between the Special Committee and the Maritime Provinces. A number of witnesses,

including Senator W.H. Dennis, used the hearings to draw attention to the urgent need of the Maritime Provinces for new industry. The Maritime representatives adopted the development of the tourist trade as an answer to their economic difficulties and agitated for the support of the Federal Government in their endeavours. The last section of this chapter will analyze the final recommendations of the Committee.

The idea for a Senate Committee investigation was proposed by Senator W.H. Dennis of Halifax, who declared in the Senate debate on April 23, 1934 that "it is my hope that through this discussion we may arrive at a better understanding of what the tourist trade means to Canada and what may be done to develop it to a much greater extent."¹ This was his first official motion as a Senator of Canada. Dennis emphasized the urgency of developing tourism, particularly given the rapid decrease of foreign visitors to Canada since 1929. Dennis believed that the shrinkage in foreign visitors to Canada during 1933 created a 'condition of emergency' that had to be redressed immediately. Senator Dennis also exhibited a level of enthusiasm and hope for the expansion of tourist traffic that came to characterize much of the testimony before the inquiry. When he presented the third and final report of the Committee to the Senate Dennis

¹Journal of Senate, April 23, 1934, 327.

stated that "...tourism has possibilities of a return of many millions in added wealth to this country and gives new hope and new vision to our people in every province."²

Dennis' initiative for an investigation into the tourist traffic was not the first time he was involved in agitating on behalf of the Maritimes. As the owner of the Halifax Herald he had used his newspaper to trumpet the platform of the Maritime Rights Movement in the 1920s. The manner in which he used his influence throughout the Commission indicated that he believed tourism was a potential cure for the Maritimes' economic ills.

This committee represented an important turning point in Federal Government involvement in the tourist trade, for it marked the first time that tourism was recognized as a valuable national resource. The fact that this took place in the midst of the Great Depression makes an examination of this report even more crucial to the history of tourism in Canada.

The Committee was appointed on Thursday, April 26, 1934. Following Dennis' motion, the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, leader of the Senate, moved that a special committee be appointed to consider the immense possibilities of the tourist traffic, to inquire as to the means adopted

²Ibid., May 23, 1934, 401.

by the Government looking to encourage and expand tourism, and to report back to the Senate.³

The organizational apparatus of the Committee was straightforward. The eight committee members represented different provinces. Along with W.H. Dennis the other seven members were; W.E. Foster, New Brunswick, R.F. Green, British Columbia, H.C. Hocken, Ontario, R.B. Horner, Saskatchewan, C. MacArthur, Prince Edward Island, and G. Parent, Quebec.

The Committee's approach to information gathering was two-pronged. A coast-to-coast survey was conducted directly by holding sessions to hear the evidence of provincial governments, tourist bureaus, transportation companies, hotel associations, and private citizens. Also included in the final report were briefs, memoranda, and letters from individuals who were unable to attend. The second survey was conducted by the Canadian Association of Tourist and Publicity Bureaus. This organization was formed in 1929, as a non-commercial organization operating under a federal charter. Its primary goal was to disseminate information with respect to tourist activities and things pertaining to improving and promoting the tourist trade of Canada.⁴ This

³Ibid., April 25, 1934, 306.

⁴Report and Proceedings of the Special Committee on the Tourist Traffic. (Ottawa, 1934), 34.

organization conducted a survey of its member groups and submitted their findings to the Senate Committee.

Unlike Royal Commissions, the Senate Committee acted with more than respectable speed. From the moment of its conception to its final report the Committee's work spanned less than a four week period. The Committee heard evidence and questioned witnesses between May 2, and May 17, 1934 and presented their final report and recommendations on Tuesday May 22, 1934. It produced eight main recommendations which will be discussed later.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the Senate Committee's investigation it is useful to highlight the main suggestions and recommendations made by witnesses. This is a crucial step because the final decisions made by the Committee were influenced by the evidence presented and the identity of those voicing these recommendations. There were several common themes. Most witnesses tended to agree that the tourist traffic could generate a potentially limitless amount of revenue if managed properly. Tourism was therefore viewed as a valuable national economic resource. A fundamental issue which was addressed was the definition of 'tourist'. Should the government focus its attention on foreign or domestic visitors? Other major issues included the emergency or critical need to develop the tourist traffic which resulted from the shrinkage in the

number of visitors to Canada in 1933. The appropriateness of Federal Government expenditure on tourist promotion was also vigorously debated, mostly by representatives of transportation companies and government agents. The need to create and reinforce government regulation of the industry was discussed, as was the need for a coordinating government body to direct tourism. Through government regulation tourist boosters hoped to have influence over what was presented to tourists and how it was packaged. Regional differences and rivalries were evident in testimony dealing with how to develop the industry and in discussions concerned with the fear that a federal agency could co-opt tourist activities from regional and local interests.

The testimony examined in this section is concerned primarily with these themes. Also included is the evidence of witnesses previously involved with the tourist trade as well as individuals whose opinions the Senate Commission appeared to hold in high regard.

On the opening day of testimony, Senator MacArthur demonstrated a brand of optimism particular to this inquiry,

...this Committee is unique, in that there are no hostile classes or interests involved, such as usually appear before other committees. All of the transportation companies and tourist associations would gladly have their representatives come here...⁵

⁵Ibid., 2.

To a certain degree the minutes of the Committee belie MacArthur's words. Certain witnesses were granted more time, and their recommendations received greater consideration by the Committee. However, it is true that the idea for this inquiry received a great deal of support. Given the amount of correspondence received by the Committee and the newspaper publicity it generated, the need to develop Canada's tourist traffic seemed to be a profound universal sentiment. Reference was made to the "hundreds" of letters sent to the Committee in the Senate Committee files in the Senate and Private Legislation Library in Ottawa. The Committee's proceedings were also covered quite liberally in newspapers all across Canada and in parts of the United States.⁶

James B. Harkin, the Commissioner of National Parks, Department of the Interior, was the first witness. He was placed in charge of the Parks Branch in 1911 and retired in 1936.⁷ Under his leadership, the number of visitors to the National Parks grew considerably. In 1911, the number of

⁶Some of this correspondence can be found in the Senate Commission Library, however, reference was made to four volumes of material received by the Senate Committee in a letter to R.J. Manion, Minister of Railways and Canals from A.H. Hinds, Chief Clerk of Commissions, 19 July 1934, File 1269, Senate Commissions and Private Legislation Library, Ottawa. However, after further research this material was not available in the Private Legislation Library.

⁷Leslie Bella. Parks for Profit. (Montreal, 1987), 61.

tourists, both Canadian and foreign, was "almost insignificant" but by 1930, there were over six hundred thousand visitors to the National Parks.⁸ Harkin's testimony was quite lengthy and included a summation of the activities of the Parks Branch which were designed to attract tourists to Canada. The main purpose of the National Parks organization, according to Harkin, "is the preservation and development of what I might call the raw materials for tourists, that is, the ultimate in scenery."⁹ Harkin made the claim that the parks were primarily for Canadians. However, he also noted that what was done to make them more accessible and encourage their use by the home tourist, had the double benefit of attracting the foreign tourist. The issue of whether to place more focus on the home tourist or the foreign tourist continued to plague some Committee members and then later surfaced in the operation of the Canadian Travel Bureau.

Harkin also testified that appropriations for the National Parks Branch had been curtailed considerably during the early 1930s, even though in 1933 Harkin's responsibilities were expanded when general tourist business was placed under his auspices. The Branch had a budget of approximately forty thousand dollars for all expenses in

⁸Report of the Special Committee, 3.

⁹Ibid.

1933. In fact, at this point in time, the Federal Government had no budget for tourist advertising, beyond the money spend by the Parks Department and the Railways.¹⁰ The important role the Railways played in the early stages of tourism in Canada was illuminated by Harkin. The railways were instrumental in shaping what was marketed and how it was packaged for tourists. The Parks Branch worked closely with the Railways which did the advertising for the Parks. Harkin explained that "at the outset, I approached the railway people and had a definite understanding with them from the start that they would take care of advertising."¹¹

Harkin favoured a more direct Federal Government role in tourist promotion and put forward a number of such recommendations. These included planned cooperative advertising with a national outlook, and the creation of a General Advisory Committee made up of representatives from each province, the railways, and tourism organizations. This Advisory Council would be responsible for studying individual aspects of the tourist trade and could form a five-year plan. Harkin also suggested an interdepartmental committee composed of representatives from the Customs, Immigration, Trade and Commerce and Justice Departments, the Bureau of Statistics and the Radio Commission be formed to

¹⁰Report of the Special Committee, 9.

¹¹Ibid., 3.

deal with specific tourism problems and concerns within these departments. Possible issues to be addressed included topics such as the importance of courteous custom officials.¹²

Perhaps one of Harkin's most unusual suggestions was the need to establish a group of what he called 'surveyors.' These people would gather information on Canada's "natural" tourist market - the United States. Harkin referred to these information gatherers as an intelligence staff. They would study population information, income, automobile ownership, prejudices, racial make-up and what potential tourists were looking for in a vacation. The calculating nature of this plan demonstrated his serious intention to develop tourism. Harkin's concentration on the possibilities of the American tourist market was puzzling since it contradicted his earlier assertions that the National Parks were first and foremost for the people of Canada.

Furthermore, Harkin made several revealing comments concerning aspects of the American population that he believed should be discounted when advertising for tourists. He stated that the 'negro' population of twelve million could be eliminated from consideration.¹³ Harkin did not offer an explanation for this position. Harkin could have

¹²Ibid., 12.

¹³Report of the Special Committee, 273.

been relying on perceived income levels, or car ownership as the basis for this position. However, because he simply made a bald statement, racism is also a distinct possibility. It should also be noted that this assertion was not questioned by the Committee. Another example of overt racism occurred when Harkin discussed the possibility of attracting visitors from India. Harkin plainly stated that "of course, we would look only for the white traffic..."¹⁴ Harkins's suggestions that discount 'undesirable' tourists were quite revealing. This view coincided with Canada's immigration policy of preferential standing for whites that dated from the turn of the century until well after World War II.

A common theme that emerged over the course of the investigation was the importance the tourist industry placed on courtesy. Harkin believed in order to protect tourists and to ensure courtesy, government regulation of services was necessary. Harkin listed sanitary conditions, good water, protection from exploitation and overcharging, and quality accommodation as necessary ingredients to attract tourists.

Like many other witnesses, Harkin almost exclusively concentrated on the economic potential of tourism, or what Leslie Bella labels 'Parks for Profit,' that is, the

¹⁴Ibid., 14.

exploitation of the natural resources, in the form of Parks, for monetary reasons. Harkin was asked to prepare a brief on the immediate emergency situation and a plan of action for the future. His brief developed a model for an operational apparatus to direct the industry as well as actions that should be taken. Some key points included teaching Canadians how to treat tourists, the development of interprovincial traffic, increasing the souvenir industry, developing winter tourism and conducting annual conferences.¹⁵ Harkin touched on many topics that were discussed repeatedly by later witnesses.

The next witness was W.H. Van Allen, Assistant Director of the Publicity Department of Trade and Commerce. He was one of several witnesses called to help the Committee gain a picture of the overall tourist promotion activity occurring within the Canadian government. Van Allen informed them that the Department of Trade and Commerce had not been directing its attention to tourists per se, but only to tourist traffic in relation to businessmen and industrialists, with no "appeal to the masses."¹⁶ Allen also supported Harkin's idea of a Canada-wide conference. After this testimony, the Senate Committee concluded that the evidence indicated that the tourist trade did not enjoy

¹⁵Ibid., 272-276.

¹⁶Report of the Special Committee, 18.

united or vigorous support in Ottawa.

T. Morris Longstreth, author and journalist, testified that the "tourist is God's gift to a producing country, because he consumes without producing."¹⁷ This was an important selling point for tourism. Canada was trying to rebuild its economy from the damage caused by the Depression and reestablish a favourable balance of trade with the United States. An industry that would involve expenditure free from the interference of tariffs was valuable to the Canadian economy. Longstreth also believed that the tourist trade suffered from a lack of coordination and leadership. He urged the creation of a permanent tourist department or bureau empowered to effectively manage the industry and having three functions: fact-finding, publicity and development. He suggested that this be a pyramid organization with the Federal Government at the top supervising and regulating the tourist industry. Longstreth exhibited a brand of optimism similar to Dennis' with respect to the potential value of the tourist industry. He believed that tourism "offers the greatest potentialities of any industry in Canada - greater than the fields, the mines, the fisheries..."¹⁸

¹⁷Report of the Special Committee, 21.

¹⁸Ibid., 24.

D. Leo Dolan, Director of the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Publicity opened his remarks by declaring that

the tourist trade is essential to the economic welfare of this country...the falling off in the value of this trade since 1929 must not be taken lightly, and special efforts to rebuild this industry are essential at this time.¹⁹

Dolan would later be appointed Director of the Canadian Travel Bureau, which was organized at the Committee's suggestion. Only Harkin was given as much time to testify as Dolan. Dolan provided a brief history of New Brunswick's tourist trade, which had a higher rate of growth than any other sector in the province over the past seven years. New Brunswick's Bureau was organized in 1927 and conducted a sophisticated level of tourist promotion. However, it also suffered from appropriation shortages during the 1930s and Dolan supported a Federal Government approved and directed body to oversee the tourist industry.²⁰

Dolan also discussed the linkage between good roads and satisfied tourists. This was an area of concern that was mentioned by a number of other witnesses. According to Dolan, no portion of the Dominion "can hope to make any progress in the tourist industry without a good roads policy. Good roads are a fundamental necessity for tourists

¹⁹Report of the Special Committee, 32.

²⁰Ibid., 81.

in this or any other country."²¹ Dolan helped to impress the necessity of highway building in order to increase tourism. Although it was not included as an official recommendation the Committee did issue a statement of support for the construction of a Trans-Canada Highway.

Dolan proposed that the time was right for action on the part of the Federal Government, since 1934 witnessed record lows in the number of visitors to Canada. Dolan believed that this was due to psychological problems caused by the depression. He maintained that the outlook was different for the present year and the "acute economic fear"²² experienced in Canada and the United States was fading. He also believed that the tumultuous conditions in Europe would make many people hesitant to journey there to Canada's advantage.

Dolan called for a centralizing and coordinating body to prevent overlapping in tourist promotion. He also argued that Canada could not hope to overcome the competition for American tourists unless a truly national advertising campaign was initiated. A national organization controlled at the federal level was needed and would allow every province to have an equal opportunity to share in the tourist trade. Given Dolan's background in New Brunswick, it

²¹Ibid., 32.

²²Ibid., 35.

is arguable that this argument expressed the needs and rights of the Maritime Provinces.

There were no female witnesses involved in the Senate Commission. Indeed, few references were made to women over the course of the investigation. However, one instance arose during Dolan's testimony. Dolan supported immediate efforts to attract tourists to Canada because he believed it was not too late for people to change their travel plans for 1934. Senator Hocken stated that this was particularly true because "seeing that women determine the vacations, it is a good argument."²³ Dolan agreed with Hocken's assertion. This statement is rather double-edged. Perhaps it might appear that these men believed that women exercised a certain amount of autonomy and responsibility over travel. On the other hand, it reinforced the cliché that women vacillate over decisions.

Another prominent witness was Theodore Morgan, Chairman of the Executive of the Canadian Association of Tourist and Publicity Bureaus. Morgan suggested that advertising carried out in the remainder of 1934 would persuade tourists to come to Canada. He also advised the preparation of a five year plan with the definite objective to promote tourism.²⁴ This plan, he argued, should be aimed at three

²³Report of the Special Committee, 46.

²⁴Ibid., 48.

markets; the United States, interprovincial traffic and Great Britain and Continental Europe. The most important market for Morgan was the United States, which contained one hundred and twenty million potential consumers. Morgan was thus another representative who showed an amazingly high degree of optimism regarding the possibilities of the tourist traffic. As he stated, tourism "may well become a billion dollar industry in all its many and varied ramifications."²⁵

Representatives of the major railways and steamship companies were also invited to present briefs at the inquiry. In the eyes of the Committee their testimony held great weight. Senator W.H. Dennis even announced that

if any persons should be able to give us sound advice on how to proceed it should be Mr. Murray Gibbon and your-self (Railway executives). We are certain to be greatly influenced by the views of the Canadian Pacific Company.²⁶

The General Publicity Agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway detailed the advertising activities conducted by his company in Canada. His testimony stressed the great value of the American market. In the decades prior to the 1930s there was a close working relationship between the railway companies and the National Parks Branch. The railway representatives also stressed the need for a coordinated

²⁵Report of the Special Committee, 57.

²⁶Ibid., 80.

effort in promoting the tourist trade, however, most of the railway representatives were leery of having the Federal Government attach its name to the endeavour. Gibbon, particularly, feared retaliation on the part of Americans, such as "See America First Campaigns."²⁷ Such campaigns had been introduced in the United States in 1906, when efforts to encourage early autotourism embodied anti-European sentiments and fostered pride in American attractions.²⁸

An issue that was not discussed by the Committee was the conflict of interest on the part of the railways. Since the 1880s the railway companies had been responsible for most of the tourist promotion in Canada. Because of this, the railways had considerable influence over how Canada was sold for tourist purposes. This was particularly true in Western Canada where access was limited to travel by rail. However, the railways were experiencing a decline in business due to the competition offered by autotourism.²⁹ Perhaps the transport companies supported a private organization to coordinate tourism promotion rather than a governmental agency because of the greater influence they would wield.

²⁷Ibid., 83.

²⁸Warren James Belasco. Americans on the Road: From Autocamps to Motels, 1910-1945. (Cambridge, 1979), 25.

²⁹John A. Jakle. The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century North America. (Lincoln & London, 1979), 84-100.

The debate over whether a Federal Government body or a private organization should be established to coordinate tourism activity took up a substantial part of the Committee's time. Senator Buchanan did not support this position. He stated that "...I can not see that the fact of the Dominion of Canada is doing the advertising would cause any unfavourable reaction in the United States."³⁰ Senator Dennis held the railways in high regard but also asked D. Leo Dolan his opinion on the matter. Dolan took the opposite position to Gibbon and the railways. He was quite obvious in his disagreement,

I get pretty tired of hearing of retaliatory measures...For anyone to seriously submit that if this country were to advertise for tourists in the U.S. there would be retaliation is, to my way of thinking, not worthy of very serious consideration by this committee or anybody else.³¹

The debate surrounding this issue divided into two camps, the public sector and the private business interests. This would seem to indicate that the optimistic words of Senator MacArthur concerning 'no hostile classes' was somewhat overstated. The railway representatives believed that less attention should be drawn to the revenue generated by American tourists in Canada because of rumblings coming from the 'powers in Washington' and the United States Chamber of Commerce. The concern demonstrated by the transportation

³⁰Report of the Special Committee, 79.

³¹Ibid., 79.

companies seems somewhat exaggerated in relation to the real danger offered by the United States. However, an editorial did appear in the Boston Herald during the sessions of the Commission which discussed the favourable balance of trade that resulted from Americans spending their vacations in Canada. The fact that this issue was focused on by the Herald would seem to indicate some American concern. The opposite position which supported Canadian tourism was expressed by New York's Secretary of State who said in 1916, "Go ahead and build your paved highways, and we Americans will come over and pay for them."³² The railways were quick to point out that their history of advertising in the United States was inoffensive because they had been engaged in it for so long. Morgan Eastman, the former Director of the Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau, declared that there was a precedent for appointing a Minister of the Dominion Government to be responsible for tourism. Eastman pointed out that France, Italy, Switzerland and Russia all had government departments of tourism.³³ Even though they could not agree on its medium both sides did vigorously support expanding the tourist industry in Canada.

The next witness, Arthur Bergeron, the Publicity

³²Donald Davis F. "Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile to the 1930s", Journal of Canadian Studies, v.21 No. 3 (Fall 1986), 126.

³³Report of the Special Committee, 130.

Director of the Department of Roads, Quebec, also took part in this discussion. Bergeron stated that the most important thing was to urge the Federal Government to spend money regardless of who has the control. Then he stated that "we think the money should be spent and the work directed by the Government itself."³⁴ Unlike many of the other participants, Bergeron clearly offered rational explanations for his position. He pointed out that the Canadian Association of Tourist and Publicity Bureaus had no executive capacity and, as each of its members was the head of his own organization, their loyalties were already claimed. He suggested that the Association could act in an advisory capacity to a Federal bureau. This way the federal department would benefit from the collected experience of the Association members. In the final report this compromise was adopted as part of an official recommendation of the Special Committee.

Bergeron also detailed the considerable amount of activity that his organization did to promote tourism. Once again the importance of regulating accommodations both in the form of hotels and autocamps was raised. Bergeron, like many other witnesses expressed grave concern over unregulated accommodation. He referred to new Quebec legislation that would made it mandatory that "camps will be

³⁴Ibid., 90.

owned and operated by hotel people."³⁵ This statement indicated a rather narrow view of who was considered appropriate to organize camps. Another witness made a reference to 'housewives' running bed and breakfasts, with considerable disdain.³⁶ In this case sexism was evident. It was implied that because they were merely untrained housewives operating without regulation they could not maintain high enough standards to attract and keep international tourists. This belief could have been influenced by the increasing importance placed on 'professional' or scientific methods in many aspects of the traditional female domain, such as food preparation and housekeeping. The nature and performance of women's work came under increasing pressure and scrutiny and witnessed the entrance of "domestic science." No longer was women's work natural but had to be learned properly.³⁷

Bergeron also discussed the correlation between good roads and increased tourism. Despite the fact that highways were a provincial matter it was popularly believed by many witnesses that two crucial ingredients necessary to increase tourism were national parks and highways. Many argued that

³⁵Report of the Special Committee, 94.

³⁶Ibid., 95.

³⁷Prentice, Bourne, Brandt, Mitchinson & Black.
Canadian Women: A History. (Toronto, 1988), 240-250.

federal money should be spent across the entire country to improve these areas.

Tensions also surfaced during discussions concerning the powers a federal tourist bureau would be granted. Many supporters for a bureau were careful to state that the bureau would not interfere with existing agencies or supplant their tourist activities but supplement them.³⁸

T.R. Enderby was the representative for Canada Steamship Lines Limited. He stated that it was by no means too late to advertise for the current year and that the government should act on this sense of urgency and launch an advertising campaign immediately. Enderby was one of the first witnesses to state that the program of advertising should be "distinctly Canadian in atmosphere and flavour."³⁹ He argued that Canadians were popular the world over and that this fact should be capitalized on in a national plan to interest visitors. Enderby took the position that the Canadian Government should not baldly state that they were responsible for the advertising because it would be contrary to the 'friendly' Canadian ideal. This was somewhat akin to the position of the Railways.

Enderby also drew attention to the possible retail value of native handicrafts. He was not the only one to do

³⁸Report of the Special Committee, 81.

³⁹Ibid., 108.

so. The Director of Publicity, Department of Trade and Commerce, H.E.M. Chisholm, submitted a brief entitled "Native Handicrafts and Their Relation To The Tourist Trade." In this brief the Director concluded that Canada possessed another gift besides its scenery that could prove to be an immense factor in the growing tourist trade - native handicrafts. He included both aboriginal and French Canadian art in this category. Chisholm believed native art could also increase ties among Canadians because knowledge of native art was sadly lacking among Canada's populace. Chisholm argued that the "white man has destroyed their [native] race consciousness,"⁴⁰ and now it was up to Canadian artists, both Indian and white, to build upon the remnants of Indian art to create a profitable industry. This was rather ironic because Chisholm proposed that the very people who had wrecked havoc on the native populace could reshape part of their culture for monetary reasons, and no one questioned this assertion. Harkin also mentioned the value of Native handicrafts in his brief. Harkin believed that the tourist who comes to Canada wanted to purchase a token distinctly Canadian in character and flavour in order to preserve the experience, and he pointed out that French Canadian art and Indian art were a valuable

⁴⁰Report of the Special Committee, 245.

raw resource for tourism.⁴¹ By separating and labelling native art as 'distinctly Canadian' the government agents wanted to commodify culture expressly for the commercial purposes of attracting tourists.

C.C Hele, Director of the Ontario Tourist and Publicity Bureau, was also invited to testify at the Committee hearings. He stated that Ontario received seventy-four to seventy-eight percent of all the tourists that come into Canada. He did not, however, supply any details to substantiate this claim. Hele mentioned that many tourists from the United States come to Ontario because there were many accessible ports of entry and that Ontario had high quality roads that appealed to motorists. Hele also supported the position that a central bureau should be created to cooperate with the National Parks Branch and the Department of Trade and Commerce on the ground that they have many years of experience. He also suggested that the committee should include representatives from all of the provinces of Canada.⁴²

Morgan Eastman, former Director Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau, testified that there was a need for a federal bureau with a national outlook because the tourist dollar was highly significant for the role it could play in

⁴¹Ibid, 275.

⁴²Report of the Special Committee, 113.

employment. Eastman categorized tourism as one of Canada's four major industries. Like many other witnesses, Eastman pointed to the United States as the best market to exploit for tourist dollars. He also supported the idea that the Government be responsible for the expenditure of the money directly.⁴³

Representatives of newspapers, the Canadian Motion Picture Bureau and the Radio Commission also appeared before the Committee. They offered descriptions of their activities with respect to tourism and what manner of advertising they found to be the most effective. In the summer of 1933, the Radio Commission began using its network to promote the attractions of Canada in the United States and to interest different parts of Canada in other regions. They did this through such programs as 'Hands Across the Border'. According to Hector Charlesworth, Chairman of the Radio Commission, the first aim of the Commission was to give the listener a good show and "as far as the educational and tourist aspects of the broadcast are concerned, to sugar coat the pill. We feature in turn every province of the Canadian Confederation."⁴⁴ Charlesworth also supported a Federal Bureau that would coordinate the work of all other bureaus and the work of the various federal departments.

⁴³Ibid., 136.

⁴⁴Ibid., 143.

A representative of the General Tourist Bureau, H.A. McCallum, in charge of the Publicity for national parks, offered testimony regarding the activities of his department and suggestions on how to expand the tourist industry. Prior to 1933, the General Tourist Bureau was called the National Development Bureau which provided information on all resources including tourism.⁴⁵ McCallum placed tourism highly in terms of international trade. As such, he noted that there was a great deal of competition for the markets. Given that Americans spend more on travel than any other country, he felt that the United States offered an inexhaustible market of tourists to Canada. McCallum stated that Canada's value to the tourist did not lie in culture or history; rather, it could be found in its recreational opportunities and a "holiday spirit"⁴⁶ evident in a number of outdoor experiences. McCallum was not the only one to express this view. Some witnesses were concerned that Canada would have a difficult time competing with traditional vacation lands in Europe which had ancient histories. As a result the advertising was tailored to feature recreational, sport and natural aspects of Canada to appeal to the tourist gaze.

⁴⁵Annual Report of the Department of Interior, 1933,
79.

⁴⁶Report of the Special Committee, 155.

McCallum also detailed the activities of the Department of the Interior which carried out tourist activities primarily in two ways. First the Department administered, maintained and improved the system of national parks in Canada. And, second, there were the activities of the Canadian Travel Service (Tourist Division of the Parks Branch) which assembled tourist information and disseminated it as much as budgeting allowed. McCallum also discussed the ever increasing role the automobile played in vacationing. Compared to travel by the railroad, the car offered freedom of action. He stated that Canada was in the fortunate position to share a border with a nation that owned three-quarters of the world's automobiles. Americans, he declared, liked to travel and the government needed to assist the tourist industry by providing advertising, information, better highways and training in courtesy. He stressed that courtesy, hospitality and fair dealing would ensure a steady stream of visitors to Canada.⁴⁷ Yet, despite this optimistic view of the American market, he also recommended that the Federal Government not neglect the possibilities that the British market offered to Canadian tourism, as well as the value of interprovincial travel.

In this era the Department of Immigration and Colonization also played a role in tourism promotion. In

⁴⁷Ibid., 164.

the late nineteenth century the Department of Immigration and Colonization had utilized advertising to attract immigrants to Canada, particularly to the prairies to work in agriculture. After World War I and the slowdown of migration this department began to use advertising to sell Canada as a vacation land. With the aid of the Department of Immigration and Colonization "selling her soil" took on new meaning.⁴⁶ J.C. Stead, Director of Publicity for the Immigration department stated that his department had a unique interest in the tourist industry because no other department had as intimate a contact as they did with tourists. Stead stated that "it was always felt that the immigration and tourist businesses were so closely allied that they could not be divorced. The tourist of today may become the immigrant of tomorrow."⁴⁹ Stead maintained that the Immigration and Colonization office advertised in other countries, with a particular focus on the United States and Britain and did its best to answer tourist inquiries about Canada. That this argument was made at a time when immigration quotas were reduced due to the pressures of the Great Depression seems at best contradictory.⁵⁰

⁴⁸H.E. Stephenson & Carlton McNaught. The Story of Advertising in Canada. (Toronto, 1940), 308.

⁴⁹Report of the Special Committee, 169.

⁵⁰Historical Statistics of Canada, A350. In fact it was not until 1948 that the number of immigrants allowed into Canada each year reached the 1930 quota.

Stead suggested that Canadians needed to be taught how to interact properly with tourists. He compared Canadians to store merchants. Canadians needed to learn to treat tourists as customers in a store with themselves as the merchant. This is why courtesy and hospitality were supreme. Stead also warned against alienating the United States by conducting advertising campaigns that were too aggressive, particularly when using radio. He was worried that too much emphasis on American money being spent in Canada in the form of tourism dollars could build up a resistance on the part of the American Government.⁵¹

The final witness was a representative from an American steamship company which operated between the United States and the Canadian Atlantic seaboard. He testified that the overall opinion in the United States of Canada was very favourable, and that over a period of five years, with the aid of a central organizing body, tourist travel worth five hundred million dollars could emerge from the United States.⁵²

There were also a number of briefs and reports submitted to the Committee. Some of these reports were submitted by witnesses who had testified at the inquiry and wanted to expand on their ideas. Others were invited to

⁵¹Report of the Special Committee, 175.

⁵²Report of the Special Committee, 192.

present papers at the invitation of the Committee because they could not attend. Some were asked to conduct a study, such as the one presented by R.H. Coats, Dominion Statistician on the economic significance of the tourist trade to Canada.

Included in the minutes were the findings of the survey conducted by the Canadian Association of Tourist and Publicity Bureaus. The Bureau offered three recommendations. These included the establishment of a Federal Tourist and Publicity Bureau, its immediate organization and operation, and its cooperation with the present tourist agencies both civic and governmental. It suggested that the Association should act as an advisory body to the Federal Bureau and that the Dominion's work in tourism should not interfere with existing promotional activities.⁵³ This Federal Tourist and Publicity Bureau had much influence which was demonstrated by the incorporation of their suggestions, virtually unchanged, into the final report. This was also proven when these recommendations were initiated by the Federal Government.

By providing an overview of the common themes discussed by the Senate Commission a picture of what was considered important for developing the tourist industry emerged. As illustrated there was overwhelming enthusiasm for the

⁵³Ibid., 105.

potential this industry offered. However, some tension existed concerning the manner in which the tourist industry should be directed. One aspect of this tension was manifested in Maritime agitation for the expansion of federally sponsored tourist activity.

Senator Dennis and the Maritime Provinces.

Throughout the deliberations of the Committee, Senator Dennis was a prominent figure, who constantly directed and controlled the proceedings. After all, the special committee was his 'baby'. Dennis was not an impartial chair. He had certain objectives and on several occasions directed testimony towards his pet issue. This issue was the lack of government development of Maritime, particularly Nova Scotian, tourist resources.

Dennis' objectives were first revealed during the testimony of W.J. Van Allen of the Department of Trade and Commerce. Dennis asked him to prepare a brief on the viability of bringing people from Great Britain to Canada as tourists. Dennis stated that "...whenever a British party comes over to Canada they seem to think that Canada starts at Montreal...It would be a pleasant surprise if the Maritimes were included once in a while."⁵⁴

⁵⁴Report of the Special Committee, 19.

Later, when D. Leo Dolan testified he described at length the attractions of New Brunswick, asserting that "...there is no section of Canada with more delightful summer climate than my own province."⁵⁵ Dennis immediately interrupted Dolan, stating "Include the Maritimes, please."⁵⁶ In another example Dennis engaged Dolan in a discussion about the hospitality that was, apparently, "inherent" in the nature of Maritimers.

During the testimony of Maritime witnesses, Dennis engaged them in conversation about the raw resources waiting to be 'packaged' by tourism development. George Graham of the Dominion Atlantic Railway shared Dennis' enthusiasm for the East Coast. Graham believed that while it was important to encourage visitors to come to Canada, particular attention should be paid to the Maritimes.

We must...however, make the attractions of the different sections of the Dominion more widely known to our people... There is a lamentable lack of knowledge of the beauties of the Maritimes in other parts of Canada...⁵⁷

Dennis even attacked Senator R.B. Horner for a comment he made regarding the summer climate of the Maritime Provinces. George Graham described the Maritime climate as ideal. Dennis then stated, "I am glad you mentioned that. Senator Horner took exception to the excessive heat of the Maritime

⁵⁵Ibid., 31.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Report of the Special Committee, 149.

Provinces in summer."⁵⁸ In a later session he once again criticized Senator Horner when he introduced W.F. Baldwin, a witness from Nova Scotia.

Baldwin, a member of the Legislature of Nova Scotia was crucial in presenting the Maritime position. Baldwin's opening remarks set the tone for his testimony. He believed that the Maritimes had been neglected with respect to developing its tourist resources. He praised the work that the National Parks Branch had done to preserve Canada's beauty and stimulate tourism, however, he pointed out that up until the 1930s all the development had occurred in the West to the neglect of the rest of the country. Baldwin stated that if the parks system was to be truly national in character parks must be created in the Maritimes and Quebec. He pointed out the vital role the national parks played in directing tourist traffic in Canada by asserting that

a National Park is an objective and a string of National Parks forms a chain of points of interest which the modern tourist follows as instinctively as he does a trunk highway...Unless we follow this suggestion, the logical inference of the outsider, or uninformed Canadian, is, that since Nova Scotia has no National Park we have not sufficient attractions, scenic and historic to warrant their establishment.⁵⁹

In addition, national parks were integral because they promoted patriotism and broke down sectionalism and

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Report of the Senate Commission, 180-181.

provincial jealousies by fostering a national point of view. It is rather ironic that Baldwin pointed out the nationalistic nature of parks by drawing attention to the neglect of one region of Canada.

Baldwin also attacked the Federal Government's failure to develop industry in general in the Maritimes. He viewed the Committee as an opportunity to redress the inequalities between Central Canada and the Maritimes and argued that this could be accomplished by developing the tourist trade. Over the course of the Senate Committee many newspapers in the Maritimes and particularly Nova Scotia published articles concerning the inquiry in virtually every issue. The coverage provided by such newspapers as the Casket (Antigonish, N.S.), the Sydney Post Record, the Halifax Herald and Chronicle, indicated that the tourism question was of particular interest to Eastern Canada.⁶⁰

After Baldwin's testimony, Senator Dennis took the opportunity to call upon Senator McLennan, a representative from Cape Breton, to present his views on how to stimulate

⁶⁰I conducted a survey of a number of newspapers and periodicals with particular attention to April and May 1934. The publications included; *the Boston Herald, Calgary Herald, Canadian Forum, Canadian Journal of Economic and Political Science, Casket, Financial Post, Globe and Mail, Halifax Chronicle, Halifax Herald, Le Droit, London Free Press, Montreal Gazette, Monetary Times, New York Times, Ottawa Citizen, Sydney Post Record, Vancouver Sun, Kingston Whig Standard, and Winnipeg Free Press.*

tourism. McLennan detailed some of the resources found in the Maritimes which were deemed suitable as tourist attractions. Like Baldwin, his main focus was on the need for national parks in the Maritime Provinces as they would be valuable "game sanctuaries and would provide pleasure grounds not only for our own people but for the visitors that I think would come to us from Europe and the United States in greatly increased numbers."⁶¹

It was clear from the number of Maritimers involved with the Commission that the Federal Government was being pressured to extend the system of national parks into the Maritime region. Approximately twenty-five percent of the briefs dealt solely with the needs of the Maritimes. Many Maritimers, including politicians at both the provincial and federal level, were dissatisfied with conditions in the eastern provinces. Thus the Senate inquiry emerged from the same political and economic atmosphere that led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims in 1925, and the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations in 1936. Part of the Rowell-Sirois Commission (as it was known) investigated the economic downturn of the Maritime Provinces and concluded that a new vigorous plan for economic growth was essential for that region. This was the same sentiment that Maritime interests voiced during the

⁶¹Report of the Special Committee, 183.

Special Committee on tourist traffic in 1934. They suggested that the economic expansion could be based on the tourist industry. On the other hand, it could be argued that tourism was provided as a sop to the Maritimes at a time when the imperatives of national planning de-emphasized industrial development in the Maritimes.

The Final Recommendations of the Committee.

The common themes that characterized the testimony from the inquiry formed the basis for the final recommendations made by the Commission. Overall, the witnesses offered a ringing endorsement of the economic potential of the tourist trade and agreed that immediate action had to be taken if the emergency nature of the situation was to be rectified.

The question whether to focus on domestic tourists or the American market was discussed and it became obvious that the interprovincial trade was secondary in value to the huge market located to the south of Canada. Several witnesses expressed concern over possible retaliation by the Americans if Canada celebrated too loudly the American dollars being spent by tourists. Some of the greatest debate centered around the appropriateness of Canada's tourist promotion conducted in the name of the Federal Government. This

position was opposed most vigorously by the Railway Companies.

The regional inequalities of the country surfaced often during the Commissions hearings. This topic was present from the Committee's conception. In the debates of the Senate on April 27, 1934, Senator Dennis stated "while I am not here to urge the attractions of one part of Canada against the next..."⁶² and then did so immediately afterwards. He provided a lengthy description of the beauties of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. His statements were followed by equally flowery and optimistic descriptions of other parts of Canada by enthusiastic Senators.

The Special Committee on the Tourist Traffic of Canada submitted its final report on May 22, 1934. It had eight chief findings and recommendations. Its primary conclusions were that the tourist trade of Canada was a matter of national as well as provincial, municipal and private concern and that the tourist trade had tremendous expansion possibilities. These conclusions led the Committee to suggest that an aggressive campaign of tourist promotion be launched immediately on a national level in cooperation with existing agencies. It also recommended that a Canadian Travel Bureau be established as a branch of the appropriate

⁶²Journal of the Senate, April 27, 1934, 295.

Department of the Federal Government. The Committee recommended that a sum of not less than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars be voted at the present session of Parliament to finance the campaign. The Committee also proposed that a standing committee of the Senate (representing all provinces) be established to bring Parliament into direct contact with tourism and examine the industry annually in order to contribute to its growth. The Commission also recommended that a permanent progressive program of Canadian tourist promotion be carried out with the cooperation of all agencies involved in this field and noted that this campaign would supplement, not supplant the work of existing agencies. The final recommendation was that the Canadian system of national parks be extended to include all of Canada and become truly national in scope.⁶³

Perhaps one of the most divisive questions that the Committee addressed was the creation of a governing body that would be responsible for organizing tourism activity in Canada. Most witnesses agreed that an organizing body was necessary, but disagreements arose over the format it should take and what its powers should be. The Committee resolved this debate by recommending that as quickly as possible a central body should be established in Ottawa to coordinate the various agencies within the provinces and the Federal

⁶³Report of the Senate Commission, introductory pages.

Government departments engaged in tourist activities. The organization was to be called the Canadian Travel Bureau. This would eliminate the overlapping of expenditures and duplication of effort. The Bureau would also have an Advisory Council made up of the Directors of Information from each Provincial Government, representatives of Government agencies involved in the tourist trade and the Executive Committee of the Canadian Association of Tourist and Publicity Bureaus.⁶⁴ With this recommendation the Commission sided against the transportation companies that had protested the establishment of a government department responsible for tourism. However, the incorporation of the Advisory Council moderated this rejection to a degree. This recommendation was particularly important to the development of Canadian tourism because it enabled the Federal Government to provide comprehensive direction of the tourist industry.

The Committee concluded that there was a great need to establish National Parks in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. The Committee was also of the opinion that previous government expenditure on the national parks was commendable but that Canada had failed to advertise its attractions both within and outside of its border. This belief was crucial in developing tourism in areas that had

⁶⁴Ibid., vix.

been marginalized. The creation of national parks in the Maritimes assisted considerably in stimulating tourism and economic growth in that region. Due to the link between successful tourism and quality highways, the Committee also stressed the need for cooperation between the Dominion Government and Provincial Governments in highway creation and maintenance. This belief manifested itself in support for the creation of the Trans-Canada Highway as a national investment.⁶⁵ The expansion of transportation infrastructure in the 1930s also had a positive impact on the economically depressed Maritimes.

By the end of its evidence gathering, the Special Committee on the tourist trade had gained a comprehensive picture of tourist promotional activities carried out in Canada. It became apparent that a federal governing body needed to be created to oversee industry efforts if the economic benefits tourism offered were to be reaped.

The final recommendations of the Committee marked a watershed with respect to federal government involvement in the tourist trade. It could be argued that the establishment of a Senate Committee only acknowledged how unimportant tourism was to Canada, for, if it had been truly important a Royal Commission would have been appointed instead. In any case, the importance of this issue is apparent because of

⁶⁵Report of the Special Committee, x.

the speedy implementation of its recommendations, the most significant of which was the creation of the Canadian Travel Bureau and the approval, by Parliament, of one hundred thousand dollars for an emergency advertising campaign for the remainder of 1934. This recommended course of action brought a national viewpoint and rational economic planning to tourism by the Canadian government. The Senate Commission represented a nation wide focus on tourism and had as its basis the idea that government could foster its growth. The year 1934 witnessed the harnessing of tourism for its economic potential and emphasized the particular importance of that industry in Eastern Canada.

Chapter III - The Implementation: The Foundation is Laid.

The Senate Special Committee on the Tourist Traffic made eight major recommendations to the Federal Government. The fact that all of its recommendations were acted upon indicates the importance the Federal Government placed upon the need to expand the tourist industry. Four of the Committee's recommendations were especially important in developing tourism in the Maritime provinces. This chapter will detail the impact the Committee had on the evolution of the tourist industry in Nova Scotia.

The pressure placed on the Federal Government by the Commission to extend the national parks system resulted in the creation of several new national parks including the Cape Breton Highlands national park in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. This chapter will include a discussion of the establishment of this park and how it affected tourism. The Senate Commission also identified and stressed the symbiotic relationship between quality roads and highways and the tourist industry. This had a serious impact on road construction in the 1930s. The final issue dealt with in this chapter concerns the establishment of the Canadian Travel Bureau and its activities under the direction of D. Leo Dolan in the 1930s. In the development of the Canadian

tourist industry this was one of the most significant results of the Senate inquiry.

The implementation of the Senate Commissions' recommendations were integral to the development of the Nova Scotian tourist industry. As this chapter will demonstrate the actions taken in this embryonic period created a basis for the infrastructure needed for the phenomenal growth in tourism which continues to the present day.

National Parks and Tourism in Canada.

Canada was the first country to have a separate department responsible for managing national parks. The National Parks Branch of the Federal Department of the Interior was established in 1911. Crucial to the growth of this Department was J.B. Harkin who was appointed Parks Commissioner at its inception and spent over twenty-five years developing the National Parks system in Canada. During his reign, Harkin left an indelible imprint on how parks were to be developed. Harkin began his career with the Department of the Interior in 1901 and had served under Frank Oliver when he became Minister in 1905. Harkin retired in 1936 when the Department of the Interior was

dissolved and the Parks Branch was placed under the Department of Mines and Resources.¹

Traditionally, three influences have coincided and contributed to the establishment of national parks in Canada. The first involved a desire to preserve and protect nature or wilderness. The second was based on a belief in the recreational and aesthetic needs of people and the third involved the income that could be generated from national parks.² Harkin believed that the parks served two main functions, commercial and humanitarian. The commercial often dominated the humanitarian aspects. This was demonstrated by the changing of park boundaries with the discovery of mineral resources and the destruction of animals native to park areas by licensing sport hunting. Harkin even compared the selling of scenery to the sale of other resources and calculated the dollar value per acre of parkland.

Harkin valued the idea of wilderness and recreation but was shrewd enough to know that tourism could generate the funding required to develop the National Park system. He believed that parks were potentially more valuable than

¹RG 84, Annual Report Department of Interior, 1911-1936, National Library of Canada.

²J.G. Nelson. "Canadian National Parks: Past, Present and Future", Canadian Geographical Journal. Vol 86 (1973), 69.

other resources because they could be sold again and again.³ Harkin repeatedly stressed the importance of building good roads in and to the national parks and spent much of his time campaigning for funding for this purpose. For the parks to be successful they had to be viable business propositions. Harkin also cited humanitarian reasons for road building. Increased roads, Harkin reasoned, made the parks more accessible to the middle class. Once again Harkin placed profit before pleasure. He realized the growing importance of the autotourism industry and sought to capitalize on this trend.

In 1933, the responsibilities of the Parks Branch were expanded when the Tourist Division of the National Development Bureau was transferred to the national parks Branch. This was distinct from the National Parks Branch Publicity Service which was solely responsible for promoting the parks. The new General Tourist Bureau coordinated, within certain limits, the activities of the provincial tourist bureaus and traffic organizations with an interest in the tourist industry.⁴

As we have seen, Harkin was called as an important witness to the Senate Committee on Tourist Traffic. He detailed the promotional activities of the Parks Branch and

³Leslie Bella. Parks for Profit. (Montreal, 1987), 63.

⁴Annual Report Department of Interior, 1933-34, 79.

made several recommendations on how to help the tourist industry realize its potential. His recommendations carried great weight with the Committee because of his more than twenty-five years service with the Parks Branch. Most of his ideas were incorporated into the final recommendations of the Commission.

As a result of the Senate Committee, national parks were developed in the Maritime Provinces. The Cape Breton Highlands National Park opened in 1936. Local and provincial interests had been officially agitating for a national park since 1914. They pointed out the economic and social benefits that national parks and tourism had brought to other areas of Canada but it was not until after the Senate Commission that the Maritimes became integrated into the National Parks system. Prince Edward Island had been agitating for a national park since 1923 and was granted one in 1937.⁵ The province of New Brunswick finally got a park in 1948. The Federal Government agreed to develop a park in this province in the late 1930s, however, disagreements over where to locate the park and conflict with lumbering interests delayed its creation.⁶

All the national parks created in the Maritimes were

⁵For more detailed information on the establishment of a National Park in P.E.I. see Alan MacEachern's M.A. thesis, No Island Is An Island, 1870-1939.

⁶Bella, Parks for Profit, 168.

designed to increase tourism and stimulate economic development in areas that were economically depressed. An examination of the creation of the Cape Breton Highlands National Park is useful to demonstrate the crucial role the Senate Commission played in its conception and development.

The Cape Breton Highlands National Park.

A.S. MacMillan, who served both as Minister of Highways and Premier of Nova Scotia, wrote in 1955 that he had made his mind up early to agitate for the development of the northern part of Cape Breton as a "great tourist vacation land."⁷ He had discussed the matter with his colleagues frequently and attempted to interest the Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior (Parks Commission) in building a great national park in Cape Breton.

It was only after the Senate Committee met that R.W. Cautley, a surveyor with the Department of the Interior, was sent by the National Parks Commission to survey four potential sites in Cape Breton and recommend a suitable site for a national park. These sites included Blomidon, Yarmouth, the Louisbourg-Gabarus area and northern Cape Breton.

⁷A.S. MacMillan. "The Cabot Trail: A Political Story", Cape Breton Magazine. Vol 62 (1993), 70.

There was a history of agitation for a national park in Cape Breton, but it was not until the government became a 'tourist state' that it was seriously considered. In 1914, H.F. MacDougall, of Christmas Island, recommended to the Department of the Interior that the Bras d'Or Lakes be acquired for this purpose but the idea was rejected. The Parrsboro district was also recommended and then rejected as being too small. In 1928, a proposal relating to a national park in Nova Scotia was placed before the Department of the Interior by the Cape Breton Tourist Association, the Glace Bay Board of Trade, the Baddeck Board of Trade, Nova Scotia Board of Trade and the Cape Breton Fish and Game Protective Association. The area suggested was the northern part of Cape Breton, an area over five hundred and forty square miles. H.H. Rowatt, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, stated that it was rejected on the basis that "it would not seem that the area suggested by the above organizations would measure up to our standards for National Parks."⁸

In another letter dated June 1931, concerning the creation of a park in Nova Scotia, an official from the Department of the Interior wrote that "it is of primary importance that the area should possess scenic beauty and recreational facilities of a character which may properly be

⁸Letter from H.H. Rowatt, 1931. RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 983, f. T11116. NAC.

classed as national rather than local."⁹ Apparently by 1934, the scenic value of Nova Scotia had increased. As we have seen, Maritime representatives to the Senate Commission continually pointed out that Canada's national parks were concentrated in Western Canada with a few minor parks located in Ontario. This bias in favour of Western parks was obvious in the declaration of Senator Horner who claimed "the type of scenery that we wish to preserve in the national parks is in the west."¹⁰ F.W. Baldwin, from Baddeck Nova Scotia, responded moderately, saying

it is not my intention to complain in any way that Nova Scotia has been neglected...but since now National Parks are such a tremendous factor in directing the course of modern tourist traffic it becomes very desirable that Nova Scotia should now have one or more National Parks.¹¹

Testimony such as this suggests that the Federal Government was under pressure for neglecting to develop parks in other areas of the country. Tourism was significant not just to develop revenue but because parks were inextricably linked to the creation of highways in the provinces.

R.F. Cautley, the Parks surveyor appointed to analyze potential park sites in Nova Scotia, reported to the Department of Interior that

⁹Letter from unknown Park Official to H.H. Rowatt, 26 June 1931, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 983, f. T11116. NAC.

¹⁰Report of the Special Committee, 178.

¹¹Ibid., 179.

In a general sense, the idea of the Park is that it shall include the northerly portion of the Cabot Trail, which has been constructed as a scenic route by the Nova Scotia Government, together with parts of the picturesque west, both of the east and west sides of Cape Breton and a large area of the interior lying below.¹²

Cautley believed that the merits of northern Cape Breton rested on its coast line and mountain scenery and the Cabot Trail as a means of seeing it. During the early development of national parks it became apparent that mountains were regarded as a valuable ingredient to a successful park.

Cautley believed the scenic values of the site were outstanding. This was in part due to the diversity of the area. It included a rugged coast line, valleys, woodland areas, rivers and spectacular mountains. The proposed site was also almost entirely accessible to automobiles. These factors combined to make it a world class site. Cautley reported that "to visit the site [one] can travel all around the island on roads which are all scenic and which include many points of outstanding interest, without having to cover one foot of the road twice."¹³ This loop route was ideal for parks and increased the value of the Cape Breton site. This recommendation was made a mere six years after the site

¹²R.H. MacDonald. Transportation in Northern Cape Breton. Parks Canada Manuscript, Report #363 (1979), 43.

¹³Ibid., 53.

had been turned down because it did not measure up to federal park standards.

The creation of national parks was solidly linked to changes in the transportation industry. Large scale parks had not really become popular until they became accessible to the public via public transport and the private automobile. After World War I automobiles caused a different ordering of nature and space. The parkways of the 1930s, by their design, instructed and ordered the ways in which people would view nature. The tourist experience or gaze was carefully orchestrated and regulated.¹⁴ The clearly demarcated entrances to national parks demonstrates this phenomena. The divide between the 'natural' and the 'artificial' space is obvious.

Cautley provided six reasons why he recommended the northern Cape Breton site over the alternatives. According to Cautley the site included outstanding scenic attractions of rugged coast line and mountain grandeur which was the best of its type in Nova Scotia. The approaches to the park passed through magnificent scenery that added greatly to the value of the site as a potential world famous resort. The location was such that it would stimulate the general tourist business in Nova Scotia because it was necessary for tourists to travel through the mainland of Nova Scotia en

¹⁴Wilson, The Culture of Nature, 25.

route to the park. The site was also the only area of its size that could be made into a park without sacrificing natural resources, and would provide a source of greater revenue to the people of Nova Scotia than any other site. Its large area was suitable as a wildlife sanctuary and its existence could provide the impetus to re-stock the moose and caribou populations. Caultley believed that a Cape Breton National Park would prove to be successful, that it had the requisite elements of a national park, that it would attract an increasing number of tourists, and that it would be a source of pride as well as profit to the people of Nova Scotia.¹⁵

The conflict between conservation and natural resources was a factor in developing the park. By creating a national park in northern Cape Breton, the governments would be turning non-productive land into productive land. In Canada, tourism and mining were part of the mandate of national parks. There were mineral resources present in northern Cape Breton but they had ceased being commercially viable by the 1930s. Agriculture was carried out by residents of the small communities in the area, but in terms of Provincial revenue this activity was marginal.

Tourism, in the eyes of the Nova Scotian government,

¹⁵MacDonald, Transportation in Northern Cape Breton, 75-76.

would make northern Cape Breton productive land. As a result, many people were either expropriated or brought into a dominant vision of the area by working in tourist services. The towns along the park now represented spots along the highway and developed a new relationship to the city. These communities became part of the backdrop for the National Park.

The Cape Breton Highlands National Park was established on June 23, 1936, and marked a new era of state involvement in the tourist industry. The establishment of this park was the largest investment in infrastructure for tourism in Nova Scotia to date. Final arrangements had been completed with the provincial government which included the expropriation of homes and land from the many Gaelic speaking Highland Cape Bretoners. This was one of the most controversial elements involved in the creation of the National Park. It took a few years before all of the residents of the Park were removed. In 1936, A.S. MacMillan was the Provincial Minister of Highways and the only one empowered to expropriate land. There were seventy homes in the park and approximately three hundred private landowners.¹⁶ The men sent in to negotiate property settlements were not provided

¹⁶Kenneth Donovan, ed. "Wilfred Creighton and the Expropriations: Clearing Land for the National Park, 1936", Cape Breton's Magazine, vol 69, (Nov 1995), 2.

with guidelines, however architects and surveyors aided in the property assessments. The final decision, however, rested with the Attorney General (Minister of Lands and Forests) for Nova Scotia. The expropriations themselves were rather ironic since the government was bumping out some of the authentic producers of Scottish culture while attempting to sell their 'authentic' lifestyle to tourists.

It is difficult to assess the economic and social costs of establishing a national park in Cape Breton. The local communities, while having marginal economies in relation to the Province, had a community life that they valued. Part of the rationale for expropriating the property of the residents was that tourism would be more profitable than their subsistence level farming, fishing, hunting or lumbering. However, the tourist industry was and remains a seasonal industry and many jobs involved in tourism are only part-time or employ young people. Furthermore, many jobs in the tourist industry are regarded as 'women's work' such as maids or waitresses. Thus the tourist trade leaves many people unemployed.¹⁷ The area was marketed with an emphasis on the rural lifestyle and this could have had an impact on how the locals defined themselves. By its very nature

¹⁷Paula C. Felt. "National Parks as a Development Tool in Atlantic Canada: A Review of Some Basic Questions." In Issues in Regional\Urban Development of Atlantic Canada. Social Science Monograph Series II. Ed. Neil B. Richer. (Spring 1978), 66-69.

tourism is an intrusive industry and allows outsiders to study and interact with the 'natives.' This characteristic of tourism can infringe upon people's privacy.

On the other hand, the creation of the highland park in Cape Breton had a positive economic impact on the area by providing jobs, such as road construction, to people who had previously only managed to produce a subsistence lifestyle. Tourism also resulted in the creation of new support industries that generated employment. Without the development of the tourist industry in the 1930s, one has to wonder when northern Cape Breton would have received roads and other essential services.

Until the 1930s and the creation of the park, the area was called northern Cape Breton. Even the Park's name is a powerful signifier of identity. It immediately creates a link to a noble past. In the planning and creation of the park its name received much consideration and after great deliberation it was called the Cape Breton Highlands National Park. In a letter to R.A. Gibson, Assistant Deputy Minister of the Interior, this issue was addressed:

You will note that Premier Macdonald seems desirous of having the word 'Highland' included in the name. It seems to me that it would be excellent publicity for us to accentuate the Scottish feature of this area...It is intended in the development of this park to retain its Scottish characteristics in the gateway buildings and other buildings we shall erect and also with the modified Scottish dress for the Gatekeepers,

perhaps by the wearing of Tam-o'shanter.¹⁸

On November 27, 1936, the name question was addressed in another letter to R.A. Gibson from an official from the Parks Branch. The writer discussed the historical accuracy of a Scottish Cape Breton and attempts to justify Angus L. Macdonald's suggestions:

The country is certainly a Highlands and resembles Scotland scenery probably more than any other part of Canada. The French or Acadians did occupy and still do certain areas near the present park area...Cheticamp section is almost entirely French... and the Ingonish section is, following a Portuguese occupation, French, but these people were expelled. It would seem therefore that without any offense to the French Canadians we could give the park a strong Scottish atmosphere.¹⁹

The Acadians had been expelled by the British from the Maritime region in 1755. The dismissal of the influence of the Acadians in the 1930s could be regarded, on a symbolic level, as a second expulsion. The manner in which the diverse heritage of the area was discounted demonstrated the new commitment to tourism. There were Acadians in Cheticamp, Highland Scottish people at Pleasant Bay, Cape North, Big Intervale and near Dingwall. North Ingonish was largely made up of Anglicans and Presbyterians as well as Newfoundlanders.²⁰ Some of the other suggested names include Highlands National Park, Atlantic Highlands National Park,

¹⁸RG 84, A-2-a, Vol. 984, f. CBH2, T-11116. NAC.

¹⁹RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 984, f.CBH2, part 3, T-11116. NAC.

²⁰Donovan, "Wilfred Creighton and the Expropriation," 3.

Beinn Mara National Park, Highlanders National Park and Canada's Highland National Park. From the beginning, it was understood that the name would incorporate a Scottish flavour.

In a third letter dated to the Deputy Minister of the Interior a park official stated that the "most distinctive natural feature about the Park is its resemblance to the Highland of Scotland and one feels the Scottish atmosphere predominant in almost every part of the park."²¹ Its not really clear what the writer meant by the 'Scottish feel' of the Park. The name 'Isle Royale National Park' was also mentioned in this letter and rejected because the local people tended to give it its English pronunciation. Some other names suggested in this letter were Craig a Lookte, Cameron National Park, Caledonia, Benmara and Morven. In this way something as seemingly simple and innocent as a name revealed the extent to which something as 'natural' as parkland involved the manipulation by the government for the sake of tourism.

Another aspect of the park which was deliberately shaped to contribute to its 'Scottish feel' was the golf course near the Clyburn River. This is fascinating example of the juxtaposition of archaic and modern themes in the

²¹ 15 October 1936, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 984, f.CBH2, T-11116. NAC.

park. Golf is not an 'antique' activity. It is a leisure activity that was inserted on a 'natural' landscape because of business interests. In the 1930s golf courses were regarded as a mandatory ingredient for attracting visitors to parks.²²

The Casket on June 13, 1940, announced the opening of the golf course in the national park. The press release described the beautiful setting of the course that superbly combines, "vistas of mountain grandeur, wooded valleys, rugged seashore, placid lakes, and the rolling Atlantic." One of the unique and significant features of the course was the names of the holes. The number one hole was in view of Frayney Mountain and called Ben Frayney which was in the "true Scottish Fashion." Other names included Lochan, Killiecrankie, Corbie's Nest, Bonnie Burn, the Laird and Hame Noo. Some of the holes were as yet unnamed but suggested ones included Heich O'Fash, Canny Slap, Muckle Mouth Meg, Caber's Toss, Cuddy's Lugs, and Tattie Bogle. These names "cannot fail to thrill and inspire the sons and daughters of Auld Scotia."²³ Apparently it did not matter that most visitors and many residents would be unable to translate or even pronounce the names.

²²Bella, Parks for Profit, 168.

²³New Golf Course in Cape Breton Highlands. Site Recalls Early History of Canada. RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 72, f.CBH313. NAC.

The article explained that the Scots occupy a prominent place in Cape Breton History. "The kilt and the plaid are still a common sight...When you are greeted in Gaelic, meet people dressed in full Highland costume, attend ceilidh and mod in the Highlands of Cape Breton, you begin to realize why the name Nova Scotia is so appropriate..."²⁴ Near the end in a sort of ironic footnote it mentioned that portions of the golf course are on land that was settled and cleared by Acadians.

Perhaps one of the most far-fetched or artificial elements of the national park is the 'lone shieling' that was constructed at Pleasant Bay. Professor MacIntosh of Dalhousie University left approximately one hundred acres of land to the provincial government at his death and requested that the government construct a lone shieling. A shieling is a traditional habitat of Scotland dating back several hundred years. It is very doubtful that anyone actually lived in one on Cape Breton. The provincial government under Premier Macdonald's leadership embraced this idea enthusiastically. Angus L. Macdonald even corresponded with the Secretary of State for Scotland, for specific information on the architecture of a bohan (sheiling). Macdonald wrote

It may be of interest to you when I tell you that
in this Province thirty thousand people still

²⁴Ibid.

speaking Gaelic... You can quite realize, in these circumstances, that there is considerable interest here in the shieling question.²⁵

This plan to construct a lone shieling was implemented in the 1930s in the park.

The creation of the Highlands Park was made possible on the recommendation of the Senate Commission. Earlier efforts to promote park creation in the region were ignored or pushed to the back burner. The Cape Breton Highlands National Park remains the backbone of tourism in Nova Scotia up to the present day.

Highway and Road Development.

The Senate Committee reinforced the correlation between good quality highways and roads and increased tourist traffic. In 1934, there were approximately 409,000 miles of highway and rural roads in Canada. Much of it was still unpaved and impassable for several months of the year. Less than one-quarter of the total mileage was surfaced and only about two percent was paved.²⁶ By World War II Canadian governments were engaged in an unprecedented amount of road

²⁵August 1939, Angus L Macdonlad to Lt. Colonel D.J. Colville. RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 519, f.CBH 36-1, T-11161. NAC.

²⁶Edwin C. Guillet. The Story of Canadian Roads. (Toronto, 1966), 161.

improvement and construction. The Senate Commission acted as a forum for voicing the need to improve the roads of Canada in order to enhance the tourist industry.

In the twentieth century the advent of the automobile created a new form of tourism - autotourism. By the 1920s a certain amount of democratization in car ownership had occurred. This was reflected by the increase in the registration of motor vehicles by the end of the decade to 1,232,000 from 408,000.²⁷

The tourist industry became a significant element in highway development, particularly in areas where tourism was a crucial part of the economy. One of the best ways to make tourist areas more accessible was through highways. The testimony presented at the Senate Commission demonstrated quite clearly the importance tourist boosters placed on road development. D. Leo Dolan made a strong statement about the vital role highways played in tourism when he testified that "I candidly confess that if we ever hard-surfaced the highways in the Maritime Provinces we shall increase our tourist industry to such an extent that we shall not have accommodation to take care of it..."²⁸

Interprovincial travel was not viewed as favourably by the Senators as autotourists from the United States. The

²⁷Wilson, The Culture of Nature, 128.

²⁸Report of the Special Committee, 32.

history of highway building in Canada indicates that American tourists played an integral role in their development. The fact that the rules of the road, which had varied by province, were changed to coincide with the American rules in 1922 and 1923 lends credence to this assertion.²⁹

By the 1920s all the provinces of Canada had quality highways that connected them with the United States. This pattern reflected the value placed on the American market. It was not until 1946 that the first automobile was able to cross Canada coast to coast on Canadian roads.³⁰ The concentration on the potential market offered by the United States may be understood, if not forgiven, with an examination of tourist demographics. For example, representatives of New Brunswick testified to the Senate Commission that ninety-five to ninety-eight percent of their tourist visitors were from the United States.³¹

In its final recommendations, the Committee discussed highway and road construction. It recommended that the Federal Government cooperate with the Provinces in the elimination of dust on roads during the tourist season where the localities could not afford to do it, and noted that the

²⁹Davis, "Dependent Motorization," 123.

³⁰Ibid., 125.

³¹Report of the Special Committee, 29.

construction of a Trans-Canada Highway was of "the utmost value in relation to the tourist trade."³²

The emphasis the Commission placed on quality roads to attract tourists led to increased road building by the provinces and to joint highway projects with the Federal Government. One of the benefits of creating parks was that the Federal Government paid for road construction in the national parks. The 1930s witnessed a great expansion in transportation infrastructure such as roads and other motor vehicle related services. If the Commission had not acted as a forum much of the road building, particularly that to and in the parks, may have been delayed for years.

The Canadian Travel Bureau and D. Leo Dolan.

The Canadian Travel Bureau was established on the recommendation of the Senate Commission on the Tourist Traffic. It was created on June 13, 1934, under the Department of Railways and Canals. D. Leo Dolan was appointed its Director. Dolan had served as the Director of New Brunswick's Government Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel since 1931 and had been a prominent witness during the Senate inquiry. In 1936, the Department of Railways and

³²Ibid., xii.

Canals merged with the Department of Mines and Energy to form the Department of Transportation.

The Canadian Travel Bureau was to coordinate the tourist interests of the country. The goal was to connect all the various municipal and provincial organizations through a central agency and ensure that their tourism campaigns complimented those of the Federal Government. It was also responsible for conducting an advertising campaign in the United States to highlight the attractions of Canada as a vacationland.³³ Dolan closed the 1935 annual report on the Canadian Travel Bureau with the statement "in every way the establishment of the Canadian Travel Bureau has justified itself."³⁴

A number of events chronicled in the annual reports of the bureau deserve mention. The reports indicate an increase in the responsibilities and scope of the activities of this government department throughout the decade. In the annual report for 1935-36, Dolan claimed that there was now complete coordination of the various tourist agencies in Canada under the leadership of the federal bureau. In fact the campaign aimed at the United States had been expanded and simultaneously the department carried out an educational

³³Annual Report, Department of Railways and Canals, 1934-1935, 9. Department of Transportation Library, Ottawa.

³⁴Ibid.

program within Canada to make Canadians more tourist conscious and therefore more hospitable to tourists.³⁵ Dolan's focus was primarily on enticing American visitors to Canada. In 1935 he stated in a memo to the Minister, "the more I consider the matter the less I feel inclined to spend any money in Canada, after all our great effort should be devoted to get a new dollar into Canada from the United States."³⁶ This demonstrated the dominance of commercialism over nationalistic and humanitarian concerns. The mandate of the Travel Bureau was to increase the tourist traffic and therefore revenue rather than promote interprovincial travel. This attitude also helps to explain the pattern of highway development in Canada.

The advertising campaign in the United States was increased again the next year. The Bureau also included the distribution of road maps illustrating the main highways between the United States and Canada to show how easy it was to travel between the countries. The importance of highways to tourist travel was demonstrated by this addition. The 1930s also marked a noticeable increase in map production and the Parks Branch even established a Topographical Survey Branch in this era. At the Senate Commission an official

³⁵Annual Report, Department of Railways and Canals, 1935-1936, 10.

³⁶D. Leo Dolan Papers. MG 30 E 259, vol. 1, f.(3), To Manion, from D. Leo Dolan, 17 May 1935.

from this branch of the Department of the Interior testified that "obviously nothing can show what the country is like so well as a map."³⁷

The Director of the Bureau also gave a series of speeches and addresses at a variety of organizations in Canada such as service clubs, urging Canadians to display a friendly attitude, courtesy and fair-dealing towards tourists. In a memo to R.J Manion, the Minister of Railways and Canals, Dolan encouraged him to "touch on the importance of every citizen of Canada being a self-appointed guardian of the country's good name and that everyone should strive to make visitors welcome."³⁸

The year 1937 witnessed one of the largest volumes of tourists to Canada, and the amount of expenditure by foreign tourists was second only to that of 1929. Dolan believed this increased activity was a direct result of the actions of the Bureau. In late 1936, C. D. Howe, the Minister of Transportation, announced that tourists visiting Canada in 1936 left one-quarter of a billion dollars in the country. Howe proclaimed that the tourist industry was as important in maintaining Canada's fiscal position as the balance of foreign trade and annual gold production.³⁹

³⁷Report of the Special Committee, 176.

³⁸Dolan Papers, MG 30 E 259, vol. 1, f.(2). NAC.

³⁹Dolan Papers, vol. 1, f.(3), 12 December 1936.

In a new venture, the Bureau decided to advertise in the British Isles for tourists. It was believed that Britain could provide lucrative traffic. Dolan also included a description of the activities of the Bureau in the Annual Report. This report appeared to be aimed, in part, at allaying fears about the overpowering nature of the Bureau in terms of interfering in the autonomy of provincial and local tourist agencies.⁴⁰ Dolan often referred to this topic over the course of the 1930s. In a 1934 speech Dolan declared that the Canadian Travel Bureau did not "propose to supplant either by efforts or by focus, the work which is now being so adequately performed by the different organizations interested in the tourist development of the country."⁴¹ This was an issue first discussed during the Senate Commission and a statement of intent was incorporated into its final report.

The year 1938 witnessed a decline in tourist travel due to the uncertain political and economic conditions in the world in general. However, the Bureau's activity continued as usual. New booklets were published and specialized ads were placed in American newspapers highlighting different attractions to be found across the country. Highway maps were upgraded due to improvements in the road systems in

⁴⁰Annual Report, Department of Transportation, 1937-38, 79.

⁴¹Montary Times, 8 December 1934.

Canada. Special efforts were made to attract American sportsmen, who were deemed to be a highly desirable class of visitors to the country. Dolan considered that they tended to be the best paying tourists.⁴²

The first half of 1939 witnessed an increase in tourist travel over the previous year. However, the numbers declined rapidly with the onset of World War II. In an attempt to attract visitors material was published to reassure Americans that no new restrictions applied to visitors to Canada. Even though it was a country at war, citizens of friendly or neutral countries could still visit freely. The Bureau also had good expectations for an increase in traffic for 1940. This was because Europe and Asia were in effect cut off from the United States and the American President announced a "Travel America Year" in 1940. This urged Americans and other friendlies to travel in the Western hemisphere.⁴³ Other than this, publicity continued as usual.

The Canadian Travel Bureau and Nova Scotia.

The comprehensive advertising campaign conducted by the Canadian Travel Bureau had a positive impact on the tourist

⁴²Annual Report Department of Transportation, 1938-39, 80-81.

⁴³Ibid., 1939-40, 76.

industry in Nova Scotia. This was the first time that the Federal Government had set aside appropriations for tourism advertising. As Index I (page 119) indicates, the majority of the Bureau's funds were spent on advertising. This benefited all the provinces of Canada, but it marked the first time that Nova Scotia received equal billing as the Western provinces.⁴⁴

An examination of the content of the Canadian Travel Bureau's publications offers insight into what was deemed 'touristworthy.' The manner in which Canada's attractions were packaged and emphasized indicates how the tourist gaze was shaped by the Canadian government. Canoe Trips in Canada sold a vacation that was "different than the ordinary...America's last challenge to the pioneer spirit." All of the provinces were included and the focus was on 'natural' attractions undisturbed by 'man' and civilization. Nova Scotia for example, was "far from the cares of the world." Most of the other booklets that appealed to sportsmen were literally directed only at men. In the list of what to take on a canoe trip, shaving gear was included.

⁴⁴Examples of publications that advertised Nova Scotia in 1930s included; Sport Fishing in Canada (1939), Canada's Game Fields (1938), Canada: A Hunter's Paradise (1934), Canoe Trips in Canada (193?), Sport and Travel in Canada(1932), Canada: Your Friendly Neighbour Invites You (1936), How to Enter Canada: Information for Tourists Crossing the Border (1936). Many other brochures can be found in the NLC.

One of the longest and most popular booklets was entitled Canada Calls You, (193?). Its front cover presented several images of Canadian life thought to appeal to tourists. In bright red was an R.C.M.P. officer walking across a background of mountains with a lake and trees to the side. An image of an old woman spinning wool at a spinning wheel evoked the 'simple life' offered by Canada. As Ian McKay has illustrated, there was an important link between handicraft souvenirs and tourism in the early decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁵ This booklet gave equal billing to all the provinces and traced the national parks as a travel route. This lends credence to the Honorable F.W. Baldwin's claims that the presence of national parks were vitally important markers of what was worth visiting. The Senate Committee resulted in an organization that provided comprehensive guidance for tourism promotion. The speed with which the Canadian Travel Bureau was established and put into operation was unusual. Dolan was appointed director on July 24, 1934 and its first advertising campaign was launched a month later. His work was deemed so successful that he received his first raise in less than a year.⁴⁶ Dolan and the Canadian Travel Bureau continued to

⁴⁵Ian McKay. The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia. (Montreal & Kingston, 1994), 153.

⁴⁶Dolan Papers, MG 30 E 259, v. 1, f.(3). March, 1935.

provide direction for the development of the tourist industry until the 1950s.

Index 1.

Canadian Travel Bureau

<u>Year</u>	<u>Appropriations</u>	<u>Paid for Advertising in Newspapers & Magazines</u>
1934-35	\$100,000.00	\$40,485.81
1935-36	\$252,000.00	\$248,061.23
1936-37	\$243,583.00	\$202,061.23
1937-38	\$250,000.00	\$202,668.49
1938-39	\$250,000.00	\$189,407.23
1939-40	\$315,000.00	\$204,790.08

*D. Leo Dolan Collection. MG 30 E 259, vol. 2, f.(9).
Annual expenditure on advertising by the C.T.B., 1934-40.

Conclusion.

...Senators have started something worthwhile in sponsoring tourist development which is calculated to prove a powerful factor in general recovery - an Aladdin's lamp which every section of the Dominion may invoke and obtain advantage.

- J.W.R. Halifax

These optimistic words were written in a brief submitted by J.W.R Halifax to the Senate Committee. His testimony, like that of many others, was characterized by a large degree of optimism for the tourist trade and its ability to help jump-start the Canadian economy out of the Depression doldrums. It was this marked enthusiasm that led me to evaluate the Committee as a turning point in the evolution of Canadian tourism.

The focus of this thesis was to investigate the claim that pre-existing economic conditions in the Maritimes set the stage for the development of tourism as an alternative to traditional resource based industries. With the 1934 Senate Committee on the Tourist Traffic of Canada the Maritimes played an integral role in placing tourism at the top of the national agenda. In Chapter One I put forth the argument that the socio-economic conditions that existed in the Maritime provinces by the 1920s and 1930s as well as federal policies that marginalized Maritime industries predisposed Eastern Canada towards developing tourism. This heightened tourist consciousness translated into increased

investment by the Nova Scotian government in tourist industry promotion and activity.

In Chapter Two an examination of how the Committee came to make its recommendations was conducted. This review of the testimony before the inquiry confirmed that the Maritimes used the Commission as an opportunity to apply pressure to the Federal Government to expand the National Park system in the Maritime provinces with it's concomitant increase in highway construction.

The ramifications of the Senate Commissions' conclusions were investigated in Chapter Three. For the first time a comprehensive organization of promotional materials and activities was conducted on a national level through the Canadian Travel Bureau. This increased the credibility of tourism as a tremendous growth industry. It also marked the first time that Nova Scotia received equality in advertising on the national stage. The establishment of the Cape Breton Highlands National Park was the most significant result of the Committee for Nova Scotia. The park became the focal point for Nova Scotia tourism and was the vehicle for attracting tourists. The interrelationship between national parks and highways that was established during the sessions of the Special Committee also helped lay the foundation for the phenomenal growth in tourism that continues to the present day. It was necessary

to build highways to and in the national park to act as a carrier wave for tourists. Prior to the Special Committee there was little to no quality roads in northern Cape Breton. The new highways drew tourists into the province in droves (as indicated in Chapter One). The creation of the national park aided in entrenching tourism as an important generator of wealth in Nova Scotia. The 1930s were therefore instrumental in determining what path Nova Scotian tourism would follow.

The Cape Breton Highlands National Park is still the main foundation of Nova Scotian tourism. Larry MacPherson, Executive Director of Tourism Cape Breton estimates that approximately 400,000 tourists come to Cape Breton each year. He still maintains that it is crucial to "get the visitor to stay longer, to promote the Island, and to determine how to meet the needs of the visitors...and ask why they are not getting six hundred thousand a year."¹ The monthly statistical summery from the Cape Breton Highlands National Park for May to October 1996 supports his figures and lists 350,260 visitors to Cheticamp and Ingonish.

Statistics from the Visitor Party Characteristics survey conducted by the Cape Breton Highlands National Park are useful in determining where the main market for visitors is located. Canadians make up the single largest group of

¹Cape Breton Post, 19 March 1997, 3.

visitors, and American tourists comprise 33.2 percent. This demonstrates that the Canadian Travel Bureau was correct in focusing its aim first and foremost at the United States, because the influx of new cash from outside of the country acts as a stimulus to the Canadian economy. On the other hand, the large number of Canadian tourists indicates that it was also beneficial to encourage interprovincial travel. Domestic tourism does not bring in new money to Canada but it does have many multiplier affects within local economies.

The provincial government of Nova Scotia was also successful in entrenching the character of the Island that they chose to emphasize in the 1930s. The highland Scot ideal and the preeminence of nature still characterizes much of the tourist promotion in the region. The Island's motto is 'Ciad Mille Fialte' or 'One Hundred Thousand Welcomes' and is, of course, in Gaelic. A bagpiper greets tourists at the border of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and tartan clothing is sold in stores throughout the region. Perhaps the most telling evidence of the effectiveness of retailing this image for tourism is the well known joke to students from the Island that the only people who are guaranteed to be able to pay their tuition in the fall are qualified lifeguards and bagpipers.

In early April, 1997 a group of hikers and hunters from New York State announced their intention to boycott Cape

Breton Island because of the provincial government's decision to open Jim Campbell's Barren to a gold mining operation. This area was one of twenty-one regions in Cape Breton designated as protected in 1996 by provincial legislation in order to expand tourism and preserve the environment. The attention that this ongoing debate generated demonstrates that Cape Breton has gained an international reputation as a prime vacation area. This represents the culmination of efforts that began in the 1930s.

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