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Article abstract

This article examines the origins, evolution, ideology, and political impact of an environmental coalition in the 1970s. Two wilderness activists in northwestern Ontario challenged established preservationist groups to shift their advocacy from public battles over management policy for individual parks, to design and promote a system of provincially-owned wilderness parks. To build public support and maximize their political clout, the two advocates persuaded five groups to form the Coalition For Wilderness (CFW) in 1973. Unfortunately CFW was mostly a two-man show. Constituent groups gave insufficient material support because of their diverse interests, economic woes, and the “free rider” problem. Nevertheless, CFW’s tactic of privately lobbying park planners within the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources had some political impact. It generated policy information and educated the public about the need for a wilderness park system, thereby supporting the parallel efforts of the bureaucrats. Ironically, the coalition’s scientific rationale for protecting wilderness limited its influence among planners and the wider advocacy community, both of whom regarded recreational and other reasons for wilderness protection as more politically defensible than science. This difficult episode taught the CFW leadership valuable lessons, enabling Ontario preservationists to build more successful coalitions in the 1980s and 1990s.

Environmental Coalitions and the Limits of Science

Wilderness Advocacy in Ontario during the 1970s¹

by George Warecki

During the late 1960s and early 1970s Canadian society was buffeted by intense gusts of popular concern over the environment. Air and water pollution, hydro-electric power projects, the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, and shrinking wilderness areas captured media attention, aided by a proliferation of public interest groups.

As historians Robert Page and Samuel P. Hays explained, environmentalism in post-war North America was part of the history of consumption, a product of economic development and material prosperity, rising educational levels, more leisure time, and surging interest in quality of life issues and amenities.² The popularization of scientific ecological con-

¹ My sincere thanks to Gerry Killan, Brian Osborne, Jean Manore, John Wadland, Bill Addison, David Bates, Bruce Litteljohn, and five anonymous reviewers for comments on previous drafts of this paper. One version was presented in 2002 to "Playing the Wild Card" (CIRLA) conference in Banff and to the Canadian Historical Association in Toronto. Thanks also to Ryan O'Connor, who invited me to present another version at his Trent University workshop on Canadian environmentalism in August 2012. Thanks to the workshop participants for their critiques, especially Phil Van Huizen.

² For two good overviews of this era, see Robert Page, *Northern Development: The Canadian Dilemma* Canada in Transition Series (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), chap. 2, and Jennifer Read, "Youth, Science, and Indignation: The Emergence of the Canadian Environmental Movement," *Canada: Confederation to Present* [CD ROM] (Edmonton: Chinook Multimedia, 2001). See also Paul Sabin, "Voices from the Hydrocarbon Frontier: Canada's Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (1974-1977)," *Environmental History Review* 19 (Spring 1995), 17-48; Doug Macdonald, *The Politics of Pollution: Why Canadians Are Failing Their Environment* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); David Israelson, *Silent Earth: The Politics of Our Survival* (Markham, Ontario, 1990); Donald A. Chant, "A Decade of Environmental Concern: Retrospect and Prospect," *Alternatives* 10 (Spring-Summer, 1981), 3-6; Robert Paehlke, "Eco-History: Two Waves in the Evolution of Environmentalism," *Alternatives* 19 (Sept./Oct. 1992), 18-23; Ronald P. Pushchak, "Environmental Awareness in Popular Periodicals," (M.E.S. thesis, York University, 1973); J.W. Parlour and S. Schatzow, "The Mass Media and Public Concern for Environmental Problems in Canada, 1960-1972," *International Journal of Environmental Studies* 13 (1978), 9-17; and Douglas Macdonald, *Business and Environmental Politics in Canada* (Peterborough: Broadview, 2007). Ryan O'Connor recently contributed two key studies: "An Ecological Call to Arms: *The Air of Death* and the Origins of Environmental Activism in Ontario," *Ontario History* 105:1 (Spring 2013), 19-46; and *The First Green Wave: Pollution Probe and the Origins of Environmental Activism in Ontario* (UBC Press, 2015). For the rise and fall of one environmental group in PEI, see Alan MacEachern, *The Institute of Man*

Abstract

This article examines the origins, evolution, ideology, and political impact of an environmental coalition in the 1970s. Two wilderness activists in northwestern Ontario challenged established preservationist groups to shift their advocacy from public battles over management policy for individual parks, to design and promote a system of provincially-owned wilderness parks. To build public support and maximize their political clout, the two advocates persuaded five groups to form the Coalition For Wilderness (CFW) in 1973. Unfortunately CFW was mostly a two-man show. Constituent groups gave insufficient material support because of their diverse interests, economic woes, and the "free rider" problem. Nevertheless, CFW's tactic of privately lobbying park planners within the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources had some political impact. It generated policy information and educated the public about the need for a wilderness park system, thereby supporting the parallel efforts of the bureaucrats. Ironically, the coalition's scientific rationale for protecting wilderness limited its influence among planners and the wider advocacy community, both of whom regarded recreational and other reasons for wilderness protection as more politically defensible than science. This difficult episode taught the CFW leadership valuable lessons, enabling Ontario preservationists to build more successful coalitions in the 1980s and 1990s.

Résumé: Dans cet article, nous examinerons les origines, l'évolution, l'idéologie et l'impact politique d'une coalition pour l'environnement dans les années 1970. Deux activistes dans le nord-ouest de l'Ontario défiaient les groupes voués à la conservation à mettre moins d'emphase sur les débats concernant la politique de gestion des parcs individuels et à se consacrer plutôt à la mise en place d'un système de parcs provinciaux. Afin de gagner le soutien de l'opinion publique et de maximiser leur poids politique, les deux défenseurs ont réussi à persuader cinq groupes à former la Coalition For Wilderness (CFW) en 1973. Malheureusement, les divers intérêts et situations économiques de chaque groupe avaient pour résultat un manque de contributions à la coalition. Malgré ce problème, l'approche de la CFW était de presser en privé les planificateurs des parcs au sein du ministère des Ressources naturelles de l'Ontario, ce qui avait un impact politique: la dissémination de l'information sur la politique du ministère et l'éducation du public à propos du besoin d'un système de parcs. Cependant, les arguments scientifiques de la coalition pour la protection de la nature avaient peu d'influence sur les planificateurs et la communauté des défenseurs de l'environnement. Ces derniers trouvaient que les raisons d'ordre récréatif et autre étaient plus justifiables sur le plan politique que les raisons scientifiques. Cet épisode difficile pour les dirigeants de la CFW fut une leçon importante, qui a permis aux préservationnistes ontariens de former des coalitions plus efficaces dans les années 1980 et 1990.

cepts provided a common language and conceptual framework for critiques of industrial society. By the mid-seventies,

an "environmental advocacy community" had secured a permanent place on the political landscape both in Canada and

and Resources: An Environmental Fable (Charlottetown: Island Studies Press, 2003). Of the many works on environmentalism in the United States, Samuel P. Hays's books remain useful: *Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), and *A History of Environmental Politics Since 1945* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000). Hays's view of environmentalism as a post-war development was challenged by others, including Robert Gottlieb who saw continuity with earlier twentieth-century reforms in urban health; see *Forcing the Spring: the Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington: Island Press, 1993).

the United States. Politicians responded to these developments by passing legislation on a wide range of issues, creating new government ministries, regulatory bodies, and legal structures.³

In Ontario, environmental issues retained a high profile throughout the decade. Interest groups found a sympathetic ear in the opposition Liberal and New Democratic parties during Progressive-Conservative minority governments led by Premier William G. Davis (1975-1981). Paradoxically, it was difficult for advocacy groups to sustain operations in this era of heightened environmental awareness. Competition for attention, money, and volunteer time was fierce because of the many groups and issues portrayed in the media, and because the Canadian economy was undergoing difficult restructuring. For pressure groups to survive, they had to be well-organized, with a stable membership base and steady financial support.

Another key to success in this era, suggested American political scientist Christopher Bosso, was the ability to adapt to political and organizational challenges. Successful groups identified and occupied specific “niches”—policy, tactical, or ideological—within the environmental movement.⁴ Organizations lacking these attributes collapsed or were folded into more firmly established groups.

Another strategy for environmental groups was to construct a coalition of like-minded bodies. Such alliances could give the appearance of broad support, but they too required material resources and demanded consensus on tactics and ideology among diverse interests. In Ontario, two wilderness activists and scientific educators faced such challenges with mixed results when they constructed the Coalition For Wilderness (CFW) in 1973. Their efforts provide a perspective of the environmental movement as ideologically

³ The term “environmental advocacy community” is from Christopher J. Bosso, *Environment, Inc.: From Grassroots to Beltway* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 6. Bosso sees continuity between pre-World War II conservation organizations and post-war environmental groups in the United States.

⁴ Bosso, *Environment, Inc.*, 6. For Ontario’s environmental policy during minority government, see Mark Winfield, “The Ultimate Horizontal Issue: The Environmental Policy Experiences of Alberta and Ontario, 1971-1993,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 27 (March 1994), 129-52; and *Blue-Green Province: The Environment and the Political Economy of Ontario* (Vancouver: UBC press, 2011), chap. 2. On pressure groups in the Canadian context, see A. Paul Pross, *Group Politics and Public Policy* Second Edition (Toronto: Oxford, 1992); William D. Coleman and Grace Skogstad, (eds.), *Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada: A Structural Approach* (Mississauga, Ont.: Copp Clark Pitman, 1990); and Melody Hessing and Michael Howlett, *Canadian Natural Resource and Environmental Policy: Political Economy and Public Policy* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), chap. 4. Other useful studies include John C. Pierce, Mary Ann E. Stegner, Brent S. Steel, and Nicholas P. Lovrich, *Citizens, Political Communication, and Interest Groups: Environmental Organizations in Canada and the United States* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992); Jeremy Wilson, “Green Lobbies: Pressure Groups and Environmental Policy,” in Robert Boardman, (ed.), *Canadian Environmental Policy: Ecosystems, Politics, and Process* (Toronto: Oxford, 1992), 109-125; Debora L. VanNijnatten and Robert Boardman, (eds.), *Canadian Environmental Policy: Context and Cases* Second Edition (Don Mills: Oxford, 2002); Judith I. McKenzie, *Environmental Politics in Canada: Managing the Commons into the Twenty-First Century* (Don Mills: Oxford, 2002); and Edward A. Parson, (ed.), *Governing the Environment: Persistent Challenges, Uncertain Innovations* (University of Toronto Press, 2001).

fragmented, unevenly supported by the public, and chronically short of funds.

Political scientists have studied coalition-building within social movements to determine why groups come together, and the importance of these bodies for public policy.⁵ Much of the literature invokes “incentive theory”: groups join together “when it is to their advantage concerning policy goals, organizational maintenance, or intergroup solidarity.” Coalitions can “secure policy benefits,” provide access to “needed skills or expertise,” and allow “a group to share in the information that a larger network may possess.” Over time, the perceived value of these incentives may diminish if the political context shifts. Individual organizations participate in coalitions “most often during periods of intense threat or favorable opportunities.” As we shall see, the CFW was built to exploit an opportunity to plan a wilderness parks system for Ontario. Establishing a coalition and keeping it together is difficult work. A “variety of factors—attitudinal, cultural,

and contextual”—may divide groups within a movement. Organizations may compete for attention, members and patrons. Moreover, “ideological cleavages” can threaten solidarity.⁶ Each of these problems challenged Ontario’s wilderness advocates during the 1970s. They often struggled for attention within an environmental movement that seemed to be expanding continuously with new issues and groups. Moreover, wilderness activists were divided on a fundamental question of ideology that undermined the integrity of their coalition from the beginning.

In its tactics, the CFW was a mix of change and continuity. It was the first attempt in Ontario (perhaps the second in Canada) to strike a formal alliance of wilderness preservationists. In the minds of the organizers, they “were proposing something entirely new.” They were unaware that, some twenty years earlier, Americans had formed a powerful coalition to defeat plans to dam Echo Park within Dinosaur National Monument.⁷

⁵ Here and below, see Martin B. Shaffer, “Coalition Work Among Environmental Groups: Who Participates?” *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, and Change* Vol. 22 (2000), 111-26. See also Christopher J. Bosso, “Environmental Groups and the New Political Landscape,” in N. Vig and M. Kraft, (eds.), *Environmental Policy: New Directions for the Twenty-First Century* 4th Edition (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2000), 55-76.

⁶ Shaffer, “Coalition Work Among Environmental Groups,” 112-14.

⁷ Bill Addison to the author, 23 April 2013. On Echo Park, see Mark Harvey, “Loving the Wild in Postwar America,” in Michael Lewis, (ed.), *American Wilderness: A New History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 194-95, and *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 243. In British Columbia, “Run Out Skagit Spoilers” (ROSS) was formed in 1969, “a coalition of groups determined to stop Seattle City Light’s plans to raise its Ross dam”; Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia 1965-96* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 103. Philip Van Huizen provides an excellent analysis of ROSS in its wider context in “‘Panic Park’: Environmental Protest and the Politics of Parks in British Columbia’s Skagit Valley,” *BC Studies* 170 (Summer 2011), 67-92. In Quebec, the “*Regroupement pour un Québec vert*,” typified a trend “toward coalition-forming” during the late 1970s; Jane E. Barr, “The Origins and Emergence of

However, this Ontario “coalition” was mostly a two-man show. The constituent groups failed to provide sufficient material support, leaving most of the work to energetic advocates William D. “Bill” Addison and J. David Bates. They attempted to unite diverse interests, serving as “policy brokers”⁸ between government bureaucrats and the public, while exchanging influence and ideas. There was continuity in the coalition’s *modus operandi*. Whereas the upstart Algonquin Wildlands League (AWL, established 1968) had recently used mass-media techniques to pressure Ontario provincial authorities to adopt more protectionist park policies, the CFW rejected confrontational politics and took the more traditional approach of earlier Ontario advocates by privately lobbying key people. Parks historian Gerry Killan has argued that the coalition influenced planners in the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR). The ministry produced

a parks policy and a world-renowned system plan and management policy manual known as the “Blue Book” (or the “gospel relating to parks”), approved by the Ontario Cabinet in 1978.⁹ This paper goes beyond Killan’s work and contributes to environmental history by analyzing the coalition’s origins and leadership, its evolution as a pressure group, its ideology, and the political challenges it encountered during the 1970s.¹⁰

The coalition’s history demonstrates the limitations of science in environmental advocacy. Addison and Bates challenged the prevailing strategy of the Ontario wilderness movement by foregoing single-park battles, to support a *system* of wilderness parks, scientifically representative of the province’s natural diversity. Despite popular perceptions of the time that portrayed scientific information as authoritative, unassailable, and unequivocal, science itself was never absolute, but prone to revision and competing views—

Quebec’s Environmental Movement: 1970-1985,” (unpublished MA Thesis, dept. of Geography, McGill University, 1995), 67. Matthew G. Hatvany discusses a successful campaign (1972-75) to “preserve the valley of the Jacques Cartier in a wilderness state.” Begun by the small, grassroots “*Comite pour la conservation de la Jacques-Cartier*,” this campaign eventually broadened into a province-wide debate over liberal democracy and environmental issues, drawing preservationist support from a wide range of citizen activists. “Hetch Hetchy of the North: Conservation, Preservation and the Origins of Environmental Activism in Quebec,” presented at the Trent University workshop on Canadian Environmentalism, August 2012.

⁸ Policy brokers “operate at the interface between government and society, deriving influence over the policy process from their sensitivity to changes going on around them, their connections to prominent actors throughout the policy community, and their access to information and ideas.” Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 51-52. On the diversity of the BC wilderness movement, see *ibid.*, chap. 3.

⁹ Gerald Killan and George Warecki, “The Algonquin Wildlands League and the Emergence of Environmental Politics in Ontario, 1965-1974,” *Environmental History Review* 16 (Winter 1992), 1-28; Gerald Killan, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario’s Provincial Parks System* (Toronto: Dundurn Press and Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1993), 201-02, 271.

¹⁰ This study is based on interviews and documentation from private collections and public archives. One key source is Bill Addison’s private papers, Kakabeka Falls, Ontario (hereafter AP). My thanks to Addison, his wife Wendy, and David Bates, for their generous assistance. Copies of some documents were also in file 19, box 4, formerly “Parks – Canada Records,” 86-002, Trent University Archives, Peterborough (hereafter TUA).

and inherently marked by value judgments. In *Nature's Experts* (2004), historian Stephen Bocking discussed how the cultural authority of science is generated. It "can be traced," he argued, "not just to the intrinsic nature of scientific knowledge, but to the interests—scientists, administrative agencies, environmentalists, business—that authority serves." In short, "[s]cientific authority... has many sources." The resulting paradox is that

the authority of science... is continually recreated out of local materials, its particular form the product of specific circumstances, in the research community, environmental bureaucracies, or public controversies.¹¹

Viewed from this pluralistic perspective, the CFW was only one of several inter-

ests pushing its own view of ecological planning in the development of wilderness policy. Its influence was limited within this complex synthesis.

Ironically, the CFW's ideological niche—a scientific rationale for protecting wilderness, based on the "natural ecosystem" concept—limited the group's influence among planners and the wider advocacy community who regarded recreational and other reasons more politically potent. Thus, in contrast to the early work of Pollution Probe (established 1969), or the campaign against insecticide spraying in New Brunswick (1950s-70s), the CFW found science to be a major obstacle to popular support.¹² Wilderness advocacy in Quebec during the

¹¹ Stephen Bocking, *Nature's Experts: Science, Politics, and the Environment* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 24-25. For scholarship showing how local circumstances and politics diluted, overrode, or reshaped scientific concepts in environmental policy, see Stephen Bocking, "Fishing the Inland Seas: Great Lakes Research, Fisheries Management and Environmental Policy in Ontario," *Environmental History* 2 (1997), 52-73; Richard A. Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998); John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Sean Kheraj, "Restoring Nature: Ecology, Memory, and the Storm History of Vancouver's Stanley Park," *Canadian Historical Review* 88 (December 2007), 577-612; Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); Don Munton, "Fumes, Forests, and Further Studies: Environmental Science and Policy Inaction in Ontario," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37 (2002), 130-63; L. Anders Sandberg and Peter Clancy, "Politics, Science and the Spruce Budworm in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37 (Summer 2002), 164-91; and Miriam Wright, "Aboriginal Gillnet Fishers, Science, and the State: Salmon Fisheries Management on the Nass and Skeena Rivers, British Columbia, 1951-1961," *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol 44, No. 1 (Winter 2010), 5-35. See also Ted Schrecker, "Using Science in Environmental Policy: Can Canada Do Better?" in Edward A. Parson, (ed.), *Governing the Environment: Persistent Challenges, Uncertain Innovations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 31-72; and Hays, *Beauty, Health and Permanence*, chap. 10.

¹² Pollution Probe established public legitimacy by grounding its advocacy in scientific evidence; see Jennifer Read, "Let Us Heed the Voice of Youth': Laundry Detergents, Phosphates and the Emergence of the Environmental Movement in Ontario," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 7 (1997), 227-50; and O'Connor, "An Ecological Call to Arms," and *The First Green Wave*. Mark J. McLaughlin, "Green Shoots: Aerial Insecticide Spraying and the Growth of Environmental Consciousness in New Brunswick, 1952-1973" *Acadiensis* 40:1 (Winter/Spring 2011), 3-23. For European and British studies of the "tension between science and activism," see the essays in Raf De Bont and Geert Vanpaemel, (Eds.), "Special

early 1970s invites further comparison. As Matthew Hatvany argued, professional ecologists and foresters provided scientific legitimacy for wilderness preservationists who opposed Hydro-Quebec's plans to dam the Jacques Cartier River in *parc des Laurentides* for power generation, a water reservoir, and tourism. The Quebec scientists who spoke out in public debate articulated not only scientific, but also aesthetic, philosophical, and democratic arguments to protect the wilderness. In contrast, the CFW in Ontario left such traditional, non-scientific arguments to the other Ontario groups, and emphasized the scientific rationale. This scientific vision of the wilderness was pivotal in the debate over preservationist strategy in both Canada and the United States.¹³

Despite the coalition's weakness, Addison and Bates had a significant impact. They provided modest but welcome political support for park planners in their own struggle for Crown land against forestry and mining interests. The parties influenced each others' thinking on the science of systems planning. Moreover, the CFW performed like a classic pressure group by disseminating policy information, and educating provincial politicians

and the public. It was a slight, democratic broadening of the planning process, contributing to citizen participation, and it increased public accountability.¹⁴ After provincial authorities completed their own parks system blueprint in 1978, preservationists carefully monitored its implementation, forming new and much more effective coalitions for wilderness based on lessons learned in the early 1970s.

Roots of a Wilderness Concept

The "ideological niche" of the CFW was to advocate the preservation of wilderness for its "intrinsic," scientific value, based on the "natural ecosystem" concept.¹⁵ Bill Addison and David Bates were part of an intellectual upheaval during the sixties and early seventies that associated wilderness with positive values. Changing socio-economic forces underlay this transformation. Dramatically increasing demand for recreation in "wild" areas clashed with accelerating natural resource extraction and land development. The popularization of scientific, ecological concepts provided a common language and conceptual framework for critiques of human industrial society that often celebrated the wilderness

Section: the Scientist as Activist: Biology and the Nature Protection Movement, 1900-1950," *Environment and History* 18 (2012), 203-81.

¹³ For this debate in the United States, see James Morton Turner, "From Woodcraft to 'Leave No Trace': Wilderness, Consumerism, and Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America," *Environmental History* 7 (July 2002), 462-84; and "The Politics of Modern Wilderness," in Lewis, (ed.), *American Wilderness: A New History*, 243-61.

¹⁴ On these functions of interest groups, see John C. Pierce, Mary Ann E. Stegner, Brent S. Steel, and Nicholas P. Lovrich, *Citizens, Political Communication, and Interest Groups: Environmental Organizations in Canada and the United States* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992), 130-34. Boocking champions "democratic environmental science" in *Nature's Experts*, chap. 8.

as a healthy opposite.¹⁶ To Addison and Bates, wilderness was a natural and potent ideal, a worthy focus for advocacy in the public interest. Like the directors of Greenpeace Canada during the early 1970s, they shared a “professional managerial class” identity—characterized by salaried employment, and relatively high socio-economic status, educational levels and control over work processes—that led them to suggest policy.¹⁷ But the roots of their wilderness ideal lay in personal experience, education and class, and regional influences from both southern Ontario and the “near north.”

Addison’s upper-middle class family inspired in him a respect and love for wild country, and a keen desire to explore and protect it. His maternal grandfather was Mark Robinson, an Algonquin Park

Ranger and published naturalist. Mark’s daughter, Ottelyn (Bill’s mother), summered in the park and became an ardent field naturalist, canoeist, and published authority on Algonquin’s history. She married Peter Addison, a forestry graduate (1929) of the University of Toronto,¹⁸ and they raised their children in Port Arthur (since 1970, part of Thunder Bay), near the edge of town, where the city met northwestern Ontario’s boreal forest. Peter’s job with the Department of Lands and Forests (DLF)¹⁹ and Ottelyn’s naturalist friends exposed young Bill to a network of nature enthusiasts, both amateur and professional. These included Dr. C.H.D. “Doug” Clarke, head of the provincial Fish and Wildlife Division, and two university-based biologists, John Richardson Dymond and Alan

¹⁵ A full discussion of the CFW’s wilderness concept is beyond the scope of this paper. For ideas of wilderness in Ontario, see Killan, *Protected Places*, chaps. 4-5; Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); George Altmyer, “Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* XI (August 1976), 21-36; Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* The 1982 Joanne Goodman Lectures (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Allan Smith, “Farms, Forests and Cities: The Image of the Land and the Rise of the Metropolis in Ontario, 1860-1914,” in David Keane and Colin Read (eds.), *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 71-94; Norman Henderson, “Wilderness and the Nature Conservation Ideal: Britain, Canada, and the United States Contrasted,” *Ambio* 21 (September 1992), 394-99; and George Warecki, *Protecting Ontario’s Wilderness: A History of Changing Ideas and Preservation Politics, 1927-1973* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

¹⁶ Page, *Northern Development*, chap. 2; and Harvey, “Loving the Wild in Postwar America.”

¹⁷ John-Henry Harter, “Environmental Justice for Whom? Class, New Social Movements, and the Environment: A Case Study of Greenpeace Canada, 1971-2000,” *Labour/Le Travail* 54 (Fall 2004), 83-119.

¹⁸ Biographical information from private interview with Bill Addison and David Bates, 20 September 1986, Kakabeka Falls, Ontario, and personal communication from Addison and Bates, 27 May 2002; see also Ottelyn Addison, *Early Days in Algonquin Park* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 1974), back cover, 130, 139; and J.W.B. Sisam, *Forestry Education at Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), Appendix VII. Mark Robinson’s diaries and other documents are in the Addison family fonds, TUA, 97-011. Bill Addison was born in 1939.

¹⁹ On the DLF, see Richard S. Lambert with Paul Pross, *Renewing Nature’s Wealth: A Centennial History of the Public Management of Lands, Forests & Wildlife in Ontario 1763-1967* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1967).

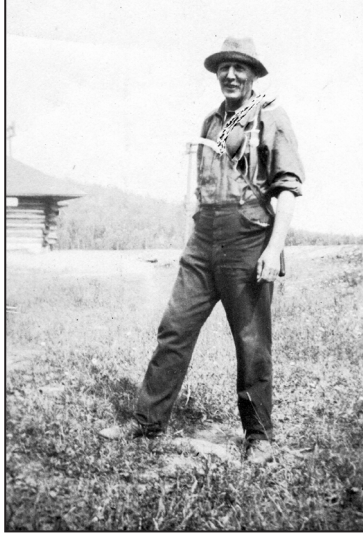


Figure 1: (far left) Mark Robinson (Bill Addison's maternal grandfather) at Joe Lake, Algonquin Park, 1914. This generation of park rangers killed wolves as a matter of policy. Credit: Bill Addison.

Figure 2: (left) Mark Robinson, Algonquin Park, 1917. Credit: Bill Addison.

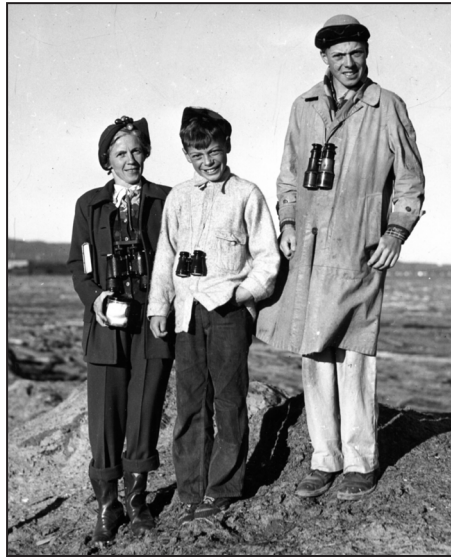
Figure 3: (below) Ottelyn Addison, and sons Peter and Bill, birdwatching at Thunder Bay harbour, 1953. Credit: photo by A. Gordon, Bill Addison collection.



Figure 4: (left) Mark Robinson in rarely-worn blue Chief Ranger's uniform, 1930. Credit: Bill Addison.

Figure 5: (below right) Peter Addison (Bill's father), n.d. (but from Port Arthur days) from MNR commemorative retirement booklet, 1971. Credit: Bill Addison.

Figure 6: (below) "Glum Robinsons": (left to right) twins Ottelyn (Bill Addison's mother) or Elsie, Jack, Irma, and parents Emma and Mark Robinson at Doe Lake shelter house. Credit: Bill Addison.



Freeth Coventry, both wilderness advocates and founders in 1931 of the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON). (Figures 1-6)

In the south Bill Addison received the formal education that led him to advocate preservation of the northern wilderness. His family moved to Richmond Hill in July 1954, due to his father's changing job.²⁰ Bill initially followed his father's footsteps: he obtained a Bachelor of Science in Forestry from the University of Toronto in 1963, but then completed a Master of Science in Biology (specializing in fish physiology) in 1967. This graduate work gave him a different perspective from most of his forestry peers; he became an advocate of what Samuel Hays called "ecological forestry" (as opposed to "commodity forestry").²¹ Addison's commitment to these values was strengthened by weekend visits to Algonquin Park and lengthy discussions during the daily car pool commute with

Douglas Pimlott—a fellow Richmond Hill resident, graduate forester, wolf ecologist, professor of zoology and forestry at the University of Toronto, and eventual founder of the Algonquin Wildlands League.²² Pimlott, also an advocate of ecological forestry, told Addison that senior provincial park staff of the DLF took a narrowly utilitarian approach to park management. Intent on maximizing an annual timber harvest, they failed to appreciate the need to preserve wilderness—conceived as a natural ecosystem²³—for primitive-style recreation, and for its own sake. Pimlott invited Addison to join an informal group of university students who debated the meaning of wilderness to society. They embraced the natural ecosystem concept, defining wilderness as "a more or less self-regulatory ecological unit, where man's interference with the land...is minimal."²⁴

The natural ecosystem idea had evolved for decades, and was very much

²⁰ Peter Addison was chief of the provincial parks branch in Toronto (1967-71).

²¹ Bill Addison to the author, 8 July 1990; Samuel P. Hays, *Wars in the Woods: The Rise of Ecological Forestry in America* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007). See also Mark Kuhlberg, *One Hundred Years and Counting: Forestry Education and Forestry in Toronto and Canada, 1907-2007* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 170-72.

²² Killan and Warecki, "The Algonquin Wildlands League and the Emergence of Environmental Politics," 3-6; and "Douglas Pimlott Remembered," Special Issue of the FON's *Ontario Naturalist* 18 (Mid-Winter 1979).

²³ The term "ecosystem" had been coined in 1935 by Oxford biologist A.G. Tansley to focus thinking on material exchanges between organisms, and to place his emerging science on a clearer, more reductionist path; Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 301-04. See also Frank B. Golley, *A History of the Ecosystem Concept in Ecology: More Than the Sum of the Parts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Joel B. Hagen, *An Entangled Bank: The Origins of Ecosystem Ecology* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992); and Stephen Bocking, "Visions of Nature and Society: A History of the Ecosystem Concept," *Alternatives* 20:3 (1994), 12-18.

²⁴ This 1965 definition was quoted in "Wilderness in Ontario: A Submission to the Government of Ontario from the Coalition For Wilderness," Feb. 1974, copy in AP. It was first published in Bruce M. Littelljohn and Douglas H. Pimlott, (eds.), *Why Wilderness? A Report on Mismanagement in Lake Superior Provincial Park* (Toronto: New Press, 1971), 14.

contested. During the 1950s, an “ecosystem paradigm” had flowered among plant ecologists, popularized by Eugene Odum’s *The Fundamentals of Ecology* (1953). By the early sixties, the contradictory impulse of allowing natural forces to function freely, while manipulating plant or animal communities in pursuit of a particular kind of landscape, was prominent in American national parks policy.²⁵ Thirty years later, scientists still had no consensus on what constituted “natural systems” or “natural communities.” How to preserve such conditions, therefore, could not be prescribed by science alone. Humans had to make value judgments about what was “natural... desirable, and what ought to be preserved.”²⁶ As geographer Thomas Vale argued, the “wilderness as ecosystem concept” was anthropocentric. Furthermore, he argued, when advocates spoke of protecting wild areas sufficiently large to secure *complete* ecosystems, they ignored the view of many biologists that such communities lacked

“discrete boundaries.” Ecosystems were “abstractions” to focus thinking on particular species or connections “between components of the natural world.” Vale noted that the concept also fostered an “alarmist” notion that “the natural world is fragile and easily disrupted, even destroyed, by human activities.”²⁷ Bill Addison was fully aware that ecosystems lacked clear boundaries. However, he also recognized that “parks, by definition must have boundaries as do zones within parks.” While he was not an alarmist, he did believe the world was “fragile because humans had acquired the power and means to destroy” it.²⁸

In political terms, the wilderness definition adopted by Addison and his peers was a rejection of the widely shared multiple-use concept—wilderness *conservation*—promoted by both the DLF and the Quetico Foundation (est. 1954), Ontario’s first “watchdog over wilderness.”²⁹ Multiple-use reconciled recreation, conservation of resources, and log-

²⁵ Forster Ndubisi, *Ecological Planning: A Historical and Comparative Synthesis* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), chap. 1; for shifting paradigms among plant ecologists, see Michael G. Barbour, “Ecological Fragmentation in the Fifties,” in William Cronon, (ed.), *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1995), 233-55; see also Worster, *Nature’s Economy*, chaps. 11-12. Since the mid-1970s, ecologists have “demolished Eugene Odum’s portrayal of a world of ecosystems tending toward equilibrium,” instead emphasizing “Disturbance” and constant change; Donald Worster, “Nature and the Disorder of History,” in Michael E. Soule and Gary Lease, (eds.), *Reinventing Nature? Responses to Postmodern Deconstruction* (Washington, D.C: Island Press, 1995), 72. On changing views of ecological science and the struggle for power within the American National Parks Service, see Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).

²⁶ Kristin S. Shrader-Frechette and Earl D. McCoy, “Natural Landscapes, Natural Communities, and Natural Ecosystems,” *Forest and Conservation History* 39 (July 1995), 140.

²⁷ Thomas R. Vale, *The American Wilderness: Reflections on Nature Protection in the United States* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 18-20.

²⁸ Addison to the author, 23 April 2013.

²⁹ Gerald Killan and George Warecki, “The Battle for Wilderness in Ontario: Saving Quetico-Superior, 1927 to 1960,” in Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell, (eds.), *Patterns of the*

ging chiefly through no-cut shoreline timber reserves along canoe routes and portages, whereas “preservation” excluded industrial forestry operations. Still, as historian Alan MacEachern has suggested, the difference between a scientific or aesthetically-inspired preservationist impulse and the apparently more development-minded approach may have been small. Both impulses were at work throughout much of the twentieth century in debates over national park policy. The central wilderness issue was management. Both preservationists and conservationists shared a “managerial ethos”: they condoned human intervention, but in different ways.³⁰

Thunder Bay was the staging ground for Addison’s developing ideas and political apprenticeship. When he returned in the late sixties, he found employment—first with the DLF as a walleye research biologist, then in 1970 as a high school science teacher and consultant—and soon met a distant cousin with whom he would collaborate. David Bates was born into an upper-middle class family in southern Ontario. Raised in Dundas, he obtained “a sense of the natural world” from frequent trips to his Haliburton cottage.³¹ At McMaster University in the

early 1960s, one of his professors sparked an interest in fisheries and biology. A summer of lamprey research on the isolated north shore of Lake Superior awakened in Bates a strong emotional attachment to “wild land.” After obtaining a Bachelor’s degree in science, he read American wilderness preservationist, Sigurd F. Olson, who had advised Canadian conservationists since the 1930s. A gifted writer, Olson extolled the wild character of the Quetico-Superior region, an unrivalled canoe country straddling the Ontario-Minnesota border, west of Thunder Bay.³² Curiosity aroused, Bates moved north to take a teaching position in Atikokan, on the northern edge of Quetico Provincial Park. As a transplanted southerner, Bates got his second taste of the wilderness. He was one of “a new generation of adults, increasing rapidly in number over the seventies, who sought a rougher, more physical vacation style and a closer commune with nature.”³³ Bates joined a high school outdoor education program, featuring twelve-day canoe trips and winter expeditions into Quetico Park. The park soon became hotly contested: from 1969 to 1973, the Algonquin Wildlands League waged a successful public campaign to end commercial logging in Quetico, and

Past: Interpreting Ontario’s History (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), 328-55. For the difference between “preservationism” and earlier resource “conservationism,” see Max Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 289-92.

³⁰ MacEachern, *Natural Selections*, 14-19; 190.

³¹ Interview, Addison and Bates, 20 September 1986.

³² Personal communication from Addison and Bates, 27 May 2002. See also David Backes, *A Wilderness Within: The Life of Sigurd F. Olson* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

³³ W. Robert Wightman and Nancy M. Wightman, *The Land Between: Northwestern Ontario Resource Development, 1800 to the 1990s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 351.

to have it reclassified as a “primitive” park—free of mechanized recreation and natural resource extraction.³⁴ In the fall of 1970, Bates—now a Thunder Bay resident, teaching science education at Lakehead University—met Bill Addison at a founding meeting of the local “Save Quetico Committee,” where they agreed to prepare a brief for the public hearings. (Figures 7-12)

The Quetico brief swayed the Minister’s Advisory Committee and became a cornerstone for CFW policy.³⁵ Addison and Bates tried to find the middle ground between a strict “hands off” policy and one of intensive management. But, for some northerners and southerners, the proposed bans on logging, sport hunting, camping in large numbers, and

mechanized recreation would have been difficult to accept.³⁶ A suggestion to allow “Treaty Indians” continued use of registered traplines in Quetico, even with mechanized access, reflected the preservationists’ grasp of local conditions and, from their non-Aboriginal perspective, a sense of social justice.³⁷ Such cultural sensitivity was uncommon among environmentalists at the time. Echoing American ecologists,³⁸ Addison and Bates recommended “controlled prescribed burning” to rejuvenate forests and declared pesticide spraying unacceptable—opposing “old-school” foresters who favoured fire and insect suppression.³⁹ Overall, the document was a subtle blend of apparently divergent impulses, typical of Canadian environmental discourse in the

³⁴ Killan, *Protected Places*, 180-84, 186-92; and Warecki, *Protecting Ontario’s Wilderness*, ch. 9.

³⁵ W.D. Addison and J. David Bates, “Quetico: A Wilderness Park?” 1 March 1971, AP; *Report of the Quetico Provincial Park Advisory Committee* (MNR, 1972). The brief echoed the AWL’s *Why Wilderness? A Report on Mismanagement in Lake Superior Provincial Park* (1971), and early drafts of *Wilderness Now* (1972; revised 1973)—statements that Addison had critiqued for league directors in Toronto. AWL Position Paper folder, Bruce M. Litteljohn Papers (private collection; hereafter BML). My thanks to Litteljohn for his valuable assistance. Another inspiration was Douglas H. Pimlott and R. Yorke Edwards, (eds.), “Canada’s Wild Places,” unpublished typescript, ca. 1972, copy in Federation of Ontario Naturalists (hereafter FON) Library, formerly in Don Mills, Ontario.

³⁶ The suggested hunting ban was ironic, considering Ontario preservationists’ common historical roots with the hunters; see Jean L. Manore and Dale G. Miner, (eds.), *The Culture of Hunting in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

³⁷ The Lac la Croix and Sturgeon Lake First Nations—stripped of their treaty lands and forced to endure cancellation of their reserve in the early twentieth century—were dependent upon Quetico’s resources for their livelihood. See Bruce Hodgins and Kerry A. Cannon, “The Aboriginal Presence in Ontario Parks and Other Protected Places,” in Marsh and Hodgins, *Changing Parks*, 50-76; and David T. McNab, *Circles of Time: Aboriginal Land Rights and Resistance in Ontario* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 89-100.

³⁸ Miron L. Heinselman, “Preserving Nature in Forested Wilderness Areas and National Parks,” Reprinted from *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 44:276 (Sept. 1970), and “Symposium on Prescribed Burning,” Reprinted from Woodlands Review Section, *Pulp and Paper Magazine of Canada*, January 1967, in Quetico Brief file, AP.

³⁹ On foresters and changing values, see Anders L. Sandberg and Peter Clancy, *Against the Grain: Foresters and Politics in Nova Scotia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); and A. Ernest Epp, “Ontario Forests and Forest Policy Before the Era of Sustainable Forestry,” in Ajith H. Perera, David E. Euler, and Ian D.



Figure 7: (left) W.D. "Bill" Addison on Nahanni Range, about 10km south of Little Doctor Lake, NT, 25 August 1974. Addison and David Bates were well-travelled, accomplished wilderness recreationists. Their passion for wilderness is evident in their photography, writing, and advocacy. Credit: Bill Addison.

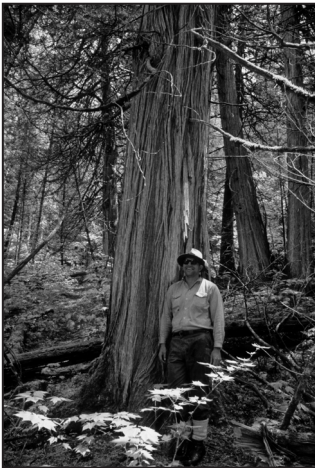
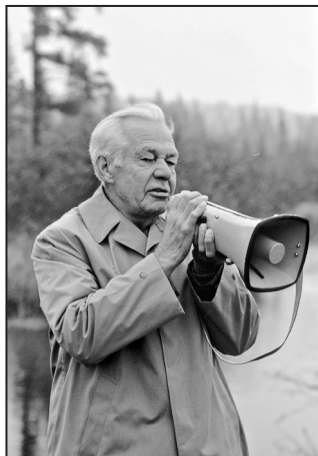


Figure 11-: (left) David Bates in large cedars, likely between Plough and Emerald Lakes, Quetico Provincial Park, June 1973. Credit: Bill Addison.



Figure 12: (right) Veteran American wilderness preservationist Sigurd F. Olson addresses the "Quetico Summit Meeting" on Domtar's logging bridge over the French River, Quetico Provincial Park, 3 October 1970. Credit: Bill Addison.



Top to bottom. Figure 8: David Bates on unnamed lake south of Como Lake, north of Quetico Provincial Park, 23 July 1971. Credit: Bill Addison.

Figure 9: David Bates looking south to Flatland, Mink, Victoria & Spar Islands, Lake Superior, from cliffs east of Loch Lomond, ON, April 1973. Credit: Bill Addison.

Figure 10: David Bates at falls on Flood River, just north of Win Lake, north of Quetico Provincial Park, 24 July 1971. Credit: Bill Addison.

twentieth century.⁴⁰ It combined aspects of modernity—an optimistic drive to impose rational planning, scientific management, and marketing, through the use of the state—with “an ‘anti-modern’ sensibility”—a bourgeois dissatisfaction with urban, industrial life and the (nostalgic) search for meaning in primitive, authentic experiences.⁴¹

Pressure Group Plans

The decision to establish a new pressure group was a response to disagreements within the preservationist movement and the opportunity provided by government initiatives. In 1972 the intellectual paths taken by AWL directors in Toronto and the two advocates in Thunder Bay, began to diverge. Differences emerged over political strategy, tactics, and even the reasons for wilderness

preservation.⁴²

Addison and Bates reached a tactical and strategic turning point by the spring of 1973. They resolved to avoid the AWL’s tactics of open confrontation; instead, they would seek private meetings with sympathetic DLF staff.⁴³ Their emphasis on “the perceived rationality of science,” or “rational scientism,” facilitated a joining of the ecological perspective with the rise of the bureaucracy—two prominent trends in Canadian government. It was an effective way to achieve results, but it altered the democratic process: bypassing the politicians to reach the experts.⁴⁴ From the perspective of political science, the two preservationists began to function as policy brokers. They encouraged strategic thinking, beyond single parks, about a wilderness park *system*.⁴⁵ Park system planning had been discussed in the

Thompson, (eds.), *Ecology of a Managed Terrestrial Landscape: Patterns and Processes of Forest Landscapes in Ontario* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 2000), 237-75.

⁴⁰ From a cultural perspective, Addison and Bates reflected an ideology of “manly modernism,” in their “desire to set nature apart as something unique and unspoiled,” coupled “with their desire to then regulate and mediate the (socially constructed) authenticity of their environment.” Christopher Dummitt, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 78.

⁴¹ Loo, “Making a Modern Wilderness,” 93. For other Canadian reactions to modernity, see Jasen, *Wild Things*; and Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994).

⁴² Addison and Bates now combined the AWL’s recreational wilderness with elements of the “sanctuary” ideal promoted by the Federation of Ontario Naturalists since the 1930s—wilderness for its own sake, and for scientific study. Warecki, *Protecting Ontario’s Wilderness*, ch. 2.

⁴³ Interview, Addison and Bates, 20 Sept. 1986; Addison to the author, 18 May 2004.

⁴⁴ Thanks to Prof. John Wadland for the point about “rational scientism.” The phrase “perceived rationality of science” is from MacEachern, *Natural Selections*, 190. See also Loo, *States of Nature*; Alan MacEachern, “Rationality and Rationalization in Canadian National Parks Predator Policy,” in Chad Gaffield and Pam Gaffield, (eds.), *Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995), 197-212; and Paul Kopas, *Taking the Air: Ideas and Change in Canada’s National Parks* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2007), 56-7.

⁴⁵ They had found an unoccupied “policy niche;” Bosso, *Environment, Inc.*, 49. The shift was partly a reaction to AWL director Bruce Littelljohn, who was advocating additional parks around the Black Bay peninsula in Lake Superior; Addison and Bates were more concerned about other unprotected areas.

international literature during the late 1950s and early 1960s. As historian John Lehr explained, this approach aimed “to achieve a balanced park system which represents major ecological zones, reconciles the demands of various recreational users and minimizes conflicts between recreational and resource use.” Basic system plans were adopted by the national parks bureaucracies in Canada and the United States by the early seventies, while provincial planners in Manitoba and Ontario began preliminary work.⁴⁶

Two concurrent developments further inspired the preservationists to organize. First, the Ontario government began its Strategic Land Use Planning (SLUP) initiative, a bold new approach to resolve conflicts among competing users of Crown land. Addison and Bates welcomed this shift from “hotspot planning” toward a broader, regional approach.⁴⁷ Preservationists saw a second opportunity in April 1972 when Premier William Davis announced a reorganiza-

tion of government, merging the DLF with Mines and Northern Affairs into a Ministry of Natural Resources. A new Division of Parks, led by preservation-minded James W. (“Jim”) Keenan, would continue to expand its planning efforts and produce “a clear, concise statement of policy.”⁴⁸

Addison and Bates spent several months prior to April 1973 laying the foundations for a new pressure group. First, they refined their core views on wilderness parks and the kinds of areas to be protected. In 1972, AWL directors had proposed that the smallest dimension of a wilderness park should require “two days’ travel by primitive means.” Addison objected; he wrote that it was “important to define wilderness not in terms of recreational use, but in terms of ecological defensibility.” To protect natural processes from external human influences, he argued, such parks had to be at least “400-600 square miles with a minimum dimension of 20 miles.”⁴⁹ Second,

⁴⁶ John C. Lehr, “The Origins and Development of Manitoba’s Provincial Park System,” *Prairie Forum* 22 (Fall 2001), 247; Kopas, *Taking the Air*, 53-66; Guy S. Swinnerton, “The Alberta Park System: Policy and Planning,” and Rick Rollins, “Managing the National Parks,” in Dearden and Rollins, *Parks and Protected Areas in Canada* (1993), 111-36; Monte Hummell, (ed.), *Protecting Canada’s Endangered Spaces: An Owner’s Manual* Henderson Book Series No. 27 (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1995). In British Columbia, bureaucratic efforts toward “integrated planning” in the early 1970s were “gradually dismantled after 1975.” Moreover, “in the early 1980s,” the provincial “Cabinet discouraged... initiatives” like “proposals for provincial land use planning and a draft park systems plan.” Some resource ministers may have felt they were “losing control of decision-making processes” to civil servants. Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 209-210.

⁴⁷ Killan, *Protected Places*, 323-26; W.D. Addison to Mr. L.[ew] Ringham, Regional Director, Ontario DLF, Thunder Bay, 26 Feb. 1972, BML; Bates and Addison to Litteljohn, 27 Feb. 1972, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Killan, *Protected Places*, 240-45. See also Robert Douglas Irvine, ‘Planning Provincial Park Systems in Ontario: An Overview,’ (unpub. M.Sc. thesis, Cornell University, 1975).

⁴⁹ Addison to Bruce Litteljohn, 26 Feb. 1972, BML. The Quetico brief suggested an average size of 1500 square miles—“1000 square miles as a bare minimum” (p. 40). In 1967, the DLF specified that primitive parks would normally exceed 25,000 acres (ca. 39 square miles). *Classification of Provincial Parks in Ontario 1967* (Parks Branch, DLF, 1967), 3. The 1973 edition of *Wilderness Now* argued that a

while they debated philosophical and technical questions, they began organizational work to support their campaign for a wilderness parks system. These tasks were carried out in a spirited dialogue with other preservationists that masked a struggle for power and influence.

As the “point man” in Toronto with a wealth of contacts, schoolteacher and AWL veteran Bruce Litteljohn contributed significantly to the birth of the CFW. For example, he designed an effective political strategy. In late November 1972, he advised the northerners to seek co-operation from the major conservation organizations through a combined directors’ meeting, and to obtain the “prior support of selected key people” like Douglas Pimlott. Litteljohn did much of this political spadework. Another important contribution was to initiate a review of the coalition’s technical tasks, like setting priorities for selecting wilderness areas. Litteljohn upheld recreational potential, but added other criteria.⁵⁰ (Figures 13-14)

In March 1973, Addison and Bates planned a founding meeting of the CFW to precede the FON’s annual conference in Toronto. They circulated a formal “Action Plan” to seven conservation organi-

zations, inviting them “to work together” on “a primitive parks planning framework.”⁵¹ The preservationists proposed a priority list of wilderness values:

A. Intrinsic Values:

1. Natural features—physiographic and biotic
2. The scientific values of an essentially healthy unmanipulated environment

B. Extrinsic Values:

3. Recreational uses—the wilderness experience
4. Cultural and historical significance

This was a false dichotomy: scientific “intrinsic” values were imposed by subjective human judgement. But as a pressure group, the CFW needed resolve on a core belief. Addison and Bates mapped physiographic zones and forest regions to estimate “that 10 to 14 primitive parks” would suffice. Specific park sites would be selected based on recreational, cultural, and other values including biotic “uniqueness.” (Figures 15 and 16)

The project was very ambitious and enormously complex. Litteljohn lamented that they would be “doing the work of the Ministry”—without its team of civil servants!⁵² Addison and Bates projected four elaborate stages over twenty-two months, culminating with provincial leg-

wilderness park should be “no smaller than 400 square miles (e.g. 20 miles square) and should probably be at least 1,000 square miles,” although “ecological criteria may dictate much larger areas.”

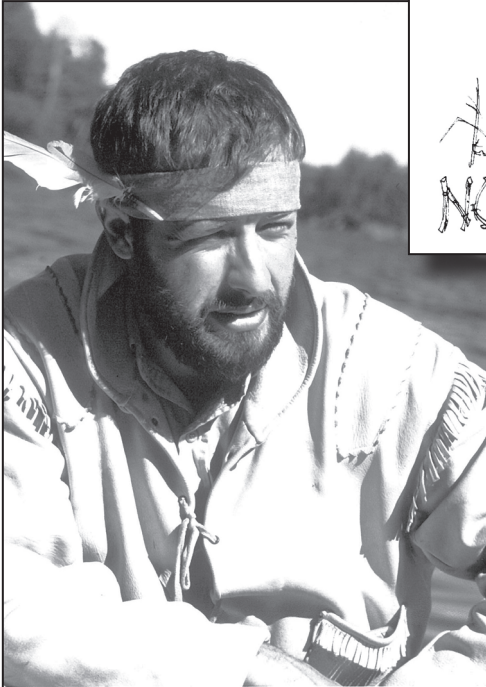
⁵⁰ Litteljohn to Addison, 26 Nov. 1972, and draft circular memo. by Litteljohn, ca. early 1972, BML. Litteljohn had been the portage crew foreman in Quetico Park during the early 1960s. He taught at Upper Canada College beginning in 1965. Litteljohn directed the college’s Norval Outdoor School and served as Head of History and Geography at the Preparatory School. He was also a gifted writer and nature photographer.

⁵¹ D. Bates to Litteljohn, 21 March 1973; W.D. Addison and J.D. Bates, “Wilderness Parks in Ontario – An Action Plan,” 20 March 1973, BML (quotes below from this source).

⁵² Litteljohn’s comments were written in the margins of his copy.

Figure 13: (below) Bruce Litteljohn, "Portage Crew Chief," Quetico Provincial Park, 1962. Credit: Bruce Litteljohn.

Figure 14: (right) Bruce Litteljohn, self-portrait, n.d., ca. 1973. Litteljohn was the Director of Upper Canada College's Norval Outdoor School. He hosted a weekend gathering of CFW supporters to design a system of wilderness parks in November 1973. Credit: Bill Addison.



isolation. This strategy showed increased political sophistication, characteristic of a pressure group. Their strict views on the structure and financing of the proposed coalition must be seen in the same context.

Environmental groups—including coalitions—can take many forms. They might differ in their leadership (profes-

sional or amateur), decision-making process (centralized or decentralized), degree of member engagement (from “checkbook members” to active participants), and advocacy tactics (“insider” lobbying or “outsider” protests with media attention). Each form has the potential to influence public policy, depending on political circumstances.⁵³ In the

CFW, the leadership was amateur—Addison and Bates had university degrees in science, but were not paid for their coalition work. They envisioned a fairly centralized decision-making process, active engagement by committed leaders of the constituent groups, and the use of insider tactics. To ensure good communications (and to maintain centralized leadership), only two representatives of each charter group would be involved in drafting a wilderness parks plan. Each organization would have an equal vote, but only if it provided financial and/or service support. This was vital because Addison and Bates had already invested much of their own resources.⁵⁴ When the charter groups failed to provide sufficient material resources, the resulting lack of a formal structure for the coalition gave Addison and Bates a free hand to act on

⁵³ Shaffer, “Coalition Work,” 116-122.

⁵⁴ An unrealistically modest budget—a \$3800 deficit, financed by member groups—suggested “that one ‘bums, begs, steals or borrows’ whatever he can.”

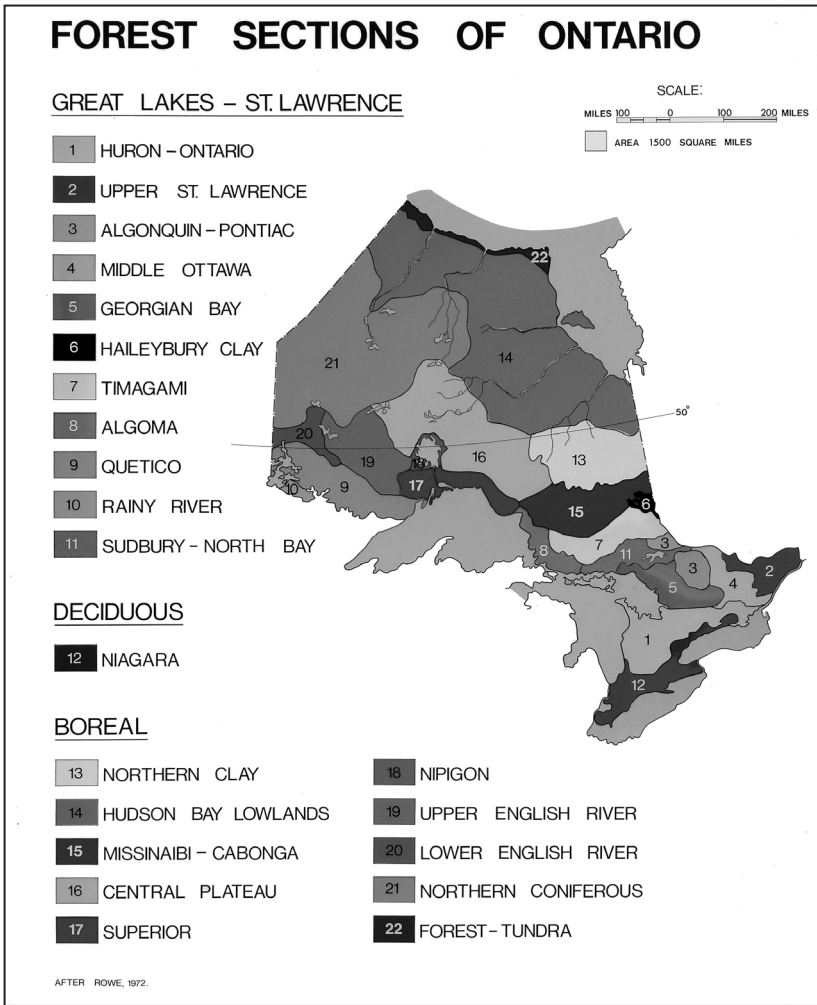


FIGURE 15: Map from “Wilderness in Ontario” (1974). Addison and Bates used current scientific data to recommend a system of wilderness parks that might represent the different kinds of forest and physiographic zones in the province. Credit: Bill Addison.

servation Council of Ontario, although sympathetic to the ecological concept of wilderness, remained aloof. Likely because of the diversity of its own member groups and its dependence on their donations, the council was unable to commit to the coalition. A similar response came from the Canadian Wildlife Federation. Its director was enthusiastic, but the federation could not participate because of budget re-

policy matters.⁵⁵

The Action Plan achieved its immediate purpose, attracting support from five of the original seven groups contacted. All were impressed by the proposal. The Con-

restrictions and because the group’s provincial wing (the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters) wanted sport hunting in wilderness parks.⁵⁶ On 26 April 1973, at the FON’s conference, five organiza-

⁵⁵ A similar “structurelessness” was deliberately perpetuated during the 1970s by the leadership of Greenpeace Canada, enabling them to direct as they pleased, harming working-class interests. In the United States, “none of the environmental advocacy organizations” established during the late sixties and early seventies “made any pretense of giving dues-paying members... a voice in agendas, tactics, or governance.” Harter, “Environmental Justice For Whom?” 90; Bosso, *Environment, Inc.*, 52. The CFW leadership at least attempted to build a democratic structure.

⁵⁶ Conservation Council of Ontario, *Extinction*, pamphlet, ca. 1970, formerly in Environmental

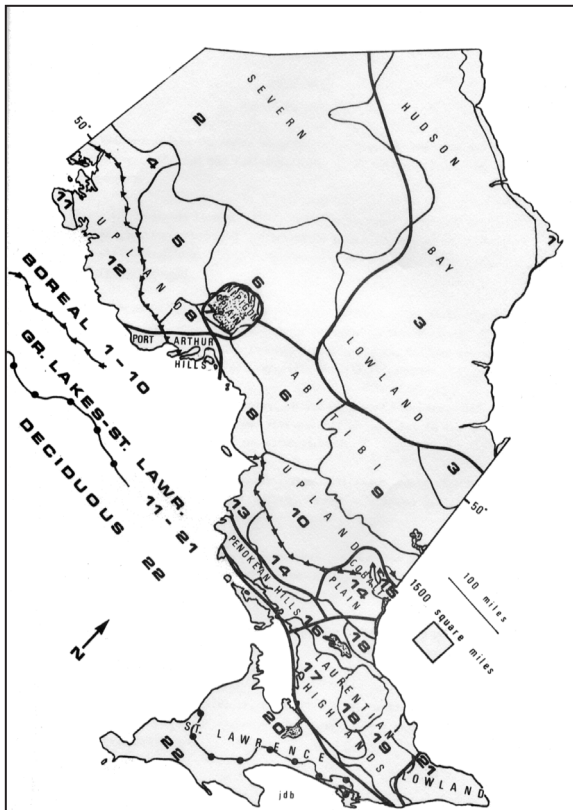


FIGURE 16: Line Map and Key from "Wilderness in Ontario" (1974). Credit: Bill Addison.

ONTARIO

Physiographic Regions:

Hudson Bay Lowland	Severn Upland
Abitibi Upland	Nipigon Plain
Port Arthur Hills	Cobalt Plain
Penokean Hills	Laurentian Highlands
St. Lawrence Lowland	

Forest Sections:

Boreal Forest Region

1. Forest – Tundra	2. Northern Coniferous
3. Hudson Bay Lowlands	4. Lower English River
5. Upper English River	6. Central Plateau
7. Nipigon	8. Superior
9. Northern Clay	10. Missinaibi-Cabonga

Great Lakes – St. Lawrence Forest Region

11. Rainy River	12. Quetico
13. Algoma	14. Timagami
15. Haileybury Clay	16. Sudbury-North Bay
17. Georgian Bay	18. Algonquin-Pontiac
19. Middle Ottawa	20. Huron-Ontario
21. Upper St. Lawrence	

Deciduous Forest Region

22. Niagara

tions—the Federation of Ontario Naturalists, Algonquin Wildlands League, Canadian Nature Federation, Sierra Club of Ontario, and the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC)—created the Coalition For Wilderness. The next day, Jim Keenan, director of Ontario's parks division, reported that his staff had "produced a philosophical rationale for wilderness parks," and had studied site selection criteria and management.⁵⁷ This news encouraged the preservationists, but

their time to influence the ministry's plans was already running short.

The relationship between the CFW and park planners was immediately established in a private meeting. Keenan and planning supervisor Tom Lee were "generally enthusiastic" that the coalition would "support their efforts to obtain wilderness parks." Opposition within the ministry came from two groups: timber and mines officials who objected to "tying up" land; and foresters, who disagreed

General folder 1969-1978, box 8, MU 6256 (now F821), Toronto Field Naturalists' Club fonds, Public Archives of Ontario (hereafter PAO); Canadian Wildlife Federation to Addison, 1 June 1973, Coalition Correspondence File, AP.

⁵⁷ Killan, *Protected Places*, 201-2. For Keenan's speech, see file 25-37, temp. box 5, sched. #200, acc. #13103, RG-1, IB-3, PAO.

with proposed management guidelines. The coalition's most significant contribution might "be helping to create the right political climate" to "force these two groups of the civil service to modify their views." This kind of relationship had several precedents in North American parks and forestry planning.⁵⁸

Membership and Activities

What did the CFW accomplish and who did the work? The anticipated financial and personnel support failed to materialize. Charter groups lent their names but, despite initial enthusiasm, they were unable or unwilling to devote their resources to the CFW.

This frustrating lack of support⁵⁹ was

a product of the movement's diversity, the variety of environmental issues before the public, difficult economic times, and pressure group dynamics.

Each Ontario wilderness group had its own preferred style of advocacy, organizational structure, and blend of policy interests.⁶⁰ When Addison and Bates canvassed this community, each response reflected the group's priorities and resources. Lack of material support did not necessarily mean a lack of sympathy. For example, the FON often endorsed new initiatives, but then delegated the work. The groups supported park system planning, but some (the FON, NPPAC, and CNF) were too busy with other environmental issues.⁶¹

⁵⁸ CFW Report No. 1 – 19 June 1973, file 19: CFW, box 4, P.C. 86-002, TUA. Forest/parks officials had supported citizens' advocacy groups for political reasons in both the United States (Sierra Club, NPCA) and Canada (Canadian National Parks Association in the 1920s; the NPPAC in 1963, and the AWL in 1968).

⁵⁹ Early donations came from the AWL (\$500), the CNF (\$150), and the FON (\$245, to publish a key serialized article in its journal). The NPPAC was reluctant to divert funds from its "national operations," but eventually contributed \$100—a small fraction of what Addison and Bates personally spent. Jeff Miller to CFW, 16 Nov. 1973; Gerald McKeating to Bill Addison, 6 July 1973; Gavin Henderson to Addison, 7 May 1973; and CFW *Newsletter* No. 5 (14 June 1974), Coalition Correspondence file, AP. To finance the article, the FON sponsored a grant proposal for the White Owl Conservation Awards program.

⁶⁰ The openly confrontational AWL (1968) filled a tactical and ideological void left by the Quetico Foundation (1954), which practiced quiet diplomacy and accepted logging in parks. The FON (1931) was well-respected for its close links with government officials and regular policy input. In the early 1970s, it embraced a wide range of environmental issues. The Sierra Club of Ontario (1970), led by young, conservative businessmen and professionals, fiercely independent of the American parent club, lacked mass membership and shunned media-attracting tactics. The NPPAC (1963), based in Toronto, primarily focused on national parks but also monitored provincial park policy. It occasionally employed outsider tactics, as did the Canadian Nature Federation (1971). The latter evolved from the Audubon Society of Canada (1948) to represent naturalist clubs on environmental issues. American survey data in the early 1990s suggested that environmental groups most likely to participate in coalitions had "professional leaders with social network ties to other movement organizations... high membership activity and inside advocacy tactics;" Shaffer, "Coalition Work Among Environmental Groups," 111. Two of the Ontario groups in 1973 had professional (paid) leadership: the FON and NPPAC. Most leaders had social ties with the other organizations, but the groups varied on membership engagement and advocacy tactics.

⁶¹ On FON, see David J. Taylor, "Celebrating Nature for Fifty Years," *Seasons* 21 (Winter 1981), 32-33; on CNF, see *Nature Canada* in the 1970s; on NPPAC, see *Park News*. For the groups' response to system planning, see Killan, *Protected Places*, 274, 286.

Many organizations faced financial difficulties in the early 1970s. High unemployment and sharply rising inflation eroded consumer confidence. The recession of 1973-74 revealed structural deficiencies in Ontario's economy. Manufacturing and mining suffered, while forestry was racked by shifting global demand and (allegedly) declining supplies.⁶² Environmental groups suffered from inflation and stagnant or declining membership. The CFW also encountered fundraising difficulties due to its legal status. Because the coalition was not a charitable organization, it could not issue tax receipts to donors.⁶³

Ideological and tactical differences explain some reluctance to offer support—and the tenacious hold on leadership by Addison and Bates. Within the FON, for example, a contest emerged over the wilderness idea. Author Wayland “Buster” Drew challenged the proposed focus on parks, as a way of preserving wilderness.⁶⁴ But the most fundamental difference was over the role of science. Years later, Addison recalled that he and Bates:

would have happily turned leadership over to others in Toronto who were closer to the action, but for one thing. The others

were busy justifying wilderness primarily on recreational, historic and other grounds. We were determined to keep the natural (intrinsic) [scientific] values first and foremost. That is the only reason we tried to maintain our leadership. We would have concentrated on using our scientific expertise and left the leading to others if all in the coalition had agreed the so-called intrinsic priorities were the most important and, in fact, as important as the others combined.⁶⁵

There is considerable irony in this insistence upon “natural” scientific values, as the primary justification for wilderness protection. It was a key reason for building the CFW, but it also undermined the coalition from the beginning because the groups invited to join the coalition did not share this “science first” perspective. It might seem that Addison and Bates committed a tactical error when they tried to build a coalition by drawing together groups whose justification for wilderness was fundamentally different from their own—or at least less committed to scientific values as a case for protecting wilderness. They recognized the political risk, but took their chances because they needed the broad political support of a coalition to succeed in their goal of influ-

⁶² On economic troubles, see K.J. Rea, *The Prosperous Years: The Economic History of Ontario 1939-75* (University of Toronto Press, 1985), esp. 4-5; Randall White, *Ontario 1610-1985: A Political and Economic History* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1985), 296-98; and Epp, “Ontario Forests and Forest Policy Before the Era of Sustainable Forestry,” 263-67. Bill Addison carefully monitored Ontario forestry during the 1970s-80s. He challenged the notion of declining supplies. In his view, “there was a wood surplus.” The forest industry suffered from “declining potential for industrial growth.” Addison to author, 23 April 2013.

⁶³ An NPPAC official and lawyer with a prominent Toronto law office encouraged the CFW to establish a constitution and appoint duly elected officers to secure charitable status; there is no evidence that his advice was ever heeded. CFW *Newsletter* No. 3 (2 April 1974), BML.

⁶⁴ Wayland Drew, “Killing Wilderness,” *Ontario Naturalist* 12 (September 1972), 19-23; “Wilderness and Limitation,” *Canadian Forum* 52 (February 1973), 16-19; and “Wilderness and Culture,” *Alternatives* (Summer 1974), 8-11.

⁶⁵ Addison to the author, 18 May 2004.

encing government policy.

During the mid-twentieth century, a similar conflict raged in the United States over the justification for wilderness protection. An older recreational emphasis on masculine self-reliance and living off the land clashed with the emerging wilderness ideal of an “untouched” biological reserve. According to historian James Morton Turner, the resulting compromise was minimal impact camping: the “leave no trace” recreational ethic of the late twentieth century. It differed from the earlier woodcraft movement in its dual embrace of consumerism and environmentalism, while leaving behind “the social ideals around which the wilderness movement first coalesced.”⁶⁶ In Ontario, the recreational proponents also won out when they downplayed the CFW’s scientific rationale for preservation as politically ineffective, and instead emphasized recreational, aesthetic, and historic values. The notion of a biological reserve for scientific purposes—a genetic repository—remained the backbone of a parallel network of nature reserves, managed under the provincial park system.

The coalition had other limitations, suffered by all Canadian pressure groups. The high cost of communications and

transportation—in the days before e-mail and the internet—presented an enormous obstacle for CFW. Even a basic meeting in Toronto involved considerable travel costs for the Thunder Bay advocates. Thus, they limited their travel, and the frequency of meetings and newsletters.⁶⁷ Another common difficulty was the “free rider” problem.⁶⁸ Sympathetic people in the charter groups may have preferred to leave the difficult planning work to either the CFW leaders or the government. Finally, perhaps southern Ontario preservationists were alienated by the northerners’ regional base, or their social profile as well-connected, well-educated, articulate and uncompromising? For various reasons, the member organizations failed to produce either the funding or the volunteers necessary to implement the coalition’s grand scheme.

After its formation as a pressure group in April 1973, the CFW matured rapidly, engaging in three major activities. First, the coalition met regularly with government representatives, exchanging information with civil servants and politicians. Although the preservationists and park planners were in “close agreement,”⁶⁹ the bureaucrats favoured a smaller minimum size for wilderness

⁶⁶ Turner, “From Woodcraft to ‘Leave No Trace,’” 463. See also James Morton Turner, *The Promise of Wilderness: American Environmental Politics Since 1964* (University of Washington Press, 2012), 91-9.

⁶⁷ CFW *Newsletter* (March 1974), BML. Coalition representatives met in Toronto “on several widely scattered occasions.” Eventually, Addison and Bates recognized the political importance of establishing “a clearing house, co-ordinating centre, and work base” in Toronto, close to both Queen’s Park and the civil servants. Les Selby of the FON agreed to run this temporarily, but it too failed from lack of support.

⁶⁸ Pross, *Groups Politics and Public Policy* (1986 edition), 177.

⁶⁹ CFW Report No. 1, 19 June 1973, file 19: CFW, Box 4, P.C., 86-002, TUA. For other meetings, see CFW *Newsletter* (March 1974), BML; Addison to Keenan, 8 June 1974, Coalition Correspondence files, AP; Les Selby to Addison, 4 Sept. 1974, *ibid*.

parks, based on recreational data. Ministry officials were convinced that their view more closely reflected the common public perception and desire for a wilderness experience.⁷⁰ CFW representatives also met with senior Cabinet ministers of the Ontario Resources Development Policy Field in February 1974. The politicians acknowledged the preservationists' "positive approach" and encouraged them to continue their work. Subsequent meetings with the Minister's Advisory Committee, and with the new Provincial Parks Advisory Council,⁷¹ helped to build political support for wilderness parks among key representatives of the public. These tactics may not have won the battle for MNR planners, but they certainly contributed.

A second major thrust of the CFW was its attempt to complete a wilderness parks system plan. The task was simply beyond its resources.⁷² This failure affected the coalition's third important

activity—publication. With Litteljohn's assistance, Addison and Bates wrote "Wilderness in Ontario" (1974), the capstone of their work.⁷³ (Figures 17 and 18) A deceptively simple-looking document, printed on stock paper with an illustrated cover, it proposed a system of fifteen wilderness parks, each at least 750 square miles in size, for a total of 23,000 square miles. The report was not the elaborate blueprint initially envisioned; rather, it recommended how the government should design its own plan. In January 1974 two hundred copies were circulated to MLAs and other influential people. The FON also published an abridged, serialized version in *Ontario Naturalist*.⁷⁴ Such modest publicity was far less effective than originally planned, but it did educate and inspire a select public. With the completion of its report, the coalition began to crumble in the spring of 1974. The leadership suffered from "burnout," commonly experienced by teachers and

⁷⁰ See Coalition Correspondence file, April-July 1974, AP; and Keenan's remarks in Minutes of Meeting, Advisory Committee to the Minister of Natural Resources, 16 April 1974, p. 7, file 1974/5, box 7, RG-1, IA-3, PAO. By 1975, the CCO and NPPAC had also dissented from the CFW, suggesting a smaller minimum size for wilderness parks; Killan, *Protected Places*, 270-71.

⁷¹ Minutes of Policy Field Committee Meeting with CFW, quoted in D.P. Drysdale to A.J. Herridge, *et al.*, 20 February 1974, box 10, acc. 15806, RG 1-348, PAO; CFW *Newsletter* (March 1974), BML; "Wilderness in Ontario," a submission from CFW to Hon. A.B.R. Lawrence, Provincial Secretary for Resources Development, Dec. 1973, Coalition Correspondence file, AP; Minister's Advisory Committee to Bates, 1 February 1974, *ibid.*; correspondence between George Priddle, Provincial Parks Council, and Addison, July-December 1975, in *ibid.*

⁷² Bates to Miller, 3 Jan. 1974, Coalition Correspondence file, AP; interview, Addison and Bates, 20 Sept. 1986. A small group of coalition participants compiled and analysed extensive technical information on numerous "candidate wilderness areas"; see Coalition Correspondence file, AP.

⁷³ "Wilderness in Ontario: A submission to the Government of Ontario from the Coalition For Wilderness," (February 1974).

⁷⁴ W.D. Addison and J.D. Bates, "Wilderness in Ontario" – Part I *Ontario Naturalist* 14:1 (March 1974), 22-27; Part II in *ibid.*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 1974), 36-41; and Part III in *ibid.*, 14:3 (Sept. 1974), 26-34.

Figure 17: Front cover of “Wilderness in Ontario” (1974). The photograph of wilderness canoeists seems ironic in light of the CFW’s resolve to justify wilderness protection on scientific grounds. Addison explained that, for political reasons, the coalition had to make the cover visually appealing. Credit: Bill Addison.

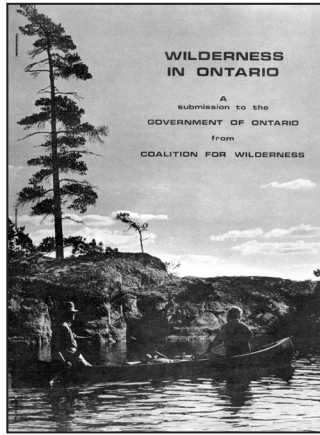
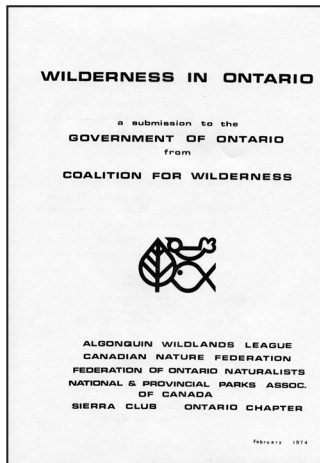


Figure 18: Title page from “Wilderness in Ontario” (1974). Note the 1970s-style logo: a tree, a bird, and a fish are interconnected, as in an ecosystem. It was created by a professional graphic artist who donated his work to the coalition. Credit: Bill Addison.



environmentalists.⁷⁵ By then, MNR park planners had almost completed their work.

As Killan has documented, from

1974 to 1977 the Division of Parks fought fierce battles within MNR as it worked toward a new parks policy and a management policy manual for a system representative of the province’s diverse earth and life science features. Creating the manual, the so-called “Blue Book,” was complicated, tedious work. For each class of park, planners articulated a “philosophical rationale,” defined objectives, set management guidelines, and specified criteria for selecting park sites based on extensive ecological and recreational research. Addison and Bates had based their own proposals on some of this expertise but they lacked the technical training and long-term resources of the planners to gather and synthesize the information. Thus, when the preservationists were invited to comment on drafts of the “Blue Book,” they were stunned by its sophistication and thrilled with its thrust. MNR’s park system planning and policy framework was completed in 1978, capping

“one of the most comprehensive and advanced endeavours of its kind undertaken in North America.”⁷⁶ In hindsight, the CFW’s goal to complete its own wilder-

⁷⁵ The “pressure of three jobs” forced Addison to resign temporarily in May; Litteljohn also reduced his commitments for health and family; Bates stepped down to pursue post-graduate work in Calgary. Addison and Bates periodically resurfaced in wilderness management seminars, and to write position papers. See files from 1974-78 in AP.

⁷⁶ The wilderness blueprint blended recreational demand studies, Angus Hills’ landscape classification—identifying thirteen forest “site regions” subdivided “into sixty-five districts, on the basis of land forms containing distinctive combinations of physiographic and biotic conditions”—Paul Maycock’s vegetative habitat site classification, and other data. Killan, *Protected Places*, chaps. 6-10, quotes on 270-72, 286; Arlin Hackman, “Ontario’s Park System Comes of Age,” in Monte Hummell, (ed.), *Endangered Spaces: The Future For Canada’s Wilderness* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1989), 165-82; Irvine, “Planning Provincial Park Systems in Ontario,” 51-58; CFW’s reaction from Addison to the author, 18 May 2004.

ness park system plan was overly ambitious, given the complexity and enormity of the task.

Conclusion

The history of the CFW must be seen in the wider context of environmental politics during the 1970s. Its success lay in identifying and occupying specific tactical, ideological, and policy niches. Its failure was also a product of the diversity of environmentalism. Systems planning lacked the popular appeal of other environmental issues, like earlier, single-park campaigns. Faced with weak support, the CFW leaders acted like others in the advocacy community and simply directed the “group” on their own. Indeed, Bill Addison and David Bates *were* the coalition for much of its life.⁷⁷

Like other contemporary groups, the CFW adopted tactics designed to exploit its strengths. Addison and Bates rejected the open confrontation practiced by the AWL, and employed the pre-1968 traditional approach of quiet diplomacy to place emphasis on their scientific

knowledge and reasoned proposals. The CFW’s close relationship with scientific and technical personnel was similar to the “loose but reinforcing connection” in the United States between citizen reformers and ecological scientists. Passage of the *National Forest Management Act* (1976) encouraged American citizens to establish local groups and get involved in planning, using “the latest in ecological science.”⁷⁸ Although Addison and Bates were both teachers, doing preservationist work in their spare time, they were much more than “radical amateurs,” to use Stephen Fox’s phrase.⁷⁹ They had impressive credentials—formal training, and first-hand knowledge of the wilderness. Their work was a continuation of the Pimlott pattern: wilderness advocacy by professionally-trained people.⁸⁰

The coalition exemplified successful environmental groups by occupying a specific ideological niche within the advocacy community. For strategic and personal reasons, Addison and Bates downplayed the “wilderness for recreation” argument and upheld the scientific

⁷⁷ Addison and Bates knew that they had to present, at least “a facade of a power base;” interview 20 Sept. 1986. Only eleven other people (including Addison’s brother, Edward) actively worked on behalf of the coalition. CFW *Newsletter* (March 1974), BML.

⁷⁸ Hays, *Wars in the Woods*, chap. 2, esp. 20-21. James Morton Turner argues that conservation science “successfully informed public and administrative concern for roadless-area protection” in the United States; “Conservation Science and Forest Service Policy for Roadless Areas,” *Conservation Biology* 20 (June 2003), 713-22. A more recent but related variant in British Columbia forest politics is “civic science” – “scientific experts working in co-operation with other actors in civil society for the purpose of applying scientific and community knowledge in order to benefit the public good.” See Anita Krajnc, “Conservation Biologists, Civic Science, and the Preservation of BC Forests,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37:3 (Autumn 2002), 219-38; quote on p. 229.

⁷⁹ Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, and Co., 1981).

⁸⁰ In its scientific expertise, the coalition was similar to Pollution Probe, but it lacked the broad base of activists that helped to propel Probe’s agenda.

rationale, as the FON had some forty years earlier, but with an updated understanding of ecology. Here, the preservationists met the limits of their influence. Both the government and the wider advocacy community regarded scientific arguments as less politically potent than recreational or aesthetic reasons. Thus, the provincial policy adopted for the wilderness parks system—described in MNR’s “Blue Book” (1978)—aimed to preserve “representative undisturbed natural landscapes,” but rededicated the government to the primacy of wilderness recreation.⁸¹

While the CFW marked a change in the “wilderness for science” argument, it also represented continuity. Previous generations of Canadians had also sought to use wilderness resources. As in the past, the coalition (and the MNR) depended on large technical systems, grounded in some measure of control, conquest, and centralization, albeit for different purposes. One striking irony was the attempt by preservationists to impose a *system* upon wilderness—something widely regarded as the antithesis of hu-

man organization.⁸² Addison and Bates either overlooked or dismissed this irony, in their urgency to protect the wilderness for what they regarded as altruistic motives. The coalition’s wilderness ideal, like others before, was a cultural construct based on the natural ecosystem concept, shaped by personal experience, changing scientific views in the United States and Canada, and political considerations.

This study demonstrates that pressure group dynamics can reveal important nuances about environmental politics. Studies of influential elites—even disguised as groups—can provide insights about how scientific knowledge is generated, communicated, and applied in environmental policy.⁸³ How many other coalitions like the CFW were essentially sounding boards for their leadership? What interests and scientific authority did pressure groups represent when they advocated positions on complicated environmental issues? Their contemporary opponents were wary of such questions because they knew they were in a battle for public opinion.⁸⁴ By digging below the surface of environmental coalitions,

⁸¹ “Ontario Provincial Parks: Planning and Management Policies,” (MNR, June 1978), pp. wi-I-10, wi-II-5, and wi-IV-3. Coalition members criticized the government’s statement because the minimum size for wilderness parks (124,000 acres, or 375 square miles) was based on recreational data and was, in their view, too small to protect “ecological integrity.” Despite its recreational bias, one must not overlook the significant protectionist gains represented by the Blue Book’s statements on nature reserves, wilderness, and natural environment parks.

⁸² Jean Manore, “Wilderness and Territoriality: Different Ways of Viewing the Land,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 33:2 (Summer 1998), 77, 80-1.

⁸³ For another example, see Gerald Killan and George Warecki, “J.R. Dymond and Frank A. MacDougall: Science and Government Policy in Algonquin Park, 1931-1954,” *Scientia Canadensis* 22:3 (1998-9), 131-56.

⁸⁴ In 1975 one professional forester called the preservationists’ bluff, asking “whose opinion” they represented? He rejected the idea of a democratic environmental science, and resented being usurped by “a few glib, unperceptive, self-appointed experts;” E.S. Fellows, “The Molding of Public Opinion on Forest

historians can identify the interests and values those organizations promoted in the politics of science.

Seen in this wider context, the Coalition For Wilderness contributes to a growing body of case studies in which scientific knowledge was contested in the shaping of Canadian environmental policy. Other examples include the Great Lakes fisheries, Ontario forest regeneration, managing the impacts of acid rain, harvesting the Pacific rain forest, and fighting the spruce budworm. Scientists competed with entrenched economic and political interests (sometimes publicly, sometimes within bureaucracies), to gain the upper hand in shaping policy.⁸⁵ In the case of Ontario's Great Lakes fisheries, "scientists had an effective impact... by redefining their objectives." Before the 1970s, they "viewed fisheries management as primarily a technical problem"—maximizing harvests. Fisheries scientists helped transform management during the following decade "by demonstrating that a variety of stresses—fishing, eutrophication, exotic species—affected fish stocks." Effective management "could not focus on one stress or one species to the exclusion of all others." Instead, scientists embraced a more comprehensive po-

litical and economic process of proactive, strategic planning to "acknowledge the complex ecology of fish stocks." Other forces "helped ensure a favorable political climate:" public "recognition of a crisis," rising "concerns about environmental quality," recreationists' demands, and the "contemporary interest in strategic planning."⁸⁶ The CFW episode shares some similarities with the Ontario fisheries case but offers a slightly different pattern. In the case of wilderness, two scientifically-trained private citizens (rather than professional, largely university-based scientists) shared ideas with and offered political support to government-employed planners who synthesized the science. Like the fisheries scientists, the CFW and government planners redefined their objectives, embracing a wider ecological perspective than before in creating and managing wilderness parks.

Postscript: New Coalitions

Perhaps the most significant legacy of this episode was the idea of a coalition: it became the successful *modus operandi* of the Ontario wilderness movement. Addison's advice helped the Atikaki Coalition (1975) eventually secure park status for a vast region between

Management: What Public? Whose Opinion?" Weyerhauser Lecture Series (Toronto: Faculty of Forestry and Landscape Architecture, University of Toronto, 1975), 23.

⁸⁵ Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1933* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000); Epp, "Ontario Forests and Forest Policy;" Munton, "Fumes, Forests, and Further Studies;" Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rainforest*; Sandberg and Clancy, "Politics, Science, and the Spruce Budworm." Munton's thesis that science was ignored or used to delay a policy response to acid rain in Ontario is similar to Jennifer Read's finding that science had an ambiguous impact on policy makers dealing with the typhoid crisis; see "A Sort of Destiny": the Multi-Jurisdictional Response to Sewage Pollution in the Great Lakes, 1900-1930," *Scientia Canadensis* 22:3 (1998-9), 103-29.

⁸⁶ Bocking, "Fishing the Inland Seas," quotes on 64, 66-7.

Lake Winnipeg and Red Lake, Ontario in the early 1980s. This coalition was initially composed of five Manitoba groups representing outdoor enthusiasts, conservationists, and Metis. Addison persuaded the leadership to compromise on their immediate demand for a huge wilderness park, advocating instead a temporary provincial park reserve in the core area. The Manitobans also broadened their movement, adding an Ontario Atikaki Council in 1976 to lobby key park officials. Unexpected opportunities for enlarging the wilderness parks system appeared during the climax of the Strategic Land Use Planning process (SLUP, 1981-3) and the Lands for Life/Ontario's Living Legacy exercise (1997-2000). Lessons learned from the CFW—the need for comprehensive data on wilderness areas, and active supporters in different locales—were put to use. In the early 1980s, Addison and Bates resumed their leadership, but in a stronger coalition called “Parks For Tomorrow.” Compared to the CFW, Parks For Tomorrow was more decentralized in its operations,

and engaged more interests in seeking to resolve land use conflicts. Fourteen years later, yet another coalition—the Partnership for Public Lands (World Wildlife Fund Canada, the FON, and the Wildlands League)—built on these precedents to negotiate significant gains: 378 new protected areas, increasing the provincial park system's coverage of central and northern Ontario from 6% to 12%. With the historic “Ontario Forest Accord” (1999), environmentalists, the forest industry, and MNR committed to recommend new protected areas and economic development measures. Still, preservationists found themselves lobbying to prevent hunting and mining in the new reserves. Moreover, despite the subsequent passage of the *Provincial Parks and Conservation Reserves Act* (2006) that enshrined ecological integrity as the first priority of the system, debates continued over activities permitted under individual park management plans.⁸⁷ Wilderness advocacy in Ontario remained a tricky balancing act of shifting interests.

⁸⁷ George Warecki, “Balancing Wilderness Protection and Economic Development: The Politics of Planning for Atikaki, 1972-1983,” *Ontario History* 102:1 (Spring 2010), 65-69. For the SLUP battle and Parks For Tomorrow, see Killan, *Protected Places*, chap. 9. Internet websites for The Partnership for Public Lands and Ontario's Living Legacy have expired, but see George R. Francis, “Strategic Planning at the Landscape Level,” in Perera et. al., *Ecology of a Managed Terrestrial Landscape*, 297-9; and John Cartwright, “Environmental Groups, Ontario's Lands For Life Process and the Forest Accord,” *Environmental Politics* 12 (June 2003), 115-32. Most of the areas protected by the Lands For Life program were not provincial parks but “conservation reserves” under the *Public Lands Act*. Thus, the protectionist “Blue Book” management guidelines did not apply to these areas. Thanks to Gerry Killan for this information. The 2006 legislation, effective 4 September 2007, may be found at http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/html/statutes/english/elaws_statutes_06p12_e.htm (accessed 22 February 2013).