Recreational Birdwatching, Empire, and Gender in Southern Ontario, 1791-1886

by

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the historical and cultural development of recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario, 1791-1886, and the effects of empire and gender on birdwatchers' identities and ideas about birds. By deconstructing recreational ornithological discourse, I suggest that recreational birdwatching reproduced the imposition of British colonial rule in Canada, together with condescension towards aboriginal peoples and non-British immigrants; and the reinforcement of British, middle-class, gendered identities in southern Ontario. This research therefore shows that recreational ornithological texts provide a medium to deconstruct the impact of birdwatching on people's lives and their gendered approaches to the activity.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Birdwatching has become one of the fastest growing nature-based recreational and tourism activities in North America.[1] In Canada, 9.9 million Canadians enjoy birdwatching and spend more than $848 million a year on paraphernalia.[2] Described as a combination of hobby, sport, and science, birdwatching can be either a solitary or social pursuit, with the base of the activity as leisurely or as energetically as the participant wishes.[3] As the objective is to observe birds, birdwatching does not include people who feed birds in the backyards but are not

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[1] Based on the 1994-95 National Recreation Survey, birdwatching increased up to 155% in participation during the last decade. See: David Bird, *Bird's Eye View: A Practical Compendium for Bird-Lovers* (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1999), p.20. H. K. Cordell, N.G. Herbert, and F. Pandolfi, "The growing popularity of birding in the United States," *Birding* (April, 1999), pp. 168-176

[2] Environment Canada, *The Importance of Nature to Canadians: Survey Highlights* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1999). Other economic analyses in Canada have included A. Jacquemot and F.L. Filion, "The economic significance of birds in Canada," A.W. Diamond and F.L. Filion (eds.) *The Value of Birds* (Cambridge, England: The Council, 1986), pp. 15-21; G.T. Hvenegaard, J.R. Butler, and D.K. Krystofiak, "Economic values of bird watching at Point Pelee National Park, Canada," *Wildlife Society Bulletin* 17 (1989), pp.526-531; F.L. Filion, E. DuWors, P. Boxall, R. Reid, J. Hobby, P. Bouchard, P. Gray , and A. Jacquemot, *The Importance of Wildlife to Canadians in 1987: Trends in Participation in Wildlife-Related Activities, 1981 to 2006* (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1992)

[3] Stephen W. Kress, *The Audubon Society Handbook for Birds* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1980), p. xi; Christopher W. Leahy, *The Birdwatcher's Companion* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), pp. 95-98

particularly interested in the different types of species, nor professional ornithologists who spend most of their time in the lab or library rather than in the field. As one birdwatcher described the activity, "few other recreational pursuits offer the opportunity for challenge, wonder, spirituality, and fun that birding does."[4]

Embraced by the baby-boomers, birdwatching has developed into a fashionable and enjoyable activities for those approaching retirement.[5] In the magazine *FiftyPlus*, Barbara Selkirk recounted her pleasure of observing birds at her bird feeder.

> "A flash of red outside my kitchen window sends me running for my binoculars. I've just hung the newest feeder, thrilled that it's already attracting attention. Those circus clowns – the blue jays – float in quickly to search for choice peanuts, scattering seed with abandon. Doves, waiting on the ground below, toddle around like Charlie Chaplin, pecking millet. My crimson friend, the male cardinal, darts in to select a fat sunflower seed, then retreats to a nearby twig to savour it. His mate, a little bolder, mixes easily with the other birds on the ground."[6]

Although research on birdwatching has increased recently due to the growing number of participants, studies have centered on social science and behavioural approaches to the activity, which have minimized birdwatchers' subjective experiences like Selkirk's, above.[7] For instance,

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[4] Byron Swift, "Why we bird," *Birding* (April, 2000), p. 185

[5] David K. Foot, "The age of outdoor recreation in Canada," *Journal of Applied Recreation Research* 15, 3 (1990), pp. 159-178

[6] Barbara E.B. Selkirk, "Jeepers peepers," *FiftyPlus* (April 2001), p. 22

[7] Stephen R. Kellert, "Birdwatching in American society," *Leisure Sciences* 7, 3 (1985), pp. 343–360; J. E. Applegate and K.E. Clark, "Satisfaction levels of bird watchers: an observation on consumptive and non-consumptive continuum," *Leisure Sciences* 9, 2 (1987), pp. 129–134; P.C. Boxall and B.L. McFarlane, "Human dimensions of Christmas bird counts: implications for non-consumptive wildlife recreation programs," *Wildlife Society Bulletin* 21 (1993), pp. 390-396; B. McFarlane, "Specialization and motivations of birdwatchers," *Wildlife Society Bulletin*, 22 (1994), pp. 361-370; L. Wright, "Birders and twitchers: towards developing typologies, based on

Selkirk's descriptions of birds enable insight into the ways birds provide meaning to her life. Birds supply endless entertainment as "circus clowns" and "Charlie Chaplins" frolic around her bird feeder for her visual consumption. As her observations are made around the home, her recreational space denotes a domestic and private sphere often considered a woman's domain. Furthermore, viewing birds with binoculars is a practice akin to hunting as birdwatchers stalk, aim, and identify bird species.

Considering that birdwatching is a cultural phenomenon, questions of how birdwatching provides meaning to people's lives, and the effects of class, ethnicity, and gender dimensions on birdwatchers' experiences, can rarely be answered using traditional social science frameworks. Moreover, questions such as how birdwatching evolved into a tourist recreational activity in Canada remain relatively unanswered questions. As Towner and Wall stated, "clearly more needs to be done in order to understand many aspects of the origins and evolution of tourism."[8] Linking these questions to current issues can provide critical insights. However, to date, "only limited attempts have been made, particularly in North America, to link research to the intellectual issues

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research into bird Watchers and their Activities, with particular reference to the North Norfolk Coast," *Tourism and Leisure: Towards the Millennium* (U.K: LSA, 1995), pp. 211–239; C. Partridge and K. MacKay, "An investigation of the travel motives of bird-watchers as a nature-based tourist segment," *Journal of Applied Recreation Research* 21 (1998), pp. 263–287; D. Scott, S.M. Baker, and C. Kim, "Motivations and commitments among participants in the Great Texas Birding Classic," *Human Dimensions of Wildlife* 4, 1 (1999), pp. 50-67

[8] John Towner and Geoff Wall, "History and tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 18 (1991), p. 80

of the day: this is essential if historians of tourism are to use their expertise to illuminate broader social questions."[9]

Objectives

In southern Ontario, recreational birdwatching developed out of Britain's growing empire by the nineteenth-century. British military officers, travellers, and settlers participated in the activity as they simultaneously engaged in military occupation, colonization, and exploitation of natural resources, which all supported the idea of empire. Therefore, did recreational birdwatching help shape the concepts of empire through its practices? As the majority of participants were British, how did birdwatchers negotiate ethnicity, class, and gender through the activity? Furthermore, as early birdwatching in the era before cameras and binoculars entailed collecting specimens with a gun, did men and women approach the activity in the same way? This thesis will focus on the following objectives:

1. to examine the historical and cultural developments of recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario, 1791-1886
2. to determine how notions of empire shaped birdwatching identities and ideas about birds
3. to analyze how gendered identities affected birdwatchers' ideas about birds

As ideas about birds are culturally learned, I deconstruct recreational ornithological discourse through ethnicity ("British"), class (upper and middle-class), and gender categories. By critically analyzing recreational ornithological discourse, I argue that recreational birdwatching reproduced the imposition of British colonial rule in Canada, together with condescension towards aboriginal peoples and non-British immigrants; and the reinforcement of British, middle-class, gendered identities in southern Ontario, 1791-1886. Recreational birdwatching, through its practices,

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[9] John Towner and Geoff Wall, "History and tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 18 (1991), p. 80

provided a medium through which imperialism could be realized as birdwatchers named, classified, aestheticized, painted, and collected birds. Many of the activity's imperial artifacts persist today, such as species' Linnaean and vernacular names, stuffed bird collections, bird paintings, and natural history societies.

British settlers, military officers, and travellers often became birdwatchers whenever the pleasures of observing birds or the pursuit of collecting specimens emerged as a dominant feature during their leisure time.[10] The recreational birdwatchers in this study demonstrated a conscious effort in participating in the activity, and illustrated knowledge of the different bird species and activity's practices.[11] Recreational birdwatchers therefore included the British military officers and family members who engaged in the activity during their leisure time in Upper Canada, the many British amateur travelling-naturalists and tourists who travelled to Ontario to paint and collect birds (live or stuffed) or to experience the New World wilderness, and the many Ontario residents who studied and collected birds in order to understand their environment or to display their elite status. Even those born in Ontario were considered "British and imperialistic" as Canada remained a British colony throughout the nineteenth-century.[12] However, for purpose of this study, naturalists who were commissioned on expeditions, employed by patrons, or collected for institutions were not considered recreational birdwatchers, as they observed or collected birds as part of their work.

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[10] Modified from Patricia Jasen's definition of a tourist in *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1995), pp. 6-7

[11] Outdoor recreation is practiced during one's leisure time, requires skills and knowledge, and is a conscious choice. See: Geoff Wall, "The nature of outdoor recreation," in G. Wall (ed.) *Outdoor Recreation in Canada* (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, 1989), p. 3

[12] Robert G. Moyles, *"'Improved by Cultivation': English-Canadian prose to 1914* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1994), p. 10

This study is multi-disciplinary and draws upon recreational tourism, recreation, and historical and cultural geography. Geography has had a long tradition in inquiring into relationships between nature and society in terms of the ways landscapes, resources, and cultural practices shape one another.[13] Birdwatchers' relations with and attitudes towards birds can provide the basis for a geographical inquiry into people's relationship with the natural world as birds bind people to the landscape and the natural environment.[14]

As birdwatchers today and in the past have become a significant and influential group of stakeholders in bird observation and management of parks and protected areas, understanding the evolution of birdwatchers' understanding of birds becomes even more important. Most wildlife management strategies today are based on scientific studies of stakeholders' perceptions of wildlife, without exploring historical and cultural contexts.[15]

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[13] Robin Doughty, *The English Sparrow in the American Landscape: A Paradox in Nineteenth-century Wildlife Conservation* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1978); Hugh Prince, *Wetlands of the American Midwest: A Historical Geography of Changing Attitudes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Karen M. Morin, "British women travellers and constructions of racial difference across the nineteenth-century American west," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23 (1998), pp. 311-330

[14] Catherine C. Nash, "Environmental history, philosophy and difference," *Journal of Historical Geography* 26, 1 (2000), pp. 23-27

[15] Studies in the human dimensions of wildlife are based principally on a scientifically-derived understanding of people as an essential part of the management equation. F. Filion and S. Parker, *Human Dimensions of Migratory Game-Bird Hunting in Canada* (Ottawa: CWS, 1984); J.D. Decker, T.L. Brown, N.A. Connelly, J.W. Enck, G.A. Pomerantz, K.G. Purdy, and W.F. Siemer, "Toward a comprehensive paradigm of wildlife management integrating the human and biological dimensions," in W.R. Magnun (ed.) *American Fish and Wildlife Policy: The Human*

Within the context of tourism and recreation geography, I chart the development of the birdwatching or "avitourism" industry in southern Ontario. As tourism and recreation provide meaning to people's lives, I also highlight the importance of considering class, ethnicity, and gender dimensions when conducting research in recreation and tourism studies. Birdwatching also informs tourism and recreation geography through the spatial component of the activity. As birdwatchers travel to natural areas in search of birds, spatial patterns emerge in terms of participant-generating areas (where birdwatchers are from), participant-receiving areas (birdwatching areas), and the links between the two components, such as the routes travelled and information flows between the two sets of locations.[16] However, birdwatching also involves metaphorical and imaginative space as birdwatchers construct images of the birdwatching destination and areas such as the "wilderness" and "untouched" nature where "wild" birds can be discovered. Examining the ways birdwatchers' texts constructed destination and recreational areas will enable insight into birdwatchers' motivations and expectations for their trip, and also provide insights into the birdwatchers' cultural norms and sense of identity *as birdwatchers*.

As British imperialism featured significantly in the activity's development, research findings will also inform colonial and post-colonial studies. Through amateur ornithological discourse, imperial birdwatchers asserted their ethnic superiority and culture through images of birds and aboriginal peoples.

Dimension (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), pp. 33-54; J.D. Decker and L. Chase, "Human dimensions of living with wildlife: a management challenge for the 21st century," *Wildlife Society Bulletin* 25, 4 (1997), pp. 788-795.

[16] Based on Neil Leiper's framework of tourism in, "Framework of tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 6, 4 (1979), pp. 390-407

Study Period and Area

The study period of this thesis begins when Upper Canada became a province in 1791, and ends with the publication of Thomas McIlwraith's *Birds of Ontario* in 1886. In 1791, the British Parliament passed the constitutional Act 1791, dividing the old province of Quebec in to Lower Canada in the east and Upper Canada in the west.[17] With the Act, a government was established in order to organize the colony, which involved military occupation, economic expansion, and colonization.

For the most part, southern Ontario's bird life remained relatively unknown to amateur naturalists throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries despite the fact that most of the region's avifauna had been described and studied by the Hudson's Bay Company.[18] While Nouvelle France established settlements along the St. Lawrence River, southern Ontario remained largely unpopulated by French colonists as scattered trading posts and forts were strategically located along Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.[19] Consequently, southern Ontario lacked a population

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[17] Roger Hall, "Upper Canada," in James H. Marsh (ed.) *The Canadian Encyclopedia: Year 2000 Edition* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), pp. 2421-2423

[18] Even though the Hudson's Bay Company had established widespread systems of observation and collecting during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was the French explorers who were the first to observe birds in southern Ontario as the Hudson Bay Company was confined to the northern regions of Ontario and Manitoba. Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), pp. 9-19

[19] Armed posts were located at Fort Frontenac, Fort Niagara, Fort Detroit, and Fort Michilimackimac. Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), pp. 1-2

who would have observed and written about birds in the region. Southern Ontario's first 'western' recreational birdwatchers were therefore the military officers, tourists, and early settlers who pursued the activity during their leisure time.

The basis for selecting 1886 as an endpoint for my thesis was grounded on several factors. By the 1880s, natural history practice shifted from a regional focus to a national scope with the formation of the Royal Society of Canada in 1882. Canadian naturalists and amateur ornithologists began relying on Americans for current research approaches, which eventually replaced British imperial links.[20] Furthermore, the professionalization of Canadian ornithology began in 1887 when the Canadian government established the first naturalist-ornithologist position with the Geological Survey of Canada, which eventually decreased amateur ornithology involvement.[21]

The intellectual bases of birdwatching changed, as well. Although the impact of Darwin's *Evolution of Species* (1859) can be traced in Canada during the 1860s, in general, Darwinian principles filtered into Canadian scientific circles by the mid-1880s, and into the public by the 1890s.[22] "Evolution inevitably brought into question the notion of the Bible as an

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[20] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983); Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), pp. 283-302

[21] Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. David Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds,) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge: Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), p. 289

[22] Suzanne E. Zeller, "Environment, culture, and the reception of Darwin," in R.L. Numbers and J. Stenhouse (eds.) *Disseminating Darwinism: The Role of Place, Race, Religion, and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 91-122

inspired text in which God had spoken to man of his history, his duties, and his destiny," therefore altering traditional natural history, as well as the nature of recreational birdwatching and birdwatchers' motivations for the activity.[23] By 1890, birdwatching became a part of a larger "back-to-nature" movement as urbanization, industrialization, and Darwinism filtered into Canadian society.[24] Social Darwinian ideas of "overcivilization" and "racial health" influenced many activities such as hunting and birdwatching.[25] As Wamsley stated, "Social Darwinists applied the biological concept of 'survival of the fittest' to the human social hierarchy which presupposed that subjects in question were male."[26] Figures such as Teddy Roosevelt symbolized other new approaches to bird collection as he sought to preserve "western" masculinity and racial superiority through hunting.

By the 1880s, the American Audubon Movement emerged and launched campaigns to protect North American birds. Although several residents of Ontario supported the initial Audubon Society in 1886, the National Audubon Association criticized Canada for not taking important steps towards bird preservation. In a report of the National Committee for 1904, *Bird Lore* critics stated, "strange to say, it has been impossible to establish any close relations with our

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[23] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), pp. 53-54

[24] George Altemeyer, "Three ideas of nature in Canada, 1893-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11 (Aug. 1976), pp. 21-36

[25] Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995)

[26] Kevin B. Wamsley, "The public importance of men and the important of public men: sport and masculinities in nineteenth-century Canada," in P. White and K. Young (eds.) *Sport and Gender in Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 32

neighbors on the north, nor is it evident that Audubon work has taken much hold there."[27] However, Ontario's preservation movement materialized with the humanitarian movement and the Toronto Humane Society established in 1887.[28]

Finally, as Thomas McIlwraith's *Birds of Ontario* first appeared in southern Ontario in 1886, recreational birdwatching popularized into a favourite pastime among bird collectors, bird lovers, and humanitarians.[29] In acknowledgement of the pathbreaking effect of his field guides, McIlwraith wrote in his second edition, "the kind reception of the first edition by the public, and the numerous inquiries which have recently been made for copies of the book, have induced me to prepare this second edition."[30] His *Birds of Ontario* (1886) is therefore an appropriate endpoint for this study as recreational birdwatching transformed significantly after his publication.

The geographical boundaries for this study extend roughly from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence region in the south to the Muskoka and Haliburton regions in the north, and from Lake Huron in the west to the Ottawa River in the east. The study area does not include the Hudson Bay watershed region.

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[27] Anon, "Bird protection of Canada," *Bird-Lore* VII (1905), p. 63

[28] See: J.G. Hodgins, *Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1888)

[29] McIlwraith's work was initially published by the Hamilton Association in 1885, however, the work was not released until 1886. Marianne G. Ainley, "Thomas McIlwraith (1824-1903) and the Birds of Ontario," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. viii-xiii

[30] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1894)

Data Acquisition and Methodology

Before embarking on this research project, my original objectives included examining the historical and cultural developments of birdwatching as a recreational activity in southern Ontario, 1791-1886. However, upon discovering birdwatching's rich literature, I uncovered a history waiting to be revealed and analyzed. For example, many of southern Ontario's first European recreational birdwatchers were British military officers stationed in Upper Canada by the end of the eighteenth-century. As British tourists searched for wild places during the Romantic Era, they also ventured to British North American in search of "primeval" forests and beautiful birds. Travelling-naturalists also explored the vast tracts of "untouched" lands as they emulated "Robinson Crusoes" in pursuit of unknown birds to science. When British immigrants brought the amateur natural history tradition with them to Ontario, recreational birdwatching helped shape middle-class colonial society.

Recreational ornithological discourse was expressed in a variety of published literatures ranging from ornithological field guides, travel narratives, diaries, letters, newspaper columns, popular magazine articles, government documents, and natural history periodicals. As birdwatching remained an amateur activity during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, ideas about birds and birdwatching transcended both aesthetic and scientific realms within these sources.

Primary sources therefore include many unpublished archival materials such as British military officers' letters and journals, diaries, letters, natural history meeting minutes. Published works include travel narratives, diaries, newspaper columns, and natural history periodicals, and unpublished manuscripts (Charles Fothergill, Edward Sabine, and Elizabeth Simcoe). All of these sources focus primarily on military officers, tourists, and settlers who observed, collected, or took an interest in southern Ontario's avifauna.

As there periodicals, journals, and popular books on birds are limited by the early nineteenth-century, I relied most frequently on published travel narratives that featured natural

history descriptions. As the majority of travel narratives include descriptions of flora and fauna, these texts were circulated to a wide audience.[31] Through these accounts, a British and Ontario readership informed themselves about birds in British North America and the various practices involved in the activity. According to Lloyd, these narratives served as travel guides for tourists embarking on an American tour.[32]

In order to assess the popularity and practices of birdwatching in Britain, I looked at British magazines, such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Quarterly Review*. Many of these journals also provide reviews and advertisements of the natural history travel books read by the British public. In Ontario, I investigated several popular newspapers for articles on birds. For example, I examined *The Upper Canada Gazette* at the end of the eighteenth-century to see whether United Empire Loyalists and British military officers expressed an interest in birds through the local newspaper. *The Literary Garland* served a wide readership from all over Upper Canada. As well, I looked at local newspapers as many exhibitions, natural history society notices, and museum openings featured in the community paper.

I also relied on published pamphlets as many of the mechanics' institutes and natural history societies published announcements for exhibitions, mission statements, meeting minutes, and lectures. These sources are valuable as they described the objectives and aims of naturalist societies, library collections, stuffed birds donated to the local museums, and individuals involved in organizing natural history exhibitions. Many of these works are preserved through the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM), which was "established in 1978 to locate early printed Canadian materials (books, annuals, and periodicals), preserve their content

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[31] John Battalio, *The Rhetoric of Science in the Evolution of American Ornithological Discourse* (Stamford, Conn.: Ablex Pub., 1998), p. 22

[32] Clare Lloyd, *The Travelling Naturalists* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 20

on microfilm, and make the resulting Early Canadiana Research Collection available to libraries and archives in Canada and abroad."[33]

Many of my unpublished sources such as personal diaries, letters, and journals are housed at the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. Their database, ArchiviaNet, is also very helpful in finding unpublished sources on Ontario birds and birdwatchers. Archivianet is an automated research tool that allows researchers to access a vast amount of information from various databases and automated systems created by the National Archives of Canada.[34] These unpublished sources are very insightful as they allow insight into the daily lives of recreational birdwatchers. For instance, while Elizabeth Simcoe resided in Upper Canadian in the 1790s, she corresponded with her friend, Mary Burges, who shared similar natural history interests. Elizabeth and Mary often engaged in natural history discussions on the objects they discovered. Other sources discovered through this search engine include British military officer, Edward Sabine, who worked on an ornithological notebook while serving on the Niagara Frontier.

At the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Charles Fothergill's manuscripts were consulted. His natural history journals are filled with descriptions of the many bird species he collected and observed in Upper Canada. As he maintained many draft journals, his personal notes in the margins provide a candid view of his view on birds and his approach to the activity.

Articles published in early natural history periodicals are equally valuable sources. Directed towards an audience interested in natural history, they provide insight into recreational practices. Not only was I able to find detailed descriptions of birds, I learned about the different collecting guns, the types of taxidermy needles, and the books consulted by amateur naturalists.

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[33] Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/cihm/, (5 June 2001)

[34] National Archives of Canada, http://www.archives.ca/, (5 June 2001)

According to Allen, natural history literature does not provide very much social detail (long lists of species, observations, measurements).[35] However, "it is usually only where it has been allowed to 'leak' in the more chatty periodicals, the more sharply etched obituaries, the more graphic accounts of meetings and excursions, in certain inaugural lectures and presidential addresses, above all in the far too rare volumes of reminiscences - that one can pick up clues to how naturalists of former times worked and walked and ate, whom they mixed with, and why they noted some things and missed a great deal else altogether."[36]

British periodicals such as *The Ibis* (est. 1859) and *The Zoologist* (est. 1843) provide insight into the ways British amateur ornithologists viewed Canadian birds. Many military officers published articles in these journals as they collected birds around the world. In Canada, I looked at journals such as the *Canadian Journal* (est. 1852) and the *Transactions of the Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club* (est. 1879). As a number of Ontario birdwatchers published in American periodicals by the 1880s, I also examined the *Ornithologist and Oologist* (est. 1875), a journal for bird and egg collectors. The journals provide a forum for the network of birdwatchers to exchange ideas about birds and advice about collecting and taxidermic procedures.

Secondary sources include scholarship on natural history, geography, birdwatching, ornithology, outdoor recreation and tourism, Ontario history, sport history, and natural sciences. As recreational embraced several intellectual traditions, literature on birdwatching as science, romanticism, natural theology, conspicuous consumption, and sport-hunting are consulted.

Conceptual Framework

My approach draws on work by geographers, anthropologists, cultural theorists, feminists, literary critics, philosophers, and historians to address the complexity of the study. "If

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[35] David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), p. 2

[36] David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), p. 2

historians of recreation are to do justice to their subject matter, they must set themselves lofty goals, reach out beyond the narrow bounds of their sub-discipline, and relate their findings to major themes which challenge intellects across disciplines."[37]

This research project builds on several fields such as recent work in animal geographies and the ways historical and cultural contexts shape people's ideas about animals. More specifically, it focuses on how imperial, ethnic, class, and gender ideologies shaped birdwatchers' ideas about birds.

As this thesis concentrates on birdwatching as a recreational activity, this project builds on research on the history of recreation and tourism in Ontario. Early British military officers, travellers, and settlers were Ontario's first European recreational birdwatchers. As a demand for stuffed birds and equipment emerged in the nineteenth-century, a growing recreational industry emerged. Furthermore, this project extends recent concepts in leisure and sport history such as masculinity and femininity to recreational birdwatching as a means to build on postmodern gendered theories.

Lastly, as the history of Ontario ornithology focuses on the scientific contributions of amateur birdwatchers, my research contributes to the multifaceted aspects of recreational birdwatching such as their subjective approach to birds including the romantic-aesthetic and sportsman traditions. This study therefore concentrates on the ways that birdwatching provided meaning to people's lives rather than their scientific contributions.

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[37] Geoff Wall, "Perspectives on temporal change and the history of recreation," in C.P. Cooper (ed.) *Progress in Tourism, Recreation and Hospitality Management* (London: Bellhaven Press, 1989), p. 157

The conceptual framework adopted for this thesis is informed by theory on the social construction of nature and the recent work in animal geographies. According to Doughty, Wilson, Wolch and Emel, Anderson, and Whatmore and Thorne, human ideas about animals are socially constructed rather than totally grounded in direct experience.[38] More specifically, social constructions of animals are shaped by historical and cultural contexts, and differ widely by culture, epoch, and individuals within the same society.[39] The "bodies of animals" have been, and continue to be, sites of political struggle over the construction of cultural difference and

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[38] Robin Doughty, *The English Sparrow in the American Landscape: A Paradox in Nineteenth-century Wildlife Conservation* (Oxford: School of Geography, University of Oxford Press, 1978); Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992); Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel (eds.), *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (London and New York: Verso, 1998); Kay Anderson, "Culture and nature at the Adelaide Zoo: at the frontiers of 'human' geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20 (1995), pp. 275-294; Sarah Whatmore, "Hybrid geographies: rethinking the 'human' in human geography," in D. Massey, J. Allen and P. Sarre (eds.) *Human Geography Today* (Cambridge, Eng.: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 22-40; Sarah Whatmore and Lorraine Thorne, "Wild(er)ness: reconfiguring the geographies of wildlife," *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers* 23 (1998), pp. 435-454

[39] Ann Peterson, "Environmental ethics and the social construction of nature," *Environmental Ethics* 21 (Winter, 1999), pp. 339-357

maintenance of dominant ideologies. They have been used to racialize, dehumanize, and maintain power in several ways.[40]

However, this does not mean that animals lack materiality or agency in terms of biophysical processes, or exist solely in the minds of people by language and discourse, but rather, many ideas about animals are in some ways social fabrications. According to Whatmore, nature's agency is "a relational achievement, involving the creative presence of organic beings, technological devices and discursive codes, as well as people, in the fabrics of everyday living."[41]

A deconstructive approach is adopted in order to critically analyze the ways that recreational birdwatching reproduced the imposition of British colonial rule in Canada, together with condescension towards aboriginal peoples and non-British immigrants; and the reinforcement of British, middle-class, gendered identities in southern Ontario. Based on Foucault's notion of discourse as production of knowledge imbued with power, and Derrida's notion of the rhetoricity of all texts, I deconstruct recreational ornithological discourse to "demystify" both the creation of recreational ornithological discourse and the resulting images of birds.[42] As Eagleton stated, to deconstruct "is to reinscribe and resituate meanings, events and

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[40] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Glen Elder, Jennifer Wolch, and Jody Emel, "*Le Practique Sauvage*: race, place, and the human-animal divide," in Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel (eds.), *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (London and New York: Verso, 1998), pp. 72-90

[41] Sarah Whatmore, "Hybrid geographies: rethinking the 'human' in human geography," in D. Massey, J. Allen and P. Sarre (eds.) *Human Geography Today* (Cambridge, Eng.: Blackwell, 1999), p. 26

[42] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Michel Foucault, in C. Gordon (ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972-77*

objects within broader movements and structures."[43] Moreover, "to deconstruct a text, one must look for places in a text where the author 'loses control of intention' or 'misspeaks'" in order to find hidden meanings in texts.[44] Deconstructing therefore provides a shift from examining causality and context in texts to analyzing meaning.[45]

However, rather than focussing on signs and symbols involved in representing birds (semiotics), I am more concerned with the power relations and practices involved in creating knowledge about birds, as certain practices implied powerful activities. Within tourism and recreational activities such as birdwatching, "knowledge is closely intertwined with power and is therefore highly political; this is because knowledge is produced by individuals and those individuals cannot be divorced or separated from their human or social circumstances."[46] As birdwatchers are members of a birdwatching culture, they share certain perspectives and ways of seeing. This process has implications for the knowledge that is produced and the power that is linked to it; as well as implications for deleted knowledge, such as the lore of aboriginal people.

(New York: Pantheon, 1980); Joseph Rouse. *Knowledge and Power: Toward a Political Philosophy of Science* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1987)

[43] Terry Eagleton, *Against the Grain* (London: Verso, 1986), p. 80

[44] Henrietta Nichels Shirk, "Deconstructing depression: a historical survey of the metaphorical aspects of an illness," in T.C. Kynell and M.G. Moran (eds.), *Three Keys to the Past: The History of Technical Communication* (Stamford, Conn.: Ablex, 1999), pp. 131-152

[45] Catriona M. Parratt, "About turns: reflecting on sport history in the 1990s," *Sport History Review* 29 (1998), p. 6

[46] Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, *Tourism Promotion and Power* (England: John Wiley and Sons, 1998), p. 15; Catriona M. Parratt, "About turns: reflecting on sport history in the 1990s," *Sport History Review* 29 (1998), pp. 4-12

While I disagree with Derrida's notion that nothing lies outside text, my method focuses on the practices involved in legitimizing knowledge claims about birds. "Knowledge or meaning is embedded in participatory forms of social practice and is subject to the structuring influences of historical processes and sociocultural beliefs that surround these practices," including the practices involved in recreational birdwatching.[47] As deconstructionist strategies are a "tactic to break the assumed link between reality and representation," the aim to is critically analyze the social forces that structured recreational ornithological discourse and to situate the presence of power, and its effects, on all knowledge of birds.[48] The activity was "contested space, and an arena where ideas about class, gender and ethnicity" were articulated, debated and developed.[49] This thesis will therefore deconstruct class, ethnicity, and gender dimensions in recreational ornithological discourse. By adopting a post-modern approach, I expose the oppositions and hierarchies of which ethnicity, class, and gender relations were based and how those hierarchies were constructed, legitimated, challenged, and maintained.

In order to achieve my first objective, I contextualize the historical and cultural developments of recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario, 1791-1886, by focussing primarily on secondary sources. By setting the foundation for the activity, a critical analysis into

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[47] Michael Watkins, "Ways of learning about leisure meanings," *Leisure Studies* 22 (2000), pp. 99; Catriona M. Parratt, "About turns: reflecting on sport history in the 1990s," *Sport History Review* 29 (1998), pp. 4-12

[48] J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the map," in T. Barnes and J. Duncan (eds) *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in Representations of Landscape* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 231-257

[49] Mike J. Huggins, "More sinful pleasures? Leisure, respectability and the male middle-classes in Victorian England," *Journal of Social History* (Spring 2000), p. 585

the effects of empire and gender on birdwatchers' identities and ideas about birds will be possible.

To determine how notions of empire shaped recreational birdwatching identities and ideas about birds, I focus on the ways that recreational birdwatchers defined themselves through recreational ornithological discourse. According to Hermanowicz, "those interested in how people create meaning about the natural world should find interest in how people create meaning about themselves and their place in the world."[50] By positioning recreational birdwatchers within ethnic (British) and class (middle and upper-class) categories, an analysis into the ways that recreational birdwatchers defined themselves is possible. To be an imperial birdwatcher was to be British and superior in all aspects. Imperial birdwatchers therefore compared their ornithological knowledge to those who did not birdwatch, collect, or appreciate birds within the British natural history tradition (aboriginals, lower class, non-British ethnic groups) as a means to assert their authority and superiority.

In order to examine the impact of gender on birdwatchers' ideas about birds, I critically analyze recreational birdwatching within the ideology of "doctrine of separate spheres".[51] This doctrine suggests that men and women engage in activities such as natural history differently based on the construction of public and private spheres, which parallel a sharp contrast between female and male natures. Binary oppositions include the designation of the professional or

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[50] Joseph C. Hermanowicz, "The presentation of occupation self in science," *Qualitative Sociology* 21, 2 (1998), pp. 129-130

[51] The literature on this "doctrine" is extensive. For an early influential source see: N.F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). For an Ontario study, see: Elizabeth J. Errington, *Wives and Mothers School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working women in Upper Canada 1790-1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

amateur, public or private, objective or subjective, and sublime and beautiful, which assign men and women to "appropriate" gender roles.[52] Men therefore occupy the public, professional, objective, and sublime sphere, while women focus on the home, the amateur position, and moral and aesthetic domain. I therefore critically analyze recreational ornithological discourse to determine how middle- and upper-class women and men entered recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario by focusing on the activity's different practices such as collecting with a gun, performing taxidermy, and expressing the sublime and beautiful in birds.

Although my study uncovers the different bird species collected and observed in the past, my intention is not to identify these birds properly, but to "look attentively at the nature of the representational practices that the Europeans carried with them to America and deployed when they tried to describe to their fellow countrymen what they saw and did."[53] Therefore, I am not very concerned with the inaccuracies involved in identifying and describing bird species by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century birdwatchers, as has been the purpose of many analyses of old ornithological texts. I have left the sources' vernacular and scientific bird names untouched throughout the thesis. If an author included the bird's Latin name, I have left it the way it was spelled and capitalized in the original source.

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[52] Cheryl McEwan, "Gender, science, and physical geography in nineteenth-century Britain," *Area* 30, 3 (1998), pp. 215-223; Karen Morin and Jeanne Kay Guelke, "Gender, nature, empire: Women naturalists in nineteenth-century British travel literature," paper forthcoming in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2001)

[53] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 7

Thesis Outline

In this introductory chapter, I have outlined my research goals and objectives. I suggest how this research relates to geography and how my findings will inform historical and cultural geography, wildlife management studies, tourism and recreation, and post-colonial studies. I also provide the rationale and boundaries for my study, as well as my data acquisition and conceptual framework, which is based on the social construction of animals. This chapter also highlights how a deconstructionist approach to recreational ornithological discourse is a means of answering my research questions.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the literature related to recreational birdwatching. I first explore the ways that people gain knowledge of the natural world by explaining current realist and relativist debates. My literature review involves research on exploration, natural history, and colonial science; wilderness tourism; outdoor recreation and sport; imperial identities; and the history of ornithology. By providing an outline of the research relating to recreational birdwatching, I distinguish how my research builds on previous work.

Chapter 3 examines the historical and cultural developments of recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario, 1791-1886 by introducing the British natural history tradition and highlighting the activity's participants. This chapter sets the foundation for further analysis into the effects of empire, ethnicity, class, and gender on recreational birdwatching and ideas about birds in proceeding chapters.

In Chapter 4, I determine how notions of empire shaped imperial birdwatching identities and ideas about birds by focusing on the different practices that recreational birdwatchers engaged in and how they defined themselves. Practices such as bird collecting, illustrating, classifying, performing taxidermy, aestheticizing, and commodifying all extended the concept of empire. Furthermore, to be an imperial birdwatcher was to be "British" and superior. British birdwatchers therefore asserted their authority through recreational ornithological discourse by defining themselves in relation to those who did not pursue the activity within the British natural history

tradition (aboriginals, non-British immigrants, Americans, and lower class), and by personifying certain bird species with racist and xenophobic attributes.

Chapter 5 critically analyzes the different practices involved in recreational birdwatching and how men and women entered the activity. Research suggests that middle- and upper-class women engaged in the activity differently than men did, owing to conceptual boundaries created by their male counterparts such as excluding women from natural history societies, collecting with a gun, performing taxidermy, and engaging in the sportsman tradition. Because of the different practices, men and women's ideas about birds were shaped differently based less upon biological factors than on socially defined practices.

In my final chapter, I discuss and review the research contributions of this study, outline its limitations, comment on methodological lessons, and provide direction for future research in relation to recreational birdwatching.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In order to critically analyze the impacts of recreational birdwatching on reproducing the imposition of British colonial rule in Canada and the reinforcement of British, middle-class, gendered identities in southern Ontario, I draw on geography, history, feminist studies, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and tourism and recreation studies. To address the complexity of the activity, I have organized my literature review into six categories: knowledge of the natural world, exploration and colonial natural history; wilderness tourism; outdoor recreation and sport; imperial identities; and the history of ornithology in Ontario.

Knowledge of the Natural World

Current debates on how people gain knowledge about the world have centered on realist and relativist epistemologies, which have been important to understand the ways humans come to understand the natural world.[54] Realism, for example, "refers to the ontological proposition that reality exists independently of our ideas of it, and the epistemological proposition that this reality is, to some significant extent, knowable."[55] To determine whether a concept in the natural world is true or not, "one seeks some form of empirical verification." As a result, "the ultimate objects

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[54] Rob Kitchin and Nicholas J. Tate, *Conducting Research into Human Geography* (London: Prentice Hall, 2000), p. 24

[55] James D. Proctor, "The social construction of nature: relativist accusations, pragmatist and critical realist responses," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, 3 (1998), p. 360

of scientific inquiry exist and act (for the most part) quite independently of scientists and their activity."[56]

The natural world, in this sense, encompasses "the structures, processes and causal powers that are constantly operative within the physical world, that provide the objects of study of the natural sciences, and condition the possible forms of human intervention in biology or interaction with the environment."[57] Knowledge and ideas about nature are "knowable through direct experience," and through measurement and observation by an objective observer.[58] The natural world is therefore "understood as objects separate and apart from the subjects who study them", and cannot not be known subjectively.[59] According to Evernden, this presumption "removes even the possibility of contemplation in nature, for it effectively removes all subjects from nature."[60] As a result, realism does not appear to be a point of view.[61]

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[56] Roy Bhaksar, *Reclaiming Reality: A Critical Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy* (London: Verso, 1989), p. 12

[57] Kate Soper, *What is Nature? Culture, Politics and the Non-Human* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 155-156

[58] James D. Proctor, "The social construction of nature: relativist accusations, pragmatist and critical realist responses," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, 3 (1998), p. 360

[59] N. Katherine Hayles, "Searching for common ground," in Michael E. Soulé and Gary Lease (eds.) *Reinventing Nature Responses to Postmodern Deconstruction* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1995), p. 57

[60] Neil Evernden, *The Social Creation of Nature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 108

[61] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 38

With respect to relativist epistemologies, Haraway has been influential in challenging the realist approach by stating that knowledge is situated in the writers' own circumstances, and "the themes of race, sexuality, gender, nation, family, and class have been written into the body of nature in western life sciences since the eighteenth-century."[62] By focussing on scientific practice and scientific theories as culturally situated, nature is therefore socially constructed.[63] As Haraway stated, "science is not innocent."[64]

For instance, M.M. Van de Pitte deconstructed ornithological literature in order to uncover male biases relating to birds as an expression of male social dominance in the biological sciences.[65] Naming a bird species was often based on the biological characteristics of a male rather than a female; and in ornithological illustrations, female birds were often portrayed in the background, if at all. Moreover, theories of sexual selection (a form of natural selection) constructed male birds with Darwinian masculine virtues such as greater size or effective ornament for subduing male rivals or attracting females.[66] "This doctrine takes the male bird to

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[62] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 1

[63] Similar claims have been made by M.M. Van de Pitte and Anne Innis Dagg. M.M. Van de Pitte, " 'The female is somewhat duller': the construction of the sexes in ornithological literature," *Environmental Ethics* 20 (Spring, 1998), pp. 23-39; Anne Innis Dagg, *Harems and Other Horrors: Sexual Bias in Behavioural Biology* (Waterloo, Ontario: Otter Press, 1983)

[64] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 11

[65] M.M. Van de Pitte, " 'The female is somewhat duller': the construction of the sexes in ornithological literature," *Environmental Ethics* 20 (Spring, 1998), pp. 23-39

[66] Sexual selection is a form of natural selection that occurs when individuals vary in their ability to compete with others for mates (the competition for mates component of sexual selection) or in

bird to be the real bird," as "males get weeded out in the race to procreate" and are therefore the ones that evolve.[67] By tracing the roots of sexism in simplistic and reductivist Darwinian notions and the theories of natural and sexual selection, Van de Pitte concluded that "ornithology is markedly male biased."

Consequently, knowledge "is not a neutral thing but is produced in the interests of specific individuals or institutions, and within a system of rules that determine what even gets to count as knowledge; that justice, reason, and truth are not eternal but are constructed and shaped within specific historical and cultural contexts; that all truths are partial."[68] Language is central to people's understanding of the natural world, which is understood "as systems of signification incorporating symbols and structures of all forms of communication... conceptualized as having a discursive, determining power: it does not just convey meaning, it constitutes culture and being."[69] Nature is therefore not objective reality, but "in fact, a complex origin as a social

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their attractiveness to members of the opposite sex (the mate choice component of sexual selection) in John Alcock, *Animal Behavior* (Sunderland, Mass.: Sinauer Associates, 1993), p. 578

[67] M.M. Van de Pitte, " 'The female is somewhat duller': the construction of the sexes in ornithological literature," *Environmental Ethics* 20 (Spring, 1998), p. 35

[68] Catriona M. Parratt, "About turns: reflections on sport history in the 1990s," *Sport History Review* 29, 4 (1998), p. 5

[69] Catriona M. Parratt, "About turns: reflections on sport history in the 1990s," *Sport History Review* 29, 4 (1998), p. 6

creation."[70] The nonhuman is "drawn into a symbolic system which orders and explains, interprets and assigns value."[71]

Recently, challenges to the idea of the social construction of nature have been made by critical realists, who claim that "ideas are social concepts that have ontological basis but are understood via a particular, socially predisposed framework. Knowledge to critical realists is neither wholly objective nor subjective but is in fact the result of interaction between subject and object."[72] For example, according to Rich:

> "the Great Blue Heron is not a symbol... it is a bird, *Ardea herodias*, whose form, dimensions, and habits have been described by ornithologists, yet whose intangible ways of being and knowing remain beyond my – or anyone's – reach... Neither of us – woman or bird – is a symbol, despite efforts to make us that. But I needed to acknowledge the heron with speech, and confirming its name. To it I brought the kind of thing my kind of creature does."[73]

Yet, naming animal species is not simply a neutral practice that humans do to understand the natural world. "Naming" implies human dominance over nature and a cultural practice endowed with historical and cultural significance. As culturally constructed, for instance, the great blue heron was placed into a classification system as *Ardea herodias*, which was created by an elite European male scientific community that dismissed aboriginal natural knowledge through which native people had previously understood their local heron. Therefore, the ways that people

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[70] Neil Evernden, *The Social Creation of Nature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 109

[71] Neil Evernden, *The Social Creation of Nature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 131

[72] James D. Proctor, "The social construction of nature: relativist accusations, pragmatist and critical realist responses," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, 3 (1998), p. 361

[73] Adrienne Rich, "Woman and bird," *What is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and Politics* (New York: Quality Paperback Book Club, 1994), p. 7

understand the natural world are, in some way, shaped by cultural contexts such as imperialism, class, gender, and ethnicity. As Winner stated, "today, as in the past, ideas about natural things must be examined and criticized not only for the ways they help us understand the material world, but for the equality of their social and political counsel. Nature will justify anything. Its texts contain opportunities for myriad of interpretations."[74]

Geographers and environmental historians have studied human attitudes, perceptions, and ideas about animals. This research sheds light on animals as central agents in the constitution of space and place and how human ideas about animals are shaped by historical and cultural contexts, including political-economic debates, scientific and religious ideologies, urbanization, agriculture, and popular culture.[75] As Doughty stated, "animals have symbolic value and figure prominently in the myth, superstition and folklore that bind people to landscape, place and

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[74] Langdon Winner, *The Whale and the Reactor: a search for limits in an age of high technology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 137

[75] On the social construction of animals, see: Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 1-15; Alexander Wilson, *Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Toronto: Between the Lines,1992); Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel, *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (New York: Verso, 1998); Kay Anderson, "Culture and nature at the Adelaide Zoo: At the frontiers of 'human' geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20 (1995), pp. 275-294; and Sarah Whatmore and Lorraine Thorne, "Wild(er)ness: reconfiguring the geographies of wildlife," *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers* 23 (1998), pp. 435-454; D.P. Del Mar, "Our animal friends," *Environmental History* 3 (1998), pp. 25-43

home."[76] Human ideas about animals are therefore socially constructed and "continue to be routinely imagined and organized within multiple social orderings in different times and places."[77] However, this does not mean that animals lack materiality or agency in terms of biophysical processes, or exist solely in the minds of people by language and discourse, but rather, many ideas about animals, including some held by scientists, are social fabrications.

Doughty, for example, deconstructed attitudes towards the English sparrow in the American landscape during the nineteenth-century. Ideas of the non-native species were strongly influenced by increasing urbanization and immigration as sparrow haters were quick to link the bird to immigrants and urban life. Experts and middle-class Anglo-Saxons therefore personified the bird with anti-foreigner and xenophobic sentiments, which devalued immigrant groups and helped protect an elitist national identity.[78] Evenden revealed similar findings in his work on nineteenth-century American economic ornithology.[79]

These works suggest that animals helped shape racialized identities.[80] For example, Anderson examined the representational practices at the Adelaide Zoo, which reinforced colonial

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[76] Robin Doughty, *The English Sparrow in the American Landscape: A Paradox in Nineteenth-century Wildlife Conservation* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1978), p. 5

[77] Sarah Whatmore and Lorraine Thorne, "Wild(er)ness: reconfiguring the geographies of wildlife," *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers* 23 (1998), p. 437

[78] Robin Doughty, *The English Sparrow in the American Landscape: A Paradox in Nineteenth-century Wildlife Conservation* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1978)

[79] Matthew D. Evenden, "The laborers of nature: economic ornithology and the role of birds as agents of biological pest control in North American agriculture, ca. 1880-1930," *Forest and Conservation History* 39 (October, 1995), pp. 172-183

[80] Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel, *Animal Geographies* (London and New York: Verso , 1998), p. xvii; Jody Emel, "Are you man enough, big and bad enough? Wolf eradication in the US," in J.

rule, oppressed indigenous peoples, and gendered and racialized underpinnings to legitimate Australian colonial identity.[81]

Schmitt revealed how ideas about birds helped shape late nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon middle-class identity in the northeastern United States. In his examination of urban middle-class birdwatchers, nature-lovers and birdwatchers perceived birds based on "Christian ornithology" that classified "good" and "bad" birds according to standards of Victorian morality. Good birds were those that mated for life, returned to the same nesting area year after year, preserved the appearance of family unity, and were well-bred. Bad birds, on the other hand, fed on meat and dead carcasses, killed the weak and the helpless, acquired several mates throughout a nesting season, stole food from good birds, nested in other species' nests, and were ungrateful foreigners.[82]

Exploration and Colonial Natural History

Just as the development of British natural history informed recreational birdwatching, British imperialism also influenced the development of the activity. Although not usually part of

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Wolch and J. Emel (eds.) *Animal Geographies* (London and New York, 1998), pp. 91-116; Glen Elder, Jenneifer Wolch, and Jody Emel, "*Le Pratique Sauvage*: Race, place, and the human-animal divide," in J. Wolch and J. Emel (eds.) *Animal Geographies* (London and New York, 1998), pp. 72-90

[81] Kay Anderson, "Culture and Nature at the Adelaide Zoo: At the frontiers of 'human' geography, " *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20 (1995), pp. 275-294; Kay Anderson, "Animals, Science, and the Spectacle in the City," in J. Wolch and J. Emel (eds.) *Animal Geographies* (London and New York: Verso, 1998), pp. 27-50

[82] Peter Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 37-39

formal expeditions, recreational birdwatchers explored and documented the interior's avifauna as unpaid and informal observers. Bird collectors and observers classified and extracted specimens from their ecological habitats, appropriated aboriginal knowledge, and contributed to the growing wealth of information accumulated at the metropolitan centre (Britain). The following section investigates the development of exploration and colonial natural history in relation to British North America.

"Mapping" an Empire

According to Gascoigne, Miller, and MacKay, natural history exploration was instrumental to British imperialism.[83] By analyzing natural history explorations within Latourian concepts, they theorized that empire was "a way of conceiving the world which [gave] privileged status to the forms of knowledge and canons of rationality that predominate[d] in the metropolitan power."[84] As British imperialism was "often much less formal than outright annexation of treaties

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[83] David MacKay, "Agents of empire: the Bankian collectors and evaluation of new lands," in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill (eds.) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 38-57; John Gascoigne, "The ordering of nature and the ordering of empire: a commentary," in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill (eds.) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 107-113; David P. Miller, "Joseph Banks, empire, and "centres of calculation" in the late Hanoverian London," in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill (eds.) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 21-38

[84] John Gascoigne, "The ordering of nature and the ordering of empire: a commentary," in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill (eds.) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 107

determining 'spheres of influence'," natural history provided a transforming agent for disseminating the ideology of empire through its practices, which included naming, classifying, and describing natural objects.[85] Focussed on "centres of calculation" and "accumulation", explorations attempted to gather "as much information as possible in a form which would extend the imperium of European powers." As explorers brought information back from new lands, knowledge accumulated at the imperial centre (centre of calculation), which was then reused by future voyagers to extend the boundaries of empire. According to MacKay, natural history collecting enabled the spread of empire by refashioning the natural world to suit the needs of the metropolitan power (Britain), which also provided the ideological justification for the civilizing mission.[86] "Once the accumulation cycle and the mobilisation of the world" it triggered were considered, " the superiority of some centres over what appear by contrast to be the periphery may be documented."[87]

In order for knowledge to be useful, natural history required a system of classification, which privileged sight as the sense of establishing truth. The Linnaean classification system therefore provided a medium to convert natural history into the "visible", as language and natural

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[85] John Gascoigne, "The ordering of nature and the ordering of empire: a commentary," in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill (eds.) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 111

[86] David P. Miller, "Joseph Banks, empire, and "centres of calculation" in the late Hanoverian London," in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill (eds.) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 21-38

[87] Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Milton Keynes, England: Open University Press, 1987), p. 228

phenomena became one.[88] Linnaeus's descriptive order proposed that "every chapter dealing with a given animal should follow the following plan: name, theory, kind, species, attribute, use."[89]

Moreover, natural history involved "plucking" natural objects from their natural surroundings and cultural contexts and placed them into imperial frameworks. By adapting Foucault's analysis of natural history, Pratt described how "one by one the planet's life forms were to be drawn out of the tangled threads of their life surroundings and removed into European-based patterns of global unity and order."[90] With European classification systems, Europeans could locate every species on the planet, extract it from its surroundings, and place it into a system of order with its new European secular name. Natural history collecting extracted natural objects not only from their ecological habitats, but also from the economic, social, and symbolic places of indigenous people.

Similarly, Haraway focused her history of primatology on the ways in which "Western" science represented empire, domination, and control in its approach to the bodies of primates. Primate studies were a colonial affair "in which knowledge of the living and dead bodies of monkeys and apes was part of the systems of unequal exchange of extractive colonialism."[91]

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[88] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, Pantheon Books, 1970), pp. 132-138

[89] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York, Pantheon Books, 1970), p. 130

[90] Mary Louise Pratt used Michel Foucault's *Order of Things* (1970) for her analysis. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 31

[91] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 19

Primates, apes in particular, were a "part of the ideological framework... of western imperial imaginations."[92] For example, Haraway focussed on taxidermy, photography, and natural history museums as practices of representation that transmitted ideas of "patriarch" and colonization through primate bodies collected in Africa.

Pratt's analysis of naturalists' travel writing suggested that naturalists personified "a European bourgeois subject simultaneously innocent and imperial, asserting a harmless hegemonic vision that installs no apparatus of domination."[93] By creating a "planetary consciousness", the descriptive system created "a utopian, innocent vision of European global authority," which Pratt termed "anti-conquest" that intended to emphasize the relational meaning of natural history rather than as a means of appropriation."[94]

As explorations focused on the contents of new lands, "Gullivers" and "Crusoes" travelled to new territories in search of discoveries and curiosities.[95] For instance, as "Crusoes" established themselves in new colonies, they founded institutions based on British models and undertook natural history mapping in their new lands. Gates referred to these colonists as Britain's "culturally colonized collectors" as they compiled data on

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[92] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routlege, 1989), pp. 1-2

[93] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 33

[94] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 15 and p. 39

[95] Suzanne E. Zeller, "Nature's Gullivers and Crusoes: the scientific exploration of British North America, 1800-1970," in J.L. Allen (ed.) *North American Exploration: A Continent Comprehended* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 190-243

the empire through natural history collecting, illustrating, and publishing.[96] Science in Canada therefore remained "colonial" throughout the early nineteenth-century, as practitioners depended on British scientific traditions, educational systems, sources, and practices for their activities.[97] However, European knowledge of "New World" flora and fauna could not have been gained without the help of the Canadian aboriginal hunters, collectors, informants, and assistants, whose contributions were largely ignored.[98]

Canadian natural history therefore emerged as an extension of the British natural history tradition as settlers and military officers transplanted the activity's practices to the new colony.[99] Such practices included classification systems, natural history societies, and ideological

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[96] Barbara Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian women embrace the living world* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 102-105

[97] The centre of scientific activity focused on Europe and European practices and topics of investigation. Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), pp. 283-302

[98] Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), pp. 283-302

[99] A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), pp. 59-85; Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. 3-27; Suzanne E. Zeller, *Land of Promise, Promised Land: The Culture of Victorian Science in Canada*, Canadian Historical Association Booklet No. 56 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Society), pp. 1-12

frameworks for the activity. According to Berger, "natural history had reflected and chanelled some of the strongest drives in colonial culture."[100] As a leisure pursuit, it espoused the British fondness for rational recreation, self-improvement, and spiritual awareness. Natural history therefore helped shape a Canadian upper-middle-class colonial identity that did not have its own past or traditions.[101] As Holman stated, pursuing amateur science served as an ideal and a "hallmark of membership in the middle ranks, or, at least, an indication of one's social ambitions."[102]

Gender, Exploration, and Natural History

However, since exploration, mapping, surveying, and discovery comprised a masculine domain, how did women enter the field of natural history and exploration?[103] Did women and

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[100] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 47

[101] In Britain, the aspiring middle-class adopted natural history as a defining feature of British middle-class values. David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (London: A. Lane, 1976), pp. 73-82; Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820-1870* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 13-25; Nicolette Scource, *Victorians and Their Flowers* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 14-18; Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 11-17

[102] Andrew C. Holman, " 'Cultivation' and the middle-class 'self': manners and morals in Victorian Ontario," in E.A. Montigny and L. Chambers (eds.) *Ontario Since Confederation: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 108

[103] Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Discoverers* (New York : Random House, 1983); David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Oxford, UK : Blackwell Publishers, 1992), pp. 102-138

men engage in the same activities and practices? One approach suggests that men and women approach the natural world differently because of biological and physiological differences of the sexes.[104] Because men and women are "embodied differently", they "live in different worlds."[105]

However, the "doctrine of separate spheres" suggests that men and women engaged in natural history differently based on cultural norms such as the binary oppositions of professional or amateur, public or private, and objective and subjective, which assigned men and women to "appropriate" gender roles.[106] According to this ideology, upper- and middle-class men occupied

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[104] Adrienne Rich, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976); Adrienne Rich, *What is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993); Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Vera Norwood, "Constructing gender in nature: bird society through the eyes of John Burroughs and Florence Merriam Bailey," in J.P. Herron and A.G. Kirk (eds.) *Human/Nature: Biology, Culture, and Environmental History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1999), pp. 49-62

[105] Vera Norwood, "Constructing gender in nature: bird society through the eyes of John Burroughs and Florence Merriam Bailey," in J.P. Herron and A.G. Kirk (eds.) *Human/Nature: Biology, Culture, and Environmental History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), p. 50

[106] Cheryl McEwan, "Gender, science, and physical geography in nineteenth-century Britain," *Area* 30, 3 (1998), pp. 215-223; Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen Morin, "Gender, nature, empire: Women naturalists in nineteenth-century British travel literature," paper forthcoming in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2001); N.F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Elizabeth J. Errington, *Wives and Mothers School Mistresses and Scullery Maids:*

the public, professional, and objective sphere, while women pursued the private, amateur, and domestic sphere as men predominantly defined appropriate gender roles within society.

When natural history became increasingly popular among women and men towards the late nineteenth-century, men strove to dominate and define the professional field as a means to exclude the amateur, which therefore excluded women. The British educational system and political opportunities were strongly biased in favour of men, which marginalized women from professional space until the twentieth century.[107] Women were not admitted to the Linnaean Society until 1905.[108] Moreover, the sphere of rationality and objectivity remained ideologically as a masculine prerogative. As Blunt stated, reason and rationality as masculine traits were reinforced by the Enlightenment Era, "when perceptions of a split between mind and body posited knowledge as autonomous and subjective."[109]

Men also created masculine spaces for exploration and discovery that excluded women, such as the "field".[110] Because the travelling naturalist personified the "adventurous, open to new

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Working Women in Upper Canada 1790-1840 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995)

[107] Mary R.S. Creese, *Ladies in the Laboratory? American and British Women in Science, 1800-1900: A Survey of their Contributions to Research* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1998)

[108] Barbara Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 66

[109] Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994), p. 2

[110] Cheryl McEwan, "Gender, science, and physical geography in nineteenth-century Britain," *Area* 30, 3 (1998), pp. 215-223; Dorinda Outram, "New space in natural history," in N. Jardine, J.A. Secord, and E.C. Spary (eds.) *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1996), pp. 249-265; Matthew Sparke, "Displacing the field in fieldwork:

experiences, ever hopeful of uncovering natural novelties," men predominated the field.[111] Outram illustrated how France created an image of "naturalistes-voyageurs" moving over rugged terrain in the pursuit of exotic plants and animals. The field naturalist signified heroism and courage, which the French revered. As Outram stated, he "came closer than any other men of science to emulating the heroic men of action."[112] Furthermore, the "field" itself was feminized "as a seductive but wild place that must be observed, penetrated, and mastered by the geographer [or naturalist]."[113] Discovery of nature could therefore be a metaphor for sexual conquest.

Women were encouraged to pursue natural history but only in spatially limited and socially acceptable ways.[114] As Shteir pointed out, the middle-class positioned natural history as an appropriate activity for women to shape appropriate learning within a new style of family. Women therefore pursued natural history within the private, or domestic, space, and entered the activity through "non-threatening" activities such as insect- and shell-collecting, botanical

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masculinity, metaphor, and space," in N. Duncan (ed.) *Bodyspace: Destabilizing geographies of gender and sexuality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 212-233

[111] Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 55

[112] Dorinda Outram, "New space in natural history," in N. Jardine, J.A. Secord, and E.C. Spary (eds.) *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1996), p. 259

[113] Matthew Sparke, "Displacing the field in fieldwork: masculinity, metaphor and space," in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 212

[114] Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women. Cultivating Science: Flora's Daughters and Botany in England, 1760-1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 1-7 and pp. 35-57; Judith Johnson, "'Woman's testimony': imperialist discourse in the professional colonial travel writing of Louisa Anne Meredith and Catharine Parr Traill," *Australia and New Zealand Studies in Canada* 11 (June 1994), pp. 34-55

illustration, and fern pressing. The alignment of women and botany fulfilled several functions that became part of the social construction of femininity in girls. "Polite botany" shaped manners and morals of young privileged women. Painting, illustrating, and deriving moral teachings from animal behaviour therefore remained acceptable media for women to enter natural history.[115] Because botany remained defined as a suitable activity for women, it also served as a 'legitimating factor for women travellers' otherwise transgressive presence" in colonies such as Africa.[116]

Because ornithology remained an inclusive field for amateurs throughout the nineteenth-century unlike natural history as a whole, upper- and middle-class women were able to contribute to the field.[117] However, as Creese illustrated, women rarely published in scientific journals in the nineteenth-century.[118] Ainley examined specifically women's participation in ornithology throughout the nineteenth-century. Her research findings suggested that women entered the field

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[115] Judith Johnson, "'Woman's testimony': imperialist discourse in the professional colonial travel writing of Louisa Anne Meredith and Catharine Parr Traill," *Australia and New Zealand Studies in Canada* 11 (June 1994), pp. 34-55; Barbara Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian women embrace the living world* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 66-143

[116] Cheryl McEwan, "Gender, science, and physical geography in nineteenth-century Britain," *Area* 30, 3 (1998), p. 219

[117] Marianne G. Ainley, "Last in the field? Canadian women natural scientists, 1815-1965," *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990), pp. 25-62

[118] Mary R.S. Creese, *Ladies in the Laboratory? American and British Women in Science, 1800-1900: A Survey of their Contributions to Research* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), pp. 121-126

through "non-threatening" activities such as painting, describing, protecting, and popularizing birds rather than as scientists.[119] Women who entered scientific discourse did so usually as wives, mothers, and sisters of male scientists. According to Lindsay, women emerged as "inmates" or "intimates" to the scientific community.[120]

Wilderness Tourism

The early history of British North American tourism has also been linked to imperialistic ideologies. As British travellers searched for the "wild", they constructed "primitive" and "innocent" places to escape civilization and redefine themselves. By racializing aboriginals as "noble savages" or "uncivilized", British tourists reassured themselves of their superiority in the world. According to MacCannell, tourists embark on journeys such as these in order to escape the pressures of modern world in search for and unique experiences.[121] This "search for wilder places," Towner suggested, arose during the Romantic movement with its interest in natural history; the influence of art, literature and travel on the aesthetic; transportation innovations; and

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[119] Marianne G. Ainley, "Last in the field? Canadian women natural scientists, 1815-1965," *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990), pp. 25-62; Marianne G. Ainley, "Science in Canada's backwoods: Catharine Parr Traill," in B.T. Gates and A.B. Shteir (eds.) *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pp. 79-97

[120] Debra Lindsay, "Intimate inmates: wives, households, and science in nineteenth-century America," *Isis* 89 (1998) pp. 631-652

[121] Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, 3 (1976), pp. 589-603

changes due to industrialization and urbanization during the late eighteenth-century.[122] As a result, new forms of tourism included the search for "discovery" and "untouched" lands. Interest in the "wild" therefore shifted to the "New World" as images and collections of exotic animals and primitive people ignited the British imagination.[123] By the turn of the nineteenth-century, natural history accounts featured prominently in travel and travel narratives.[124] As Lloyd explained, travel narratives were read and reread by travellers as they considered their journey, "much as we might scrutinize brochures when planning a holiday abroad."[125]

In Ontario, British tourists arrived in search of new sights and experiences during the nineteenth-century.[126] As British travellers and early settlers pursued "wild men", they participated in a growing tourism industry that involved imperialistic appropriation and commercialization of landscape tourist images, services, and souvenirs. "Not only places but people became objects of the commodification process when they fell under the tourists' gaze,

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[122] John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), pp. 146-147

[123] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), p. 6 and pp. 189-225

[124] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 27-28; John Battalio, *The Rhetoric of Science in the Evolution of American Ornithological Discourse* (Stamford, Conn.: Ablex Pub., 1998), pp. 21-22

[125] Clare Lloyd, *The Travelling Naturalists* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 20

[126] Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995)

and the act of defining them, of endowing them with meaning, itself involved a kind of appropriation or assertion of control."[127]

Elite British gentlemen, as Jasen stated, were at the forefront of British North American tourism as they sought adventure, authenticity, and freedom. Privileged women, too, participated in tourism for many of the same reasons as men. Yet many found it difficult to travel due to home, family, and social commitments. However, this was probably not true for wealthy or older couples, or single women who did not have children, or wealthy women who employed governesses.

Imperial expansion provided opportunities for upper- and middle-class women to travel as wives, missionaries, writers, or naturalists.[128] According to Mills, travelling women remained innocent to imperialistic ideologies while travelling to new lands.[129] However, as Blunt highlighted, travel provided opportunities for women to share temporarily in racial superiority in the context of imperial power and authority. Blunt's analysis of Mary Kingsley's travel narratives, penned by an upper-class English woman, illustrated how Kingsley experienced gender subordination at home in Britain, but was able to share in the racial superiority of imperial authority and power while on her travels. Women were "defined primarily in the private

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[127] Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 15

[128] Alison Blunt, "Mapping authorship and authority: reading Mary Kingsley's landscape descriptions," in A. Blunt and G. Rose (eds.) *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Post-Colonial Geographies* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1994), pp. 51-72

[129] Sara Mills, "Knowledge, gender, and empire, " in A. Blunt and G. Rose (eds.) *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Post-Colonial Geographies* (New York & London: Guilford Press, 1994), pp. 29-50

domestic sphere before traveling into more public spheres", where they were able to participate in British imperial rhetoric."[130]

Travelling to new lands, therefore, provided a medium for some women to overstep traditional social conventions such as those constructed in the private domestic sphere during the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. Fowler's analysis of Canadian women's travel narratives centered on a traveller's "androgynous ideal" whereby the characteristics of the sexes were not pre-determined, so that every human being could have a full range of expression of personality. For both women and men, the ideal constituted "an escape from the shackles of gender-stereotyping into a wide-open, freely chosen world of individual responses and behaviour". Men could be tender and intuitive, while women could be tough and rational. Fowler believed that the Canadian wilderness encouraged women to be more "masculine" in two ways: a pragmatic level of action, which demanded initiative and courage, and an imaginative level in which "the wilderness offered a mirror for the psyche." As Fowler stated, upper- and middle-class British women such as Elizabeth Simcoe, Catharine Parr Traill, and Anna Jameson could let their psyches "run wild along with the forest undergrowth and its furtive inhabitants. Now these women began to identify with white water, forest fires, giant trees, bald eagles."[131]

Outdoor Recreation and Sport

Recent scholarship in sport and leisure history provides critical insights into the meaning of recreational activities to people's lives. As many studies incorporated notions of ethnicity, class, and gender into their analyses, they highlight important concepts including gentrified

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[130] Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994), p. 162

[131] Marian Fowler, *The Embroidered Tent: Five Gentlewomen in Early Canada* (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), pp. 10-11

masculinity and the doctrine of separate spheres. The following literature provides an overview of the links between hunting and imperialism, military recreation in early Upper Canada, and notions of masculinity and femininity in relation to outdoor recreation.

According to MacKenzie, hunting became part of imperialistic culture as "imperialism... was a habit of mind, a dominant idea in the era of European world supremacy which had widespread intellectual, cultural and technical expressions."[132] Throughout the nineteenth-century, many European hunters pursued hunting as a symbolic activity of global dominance. Hunting exploited animals in European colonies and appropriated indigenous cultural practices. As elite gentlemen adopted natural history as a form of hunting, sportsman-naturalists positioned themselves as imperial agents. Killing was in a sense legitimated by their "understanding of the quarry, its environment and its anatomy, and [the naturalist's] knowledge of firearms and ballistics added an extra dimension."[133] As the European culture of hunting transferred overseas, British travelling sportsmen searched for wilderness and new species to discover, which reinforced European expansionism. The sportsman-naturalist tradition remained a masculine affair, although the history of hunting includes aristocratic women who engaged in hawking and fox hunting, such as Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth I.[134]

As many British military officers engaged in sportsman activities while serving abroad, their recreational activities symbolized imperial presence in Britain's overseas colonies. For example, Hess critically examined the way military officers transferred dominant British beliefs

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[132] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. ix

[133] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 300

[134] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 21

through sporting activities while stationed in India during the nineteenth-century.[135] According to Mangan and Callum, field sports such as cricket symbolized aristocratic privilege and the sustained code of a gentleman.[136] Aristocratic "masculinity" involved military prowess and codes of honour based on medieval and chivalric martial values. Just as field sports did not enter the public school curriculum until the 1850s, sportsman hunting also remained an elite masculine activity.[137]

During British North America's military occupation to 1871, many military officers engaged in recreational activities as a means to pass the time. The "diversion of outdoor recreation" for officers "thus became important in maintaining morale in what otherwise might have been a monotonous tour of duty."[138] Several Canadian researchers have illustrated the extent of their activities in Britain's colony. Day showed how British military personnel stationed in the Maritimes not only preserved and defended the territory, but also sustained

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[135] Rob Hess, "A heeling hegemony: Florence Nightingale, the British Army in India and 'a want of ... exercise," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15, 3 (Dec. 1998), pp. 1-17

[136] J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, "The other side of the coin: Victorian masculinity, field sports and English elite education," *Making European Masculinities: Sport, Europe, Gender* (London and Portland, OR.: Frank Cass, 2000), pp. 62-85

[137] J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, "The other side of the coin: Victorian masculinity, field sports and English elite education," *Making European Masculinities: Sport, Europe, Gender* (London and Portland, OR.: Frank Cass, 2000), pp. 62-85

[138] Peter Lindsay, "The impact of the military garrisons on the development of sport in British North America," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 1, 1 (May, 1970), p. 33

British recreational practices such as cricket, aquatic sport, and horse racing.[139] Similarly, Bouchier focused on the half-pay officers engaged in cricket while settling in Upper Canada during the Rebellion Era.[140]

Wamsley interpreted the ways that recreational activities transmitted imperialistic ideologies within British North America. Nineteenth-century recreation derived from patriarchal organization and practices that originated from Britain. "In this era, ruling and middle-class men rationalized the segregated sporting pursuits as necessary maintenance of British ideals of manliness and gentlemanly integrity."[141] "Gentry masculinity" denoted honour, pride, and status, while "bush masculinity" displayed physical performance, fights, and races. Elite men therefore denounced other forms of masculinity such as "bush masculinity", which was often associated with the native population. As a result, gentlemanly "hegemonic masculinity" was promoted and reinforced throughout the colony as a defining feature of upper- and middle-class male masculinity.[142]

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[139] Robert D. Day, "The British garrison at Halifax: its contribution to the development of sport in the community," in Morris Mott (ed.) *Sports in Canada: Historical Readings* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1989), pp. 28-36

[140] Nancy B. Bouchier, " 'Aristocrats' and their 'Noble Sport': Woodstock officers and cricket during the Rebellion Era," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 20, 1 (May, 1989), pp. 16-26

[141] Kevin B. Wamsley, "The public importance of men and the important of public men: sport and masculinities in nineteenth-century Canada," in P. White and K. Young (eds.) *Sport and Gender in Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 28

[142] Kevin B. Wamsley, "The public importance of men and the important of public men: sport and masculinities in nineteenth-century Canada," in P. White and K. Young (eds.) *Sport and Gender in Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 24-39. Greg Gillespie also used Wamsley's concept of "gentry" masculinity in "Sport and 'Masculinities' in early-nineteenth-

Although these studies have provided insight into gentrified masculinity, many have not critically examined the reasons why women were excluded from outdoor activities such as hunting in the nineteenth-century. According to Mearns and Mearns, the lure of bird collecting remained a male domain throughout the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries.[143] The attractions of being a field collector included risk-taking, companionship, discovery, and a strong competitive element that drove men "to acquire a bigger and better collection, or to discover and describe more new species."[144] Moreover, to be a collector provided a convenient and socially acceptable excuse for respectable grown men to climb trees, scramble down cliffs and camp outdoors.[145]

These activities were viewed as too vigorous for middle-class women in the nineteenth-century. As Vertinsky revealed, Victorian bourgeois women were excluded from physical activities as a result of nineteenth-century medical theories that positioned women as the weaker sex.[146] For instance, nineteenth-century doctors believed that women became "disabled" by

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century Ontario: the British travellers' image," *Ontario History* XVII 2 (Autumn, 2000), pp. 114-199. Within the context of angling, see: Nancy B. Bouchier and Ken Cruikshank, " 'Sportsmen and Pothunters': environment, conservation, and class in the fishery of Hamilton Harbour, 1858-1914," *Sport History Review* 28 (1997), pp. 1-18.

[143] Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), pp. 19-22

[144] Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), p. 21

[145] Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), pp. 19-22

[146] Patricia Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 2-23

menstruation, which therefore limited their physical and mental capacity. "Sporting activities as well as educational pursuits had to be compatible with female physiology and to be focussed upon health and balance rather than the irresponsibility of inactivity or the restlessness of unregulated competition."[147] As a result, hunting was not considered an "acceptable" activity for women as it involved rigorous activity and competition.

Similarly, Hargreaves suggested that Victorian middle-class men and women participated in different activities owing to their beliefs in innate biological and psychological differences.[148] Based on the doctrine of separate spheres, men participated in work and the public arena while women's activity focussed on the domestic and reproductive sphere. Constructing gender differences therefore prevented women from enjoying many of the activities that men did. "Men were characterized as naturally aggressive, competitive and incisive – well suited to the rigor of games field; in contrast, it was a popular idea that women were inherently emotional, co-operative and passive and therefore unsuited to take part in strenuous physical activities and competitive sports."[149]

Imperial Identities

Through natural history, travel, and recreation, British subjects were able to shape imperial identities and ideas about British superiority. According to Said, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European subjects constructed the "Orient" as a means to engage in the

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[147] Patricia Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 59

[148] Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 43-44

[149] Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 43

discourse of the "other", which reinforced and legitimated European expansionism in colonial spaces. As Said stated, "the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience."[150] By disseminating non-European representations, or the "other", Europeans asserted their superiority in these lands. For example, Short applied Said's concept of "Orientalism" by critically analyzing the idea of wilderness and how Europeans created pristine spaces (ie: wilderness, the Orient) as a means to create imperial identities. [151] Through the "other", Europeans could define themselves, their place in the world, and negotiate gender, class, and ethnicity.

According to Phillips, imperialistic ideologies developed through British outdoor adventure narratives whereby Canada provided "opportunities to explore the fullest possible range of material and metaphorical mappings."[152] By deconstructing adventure stories such as *Robinson Crusoe*, Phillips claimed that readers constructed "a middle-class, Christian, British man's utopia," as they:

> "mapped a world view that placed Britain at the (imperial) centre and colonies like Crusoe's island at the margins. They mapped British constructions of race (roughly speaking, white Crusoe in relation to non-white 'savages'), its class system (Crusoe as master, Friday as slave), its gender (Crusoe as masculine, nature as feminine), religion (Crusoe as Christian, 'savages' as non-Christians) and language (Crusoe has spoken and written command of the English language, Friday is relatively mute)."[153]

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[150] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), pp. 1-2

[151] John R. Short, *Imagined Country: Society, Culture and Environment* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 58-66

[152] Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 17

[153] Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 17

The construction of wilderness, or "Robinson Crusoe island", also implied denying indigenous populations their own history. Europeans viewed distant lands as "empty" spaces and landscapes for discovery and exploitation.[154] As Kearns stated, "security of innocence was vital to the pleasure the imperial took in its identity at home or aboard."[155] Anti-historicism therefore invoked "a distinction between European as the bearer of history and the rest of the world as beyond the margins of history. Taken together with the injunction to subdue the world and fill it, this approach treated the indigenous peoples of the periphery as truly marginal."[156] Since racial difference was never secured in the colony, imperial identities and racial purity were accentuated in the colonies. As Moyles stated, to be British in Canada signified superiority of all things British, a male chauvinism, and condescension toward aboriginals, French Canadians, and Americans.[157]

History of Ontario Ornithology

Few histories of Canadian birdwatching have addressed questions of gender and imperialism. Research on Ontario ornithology has focussed primarily on biographical sketches, popular histories, and overviews of the development of scientific or professional North American

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[154] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), pp. 93-94; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 61 and p. 134

[155] Gerry Kearns, "The imperial subject: geography and travel in the work of Mary Kingsley and Halford MacKinder," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (1997), p. 545

[156] Gerry Kearns, "The imperial subject: geography and travel in the work of Mary Kingsley and Halford MacKinder," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (1997), p. 543

[157] R.G. Moyles, "*'Improved by Cultivation': English-Canadian Prose to 1914* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1994), p. 9

ornithology such as the works by Allen, Kastner, and Mearns and Mearns.[158] The collection of articles in *Ornithology in Ontario* offered an outline of ornithological activities in Ontario including influential figures in the field.[159] Ainley's work also mapped the development of Canadian ornithology and provided valuable information on key individuals and institutions.[160]

For instance, Ainley described mid-16th to the mid-19th century French and British navigators, explorers, and colonizers who observed, collected, and described natural history

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[158] Elsa G. Allen, *The History of American Ornithology Before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951); Joseph Kastner, *A World of Watchers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986); Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *Biographies for Birdwatchers: The Lives of those Commemorated in Western Palearctic Bird Names* (London: Academy Press, 1988); Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *Audubon to Xantus: The Lives of those Commemorated in North American Bird Names* (Toronto, Canada: Academic Press, 1992); Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998)

[159] Martin K. McNicholl and John L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994)

[160] Marianne G. Ainley's work on Canadian ornithology includes: "Women in North America ornithology during the last century," *The International Conference on the Role of Women in the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Vezprem, August 15 – 19, Conference Proceedings*, pp. 3-7; From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950, Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985); "Last in the field? Canadian women natural scientists, 1815-1965," in Marianne G. Ainley (ed.) *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science* (Montreal, Vehicle Press, 1990), pp. 25-62; "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995) pp. 283-302

specimens in Canada.[161] Since observation of birds occurred as by-products of geographic explorations; Canada's avifauna, especially in southern Ontario, remained largely unexplored throughout these years. Although France was the first European power claim Ontario, real occupation did not occur in southern Ontario until the British colonial period.[162] The majority of ornithological activity in Ontario therefore occurred in its northern regions as British explorers and the Hudson's Bay Company amassed floral and faunal specimens.[163] Commissioned by the Royal Society of London (est. 1662), Hudson's Bay Company employees collected and documented birds for British scientific institutions and private collectors. Major ornithological works such as Thomas Pennant's *Arctic Zoology* (1792) were based on these collections.

After France ceded Canada to Britain in 1763, British explorations and colonization provided information on southern Ontario's avifauna. Houston published a critical edition of contributions of Sir John Richardson (1787-1865), surgeon-naturalist, who participated in the first two Franklin expeditions (1819-22, 1825-27), which included a tour to Simcoe County.[164]

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[161] Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), pp. 283-302

[162] Trevor H. Levere and Richard A. Jarrell, *A Curious Field-Book: Science and Society in Canadian History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 3-7; Stuart C. Houston, "Early naturalists in Hudson Bay, 1740-1780," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. 47-53

[163] Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), pp. 1-38

[164] Stuart C. Houston, *Arctic Ordeal: The Journal of John Richardson, Surgeon-Naturalist with Franklin, 1820-1822* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), pp. xxi-xxxiii;

Richardson documented several species in the region. These expeditions provided information for his work with William Swainson (1789-1855) *Fauna Boreali-Americana; or, The zoology of the northern parts of British America* (1829-1837).

Brunton described colonists and British military officers who studied Ontario's ornithology, including Charles Fothergill (1782-1840), William Pope (1811-1902), and Henry Hadfield.[165] Both Brunton and Ainley concluded Thomas McIlwraith was probably the most influential person in the advancement of ornithology in the province.[166] He organized networks of collectors and published the first comprehensive work on the province's avifauna in his *Birds of Ontario* (1886). Brunton and Ainley also noted that mechanics' institutes and natural history societies organized natural history activities in southern Ontario throughout the second half of the nineteenth-century. Such organizations included the Canadian Institute (est. 1852) and the Ottawa Field Naturalists Club (est. 1879), which originally began as the Ottawa Natural History Society (est. 1863).[167]

Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950,* Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), pp. 19-21

[165] Daniel F. Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith (1600-1886)," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. 54-71

[166] Marianne G. Ainley, "Thomas McIlwraith (1824-1903) and the Birds of Ontario," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. viii-xiii

[167] Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950,* Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), pp. 39-41; Daniel F. Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith

Beginning in second half of the nineteenth-century, Canadian ornithology eventually relied on American for ornithological activities. From 1850-1887, specimens were not only sent to England, but to the American museums and institutions as well.[168] Elliott Coues's (1842-1899) *Key to North American Birds: Containing a concise account of every species of living and fossil bird at present known from the continent north of the Mexican and United States boundary* (1872) was a very popular source for Canadian ornithologists.[169] Furthermore, the Smithsonian Institution evolved into the centre of natural history studies in North America with the Assistant Secretary Spencer Fullerton Baird (1823-1887).[170] With the establishment of the American Ornithologists' Union (AOU) in 1883, the majority of Canadian amateur ornithologists looked to the United Sates for research objectives and techniques. Thomas McIlwraith was one of the AOU's founding members. Once the AOU established its objectives, North American ornithology started to professionalize by the end of the nineteenth-century.

Although these histories of Canadian ornithology have provided important sources and information on the development of ornithology in Ontario, they have not analyzed the activity as

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(1600-1886)," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. 54-71

[168] Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), pp. 25-27

[169] Daniel F. Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith (1600-1886)," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), p. 64

[170] Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology. 1860-1950*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), pp. 25-27; Debra Lindsay, *The Modern Beginnings of Subarctic Ornithology: Correspondence to the Smithsonian Institution, 1856-1868* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society, 1991)

a cultural phenomenon nor showed how the activity provided meaning to people's lives. Furthermore, they focussed on birdwatching as science, rather than examining the various ways that birdwatchers perceived birds aesthetically, romantically, or spiritually within the natural history tradition. In contrast, the themes of gender and imperialism in the context of Canadian birdwatching as recreation are central to this thesis.

CHAPTER 3: THE CULTURE NATURAL HISTORY IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO, 1791-1886

This chapter examines the historical and cultural antecedents of recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario, 1791-1886. Establishing the foundation for the activity permits a critical analysis of the effects of empire, ethnicity, class, and gender on southern Ontario recreational birdwatching in subsequent chapters. British natural history arose as a cultural phenomenon with the exploration and "discovery" of lands new to Europe.[171] Through the diffusion of British natural history, British military officers, travellers, and settlers engaged in the activity while in southern Ontario, 1791-1886.

The European age of "discovery" initiated a renewed interest in nature, both overseas and in Europe, by the eighteenth-century.[172] With increasing curiosity about exotic species new to scientists, natural history became a distinct field of knowledge and an organizing principle for the study of visible nature that replaced classical works on natural history such as Pliny the Elder's (AD 23 – 79) *Natural History*.[173] Gathering specimens, building up collections, and naming and

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[171] Paul L. Farber. *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E.O. Wilson* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 22-36

[172] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), p. 6; John Battalio, *The Rhetoric of Science in the Evolution of American Ornithological Discourse* (Stamford, Conn.: Ablex Pub., 1998), pp. 21-22; Paul L. Farber, *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E.O. Wilson* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 22-36

[173] Pliny the Elder was a Roman savant and author of *Natural History*, an encyclopedic work on the Roman world. His work remained an authority on scientific matters up to the Middle Ages.

classifying new species became the primary project of European naturalists prior to Darwin, and a medium for a predominant Christian society to understand the workings of God through natural theology.[174] Based on Carl Linnaeus's (1707-1778) *System Naturea* (1731), naturalists organized the natural world into a universal language and single classification scheme that significantly changed the way that educated Europeans viewed nature.[175]

When natural history flourished with the colonization of North America, the continent became a collecting ground for many European naturalists motivated to contribute to science. For example, Mark Catesby (1682-1749), an English artist-naturalist, travelled to British North America in 1712 in order to satisfy a "passionate desire of viewing as well the Animal and Vegetable Productions in their Native Countries; which were Strangers to England."[176] By 1743, *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahamas* was the product of his North American tour and became the first contribution to American bird study in the eighteenth-century. Although he never visited Canada, his work provided a glimpse of "New World" natural history for eager travelling-naturalists who would subsequently visit Ontario. Moreover, Catesby earned his way by collecting American specimens and selling them to more sedentary European

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Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), p. 6

[174] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 27; Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 189-192

[175] Alan C. Jenkins, *The Naturalists: Pioneers of Natural History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978), pp. 30-32

[176] H. McBurley, *Mark Catesby's Natural History of America* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997), p. 8

naturalists and aristocrats eager to expand their collections with New World specimens.[177] From the seventeenth-century onwards, other European explorers, travellers, and colonizers provided specimens and information on North American natural history for European naturalists.[178] These observers fell into four groups: residents such as colonists, military or naval officers on duty, travellers and explorers, and resident employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.[179] As private patronage funded the majority of these expeditions, European "closet" naturalists relied not only on explorers and travellers for specimens, but also upon wealthy aristocrats who sponsored and housed natural history collections.[180]

By the early eighteenth-century, members of the British elite had transformed natural history into a fashionable activity as they acquired new and unique natural objects from the "New World."[181] Although mainly aristocrats collected natural "curiosities" in France, the British

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[177] Elsa G. Allen, *The History of American Ornithology Before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951), pp. 463-477; H. McBurley, *Mark Catesby's Natural History of America* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997)

[178] Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), p. 284

[179] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), pp. 190-191

[180] European naturalists were considered "closet" or "cabinet" naturalists if they did not conduct their own fieldwork. Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820-1870* (London: Butler and Tanner, 1980), p. 40

[181] From an analysis of 723 18th century collections, Pomian uncovered that natural history materials dominated the fads and fashions during the last half of the century. Collectors included the elite of scholars, lawyers, doctors, and antiquarians. K. Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities:*

essentially popularized the activity, as elite gentlemen dispersed during the summer to their estates and congregated to London in the winter for Royal Society meetings.[182] As Farber stated, "by the eighteenth-century, gentlemen considered a modest collection a necessary accoutrement, like a carriage or a set of silver."[183]

Training in "curiosity" initially began with the European Grand Tour, which capped young British gentlemen's elite education.[184] Since "curiosity" involved wonder and admiration, young aristocrats returned to England from their tour with rarities of nature and art on which they based their collections. Moreover, viewing natural history objects was approved by the clergy, as the activity involved the admiration of God's works, and consequently appreciation of the wisdom

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Paris and Venice: 1500-1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 11-17; Paul L. Farber, *Finding Order in Nature* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 22-36

[182] Katie Whitaker, "The culture of curiosity," in N. Jardine, J.A. Secord and E.C. Spary (eds.) *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 75-90

[183] Paul L. Farber, *Finding Order in Nature* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 22-23

[184] A circuit of western Europe was undertaken by the wealthy in society for culture, education, health and pleasure, and was a major feature of travel abroad from the 16th to the first part of the 19th century. John Towner, "The Grand Tour: a key phase in the history of tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12, 3 (1985), pp. 297-333. Countries such as Italy, France, and Germany assumed an important role in the lives of the affluent in Britain. John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), pp. 96-138

and power of the Creator.[185] These views were later supported by intellectuals such as William Paley (1743-1805) in his *Natural Theology, or Evidence of the Existence and Attributes of the Diety. Collected from the Appearances of Nature* (1802).[186]

Privileged amateur naturalists developed museums for their collections during their leisure time, including Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788), who established a vast collection of natural history materials, first described in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in May 1773. In order to support his growing museum, Lever leased an estate at Leicester Fields and charged an exorbitant fee for admission. His collections consisted of specimens brought from ships that had visited the Americas, the Indies, and from the second and third voyages of Captain Cook (1772-75 and 1776-79).[187]

Aristocratic women also maintained a role in the collection of natural history specimens during the second half of the eighteenth-century. Anna Blackburn (1726-1793), Lever's cousin, maintained a natural curiosity museum. "Her own collection of birds, insects, corals, and shells, is extensive, and contains many specimens of rare and curious productions, arranged in her museum at Fairfield," as one critic stated in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1794.[188] Her museum of North American bird specimens in Oxford, England, led to the description of numerous species

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[185] Katie Whitaker, "The culture of curiosity," in N. Jardine, J.A. Secord and E.C. Spary (eds.) *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 75-90

[186] Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 33-34

[187] C.E. Jackson, *Sarah Stone: Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds* (London: Merrell Holberton Publishers and The Natural History Museum, 1998), pp. 37-49

[188] Anon, *Gentleman's Magazine* 64 (Jan-June 1794), p. 180

from British North America by Thomas Pennant (1726-1798) in his *Arctic Zoology* (1784-85).[189] Pennant, a wealthy and eminent zoologist, published several works on ornithology and was widely read by European naturalists.[190]

British aristocrats also adopted natural history as part of the sportsman tradition, since "the study of natural history and the collecting of specimens had been seen as a worthy interest of the elite."[191] While traditional bird hunting focussed on game species such as partridge and pheasants, sportsman-naturalists began recording and collecting songbirds and other non-game species. A number of country gentlemen also began practicing taxidermy and stuffing birds, which they collected on their sporting excursions.[192] As they became skilled taxidermists, bird collectors mounted their game in pleasing and life-like positions, which encouraged larger and more numerous collections. Some elite British women also stuffed birds. For example, Dr. Robert Plot referred to Madame Offley, "'a lady that has an excellent artifice in preserving birds.'"[193] Throughout the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, ornithology remained an

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[189] Anna Blackburn also corresponded with some of the leading naturalists of her time, such as Johann Reinhold Forster, Thomas Pennant, Carl Linneaus, and Peter Simon Pallas. Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *Audubon to Xantus: The Lives of those Commemorated in North American Bird Names* (Toronto, Canada: Academic Press, 1992), pp. 89-93

[190] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), pp. 201-204

[191] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 35

[192] David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), pp. 34-35

[193] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), p. 282

aristocratic affair "best pursued by the country gentlemen on their own estates. If one wanted to collect birds, or even identify them with certainty, one needed to own a gun and the right to carry it."[194] For the most part, bird collecting remained an elitist activity in Britain since the landed gentry controlled access to hunting grounds in the countryside.

The taste for natural history increased with the rise of the Romantic movement, which coincided with Britain's rapid industrialization and urbanization by the end of the eighteenth-century.[195] Nature was elevated to worship, as "Rousseau believed in the innocence of nature, Wordsworth felt its moralising balm," and "Ruskin preached nature as moral law."[196] Nature's soothing effect on the troubled mind frequently echoed as reasons for taking up the study of natural history.[197] By the late eighteenth-century, "gentlemen and ladies developed a taste for walks in the woods, bird-watching and collecting shells."[198] Moreover, as the search for wild nature became understood through Edmund Burke's (1729-1797) aesthetics of the beautiful and sublime, elite British tourists searched for emotion-rousing mountain scenery, wilderness, oceans and deserts within their country and abroad.[199] The new approach to nature "was no longer to

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[194] Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820-1870* (London: Butler and Tanner, 1980), p. 37

[195] Nicolette Scourse, *The Victorians and Their Flowers* (London : Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 10-14

[196] Nicolette Scourse, *The Victorians and their Flowers* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 10

[197] Nicolette Scourse, *The Victorians and their Flowers* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 49

[198] Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 5

[199] John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley, 1996), pp. 96-138; Edmund Burke, *The Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1796)

record what one saw plainly and accurately; the aim now was to record one's reactions – and the livelier these reactions... the more 'tasteful' the contact with nature was assumed to have been."[200]

By the nineteenth-century, the fads and fashions of the elite filtered down to Britain's rising middle-class. Gilbert White's (1720-1793) *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* (1789), and birdwatcher Thomas Bewick's (1753-1828) works defined birdwatching as a rational, religious, and respectable activity that shaped the morals and characters of a sensible individual. According to Thomas Bewick, "a good naturalist cannot be a bad man."[201] Moreover, "in no part of the animal creation are the wisdom, the goodness, and the bounty of Providence displayed in a more lively manner than in the structure, formation, and various endowments of the feathered tribes."[202] The study of natural history therefore became a defining feature of middle-class society.

The increasing popularity of natural history and birdwatching towards the end of the eighteenth-century affected not only the British at home, but also the pastimes of British military officers, the travel patterns of wealthy and middle-class tourists, and the recreational activities of British immigrants in southern Ontario from 1791-1886. These individuals observed and collected birds primarily with guns; and amassed birds' skins, eggs, nests, paintings, and ornithology books within the British natural history tradition. Birdwatchers therefore integrated

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[200] David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), p. 54

[201] Gilbert White was an English naturalist and clergyman. Thomas Bewick was a printmaker and illustrator who made important contributions to wood engraving. Thomas Bewick, *A History of British Birds, vol. 2, Water Birds* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK: Frank Graham, 1971), p. 7. The first edition was published in 1805.

[202] Thomas Bewick, *A History of British Birds, vol. 1, Land Birds* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Frank Graham, 1971), p. ix

both science and art, and represented birds in aesthetic, spiritual, and scientific fashions, often simultaneously. Since there was little distinction between professional and amateur ornithologists prior to the late nineteenth-century, anyone who collected or observed nature during one's leisure time was considered a naturalist. However, for purpose of this study, naturalists who were commissioned on expeditions, employed by patrons, or collected for institutions were not considered recreational birdwatchers, as they observed or collected birds as part of their work.

The Development of Recreational Birdwatching in Southern Ontario

The first birdwatchers of Ontario were the aboriginal peoples of Canada who inhabited the region prior to European occupation. For the Huron, Algonquin, and Cree tribes, birds remained integral to their worldview, as experienced through subsistence hunting and ceremonial practices. The Ojibway relied upon birds as a means to predict "the changes of the world, the alterations of seasons, and the coming state of things."[203] The comings and goings of migratory birds influenced First Nations' cultural practices. "Eagles, geese, and robins knew of the advent of autumn and would leave for the south... Bluebirds and robins knew when to return to their summering grounds".[204]

The Ojibway of Ontario were also keen observers of bird behaviour in order to determine people's totemic symbols.[205] "Each animal symbolized an ideal to be sought, attained, and perpetuated," which the Anishnabeg, an Ojibway clan, endeavoured to emulate certain animal

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[203] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), pp. 52-53

[204] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), pp. 52-53

[205] The Ojibway are an Algonquin-speaking people. Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990)

characteristics.[206] For example, the eagle symbolized courage, the hawk embodied deliberation and foresight, and the loon signified fidelity.[207]

As a result, native knowledge of birds and other wildlife was vital to European explorers' understanding of the New World.[208] Aboriginal knowledge supplied Europeans with names of species and information on the life-histories of North American avifauna.[209] One of the first works on Canada's ornithology, *Arctic Zoology* (1784-85) by Thomas Pennant, was based on observations from Hudson's Bay Company employees who in turn relied heavily on aboriginals for information on birds for their work.[210] More importantly, many of the observations and collections of natural history specimens in the Hudson Bay watershed were conducted by the

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[206] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 53

[207] Basil Johnston, *Ojibway Heritage* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 53

[208] Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), pp. 283-302

[209] Joseph Kastner, *A World of Watchers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), pp. 6-7; Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), pp. 283-302

[210] Thomas Pennant, *Arctic Zoology* (London: H. Hughs, 1784-85). Samuel Hearne (1745-1792) and Andrew Graham (d. 1815) were two of the many Hudson Bay employees who recorded and collected birds in the Hudson Bay region throughout the 18th century. Thomas Pennant (1726-1798) acknowledged the two in his contributions in his advertisement.

aboriginal women who formed relationships with Hudson's Bay Company employees.[211] According to Ainley, the First Nations were the "first assistants of Canadian ornithology."[212]

While New France (1534–1763) established settlements along the St. Lawrence River, southern Ontario remained largely unpopulated by French colonists as scattered trading posts and forts were strategically located along Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.[213] Except for a small farming settlement in the Detroit area, the region lacked a network of francophone settlers who could have observed birds in the region. The French explorers such as Samuel de Champlain first reported on southern Ontario's avifauna for European consumption.[214] For example, during an expedition

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[211] Many Native women hunted and traded with Hudson's Bay employees. Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), pp. 58-73; Marianne G. Ainley, "Last in the field? Canadian women natural scientists, 1815-1965," in Marianne G. Ainley (ed.) *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science* (Montreal, Vehicle Press, 1990), pp. 25-27

[212] Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950,"in William E. Davis Jr. and Jerome A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), p. 284

[213] Armed posts were located at Fort Frontenac, Fort Niagara, Fort Detroit, and Fort Michilimackinac. Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), pp. 1-2

[214] C. MacNamara, "Champlain as a naturalist," *The Canadian Field-Naturalist* 40 (1926), pp.125-133; Elsa G. Allen, *The History of American Ornithology Before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951), pp. 429-430; Helen Quilliam, *The History of the Birds of Kingston, Ontario* (Kingston: Kingston Field Naturalists, 1973), pp. 8-9; M.G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal:

in 1615-1616, Samuel de Champlain, an explorer, geographer, soldier, surveyor and colonizer; was the first European to travel up the Ottawa River to Mattawa River, Lake Nipissing, French River, and the Georgian Bay, including Lake Simcoe by inland waterways and portages to Bay of Quinte.[215] On this trip, he described wildfowl such as "many cranes, white like swans, and other variety of birds like those in France."[216] One month later, on the return trip near Loughborough Lake, he reported "a large amount of game as Swans, White Cranes, Outardes, Ducks, Teal, Song Thrush, Larks, Snipe, Geese and several other kinds of fowl too numerous to mention."[217]

McGill University, 1985), pp. 2-4; Daniel Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith 1600 to 1886," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Whitby, Ontario: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. 54-70

[215] C. MacNamara, "Champlain as a naturalist," *The Canadian Field-Naturalist* 40 (1926), pp.125-133; Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950,* Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), pp. 2-4; Trevor H. Levere and Richard A. Jarrell, *A Curious Field-Book: Science and Society in Canadian History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 3-7; Richard Glover, *Some Canadian Ornithologists* (Toronto: The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 1981), p. 1

[216] Percy A. Taverner concluded that the birds were whooping cranes, which are now confided to western Canada. In C. MacNamara, "Champlain as a naturalist," *The Canadian Field-Naturalist* 40 (1926), pp. 125-133

[217] Helen Quilliam, *The History of the Birds of Kingston, Ontario* (Kingston: Kingston Field Naturalists, 1973), p. 9

Although Champlain probably did not ship birds back to France, collecting specimens for study was promoted by the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris.[218] For instance, René-Antoine Ferchault Réamur (1683-1757) distributed to all commanders of French forts in America instructions for collecting and sending information on New France's natural history to Jean-François Gaulthier (1708-1756), a correspondent to the Académie. Furthermore, Marquis de la Galissonière, governor of New France, encouraged the use of natural history in the mid-eighteenth-century.[219]

Others who disseminated knowledge about North American birds to Europe included the French missionary and traveller Pierre-François-Xavier Charlevoix (1682-1761) and the Marquis de Chastellux who travelled throughout Quebec and the American colonies.[220] Peter Kalm (1716-1779), the Swedish naturalist and Linnaean student, travelled to New France in order to examine New World plants to transplant in Sweden.[221] Kalm visited three regions -- Ontario, New York and parts of Pennsylvania -- from 1747 to 1751. Primarily a botanist, he documented the various

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[218] Trevor H. Levere and Richard A. Jarrell, *A Curious Field-book: Science and Society in Canadian History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 3-7; Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology. 1860-1950*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), pp. 1-10

[219] Peter Kalm, *The America of 1750* (New York: Dover Publication, 1770), p. 504

[220] Elsa G. Allen, *The History of American Ornithology Before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1952), pp. 503-506

[221] Elsa G. Allen, *The History of American Ornithology Before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951), pp. 507-511

the various birds he observed such as the flocks of passenger pigeon near Niagara Falls, which he first published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1758.[222]

Military Occupation

The British military participated in recreational ornithology while stationed abroad. Among those commissioned to British North America, several noteworthy officers engaged in the activity while serving in the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution. For example, Charles Blagden (1748-1820), George Montagu (1751-1815) who both amassed bird collections while on duty during the American Revolution.[223] Sir Charles Blagden, an English medical officer, counted and collected birds to occupy his time while on aboard a British warship.[224] On a

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[222] Peter Kalm, *The America of 1750* (New York: Dover Publication, 1770), p. 701; Daniel Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith 1600 to 1886," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Whitby, Ontario: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. 54-70

[223] Others included Captain Thomas Anburey, who served in the American Revolution and described and collected North American birds while in the service of the British army. Anburey made a collection of stuffed birds for a friend in England, and included detailed descriptions of bird species such as the hummingbird and its nest and eggs in numerous letters to his friends in Britain. By 1789, he wrote *Travels throughout the Interior Parts of North America* based on his travels from Lake Champlain to Virginia. That same year, he published an article in the *Monthly Review* on his bird notes from his trip. He served under General Burgoyne. See: Elsa G. Allen, *The History of American Ornithology Before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951), pp. 526-527

[224] Throughout his life, Charles Blagden befriended a number of scientific gentlemen such as explorer-naturalist and president of the Royal Society Sir Joseph Banks, English and French

coastal patrol from the Carolinas to Rhode Island, he observed and compiled a list of seventy-nine birds including descriptions of robins, brants, plovers, and green herons.[225] Similarly, Captain George Montagu was commissioned to the American Colonies in 1774 for about twelve months.[226] During his stay, he made a small collection of birds and, it is said, preserved them as gifts for his wife.[227]

In Upper Canada, several British military officers engaged in recreational birdwatching while in the service of the War Office. One of the first recorded recreational birdwatchers in

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chemists Henry Cavendish and Claude Berthollet, Samuel Johnson, and Daniel Solander. He was also elected secretary to the Royal Society in 1784, on the recommendation of Joseph Banks.

[225] Joseph Kastner, *A World of Watchers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), pp. 9-10; R.H., "Blagden, Charles Sir (1748-1820)," *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 617-618

[226] George Montagu was born into an eminent family at Lackham, Wiltshire. His parents were James Montagu, fourth descent from James Montagu, third son of Sir Henry Montagu, first Earl of Manchester, and Elizabeth Hedges, heiress of William Hedges of Alderton Hall, Wiltshire, a granddaughter of Sir Charles Hedges, Queen Anne's Secretary. See Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), pp.188-189; M.G.W., "Montagu, George (1751-1815)," *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XIII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963-1964), pp. 693-694

[227] In later years, he published *Ornithological Dictionary; or Alphabetical Synopsis of British Birds* (1802) and *Supplement* (1813), and *The Sportsman's Directory* (1792). Montagu became one of the earliest members of the Linnaean Society and completed many dissertations on birds and shells of the south of England. Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *Biographies for Birdwatchers: The Lives of those Commemorated in Western Paleartic Bird Names* (London: Academy Press, 1988), pp. 263-270

southern Ontario was Thomas Davies (ca. 1737-1812), a military man who served in a series of expeditions throughout the second half of the eighteenth-century. Upon completing his education at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, he was appointed to the Royal Artillery and served in the abortive expedition against Louisbourg at Île Royale (1757), the Amherst expedition at Lake Champlain (1759), and the campaign against Montreal (1760).[228] As part of these expeditions, Davies painted fortifications, artillery formations, as well as plans and evaluations of vessels for his supervisors.[229] From 1760 to 1767, Davies surveyed parts of the St. Lawrence region and Lake Ontario as far as Niagara River within two expeditions after Britain dispossessed France of Canada with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. During his leisure time, he used his skills to paint, record, and collect bird specimens in British North America while surveying the newly acquired territory.[230]

For the most part, these officers were formally trained in water-colours, landscape painting, and geography, which provided a background for natural history studies. Ordinance officers were educated at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, which taught gunnery, fortification and mathematics, but also promoted science, natural philosophy, surveying, geography, and landscape drawing.[231] Training in draughtmanship, topography, and painting were prerequisites for a well-trained British military officer who sought to convey information about

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[228] R.H. Hubbard, "Davies, Thomas," in F.G. Halpenny (ed.) *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V (Toronto: Univerity of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. 226-228

[229] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1998), p. 194

[230] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1998), pp. 189-198

[231] John Smyth, *Sandhurst: The History of the Royal Military Academy* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), pp. 54-55

the region's military capabilities, but also a region's natural history and cultural artifacts.[232] Military officers therefore had all the necessary skills to pursue amateur ornithology.

Recreational ornithology provided relief of boredom for many officers. Collecting and sketching birds, painting landscapes, and recording natural history observations and game counts dominated the pastimes of many military officers stationed in British North America.[233] The activity was deemed rational recreation in terms of moral, physical, and intellectual improvement. In line with the British natural history tradition of the time, it was believed that naturalist activities could rout out idleness, drunkenness and womanizing, common problems in the military especially during times of peace.[234] According to Hitsman, "habitual drunkenness" was one of the most frequent court-martial offence among military officers in British North America.[235] By engaging in a closer examination of the nature world, officers could distance themselves from alcohol, gambling, and other leisure-time vices.

Bird collecting also created an opportunity for officers to practice target shooting. As Mearns and Mearns pointed out, "soldiers had a perfect excuse for bird collecting: shooting was

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[232] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn From Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the NewWorld* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 199

[233] Elsa G. Allen, *The History of American Ornithology Before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951), pp. 521-522 and pp. 526-527; Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), pp. 187-208

[234] Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), p. 187

[235] J.M. Hitsman, *Safeguarding Canada. 1763-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 230

their business and what better way to practise than against live targets."[236] Since many of the officers were groomed in the sportsman tradition, bird collecting offered an extension of the activity while serving abroad.

Collecting birds was also attractive for those interested in contributing to science. By the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, bird-life in the interior of North America remained relatively unknown, as most of the field work had been conducted in the Hudson Bay region or in eastern United States. Southern Ontario provided an ideal observational location for recreational ornithological activity. As most British military officers were from prominent families, a number were connected to the British scientific community. When exploration and science became synonymous with the British empire by the turn of the nineteenth-century, many early nineteenth-century expeditions included undertakings in three main divisions: navigation, ethnology, and natural history.[237] Mapping and gathering information on a country's natural history was therefore one of the main objectives of the British Empire. Within this context, the Royal Society maintained a critical role in advancing natural history. According to Dickenson:

> "From the 1660's on, the Royal Society provided sets of 'Directions or Inquiries' for seamen, settlers, and others travelling to foreign parts. They requested observations on everything, from tides and weather to height of trees, quality of soil, types of crops, and kinds of animals. They demanded confirmation of travellers' tales and unusual stories, and provided detailed instructions on how to collect data, and even how to construct appropriate collecting tools and instruments."[238]

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[236] Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), pp. 187

[237] John Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 22-33 and pp. 166-198

[238] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1998), p.190

Recreational birdwatching among the British military remained a popular activity throughout the nineteenth-century. As Mearns and Mearns stated in *The Bird Collectors* (1998), "the British armed land forces comprised of the most numerous recreational collectors, especially for the British Empire."[239] By 1849, a military handbook entitled *A Manual for Scientific Inquiry; prepared for the use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy, and Travellers in General* by Sir John Herschel became a standard publication for British military officers and illustrated the activity's popularity.[240]

Tourism Industry

Just as natural history and exploration fulfilled an imperial enterprise, so did the wilderness tourism industry in nineteenth-century Ontario. According to Morin, "Britain's rise as a powerful world empire galvanized its citizenry to travel in unprecedented numbers around the globe."[241] With the introduction of steam power and railway systems during the early nineteenth-century, southern Ontario became a popular tourist destination area.[242]

By the turn of the nineteenth-century, the majority of recreational birdwatchers in southern Ontario were wealthy British gentlemen and women who travelled to British North

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[239] Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), pp. 187-188

[240] Lynn L. Merrill, *Romance of Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 54

[241] Karen Morin, "British women travellers and constructions of racial differences across the nineteenth-century American West ," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23, 3 (1998), p. 311

[242] Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: the Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 116-140; pp. 199-218

America in search of new and authentic experiences through natural history. Primarily motivated to experience the untamed wilderness, British elite tourists explored Upper Canada as part of a larger North American tour.[243] For some, collecting and observing birds in the wild provided the essential means to experience the beautiful and the sublime in nature. Others travelled as amateur naturalists within the sportsman tradition in search of species new to science or to pursue knowledge.

Several factors facilitated the demand for natural history as part of wilderness travel at the beginning of the 1800's. As the European Grand Tour diminished in popularity among wealthy Europeans, travelling to distant lands in search of pristine nature became a new means for upper-class individuals to distance or "withdraw" themselves from the common people.[244] The North American wilderness therefore provided enough distance, mystery, and excitement to create another alternative to the European Grand Tour, which extended the boundaries of tourist space from the European continent to Canada. For example, as Mary Burges (1763-1813) wrote

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[243] In the 1830's well over one hundred accounts descriptive of Upper Canada, as Ontario was then called, came off the presses of London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other cities. These descriptive accounts vary in length, quality, and content. James John Talman's introduction in Thomas William MacGrath's *Authentic Letters from Upper Canada* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1953), p. v

[244] "Withdrawal" was a social and cultural process whereby British elite distanced themselves from the lower classes. In the eighteenth-century, the landed and middle-classes in Britain formed between 7 and 9 per cent of the population. They therefore made up the majority of Grand Tourists travelling the continent. John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley, 1996), pp. 96-138; Clare Lloyd, *The Travelling Naturalists* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 15

to her friend Elizabeth Simcoe (1766-1850), who travelled with her husband to Upper Canada in 1791:

> "the whole of your journey must have been delightful; and so much more gratifying than all those common place European Tours – even here in England, where the face of the country is so much the same, it is a most satisfactory thing to explore a new land; but to explore a new Province carries such an idea of sublimity with it."[245]

As Romanticism increasingly shaped the standard of nature appreciation with the 'sublime' and the 'beautiful' as major aesthetic categories as per Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), the burgeoning field of natural history provided the ideal medium to discover 'wild nature'.[246] The wealthy European traveller therefore viewed wilderness areas with awe, grandeur, and terror, while at the same time observing natural objects, such as birds, as aesthetically beautiful. Trees, flowers, and birds all could provided links to a mystical and spiritual realm.[247] Romantic poets such as William

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[245] Letter from Mary Agnes Burges to Mrs. Simcoe 30 November 1792, John Graves Simcoe Fonds, MG23-HI1, Folder 29, Reel A606, NAC, Ottawa, Ontario

[246] Stephen J. Gould discusses Burke's aesthetic classification in "The invisible woman," in B.T. Gates and A.B. Shteir (eds.) *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pp. 27-39.

[247] David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), pp. 53-54; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), pp. 258-269; Nicolette Scourse, *The Victorians and their Flowers* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 10-11; Carla Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 5

Wordsworth (1770-1850) appropriated North American natural history as a subject for their works.[248]

Amateur travelling naturalists equipped themselves with guns, personal journals, facts about North America's avifauna, and, in some cases, sketchbooks, canvases, and watercolours to illustrate the birds they observed. Travelling as a naturalist added legitimacy to the aspirations of the country gentleman, especially when motivated to contribute something to art or science. According to one critic from *The Quarterly Review* (1826):

> "There is something, too, to be highly respected and praised in the conduct of a country gentleman, who, instead of exhausting life in the chase, has dedicated a considerable portion of it to the pursuit of knowledge. There are so many temptations to complete idleness in the life of a country gentleman, so many examples of it, and so much loss to the community from it, that every exception from the practice is deserving of great praise."[249]

The majority of wealthy travelling-naturalists owned a copy of Alexander Wilson's (1766-1813) *American Ornithology* (1808-1814) and later, John James Audubon's (1785-1851) *Birds of America* (1827-1838).[250] The portfolios were too bulky and expensive to be used as field

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[248] Elsa G. Allen, *The History of American Ornithology before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951), p. 538; E.H. Coleridge, "Coleridge, Wordsworth and the American botanist William Bartram," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (1906-1909), pp.27-28 and pp. 69-92

[249] Anon, "Wandering in South America," *The Quarterly Review* (Feb. 1826), pp. 299-215. Waterton's book was *Wanderings in South America, the North-West of the United States, and the Antilles, in the Years, 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824, with Original Instructions for the Perfect Preservation of Birds, and for Cabinets of Natural History* (1825). Charles Waterton travelled to the United States and Canada in his fourth journey. However, he only passed through Quebec City and Montreal on a steamboat.

[250] Artists-naturalists, such as Alexander Wilson and John James Audubon, spearheaded American ornithology and instilled a popular interest in the activity with a focus on field

guides, but became extremely popular as the British elite longed for the North American wilderness. According to Charles Waterton (1782-1865) in his *Wanderings*: "A little after this, Wilson's *Ornithology* of the United States fell into my hands. The desire I had of seeing that country, together with the animated description which Wilson had given of the birds, fanned up the almost expiring flame."[251]

By the second half of the nineteenth-century, travel to British North America increased significantly as a result of a rising middle-class and improved transportation systems. Crossing the Atlantic Ocean became more accessible with improved railway and steamboat technologies. With increased leisure time and disposable income, travelling to distant lands was no longer reserved for the upper-class of Europe. The new middle-class also acquired the necessary financial means and leisure time to travel. As a critic from *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1867) exclaimed, "we may well wonder why English sportsmen pay as much as 700 pounds for a Scotch moor, when they are only about fourteen days by steamer and rail from primeval forests."[252]

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observations. Wilson (1766-1813) coined the father of American ornithology, painted the first bird-guide *American Ornithology* in nine large volumes, which included 320 individual birds in 76 plates. Similarly, Audubon (1785-1851) painted life-sized portraits of birds in *The Birds of America*. His 27" x 40' double folio guide contained 497 bird forms from the North American continent. Audubon's wife, Lucy, was essential to her husband's work as she supported her husband both financially and emotionally while he worked on his book *The Birds of America*. See E. Delatee, *Lucy Audubon: A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1982) and Marcia Bonta's *Women in the Field* (College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1991), pp. 9-13

[251] Charles Waterton, *Wandering in South America* (London: Dent, 1925), p. 286

[252] Anon, "The Sportsman Abroad," *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Jan., 1867), p. 41

While natural history flourished at the height of the Victorian era, the Canadian wilderness attracted many British tourists. The pursuing of natural history was motivated by the accumulation of natural history materials from around the world, including specimens from Ontario. Objects of nature, such as birds, fossils, and shells, were therefore viewed with a new consumerism among the new middle-class characteristic of "the prodigious industrial production and the philosophical formulations that fostered the well-known Victorian materialism, the Victorian love of facts."[253]

There was also a growing literature on North American travels with natural history descriptions. According to Lloyd, "such books and articles in journals or magazines were likely read and reread by each traveller as they considered their journey, much as might scrutinize brochures when planning a holiday abroad."[254] The Victorian travel guide therefore included natural history facts on animals, birds, and plants, or focused solely on natural history accounts.[255] For instance, *The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide* (1867) provided British travellers an overview of Canadian natural history.[256] In the appendix of a popular travel guide, a catalogue included "the animals of British North America, compiled from the most authentic sources," as well as an ornithological section that listed the scientific and vernacular names of birds and their authorities. According to the author, Henry Beaumont Small:

> "few efforts have yet been made to lay before the public, or rather the travelling portion of the public, the natural beauties of its scenery, - its

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[253] Lynn Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 11

[254] Clare Lloyd, *The Travelling Naturalists* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 20

[255] Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 57

[256] Henry Beaumont Small, *The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide* (Montreal: M. Longmoore, 1867)

> streams, rivers, lakes and forests... To the Botanist... to the Ornithologist, the Geologist or the Student of any branch of Natural History, we would say, take a run through the Canadas to increase your collection. Does not almost every British Mail bring out enquiries and orders for the finest specimens of our Fauna and Flora?"[257]

By the end of the 1880s, travelling to eastern North America eventually decreased in popularity as tourists looked westward for new experiences in the Canadian Rockies made possible by the transcontinental railway.[258]

Colonization and Settlement

Despite the tastes of wealthy European travellers who visited the province, nature-based recreation such as birdwatching was almost non-existent among the new settlers in Upper Canada at the beginning of the 1800s.[259] Many British and Irish immigrants in the 1820s and 1830s were poor and uneducated, and lacked the education, leisure time, and financial means to pursue an activity such as natural history.[260] Furthermore, because Upper Canada lacked scholarly

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[257] Henry Beaumont Small, *The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide* (Montreal: M. Longmoore, 1867), p. 6. Henry Beaumont Small was a president of the Ottawa Field Naturalist Club.

[258] E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginning of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983); Shelagh J. Squire, "Rewriting languages of geography and tourism: cultural discourses of detonations, gender, and tourism history in the Canadian Rockies," in G. Ringer (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 80-100

[259] Roy I. Wolfe, "The summer resorts of Ontario in the nineteenth-century," *Ontario History* 54 (September, 1962), pp. 153-155

[260] Marianne G. Ainley, *From Natural History to Avian Biology: Canadian Ornithology, 1860-1950*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1985), p. 28

institutions and societies throughout the first half of the nineteenth-century, recreational birdwatching was seldom organized or promoted. Observing and collecting birds was therefore enjoyed mostly by the rising privileged classes in the developing towns and cities, and to those educated within the natural history tradition from Britain.

Beginning in the 1780s, United Empire Loyalists migrated to Upper Canada in order to escape the hostilities of the American Revolution.[261] Although the majority of Loyalists were British farmers or aspiring farmers, little evidence suggests that they observed or collected birds in the region.[262] However, it is possible that some Loyalists participated in the activity as they could have brought ornithological knowledge with them from the northeastern United States. Loyalists from the professional class could have pursued recreational birdwatching as part of the emerging American natural history tradition.[263]

During the late eighteenth-century, a growing number of American naturalists emerged in northeastern United States who studied the country's natural history and focused on birds. Several literate individuals documented the region's avifauna throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including John Josselyn (1630-1675) who wrote *New England's Rarities Discovered* (1672), and William Bartram (1739-1823), author of *Travels Through North and*

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[261] Estimates range from 6,000 to 10,000 Loyalists in Upper Canada. Robert Bothwell and Norman Hillmer, in J.H. Marsh (ed.) *The Canadian Encyclopedia Year 2000* (Toronto : McClelland & Stewart, 1999), p. 1718

[262] Daniel F. Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. 54-71

[263] For example, the majority of Loyalists in the Niagara Township were the professionals and educated financial, cultural and social-elite of American life. See: A. James Rennie, *Niagara Township: Centennial History* (Niagara: Township of Niagara, 1967), p. 14

South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida (1791).[264] Furthermore, the principal thrust of American natural history arose in Philadelphia with the American Philosophical Society, founded in 1743 by Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), and Peale's Museum, established in 1786 by Charles Wilsson Peale (1741-1827).[265] All of these individuals and institutions provided the impetus for natural history activity among the professional and elite of the region in the northeastern United States, and may have influenced Loyalist settlers in Upper Canada.

Some clues of the early settlers' daily lives and their interest in natural history may also be examined in *The Upper Canada Gazette*, one of Ontario's first newspapers. During the 1790s, several advertisements and editorials indicated that rational recreation and natural history were of interest to southern Ontario's early settlers. For example, advertisements for bookseller John Dun and the Printing Office in Niagara featured several books about the natural world including William Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), Buffon's *Natural History*, and *Romance of the Forest, Nature as Art, Morse's Geography*, and *Cook's Voyage*.[266]

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[264] The majority of these works are discussed in Elsa G. Allen's *The History of American Ornithology before Audubon* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1951). Joseph Kastner also discusses other early northeastern American naturalists in his *World of Watchers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).

[265] Marianne G. Ainley, "The contributions of the amateur to North American Ornithology: a historical perspective, " in D.A. Lancaster and J.R. Johnson (eds.) *The Living Bird* (Ithaca, New York: Brodock Press, 1980), pp. 161-188; Charles Coleman Sellers, "Good Chiefs and Wise Men: Indians as Symbols of Peace in the Art of Charles Willson Peale," in D.C. Ward and L. Miller (eds.) *New Perspectives on Charles Willson* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1991), p. 119

[266] Throughout the late 1790s, many advertisements for Mr. Dun's books appeared in *The Upper Canada Gazette* listing several books on natural history during the following issues: November 6,

Editorials and articles also featured the importance of rational recreation. On 31 May 1797, a letter to the editor stated, "pleasure or recreation of the one kind or other is absolutely necessary to relieve our minds and our bodies from too constant attention and labor."[267] There were several articles on the importance of sobriety, temperance, and the negative effects of gaming as one individual described, "without Temperance there is no True Happiness."[268] An article "on agriculture" promoted the importance of working outdoors in nature, which illustrated early settlers' view of the natural world. As one writer preached:

> "the business is highly adapted to promote the health of the body, and the chearfulness [sic] and content of the mind... It is employment which affords a variety of entertaining speculations to an inquisitive mind: and is adapted to lead us into considerable acquaintance with the works of nature." The writer continued, "in morals it tends to increase virtue, without introducing vice. In religion, it naturally inspires piety devotion and a dependence on providence... It is a rational and agreeable amusement to the man of leisure, and a boundless source of contemplation and activity to the industrious."[269]

1976, p. 1; November 9, 1796, p. 1; December 2, 1797, p. 1. John Dun (Dunn) (1763-1803) was a Church of Scotland minister and merchant who moved to New York in 1793 to take charge of the Presbytery in Cherry Valley. By 1794, he was a resident of Newark (Niagara-on-the Lake) and established himself as a general merchant offering a variety of goods including books. E.A. McDougall, "Dun, John," in F.G. Halpenny (ed.) *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, V (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. 279-280

[267] Anon, "Letter to the editor of the Upper Canada Gazette," *Upper Canada Gazette* (May 31, 1797), p. 2

[268] Editorials were featured anonymously in the *Upper Canada Gazette* (Dec 2, 1797), p. 1; (Dec 6, 1797), p. 2; (Dec. 21, 1796), p. 3

[269] Anon, "On agriculture," *The Upper Canada Gazette* (Dec. 21, 1796), p. 3

These ideas could have been applied to natural history pursuits during the early years of Ontario settlement. To date, there have been no records to indicate otherwise.[270]

The first thrust recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario occurred with the wave of British immigration in the 1820s - 1840s as settlers brought the natural history tradition to Upper Canada. However, as Upper Canada remained an agricultural province throughout the nineteenth-century, only a few individuals participated in the activity. According to British settler John Langton (1808-1894):

> "As for botany – I carry it and a little ornithology on at intervals and am beginning to be acquainted with most of the plants and birds one commonly meets with, but one is so much occupied with other things that these studies proceed slowly. One cannot carry one's books about with one and if I see a new plant on my way to Peterborough I must leave it, and there is no change of getting it home in a fit state to be examined; and except when just round home one is always in such a hurry."[271]

Social class, education, and leisure time were therefore important factors in pursuing recreational birdwatching. Many early settlers were too busy clearing land, building homes, and taking care of the family to afford the time for recreational pursuits such as birdwatching.

When the British elite brought their recreational practices with them to Canada, they pursued natural history as rational recreation that could elevate the intellectual and moral status of the new country. "Studying nature was in effect retracing the thoughts of God and putting his mind in communication with the higher power as surely if we were reading the words of

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[270] Daniel F. Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. 54-71

[271] John Langton was born in England and emigrated to Canada in 1833. He was an established politician and became president of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1859. Wendy Cameron, "Langton, John," in F.G. Halpenny (ed.) *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 136

scripture."[272] Activities such as recreational birdwatching occupied an individual's leisure time with productive recreation, which in turn alleviated the negative effects of idleness and brought one closer to God.

For example, Catharine Parr Traill (1802-1899) and Susanna Moodie (1803-1885) brought the British natural history tradition with them to Upper Canada. Prior to emigrating, both sisters adopted natural history as a suitable activity for English girls. Catharine Parr Traill wrote several pieces on natural history while in Britain. *Sketches from Nature; or. Hints of Juvenile Naturalists* (1830), which examined bird and animal behaviour in precise detail.[273] For Catharine, natural history involved "a study that tends to refine and purify the mind, and can be made, by simple steps, a ladder to heaven, as it were, by teaching a child to look with love and admiration to that bountiful God who created and made flowers so fair to adorn and fructify this earth."[274] Natural history therefore facilitated appropriate religious and maternal responses.

By the 1840s, a growing literature on birds emerged in Upper Canada through provincial newspapers such as *The Literary Garland* (1838-1851). The newspaper promoted "a well ordered and leisurely society" that was "devoted to the Advancement of General Literature published by John Lovell."[275] Several articles featured segments on birds and nature such as J.J. Audubon's "The Ruby-throated Hummingbird" in November 1840 and Reverend G.W. Bethune's "Spare the Birds" in October 1848.

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[272] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 46

[273] Catharine P. Traill, *Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. xxvii; first published in 1836.

[274] Catharine P. Traill, *Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. 92

[275] M.M. Brown, *An Index to the Literary Garland* (Toronto: Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1962), pp. iii-vi

British elite settlers such as Charles Fothergill (1782-1840), William Rees (c.1800-1874) and William ('Tiger') Dunlop (1792-1848) attempted to form the Literary and Philosophical Society of Upper Canada at York in 1831.[276] However, their efforts were short-lived as they did not gain enough public support. Charles Fothergill and William Rees tried to organize a "Lyceum of Natural History and the Fine Arts," which was to include a museum, botanical garden and zoo in 1835. Yet, requests for public patronage far exceeded what the government or legislature was prepared to offer. Not until the second half of the nineteenth-century did natural history societies sustain a following of interested amateur naturalists.[277]

By the 1850's, mechanics' institutes spread across the Upper Canadian landscape to emphasize Victorian discipline and morality.[278] Based on the British model that began in the 1820's, mechanics' institutes were established as voluntary associations for working-men seeking

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[276] The society was also known as the York Literary and a Philosophical Society. Charles Fothergill came from a prominent Yorkshire Quaker family and emigrated to Canada in 1816. His great uncle was Dr. John Fothergill, the eminent naturalist who maintained connections with Joseph Banks. William Dunlop was educated in medicine at the University of Glasgow and served as an assistant surgeon in the War of 1812. After the war, he acted as a surveyor for the Canada Company. Dr. William Rees was born in and specialized in medical botany. James L. Baillie, "Charles Fothergill," *Canadian Historical Review* 25 (1944), pp. 376-396; Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), pp. 3-4; Suzanne E. Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987), pp. 20-22

[277] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), p. 5

[278] Chad Gaffield, in J.H. Marsh (ed.) *The Canadian Encyclopedia Year 2000 Edition* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2000), p. 1451

self-improvement through education. These institutes often housed local museums and organized exhibitions as a means to enlighten their communities on the manufactures, arts, and natural history of their regions. The natural history section of the mechanics' institutes provided a medium to promote the natural world as a haven for intellectual and moral development.[279]

In 1853, fifty-three mechanics institutes existed in Upper Canada as precursors to Ontario's Natural History Societies.[280] For example, the Ottawa Mechanics Institute (1847) amalgamated into the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society in 1870.[281] The short-lived Natural History Society of Ottawa was formed in 1863 and reestablished itself as the Ottawa Field Naturalist Club in 1879.[282] In Toronto, the York Mechanics Institute (later the Toronto Mechanics Institute) formed the Canadian Institute in 1849. Eventually, the Natural History Society of Toronto (1878-1885) became affiliated with the Canadian Institute in 1886 as its Biological Section until 1894.[283] Similar trends occurred in southwestern Ontario as the

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[279] Daniel Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith 1600 to 1886," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl), pp. 58-59

[280] Anon, "Government aid to scientific and literary institutes in Upper and Lower Canada," *The Canadian Journal* 3 (1854), pp. 168-169

[281] Elaine Theberge, "The Ottawa Field-Naturalists' Club in the 1880's," *Nature Canada* 4, 1 (1975), pp. 30-37

[282] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), p. 5

[283] J.L. Cranmer-Byng, "The role of the naturalists' clubs in Ontario, 1887-1920," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), p. 72

Hamilton Association for the Cultivation of Literature, Science, and Art (1857) grew out of the Hamilton and Gore Mechanics' Institute in 1839.[284]

The London Mechanics' Institute displayed 123 cases of native and foreign birds, fish, reptiles and mammals in 1873.[285] Natural history specimens were enclosed in glass cases and attracted many visitors as the *London Advertiser* promoted the collection as being attractive and "consisting of many rare and beautiful specimens."[286]

Even in small Ontario towns, such as Elora, natural history evolved into a popular recreational activity. The Elora Natural History Society, established in 1874, had its beginnings in the Elora Mechanics Institute and was re-organized by several committed individuals including David Boyle (1826-1907) and Charles Clarke (1842-1911).[287] Boyle established a small museum, which included his own collections plus natural history donations from the general

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[284] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), p. 5. The Hamilton and Gore Mechanics' Institute published several documents during its existence such as *The Laws and Regulations of the Hamilton and Gore Mechanics' Institute* (Hamilton: Hamilton-Spectator Steam Press, 1844) and *The Act of Incorporation Rules and Regulations and Catalogue of the Library* (Hamilton: Hamilton-Spectator Steam Press, 1867).

[285] W.W. Judd, "Stephen Mummery, taxidermist in London," *The Cardinal* 74 (November, 1972), pp. 1-5

[286] W.W. Judd, "Stephen Mummery, taxidermist in London," *The Cardinal* 74 (November, 1972), p. 3

[287] Charles Clarke was a prominent Ontario politician, while Boyle was to become one of Canada's dominant archeologists and contributed significantly in this field. Gerald Killan, *David Boyle: From Artisan to Archaeologist* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983)

public that were often cited in the local newspaper. By 1878, 2,000 people had visited the museum, as natural history became a popular activity among the general public.[288]

The growing popularity of Ontario's birds was also illustrated by the emerging literature on the subject. By the 1850s, articles on birds began to appear in journals, such as George W. Allan's (1822-1901) article on the land birds wintering in the vicinity of Toronto, which was published in *The Canadian Journal*, 1852.[289] T.J. Cottle (ca. 1859–1871) and William Couper (ca. 1842–1890) also wrote articles in *The Canadian Journal* on Ontario's birds, as Couper wrote an article on the American robin in Toronto, while Cottle documented birds around Woodstock, and encouraged Ontario residents to observe and take notes on the birds of Canada West. [290]

Easy-to-use pocket-sized field guides only became available by the end of the nineteenth-century with American authors such as Frank M. Chapman (1864-1945) and Florence Merriam

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[288] Roberta Allan, *History of Elora* (Elora: Elora Women's Institute, 1982), p. 75

[289] Allan was a politician and mayor of Toronto, who had an interest in the province's cultural activities. Daniel Brunton, "The early years of ornithology in Ontario: southern Ontario from Champlain to McIlwraith 1600 to 1886," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl), p. 59; Martin K. McNicholl, "Brief biographies of Ontario ornithologists," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl), p. 316

[290] Dr. Cottle was born probably in Nevis, West Indies, and lived in Woodstock where he observed and collected birds in Upper Canada. William Couper, born in England, but possibly in Vermont, was a prominent figure in Canadian natural history and made frequent contributions to Canadian ornithology. Martin K. McNicholl, "Brief biographies of Ontario ornithologists," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl), p. 327

Bailey (1863-1948).[291] These popular field guides replaced the large and expensive bird-folios such as J.J. Audubon's *Birds of America* (1827-1838) that were unsuitable for use in actual birdwatching situations. Field guides emerged as a result of a growing demand for information on birds. Alexander Milton Ross (1832-1897) based his *Birds of Canada* (1871) on his collection of stuffed birds, "which has been made in Ontario."[292] The aim of his field guide was "to supply a want long felt by those interested in the study of Canadian Ornithology." By 1886, birdwatchers' "authority on the subject was Thomas McIlwraith's *Birds of Ontario*, which helped transform the activity into a popular form of recreation.[293]

The increasing demand for stuffed birds presented itself in the rise of the taxidermy business. Most Ontario cities housed at least one taxidermist shop where naturalists and people curious about birds could learn, discuss, and purchase bird specimens.[294] For most young boys interested in Ontario's wildlife, taxidermy shops provided a sanctuary for their budding interests.

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[291] Mark V. Barrow Jr., *A Passion for Birds: American Ornithology After Audubon* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 156-159

[292] Alexander Milton Ross, *The Birds of Canada* (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1871), pp. iii-iv. Ross, a physician and abolitionist, posed as an ornithologist during the American Revolution in order to help slaves escape to Canada. Carl Ballstadt, "Ross, Alexander Milton," in F.G. Halpenny (ed.) *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 924-928

[293] Deacon was one of J.H. Fleming's friends, and the two of them met at Cross's taxidermy shop and engaged in ornithological pursuits in the Toronto region in the 1880s. E.J. Deacon, "Recollections of J.H. Fleming's boyhood and youth," *Fleming Memorial Papers* (Toronto: The Brodie Club, 1940), p. 24

[294] See M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), p. 172 and p. 366

For example, in Toronto, Oliver Spanner's Naturalist and Taxidermist Shop was the centre of considerable ornithological information.[295]

Birds were even popular features at local, provincial, and national exhibitions. For instance, advertisements for the Hamilton and Gore Mechanics Institute Exhibition began appearing in the Hamilton *Evening Times* on Saturday, May 13, 1862. The exhibition was to feature "fine arts, manufactures, machines, natural history, curiosities," which included displays of various bird collections.[296] At the Canadian National Exhibition, the Natural History Department also featured ornithological collections as a popular attraction of the exhibition. In 1882, a Mr. Herring displayed his bird collection that included several species of duck.[297]

By the close of the nineteenth-century, recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario evolved into an urban middle-class activity as individuals collected natural objects for their homes either for an aesthetic appeal, a competitive spirit, or a curiosity of natural history. Natural history collecting promoted self-improvement, healthy outdoors activity, an escape urban life, and a means to commune spiritually with God, or to contribute something to science. However, by the 1880s, the activity was gradually developing into a larger North American context that began severing its links to the British Empire. By this time, Ontario collectors spread their connections not only provincially and nationally, but more specifically to the United States. For example, Thomas McIlwraith maintained connections with American ornithologists such as William

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[295] Percy A. Taverner, "The old taxidermy shop and Point Pelee Days," *Fleming Memorial Papers* (Toronto: The Brodie Club, 1940), p. 25

[296] The advertisement was on page 3 of *The Hamilton Evening Times*, 13 May 1862.

[297] Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997), p. 35

Brewster and Robert Ridgeway.[298] Whereas birdwatchers of the first half of the nineteenth-century focused on the British tradition, Ontario birdwatchers subsequently shared more in common with the Americans in terms of the birds they observed and collected.[299]

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[298] Marianne G. Ainley, "Thomas McIlwraith (1824-1903) and the Birds of Ontario," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), p. x

[299] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), pp. 26-27; Suzanne E. Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987), p. 272; Marianne G. Ainley, "The emergence of Canadian ornithology: an historical overview to 1950," in W.E. Davis Jr. and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), pp. 283-302

CHAPTER 4: IMPERIAL BIRDWATCHING IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO, 1791-1886

This chapter critically analyzes recreational birdwatching to determine how notions of empire shaped birdwatchers' identities and ideas about birds in southern Ontario, 1791-1886. According to Pratt, natural history "as a descriptive paradigm was an utterly benign and abstract appropriation of the planet. Claiming no transformative potential whatsoever, it differed sharply from overtly imperial articulations of conquest, conversion, territorial appropriation, and enslavement."[300] This system therefore created "a utopian, innocent vision of European global authority," which she termed "anti-conquest."[301] As naturalists travelled to distant lands, they represented landscapes as uninhabited, unpossessed, unhistoricized, uncoccupied even by the travelers themselves.[302] Natural history descriptions therefore omitted human presence, including indigenous populations that inhabited these lands. In natural history narratives, "people seem to disappear from the garden as Adam approaches – which – of course is why he can walk around as he pleases and name things after himself and his friends back home."[303]

However, in southern Ontario recreational birdwatchers exerted an explicit imperial presence in Britain's colony through their recreational practices. Rather than being mere innocent

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[300] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 38-39

[301] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 39

[302] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 51

[303] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 51-52

observers versed in Linnaean nomenclature, these birdwatchers actively advanced British imperialism through direct military occupation, the promotion of colonization, and their British-derived imperial recreational activities. As discussed in Chapter 3, military officers who pursued natural history in their leisure time made better officers, less prone to alcoholism and other "vices" that damaged the military's fitness. Workers and farmers who joined mechanics institutes made improved colonists. Thus natural history activities like birdwatching strengthened Britain's military and settler occupation in Upper Canada.

Furthermore, a number of British military officers and settlers created avifauna lists and bird collections while stationed in Upper Canada. These birdwatchers informed the metropolitan centre (Britain) by systematically documenting the birds they collected, publishing their works, and sending specimens back to Britain during their leisure time. Through the accumulation of ornithological knowledge, Britain could expand its imperial power in its colonies. Cataloguing, aestheticizing, and commodifying birds therefore helped shape imperial identities as natural history:

> "reflected and chanelled some of the strongest drives in colonial culture. It was an instrument for the appropriation and control of nature and a vehicle through which divine purpose stood revealed; it was at once an acceptable form of leisure and a path to recognition; it provided an outlet for intellectual activity in a colonial environment that seemed to have no past and no traditions to stimulate the literary imagination."[304]

Empire and Ornithological Knowledge

With the acquisition of New France, Britain "mapped" the contents of the newly acquired land in southern Ontario. A number of recreational birdwatchers served as informal explorers or

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[304] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 47

"Gullivers and "Crusoes" of British North America.[305] As military officers, travellers, and settlers observed southern Ontario's birds, natural history descriptions and avifauna lists helped catalogue the natural history of the new colony. Focussed on "centres of calculation" (e.g. London and Edinburgh) and "centres of accumulation", these informal explorers contributed to the accumulated ornithological knowledge at the imperial centre (Britain) as a means to dominate new lands and to extend the boundaries of empire.[306] As British imperialism was "often much less formal than outright annexation of treaties determining 'spheres of influence'," natural history provided a transforming agent for disseminating the ideology of empire through its practices, which included naming, classifying, and describing natural objects.[307]

The British military officer Thomas Davies informed the imperial center (Britain) through his observations and collections. Throughout the late eighteenth-century, Davies made several trips to British North America and surveyed parts of the St. Lawrence region and Lake

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[305] Suzanne E. Zeller, "Nature's Gullivers and Crusoes: the scientific exploration of British North America, 1800-1970," in J.L. Allen (ed.) *North American Exploration: A Continent Comprehended* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 190-243

[306] Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1987), pp. 220-235; David P. Miller, "Joseph Banks, empire, and "centres of calculation" in the late Hanoverian London," in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill (eds.) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 21-38.

[307] John Gascoigne, "The ordering of nature and the ordering of empire: a commentary," in D.P. Miller and P.H. Reill (eds.) *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 111

Ontario to Niagara with the Royal Artillery.[308] During his leisure time, he used his skills and position to paint, record, and collect bird specimens in British North America while surveying the newly acquired territory.[309] While on duty in Britain, he presented a paper on preserving birds to John Ellis, which was read to the Royal Society in 1770 and then published in *Philosophical Transactions*. Davies must have also collected and preserved bird skins in America, as British naturalists commented on his North American bird collection. For instance, British naturalist John Latham stated that Davies's collection had "many scarce specimens, especially from North America, which he has seen at pains to collect and arrange himself."[310] As Davies maintained contacts with other military officers interested in birds, he most likely met Charles Blagden in Rhode Island. On 10 April 1779, naturalist Charles Blagden referred to a Captain Davies, "who has certainly found better opportunities of collecting in this country than any person belonging to the army."[311] Through his informal observations, paintings, and collections, Davies contributed significantly to Britain's centre of accumulation. As he devised instructions on preparing stuffed specimens for other military officers and naturalists, he also made birds mobile and easily transportable to the imperial centre.

Captain Edward Sabine (1788-1883) provided an extensive avifauna list of British North America in his 1814-1815 ornithological notebook. Sabine served on the Niagara frontier at the

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[308] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1998), pp. 189-198

[309] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1998), pp. 196-197

[310] Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1998), p. 197

[311] Reginald Heber Howe, Jr., "Sir Charles Blagden, earliest of Rhode Island ornithologists," *The American Naturalist* (June 1905), p. 441

siege of Fort Erie, and later at Québec, shortly before his return to England in 1816. During his tour of duty he collected birds throughout northeastern United States and Canada.[312] By systematically classifying each species using the Linnaean classification system, his journal resembled Thomas Pennant's *Arctic Zoology* (1784-85) as he organized and described birds in similar ways. By applying scientific nomenclature, he transformed his avifaunal observations into useful knowledge that could be stored at the centre of accumulation and reused for future explorations.

Furthermore, Sabine most likely sent specimens back to his brother, Joseph Sabine (1770-1837), while stationed on the Niagara frontier. Joseph, an eminent naturalist in Britain, gained authority on the moulting, migration, and habits of British birds. Joseph Sabine's work on birds also contributed to the Linnaean and Royal Societies in London throughout his life, and owned an extensive North American bird collection. British surgeon-naturalist John Richardson and William Swainson both acknowledged his private museum in *Fauna Boreali-Americana* (1831), as "this gentleman has long studied Ornithology of the Hudson's Bay."[313] It was therefore Joseph's collection of birds that Edward most likely referred to in his journal, as he made frequent references to a "Jos'" collection.[314] As Edward collected, his brother acted as a

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[312] Sabine, later known for his work in astronomy, terrestrial magnetism and ornithology, was second captain of the British Royal Artillery during the War of 1812 and served in Upper Canada in 1814-1815. Born in Dublin, Ireland, Edward was educated at Marlow and at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwhich. Sir Edward Sabine, Ornithological Notebooks, 1814-1815, vol.1 MG 24-H56, Reel, A-1621 NAC, Ottawa, Ontario

[313] John Richardson and William Swainson, *Fauna Boreali-Americana* (London: John Murray, 1831), p. xii

[314] Sir Edward Sabine, *Ornithological Notebooks*, 1814-1815, vol.1 MG 24-H56, Reel, A-1621 NAC, Ottawa, Ontario; G.S.B., "Sabine, Joseph (1770-1837)," in L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds.)

"centre of accumulation" as he disseminated knowledge about British North American birds through his natural history societies and his published papers.

Major William Ross King, a "sportsman and naturalist", also documented many of southern Ontario's bird species.[315] His authority was based on "a sojourn in these regions, extending over a period of three years," whereby he habitually recorded in his "note-book memoranda on the haunts and habits of the birds and animals which I have endeavoured to describe in the succeeding pages."[316] As one critic wrote in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1867), "he has thrown much light upon the habits and general zoological relations of the animals inhabiting the somewhat cold regions of Canada."[317] His work was also reviewed in the *Ibis*, the journal of the British Ornithological Union. They stated, "this handsome volume brought out by Major King contains an account of some of the birds of Canada, drawn up with some regard to scientific accuracy that is usual among sporting writers."[318] King's authority disseminated ideas about British North American birds to a popular and scientifically oriented audience. Similarly,

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The Dictionary of National Biography. XVII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963-1964), p. 568

[315] Anon, "The sportsman abroad," *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Jan. 1867), p. 41; William Ross King, *The Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada* (Toronto: Coles Pub. Co., 1974), p. 121; originally published in 1866.

[316] William Ross King, *The Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada* (Toronto: Coles Pub. Co., 1974), p. vi

[317] Anon, "The sportsman abroad," *Gentleman's Magazine* (Jan. 1867), p. 43

[318] Anon, "Recent ornithological publications: King's Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada," *Ibis* 3 (1867), p. 125

Captain Henry Hadfield also contributed to documenting Kington's avifauna as he published his findings in the *Zoologist* during the 1850s and 1860s.[319]

British settlers, such as Charles Fothergill, were also instrumental in describing southern Ontario's avifauna for British consumption. Fothergill's efforts included organizing a Literary and Philosophical Society of Upper Canada at York in 1831 and a Lyceum of Natural History in 1835 in order to inventory the interior of British North America.[320] Throughout his life, he worked towards his "Memoirs and Illustrations of the Natural History of the British Empire" as he spent several years observing and collecting zoological specimens in Scotland, the Isle of Man, the Shetland and Orkney Islands, and twenty-four years' residence in Canada in hopes of studying the zoology of British North America.[321] Fothergill dedicated his work to the King of

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[319] Henry Hadfield published several articles in *The Zoologist* including, "Birds of Canada observed near Kingston," *The Zoologist* 22 (1864), pp. 9297-9310, and "Birds of Canada observed near Kingston during the Spring of 1858," *The Zoologist* 17 (1859), pp. 6701-6709; pp. 6477-6452.

[320] Suzanne E. Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987), p. 22; Charles Fothergill, *Proposed Lyceum of Natural History, and the Fine Arts, in the City of Toronto* (Toronto: W.J. Coates, 1835), pp. 1-2

[321] J.L. Baillie described Fothergill's work in his article on "Charles Fothergill, 1782-1840," *Canadian Historical Review* 25 (1944), pp. 379; Paul Romney, "Fothergill, Charles," in F.G. Halpenny (ed.) *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 317-321

Great Britain and stated "that I should one day be able to present the Sovereign of my country and my Countrymen with something of this kind that should be more worthy."[322]

In Edward Talbot's (1801-1839) *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823* (1824), Talbot's purpose was "to give a true description of Upper Canada, to represent the vast importance of that portion of his Majesty's dependencies, and to demonstrate some of its capabilities as a grand field of colonization."[323] Edward, who emigrated to Upper Canada in 1818 and "claimed a 'high literary reputation'," provided detailed accounts of the birds he observed in Upper Canada.[324] Images of southern Ontario birds were therefore reproduced for a British audience interested in colonial natural history.

Classifying the Aesthetic-Romantic

Nature appreciation was another form of imperialism and ethnocentrism that overlaid British ideologies and knowledge systems on southern Ontario's landscape. Since nature appreciation derived from Britain, recreational birdwatchers considered Britain as the norm against which other scenery and birds were evaluated. As Edward Talbot stated, "we [British] judge of scenery by different rules. The Englishman admires the undulating hill and dale, and

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[322] Fothergill's unpublished manuscript was quoted in J.L. Baillie's "Charles Fothergill, 1782-1840," *Canadian Historical Review* 25 (1944), p. 379.

[323] Edward A. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823* (Wakefield, Eng.: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. iii

[324] Edward Allen Talbot was born in Ireland. He was a militia officer, inventor, schoolmaster, and journalist, and was instrumental in moving the centre for the London district, Ontario, from Vittoria in Norfolk to the town plot of London. Daniel J. Brock, "Edward Allen Talbot," in F.G. Halpenny (ed.) *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 842-844

cannot be overstocked with wood and water. Barrenness and fertility, vigour and decay, with all their immediate varieties, must crowd into coup d'oeil of a picture that would please him."[325] Imperial birdwatchers positioned themselves as authorities on nature's beauty. The task of the imperial birdwatcher was to cultivate mentally Ontario's wilderness with appropriate aesthetic and spiritual categories for the natural world.

As imperial recreational birdwatchers judged the aesthetics of sublime and beautiful in birds, they also judged southern Ontario birds as inferior to those from Britain. British birds therefore became the standard to which colonial birds were evaluated and judged. According to Talbot, "it is remarkable, that, among this immense assemblage of 'winged fowl' that frequent Canada during the Summer, there are no singing birds." Talbot reinforced his views by recounting a similar account made by another "English gentleman". He exclaimed:

> "I once heard an English gentleman, who was greatly prejudiced against the Canadas, assert, that, in his opinion, the country bore evident marks of having incurred a particular degree of the Divine displeasure; and, for the enforcement of this eccentric notion, he urged, that the birds of Canada could not sing, the flowers emitted no scent, the men had no hearts, and the women had no virtue."[326]

Talbot continually asserted Britain's superiority in birdlife when evaluating the Canadian "lark" for his British readers. "The lark in appearance is very much like the sky-lark of your [England] country: but it never attempts to sing. It is a stupid inactive bird and unwilling to get upon the wing; seemingly as ignorant of the art of flying, as it is of the science of music."[327] Britain revered its own skylark as a national icon in literature and poetry.

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[325] Edward A. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823* (Wakefield, Eng.: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. 287

[326] Edward A. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823* (Wakefield, Eng.: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. 227

[327] Edward A. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823* (Wakefield, Eng.: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. 234

Anna Jameson (1794-1860) pronounced, "apropos to birds, we have alas! No singing birds in Canada. There is, indeed, a little creature of the ouzel kind, which haunts my garden, and has a low, sweet warble, to which I listen with pleasure; but we have nothing like the rich, continuous song of the nightingale or lark, or even the linnet."[328] Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, based on her tour of southwestern Ontario, was a critical and popular success, which reinforced Anna's reputation as a writer.[329]

The naturalist Catharine Parr Traill compared the Canadian robin to that of the "robin-red breast" of Britain while residing in the backwoods of Ontario.[330] "The song of the Canadian robin is by no means despicable," she recounted, "its notes are clear, sweet, and various; it possesses the several cheerful lively character that distinguishes the carol of its namesake; but the general habits of the bird are very dissimilar. The Canadian robin is less sociable with man."

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[328] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 178

[329] Anna Brownell Murphy was born in Dublin, Ireland, and married Robert Jameson, who became an attorney general of Upper Canada in 1833. On her tour, she separated from her husband and returned to England. She wrote several works such as *A Lady's Diary or Diary of an Ennoyée*, and was friends with Goethe's daugher in-law, Ottilie van Goethe, and Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browing. Clara Thomas, "Anna Brownell (Jameson) Murphy," in F.G. Halpenny (ed.) *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VIII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 648-651

[330] Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. 184

Traill's natural history descriptions recited "facts" that she accumulated during "three years' experience" in the backwoods of Upper Canada.[331]

Nature appreciation was taught and learned, and not intuitive, as "a taste for natural objects must be awakened and cultivated, before enjoyment can be derived from the casual observation."[332] Edmund Burke's division of nature into the sublime and beautiful provided a set of rules for appreciating the beauty of birds.[333] "By beauty," he stated, "I mean that quality or those qualities in bodies, by which they cause love, or some passion similar to it."[334] For example, "in the animal creation," small and colourful birds were classified as beautiful. The sublime, on the other hand, summoned the awe-inspiring, terrible, and grand.

> "Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of sublime; that is, it is a productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling."[335]

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[331] Catharine Parr Traill's other natural history work included *Canadian Wild Flowers* (1868), *Afar in the Forest* (1871), *Studies of Plant Life in Canada* (1885). She was also instrumental in promoting immigration and settlement to the province throughout the nineteenth-century. Promotional materials included *The Female Emigrant's Guide* (1854), *The Canadian Settler's Guide* (1860), and *Backwoods in Canada* (1836).

[332] Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, *The Architecture of Birds* (London: Charles Knight, 1832), pp. 2-3

[333] Stephen J. Gould, "The invisible woman," in B.T. Gates and A.B. Shteir (eds.) *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pp. 27-39

[334] Edmund Burke, *The Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1796), p. 77

[335] Edmund Burke, *The Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1796), p. 36

For instance, "there are many animals, who though far from being large, as yet capable of raising ideas of the sublime, because they are considered as objects of terror."[336]

As recreational birdwatchers searched for "beautiful" and "sublime" experiences in birds, certain bird species evoked appropriate responses. Perhaps it was the cry of the snowy owl that attracted Captain Ross King when describing the species. The sublime could be experienced with "the cries of animals" with "the angry tones of wild beasts," which cause "a great and awful sensation." He stated, "the cry of the snowy-owl is most hoarse and dismal, and has been well compared to that of a full grown man in distress for assistance."[337]

Bald-headed eagles and flocks of passenger pigeons were other sights that recreational birdwatchers hoped to admire while in the Ontario wilderness. As Ross King exclaimed, "few sights of the kind can well be more so, than that of the great-whiteheaded-eagle [sic] on the wing: a spectacle I had the gratification of witnessing in the neighbourhood of the Falls [Niagara]."[338] Alfred Domett (1811-1887) hoped to view passenger pigeons on his trip as he stated, "pigeons were the next of the wonders I longed to see."[339] Domett recounted, "it was dusk and there was a large number then, no darkening of the sky, of course, or any such sublimity, but we went home

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[336] Edmund Burke, *The Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1796), p. 51

[337] William Ross King, *The Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada* (Toronto: Coles Pub. Co., 1974), p. 109

[338] William Ross King, *The Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada* (Toronto: Coles Pub. Co., 1974), p. 107

[339] Alfred Domett was born in Surrey, England, and would become a New Zealand colonial statesman and poet. He befriended Robert Browning the poet and remained friends throughout his life. His motivation for touring Canada was for pleasure. S.L.L., "Domett, Alfred (1811-1887)," in Leslie Stephen (ed.) *Dictionary of British Biography* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1888), pp. 199-200

well pleased at the partial verification of our anticipations.... They sit in rows along the branches as motionless and grave as those white-bearded senators of Rome the Goths broke in upon in days of old."[340]

The hummingbird was another species that elicited a romantic response since its "shape and colouring, yields to none of the winged species, of which its is the least; and perhaps his beauty is enhanced by his smallness."[341] To the British military officer Jasper Grant, the hummingbird was "beautiful and so various that you will meet in the woods any kind of plumage your imagination can form."[342] Similarly, George Head (1782-1855) reveled in the hummingbird's omnipresence while stationed on Lake Huron for four months.[343] "At this moment," Head exclaimed, "a little blazing meteor shot like a glowing coal of fire across the glen; and I saw, for the first time, with admiration and astonishment, what in a moment I recognized to be the greatest of Nature's beauties of the feathered race, that resplendent living gem, the humming bird."[344] His book was very popular in Britain as "his tale is simply told and his picture is a correct one and whoever read his book will know as much of the forests of

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[340] Alfred Domett, *The Canadian Journal of Alfred Domett: Being an Extract from a Journal of a Tour in Canada, the United States and Jamaica* (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1955), p. 53

[341] Edmund Burke, *The Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1796), p. 132

[342] Letter from Jasper Grant to Thomas Grant 31 September 1802, Jasper Grant Fonds, MG24-F128, NA A-2080, NAC, Ottawa, Ontario

[343] Sir George Head was an older brother of Sir Francis Head, sixth lieutenant of Upper Canada. The Head family was very close to Margaret Simcoe's family. See Mary Beacock Fryer, *Elizabeth Posthuma Simcoe, 1762-1850* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1989), p. 79 and p. 96

[344] Sir George Head, *Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America* (London: J. Murray, 1829), p. 313

America as if he had shivered thro' a winter himself."[345] For Head, the hummingbird was not only beautiful, but it induced a spiritual response whereby the "glowing coal of fire" and "resplendent living gem" brought him closer to "Nature", or God. Perhaps birdwatchers revered the hummingbird for its uniqueness to the Americas. The British bird popularizer John Gould (1804-1887) travelled specifically to North America in search of hummingbirds.[346] He even tried to keep a couple of hummingbirds in captivity by feeding them saccharine fluid. However, his attempt failed as they died once he reached England.[347]

Imperial Souvenirs

As imperial birdwatchers roamed the Ontario wilderness, recreational birdwatchers collected stuffed birds as souvenirs of their trip. Stuffed birds represented tangible proofs of their

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[345] Sydney W. Jackman, *Galloping Head: A Biography of Sir Francis Bond Head. 1793-1875* (London: Phoenix House, 1958), p. 50

[346] Gould produced 2,999 different folio pictures in as many as seven volumes, however, his more popular works included his *Birds of Great Britain*, which was reproduced 500 times. In Allan J. Richards, *The Birdwatcher's A-Z* (North Pomfret, Vt.: David and Charles, 1980), pp. 121-122. His other works included *Birds of Australia* (1840-48), *Birds of Asia* (1849-1883), and *Monograph of the Humming-Birds* (1849-61). Gould could not have accomplished his work without the help of his wife, Elizabeth Gould, who painted the majority of his birds. Isabella Tree, *The Ruling Passion of John Gould: A Biography of the Birdman* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1991), pp. 45-46

[347] By 1887, Gould's lifelong obsession manifested itself into a collection of 1,500 mounted and 3,800 unmounted specimens, plus numerous paintings and plates. While in Canada, he visited the Canadian Institute and the Montreal Natural History Society. Isabella Tree, *The Ruling Passion of John Gould: A Biography of the Birdman* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1991), p. 192

discoveries and wilderness tour.[348] However, as Canadian stuffed birds provided a pleasurable experience for travelling birdwatchers after returning to Britain, collecting birds was a colonial affair "in which knowledge of the living and dead bodies" of birds "was part of the systems of unequal exchange of extractive colonialism," and ecological imperialism.[349] Furthermore, birds were commodified as part of the western capitalist system that appropriated living beings for financial gain, especially as part of a developing tourism industry in southern Ontario.

Throughout the nineteenth-century, natural curiosities such as stuffed birds could be purchased as souvenirs at museums and taxidermy shops. For example, at Niagara Falls, "Mr. Barnett's Museum of natural and artificial curiosities" housed "upwards to 800 stuffed animals of various kinds and descriptions," which were "arranged very tastefully so as to represent a forest scene."[350] The natural history objects were all "caught in the vicinity of the Falls," and "calculated to delight the eye, improve the understanding, and mend the heart." One of the main attractions was the bald-eagle, "the noblest of eagles of the land delight to hover around the Falls; and they are frequently killed, stuffed, and offered for sale."[351]

William Pope, on his tour to Niagara Falls in 1834-35, also described the stuffed birds available for purchase at the museums. He stated, "there are two of three museums at which we may be purchased curiosities such as minerals... which are met with at the Falls and the

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[348] Graham Brown, "Tourism and symbolic consumption," in P. Johnson and B. Thomas (eds.) *Choice and Demand in Tourism* (London: Mansell, 1992), pp. 57-72; Mike Crang, "Picturing practices: research through the tourist gaze," *Progress in Human Geography* 21, 3 (1997) pp. 359-373

[349] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 19

[350] Horatio A. Parsons, *The Book of Niagara Falls* (Buffalo: Steel and Peck, 1838), p. 17

[351] Horatio A. Parsons, *The Book of Niagara Falls* (Buffalo: Steel and Peck, 1838), p. 17

surrounding country. They have collections also of stuffed birds animals, etc..."[352] Perhaps it was Mr. Barnett's museum where Frances Elizabeth Owen purchased stuffed birds as souvenirs for her friend. Owen visited Upper Canada in the 1860's, and her tour included a trip to the Niagara region, where she "purchased bluebirds at Niagara Falls for a cheap price."[353]

Taxidermy therefore became the practice of changing a live bird into an object for consumption, which Evernden termed "reification."[354] Several travel guide authors included instructions on collecting and preserving stuffed birds, such as Charles Waterton (1782-1865). Waterton devoted a complete chapter "on preserving birds for cabinets of natural history" in his *Wanderings*.[355] As Alfred Domett referred to Waterton in his Canadian journal, he may have followed Waterton's instructions as he collected birds during his trip to Upper Canada.[356] Domett selected his birds carefully based on their aesthetic and visual appeal. He recounted:

> "I stuffed a few beautiful birds of which there were already many in the woods. There was the golden oriole (Baltimore oriole), a dark yellow bird the size of a sparrow, the exquisite red-bird (Red tanager or Blackwing Redbird) – the whole graceful body of a deep crimson the excepting wings and tail of jet black, the bluebird (*Motacilla Sialis*) – dark violet on the back, a pale primrose under the

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[352] William Pope, in M.A. Garland (ed).*William Pope's Journal March 28, 1834-March 11, 1835.* (London, Ontario: Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, 1952-54), p. 48

[353] Frances E.O. Monck, *My Canadian Leaves: An Account of a Visit to Canada in 1864-1865* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1891), p. 66

[354] Neil Evernden, *The Natural Alien: Humankind and the Environment* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993), p. 88

[355] Charles Waterton, *Wanderings in South America* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1968), pp. 321-341

[356] Alfred Domett, *The Canadian Journal of Alfred Domett: Being an Extract from a Journal of a Tour in Canada, the United States and Jamaica* (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1955), p. 54

top of the wings and a streak of the same colour on each side of the head and above a beautiful scarlet crest of the back of the head."[357]

Domett arranged his birds according to colour, shape, and size. In relation to Burke's rule on "beauty in colour", "if the colours be strong and vivid, they are always diversified, and the object is never of one strong colour."[358] Therefore, Domett's birds exhibited contrasting colours such as dark yellow, exquisite red, deep crimson, dark violet, and pale primrose all combined to attract the eye of the observer. Although Domett used Latin names for a few of the birds he collected, his intentions were not scientific as he travelled for pleasure. His collection was most likely for his curiosity cabinet, which served as a "mental diorama" of the trip.[359] As Merrill stated, the curiosity cabinet was one dominant metaphor for the aesthetic science of natural history during the nineteenth-century. For collectors, the curiosity cabinet represented "the physical analogue of the activity of collecting. It served as a repository for all manner of collected natural objects, which, stimulating to the mind and eye, lent themselves to contemplation and sheer aesthetic pleasure."[360]

The collection also symbolized possession of the world where the imperial birdwatcher acquired natural objects from around distant lands. Bird collections signified the material wealth, vastness, and potential of the British Empire as foreign specimens were tangible proof of

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[357] Alfred Domett, *The Canadian Journal of Alfred Domett: Being an Extract from a Journal of a Tour in Canada, the United States and Jamaica* (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1955), p. 54

[358] Edmund Burke, *The Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1796), p. 100

[359] Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 257

[360] Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 107

Britain's expanding authority and affluence, and the grandeur of the monarchy.[361] The International Exhibition in London, 1862, epitomized Britain's empire of nature. Bird collections from British colonies, both aesthetic and scientific, were displayed and signified British dominance in the world. For example, as one critic stated, "to begin with our colonial possessions...Canada has sends several cases of birds to illustrate her Ornis. These are exhibited by Mr. James Thompson of Montreal and Mr. S. W. Passmore of Toronto. The series of North-American *Anatidea*, though not particularly well stuffed, nor including any varieties, is very fair."[362] A catalogue of Canada's ornithology included the vernacular and scientific names of birds.[363] Although Heaman suggested "the international exhibitions provided the developing colonies a British North America with an opportunity to construct a self-identity and to broadcast it to the world," it was apparent that British authorities on birds still viewed Canada as a colony of the empire.[364]

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[361] Hariet Ritvo, "The order of nature: construction the collections of Victorian Zoos, " in R.J. Hoage and William A. Diess (eds.) *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menageries to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 47-50

[362] Anon, "Ornithology in the International Exhibition," *Ibis* 4 (1862), p. 283 and p. 286

[363] International Exhibition, *Canada East at the International Exhibition, 1862: a descriptive catalogue of the mineral and agricultural products, woods, and manufactured articles, etc... on exhibition from Eastern Canada: with a list of the awards of medals and honorable mentions to Canadian exhibitors* (London; G. Norman, 1862)

[364] Elsbeth Heaman, *Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 141

Shaping Imperial Identities

As southern Ontario's population changed ethnic composition throughout the nineteenth-century, a growing concern of the meaning of being British increased among middle- and upper-class recreational birdwatchers.[365] The need to assert imperial identities therefore became a defining feature of Ontario's recreational birdwatching culture. According to Kearns:

> "racial difference was never secured in the colonies due to miscegenation, recruitment of comprador elites and the loss of whites going 'native'. Rules devised for that context, and which served to distinguish a racialized other, became codes applied back home to stabilize bourgeois identities against the different threats of class, or ethnicity, which in turn became racialized."[366]

Imperial birdwatchers criticized aboriginal populations as a means to reassure their dominance in the name of empire. As aboriginals did not observe birds within the British natural history tradition, imperial birdwatchers viewed them as primitive, uneducated, and too uncivilized to know the difference between bird species or to judge them aesthetically. According to Edward Talbot, who maintained there were "no singing birds" in Upper Canada, "the Canadians [aboriginals] do not think so; for, being ignorant of those countries in which every tree is vocal, and every 'bush with nature's music rings', they imagine that all birds which can chirrup and chatter, like a sparrow or a jay, are entitled to the appellation of "singing birds."[367] Talbot patronized aboriginal knowledge by denying them their spiritual connection to the natural world.

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[365] Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of their Duty: Middle-class formation in Victorian Ontario towns* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), p. 5 and pp. 19-20

[366] Gerry Kearns, "The imperial subject: geography and travel in the work of Mary Kingsley and Halford MacKinder," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22 (1997), p. 451

[367] Edward A. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823* (Wakefield, Eng.: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. 227

Natives apparently were too uncivilized to decipher difference between Western music and "chirrup".[368]

Likewise, Catharine Parr Traill painted a related picture for her readers when describing a native man's ignorance of a species of grosbeak.

> "One day, some year ago, I met an Indian with a dead bird in his hand, which by its thick short bill I recognized as one of the grosbeak family, but unlike any of those birds I had before seen, the pale whitish plumage of its breast being dashed with crimson spots, just as if its throat had been cut and the drops of blood had fallen in an irregular shower on the breast.
>
> I asked Indian Peter the name of the bird. With the customary prologue of "Ugh!" a guttural sort of expression, he replied, "Indian call bird 'cut-throat'; see him breast!" thus calling my attention to the singular red marks I had noticed, and at the same time showing me that they were not bloodstains caused in the killing of the bird. He was taking it to a young gentleman who wanted it as a specimen, and who was a clever taxidermist."[369]

Furthermore, Peter was half-civilized due to his "tolerably good English, for Peter was Indian only on the mother's side."[370] Traill considered Peter a "Noble Savage", a "picturesque figure as he marched into the store, gun in hand, and clad in his blanket-coat and red sash, especially as drawn through this red sash hung a beautiful Hawk-owl."[371]

However, the collection and documentation of British North American birds could not have been done without the help and skills of the aboriginal hunters. The aboriginal population therefore exerted a real presence in birdwatchers' recreational space, albeit a subservient one in

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[368] Edward A. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823* (Wakefield, Eng.: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. 227

[369] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 34

[370] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 35

[371] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 35

the birdwatchers' texts. A number of British recreational birdwatchers consulted with aboriginals as guides, informants regarding bird names, and collectors of bird specimens. British military officer George Head employed a First Nations guide. "Liberté possessed, in common with the Indians, the faculty of crossing woods to any point he wished, and proposed to make a straight line in this instance, instead of keeping along the shore."[372] Margaret Simcoe and Charles Fothergill both commented on the collecting capabilities of the First Nations. As Simcoe stated, "the Indians shoot small birds with such blunt arrows that their plumage is not injured."[373] According to Fothergill in the 1830s, "I have known an Indian kill nearly 100 in the course of the day near Pigeon Lake with a bow and arrow at a single shot, and I have known a white man to kill 20 at a single shot with a gun."[374]

Catharine Parr Traill also applied aboriginal knowledge when attempting to identify a chickadee. "I am not quite certain, but I think it is the same little bird that is known among the Natives by the name of Thit-a-be-bec; its note, though weak, and with few changes, is not unpleasing; and we [British immigrants] prize it from its almost the only bird that sings in the winter."[375] Charles Fothergill frequently consulted with aboriginals for their ornithological observations. They were also instrumental in collecting bird specimens for his interest, as "an

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[372] Sir George Head, *Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America* (London: J. Murray, 1829), p. 248

[373] J. Ross Robertson, *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 229

[374] R. Delamere Black, "Charles Fothergill's notes on the natural history of Eastern Canada, 1816-1837," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute* 20, 1 (1934), p. 159

[375] Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart:, 1989), p. 182

Indian of the Mississauga tribe brought me a pair male and female of this noble species, shot near my own grounds on the R. Lake, October, 1820."[376]

When a growing market evolved in Ontario for stuffed birds as souvenirs and scientific specimens, Natives positioned themselves at the centre the trade. At a post office at Gore's Landing, Rice Lake, the owner "was kept by the gentleman before alluded to [Major St. Q__] as a collector of birds." According to Traill "the Indian hunters were his best customers, trading their furs and game for tobacco, groceries and other necessaries."[377] Aboriginal hunters frequently traded dead birds at the store. As Traill recounted, Peter, an aboriginal, brought an "American Hawk Owl" to the Major whereby "Peter was comforted by a small gift and plug of tobacco from the Major."[378]

These texts indicate that Ontario birdwatchers did not "erase" Native people, as Pratt's thesis would suggest; but that birdwatchers co-opted Native hunters to further their own purposes, and denied them an equal role. For example, although Fothergill admired First Nations' natural history knowledge and collecting capabilities, he classified the local tribe in his natural history work under the category "Mississauga Indians or Chippaweyan race of Indians" together with

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[376] R. Delamere Black, "Charles Fothergill's notes on the natural history of Eastern Canada, 1816-1837," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute* 20, 1 (1934), p. 145

[377] Catharine Parr Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), pp. 34-36; originally published in 1891.

[378] Catharine Parr Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), pp. 34-36; originally published in 1891

black squirrels, bears, fish, and birds.[379] According to Peterson, this type of practice was created by a "European perspective that viewed indigenous people as part of a less than human nature."[380]

Imperial birdwatchers also subjugated Americans with similar rhetoric. British recreational birdwatchers referred to them derogatorily as Yankees and often described as uneducated and ignorant. For example, William Ross King described the "Goosander (*Mergus Americanus*)," which he claimed, "this bird affords another instance of the stupid misnomers bestowed by the Yankees on the animal creation of their country, where it goes by the name of the "Water Pheasant". At an exhibition in Hamilton in 1865, a critic from the *Evening Times* described the American eagle as timid and meager-looking as it "seems somewhat out of sorts; his tail is drooping, his feathers ruffled, and he has altogether a startled and unhappy look."[381]

By the end of the nineteenth-century, increasing anxiety towards non-British immigrants coloured popular ornithological literature. In his *Birds of Ontario* (1886), Scottish settler Thomas McIlwraith (1824-1903) recounted his failed attempt to teach an lower-class immigrant farmer the aesthetic appeal of birds.[382]

> "I once directed the attention of an intelligent, successful farmer, whose speech betrayed his nationality, to a fine specimen of the bird we have been describing.

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[379] Charles Fothergill, MS 140, vol. 20, "Canadian researches chiefly in natural history, 1816-1821," The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Toronto, p. 89

[380] Anna Peterson, "Environmental ethics and the social construction of nature," *Environmental Ethics* 21 (Winter 1999), p. 343

[381] Anon, "The art exhibition in the Mechanics' Hall," *The Hamilton Evening Times* (June 7, 1865), p. 2

[382] Thomas McIlwraith was born at Newton-on-Ayr, Scotland, and emigrated to Hamilton in 1853. Marianne G. Ainley, "Thomas McIlwraith (1824-1903) and the Birds of Ontario," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. viii-xiii

> I pointed out the beauty of its markings and related the interesting parts in its history, but failed to excite any enthusiasm regarding it; in fact, the only remark elicited was that it was 'unca thick i' the neb'."[383]

McIlwraith expressed similar views when encountering an Afro-Canadian who did not know the difference between a hawk and a shrike. Again, McIlwraith highlighted the man's lack of education and intelligence.

> "While driving along a back road east of the city, my attention was attracted by an ancient negro, who, with a table fork fastened to the end of a fishing pole, was poking vigorously into the centre of a very large, dense thorn-bush near his shanty. Greeting over the fence to find out what he was doing, I was informed that a little Chicken Hawk had its nest in there and that it had killed two of his young chickens. Looking along the pole I saw in the heart of the dense bush a Shrike's nest with some young ones, which one of the old birds was valiantly defending, biting a the end of the fork when it came too near the youngsters.... I tried to convince my colored friend that he was mistaken about the bird having killed his chickens, for this kind lived only on grasshoppers and crickets, but he insisted that it was a Chicken Hawk, giving emphasis to the name by the use of several profane adjectives, and vowing he would have him out before night, even if he should have to burn him out?"[384]

However, there is evidence to suggest that individuals from non-British backgrounds birdwatched during the nineteenth-century. For example, Mary Jane Robinson, a New York City laundress and African-American who moved to Buxton, Ontario, in the 1850s, recounted the different animals she observed in Chatham. Robinson listed several bird species in a letter to her friend Sarah Ann Harris from New York.[385] She mentioned "pheasants, quails, wild turkey, wild duck, woodcock and red-headed woodpeckers, and sapsuckers". By distinguishing the different species, it is evident she was knowledgeable about the birds in her vicinity.

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[383] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), pp. 203-204

[384] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), p. 245

[385] Mary Jane Robinson to Sarah Ann Harris, 23 March 1854 in P. Ripley (ed.) *The Black Abolitionist Papers, vol. II, Canada, 1830-1865* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), p. 280

Attitudes towards the house sparrow also reflected increasing anxiety towards "foreign" immigration.[386] As sentiments increased towards immigrants (other than British and Anglo-American), birdwatchers perceived Eurasian birds, such as the English or house sparrow, based on xenophobic views. The English sparrow, first introduced to America from Europe in 1840s by Nicholas Pike, adapted to urban areas and proliferated in numbers after a few years of its release. The birds thrived off seeds in horse dung in crowded cities, and chased off Native species from their nesting sites. The house sparrow "was thus portrayed as an ungrateful foreigner taking from America what it did not return; it crowded urban centres and was said to drive out upright avian citizens."[387]

According to George W. Allan, one of Toronto's mayors in the 1850s, "by their numbers and pernacity so worry and disgust the bigger birds as ultimately to drive it away."[388] The species was "an outsider" and "very unpopular"; as "the principal charges brought against it being that of

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[386] Robin Doughty, *The English sparrow in the American Landscape: A Paradox in Nineteenth Century Wildlife Conservation* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1978); Matthew D. Evenden, "Labourers of nature: economic ornithology and the role of birds as agents of biological pest control in North American agriculture, ca. 1880-1930," *Forest and Conservation History* 39 (Oct., 1995), pp. 172-183

[387] Matthew D. Evenden, "Labourers of nature: economic ornithology and the role of birds as agents of biological pest control in North American agriculture, ca. 1880-1930," *Forest and Conservation History* 39 (Oct., 1995), pp. 172-183

[388] Matthew D. Evenden, "Labourers of nature: economic ornithology and the role of birds as agents of biological pest control in North American agriculture, ca. 1880-1930," *Forest and Conservation History* 39 (Oct., 1995), p. 173; G. W. Allan, *Notes on the Ornithology of the Seasons: As Illustrated by the Arrival and Departure of Some of our Migratory birds* (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1885), p. 10

eating the fruit buds and driving away our native birds."[389] It was during the summer of 1874 when McIlwraith made his first acquaintance with the ungrateful foreigners. McIlwraith stated, "I made them welcome for old acquaintance sake, and thinking they would make good settlers was about to put up a house for them, but before my well-meant intentions were carried out it became apparent that they were providing for themselves in a manners quite characteristic."[390]

The following spring, the number of sparrows increased and "began to roost under the veranda round the house, which brought frequent complaints from the sanitary department, and protest was made against their being allowed to lodge there at all." This time, they dislodged a pair of house wrens "who had for years been in possession of a box fixed for them in an apple tree in the garden." McIlwraith exclaimed, "I had missed the sprightly song and lively manners of the wrens, and in the spring when they came round again seeking admission to their old home, I killed the sparrows which were in possession in order to give the wrens a chance." McIlwraith exterminated several sparrows, especially after they ate "every fruit bud" in his garden. "The report of firearms was heard several times in the garden that afternoon; many dead and wounded sparrows were left to the care of the cats, and every crevice where the birds were known to breed closed up at once."[391]

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[389] Thomas McIlwraith. *On Birds and Bird Matters* (Hamilton: Hamilton Scientific Association, 1885), pp. 41-43

[390] Thomas McIlwraith. *On Birds and Bird Matters* (Hamilton: Hamilton Scientific Association, 1885), p. 41

[391] Thomas McIlwraith. *On Birds and Bird Matters* (Hamilton: Hamilton Scientific Association, 1885), p. 43

Catharine Parr Traill was probably one of the only defenders of the English sparrow as she asserted her religious superiority.[392] She wrote:

> "Harmless, persecuted, despised, reviled sparrows, who is brave enough to take your pat? Who will take you under a sheltering wing and say a word in your behalf? I dare so to do, setting a nought the torrent of invective which is sure to all on my defenceless head.... ' 'Doth God take care for oxen?' saith the apostle. Yea, He careth; yea, and for the birds of the air also. He openeth His hand and feedeth them. Not one – not even the sparrows, despised among thoughtless men – is forgotten by the great Creator. In the first place, were not the birds first brought into the country through avarice or ignorance, as a speculation, by some adventurous Yankee, who 'assisted' them across the Atlantic in order to make merchandise of them? 'I am only an old woman after all, with a Briton's love of fair play, so let us give the poor sparrow a chance."

Perhaps Traill defended the house sparrow as she blamed an ignorant and "adventurous Yankee" for the ecological problem; or perhaps she experienced a loyalty issue as the sparrow originated from Britain. Because it was not the English sparrow's fault for crossing the Atlantic Ocean, she appealed to "Briton's love of fair play" to give the sparrow a second chance in the name of God.[393]

By comparing themselves with ethnic groups who did not watch birds according to the British natural history protocols (aboriginals, Americans, and non-British immigrants), imperial birdwatchers asserted their colonial dominance and reinforced their British identities. Imperial birdwatchers therefore viewed themselves as part of the "civilized world" and "respectable races" whereby they met "on equal grounds, and are of course, well acquainted with the rules of good breeding and polite life; too much so to allow any deviation from those laws that good taste,

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[392] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), pp. 45-46

[393] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 46

good sense, and good feeling have established among the persons of our class."[394] Colonial birdwatchers were "the great band of teachers" who elevated and refined "public taste, by affording opportunities of contemplating at leisure whatever is beautiful or interesting in the appearance or habits of such animals as are embraced in the department of Natural History."[395]

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[394] Charles Fothergill, *Proposed Lyceum of Natural History, and the Fine Arts, in the City of Toronto* (Toronto: W.J. Coates, 1835), pp. 1-2. Se also: Richard H. Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841, vol. 1* (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. 168; Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), pp. 218-219.

[395] Anon, "The art exhibition in the Mechanics' Hall," *The Hamilton Evening Times* (June 7, 1865), p. 2

CHAPTER 5: GENDER AND RECREATIONAL BIRDWATCHING IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO, 1791-1886

As upper- and middle-class British immigrants brought recreational practices with them to Ontario, they viewed natural history as rational recreation that could elevate the intellectual and moral status of the new country.[396] Natural history was "a good training for the rational enjoyment of life" in terms of "training of our mental powers, of our aesthetic sentiments, and our moral faculties."[397] In the "civilized world", natural history engaged people to:

> "become more expanded, cheerful, raised, refined, and benevolent, proportionate to the extent of their application. They are admitted to nearer approach, as it were, and to *Himself*, whereby we discern that *His* majesty, beauty, power, and glory, dwells in every place."[398]

As recreational birdwatching originated from this tradition, observing and collecting birds became a popular pastime for those who visited, worked, or settled in southern Ontario throughout the nineteenth-century. However, as the activity often entailed first shooting a bird in order to identify it prior to modern cameras and binoculars, I question in this section whether men

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[396] Carl Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), pp. 3-27; Suzanne E. Zeller, *Land of Promise, Promised Land: The Culture of Victorian Science in Canada*, Canadian Historical Association Booklet No. 56 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Society), pp. 1-12

[397] John William Dawson (1820-1899) was a Canadian geologist who made numerous contributions to paleobotany and extended the knowledge of Canadian geology. He was principal of McGill University for 38 years and was influential in disseminating ideas about natural history throughout Canada. John W. Dawson "Natural history in its educational aspects," *American Journal of Education* (June, 1857), pp. 428-436

[398] Charles Fothergill, *Proposed Lyceum of Natural History, and the Fine Arts, in the City of Toronto* (Toronto: W.J. Coates, 1835), p. 2

and women participated in the same practices. As recreational birdwatching encompassed both scientific and aesthetic-romantic approaches to nature, how did notions of masculinity and femininity shape the activity's practices and ideas about the natural world in southern Ontario?

In order to examine the ways gendered identities affected birdwatchers' practices and ideas about birds in southern Ontario, I critically analyze recreational birdwatching within the "doctrine of separate spheres" framework.[399] The doctrine was both an ideology and a lived reality in Upper Canadian culture beginning in 1820s and 1830s that originated in Upper Canada's "two imperial centres", London and Niagara.[400] The "doctrine of separate spheres" suggests that British and North American middle and upper-class men and women engaged in natural history and outdoor activities differently based on the construction of public and private spheres that paralleled a sharp contrast between female and male natures. Binary oppositions included the designation of the professional or amateur, public or private, objective or subjective, and sublime and beautiful, which assigned men and women to "appropriate" and oppositional gender roles.[401] Men therefore occupied the public, professional, objective, and sublime sphere, while women focused on the home, the amateur position, and moral and aesthetic domain.

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[399] The literature on this "doctrine" is extensive. For an early influential source see: N.F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). For an Ontario study, see: Elizabeth J. Errington. *Wives and Mothers School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada 1790-1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995)

[400] As the province established in 1791, Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806) founded Niagara as the first capital of the province.

[401] Cheryl McEwan, "Gender, science, and physical geography in nineteenth-century Britain," *Area* 30, 3 (1998), pp. 215-223; Stephen J. Gould, "The invisible woman," in B.T. Gates and

In terms of outdoor recreation in nineteenth-century Ontario, however, the "separate spheres" were by no means balanced. Throughout the nineteenth-century, British and North American middle-class society constructed outdoor recreation, tourism, and natural history through contemporary notions of masculinity.[402] Male upper- and middle-class birdwatchers identified, classified, and searched for the sublime in nature as they personified heroic and adventuresome figures in the wilderness. The male eye passively observed and possessed the natural world by aesthetically appropriating flora and fauna, and exerting "a rhetoric of presence over nature" as they asserted imperial ideologies.[403] Women, on the other hand, were intended to approach nature through gender-defined activities as men "constructed a match between the study of plants and birds and women's social roles."[404] Consequently, middle- and upper-class women

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A.B. Shteir (eds.) *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pp. 27-39

[402] Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 1979); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Richard P. Manning, *Recreating Man: Hunting and Angling in Victorian Canada*, M.A. Thesis (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1994); Greg Gillespie, "Sports and 'masculinities' in early-nineteenth-century Ontario: the British Travellers' Image," *Ontario History XCII*, 2 (Autumn, 2000), pp. 113-129

[403] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 7; Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 169-170

[404] Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p. xv

were encouraged to engage in "non-threatening" pursuits that viewed the natural world through a feminine gaze embracing the beautiful, diminutive, and spiritual.[405] Activities such as bird drawing and nest watching centered around the household and positioned women as witnesses or participants rather than "male monarchs" seeking to possess and control nature. If women gained authority in the naturalist tradition, it was through their husbands, brothers, or fathers, or as interpreters of God's work and the beauty in nature or through feminine defined activities such as botany.[406] For example, Catharine Parr Traill contributed significantly to systematic botanical studies at the University of Edinburgh by collecting plants in southern Ontario.[407]

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[405] Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. xiv-xv; Vera Norwood, "Constructing gender in nature," in J.P. Herron and A.G. Kirk (eds.) *Human/Nature: Biology, Culture, and Environmental History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1999), pp. 49-62; Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Barbara T. Gates and Ann B. Shteir, *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science* (Madison, Wisconsin and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen Morin, "Gender, nature, empire: women naturalists in nineteenth-century British travel literature," paper forthcoming in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2001)

[406] Debra Lindsay, "Intimate inmates: wives, households, and science in nineteenth-century America," *Isis* 89 (1998), pp. 631-652; Judith Johnson, "'Woman's testimony': imperial discourse in the professional colonial travel writing of Louise Anne Meredith and Catharine Parr Traill," *Australian and New Zealand Studies in Canada* 11 (June, 1994), pp. 34-55

[407] Suzanne E. Zeller, "Nature's Gullivers and Crusoes: the scientific exploration of British North America, 1800-1970," in J.L. Allen (ed.) *North American Exploration: A Continent Comprehended* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), p. 193; Barbara

Although a number of scholars believe gendered ideas about the natural world are due to male and female biological and anatomical differences, I argue that British middle-class women birdwatchers viewed birds differently as a result of differing learned cultural practices and approaches to the natural world, which male birdwatchers constructed to discourage women's active participation.[408] Although male birdwatchers could easily appropriate the "feminine" sphere of home bird-feeders, and painterly descriptions of small colourful birds, they developed a rugged outdoorsman world of shooting birds and a male sphere of taxidermy from which they excluded women. As a result, middle- and upper-class men remained at the forefront of masculine and imperialistic ideologies within recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario. As social norms discouraged middle- and upper-class women from handling a gun, killing birds, and skinning, dissecting, and stuffing them in the name of science, they were not actively involved in the appropriation of the natural world within the name of empire. However, women contributed indirectly as they supported the growing natural history trade for their own practices of painting, natural curiosity collections, and decorations (Figure 1).

Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 102

[408] Feminist scholars such as Adrienne Rich and Vera Norwood have adopted essentialism in their work on gendered perceptions of nature. Adrienne Rich, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976); Adrienne Rich, *What is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993); Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Vera Norwood, "Constructing gender in nature," in J.P. Herron and A.G. Kirk (eds.) *Human/Nature: Biology, Culture, and Environmental History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1999), pp. 49-62

Figure 1: Ornithological Illustration

A female and male rose-breasted grosbeak from Charles Forthegill's natural history journal. Source: Charles Fothergill MS 140, vol. 20, *Canadian Researches Chiefly in Natural History, 1816-1821*, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Ontario

Men and Recreational Birdwatching

As middle- and upper-class male society created conceptual boundaries between the working class, ethnic groups, and women, collecting birds was viewed as more "refined and elevating than those of the ordinary sportsman."[409] The activity was "the ultimate refinement, the *ne plus ultra* of all sports of the field. It is attended with all the excitement, and requires all the skill of other shooting with a higher degree of theoretical information, and consequent gratification in its exercise."[410]

The Sportsman Tradition

For travelling naturalists and colonists alike, birdwatching involved the sportsman tradition with its excitement of the chase. According to Ernest Thompson Seton, the hunter and naturalist remained "close akin."[411] "The true killing was in a sense legitimated by his understanding of the quary, its environment and its anatomy, and his knowledge of firearms and ballistics added and extra dimension."[412] As one critic from the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1867) exclaimed, "there is a great charm to a naturalist in procuring a bird or insect new to science, or some strange beast man's eye had never gazed on before... but combine the sportsman's love of the chase with these discoveries, and how immensely are they enhanced in value.[413]

A considerable level of shooting skill distinguished the ideal bird collector. He

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[409] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), pp. 251-252

[410] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), pp. 251-252

[411] Ernest T. Seton, *Trail of an Artist-Naturalist: The Autobiography of Ernest Thompson Seton* (New York : Arno Press, 1978), p. 8

[412] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 34

[413] Anon, "The sportsman abroad," *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Jan., 1867), p. 46

> "must not fire when the bird is too close or he will destroy it. He must not let it get out of reach or he may lose it. He must not be flurried or he may miss it, and if he brings it down he must carefully mark the spot where it fell and get there as quick as he can, for if the bird is only wounded it may flutter away and hide herself, and even if it falls dead it may be covered with a leaf and not seen again unless the spot where it fell is carefully marked."[414]

For British military officer and settler Richard Bonnycastle (1791-1847), the loon represented the perfect sportsman specimen, "for there is no bird on the Canadian lakes so difficult to obtain as this solitary wanderer. He will dive in the interval of the flash and reach of the shot; and thus, although he is so large an object, and so distinct, by his black plumage, from the water, he is seldom killed."[415] Bonnycastle exemplified the nineteenth-century sportsman-naturalist. During his leisure time, he pursued all branches of natural history including collecting birds. On a trip to Niagara Falls, he attempted to gather several loons, which he described as one of the more difficult birds to acquire. Bonnycastle recounted:

> "the last time I was there, nineteen loons (*colymbus glacialis*), the great northern diver, a very large and powerful bird, as big as a swan, and with singular black and white tessellated plumage, came over. Their skins, in some instances, were perfect enough for preservation; but the buoyancy of these oily birds who can use their wings like fins, and live a long time under water, probably preserved them from utter destruction."[416]

Conquering the loon therefore required both knowledge of the species and its habits as well as marksmanship, as the loon would not otherwise have been a prized trophy for the sportsman.[417]

Bird collecting also became part of a masculine possession of the natural world. As bird collectors became familiar with the different species in their communities, a hierarchy of game

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[414] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton: A. Lawson and Co., 1886), pp. 251-252

[415] Richard Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841*, vol. 1 (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers, 1968), pp. 237-238

[416] Richard Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841*, vol. 1 (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers, 1968), pp. 237

[417] Richard Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841*, vol. 1 (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers, 1968), pp. 237- 238

developed. For instance, warblers consisted of the most prized of birds as "some of the members of this family are so rare the capture of one is the event of a life time."[418] The "Cape May Warbler... is so rare that it is always regarded as a prize, and the collector who recognizes in the woods the orange ear-coverts and striped breast of this species is not likely soon to forget the tingling sensation which passes up to his fingers at the time."[419] The collector's favourite month was therefore May as warblers migrated back to southern Ontario during that time. According to McIlwraith, "all seasons have their attractions, but the month of May above all others is enjoyed by the collector, and bright and rare are the feathered gems he then brings from the woods to enrich his cabinet."[420]

The ideal sportsman-naturalist also kept a journal as a medium to list the number of birds "bagged" or collected.[421] In his notebook, Willis sketched and recorded his bird acquisitions in a regular basis. His entries were organized according to the date and name of each species he collected. For example, in 1815, Willis recorded the following game:

> "May 11th - 1 Small Bird
> May 12th - 1 Small Bird
> May 15th - 2 Cross Bills, 1 Small Bird, 1 Yellow Bird
> May 19th - 1 Sparrow Hawk
> May 23rd - 1 Blue bird, 1 Hummingbird
> May 24th - 1 Sand Lark
> May 25th - 2 Woodpeckers."[422]

As Willis became accustomed to the birdlife in the Kingston region, his knowledge of the different bird species increased. In the fall of 1818, he recorded several varieties of birds such as

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[418] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), p. 273

[419] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), p. 255

[420] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), p. 265

[421] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 34-35

[422] Helen B.R. Quilliam, "A new early bird list of Kingston," *Blue Bill* 22 (1975), p. 14

a "Snow bird", a "Tom Tit", a "Nuthatch", and a "Golden Woodpecker", as well as "Plovers", a "Blue Jay", and a "Wood Thrush".[423]

The Woodsman Tradition

Within a wilderness space, men could act the intrepid naturalist amidst primeval forests and wild birds unseen by civilized "man". The sportsman naturalist was "constantly rod in hand or roaming the woods with dog and gun."[424] As one critic expressed, "we quite long to bid our English stubble good-bye for a time, and to roam at large amidst the forests, lakes, and rivers of British North America."[425] These ideas were reinforced through popular travel narratives such as *Robinson Crusoe*, which "mapped a world view that placed Britain at the (imperial) centre and colonies like Crusoe's island [or Upper Canada] at the margins."[426]

While sportsman-naturalists created an imaginative wilderness through the narratives of Daniel Defoe, James Fennimore Cooper, Alexander Wilson and John James Audubon, they constructed a space whereby "masculinity" could be embodied."[427] Ontario's wilderness

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[423] Helen B.R. Quilliam, "A New Early Bird List of Kingston," *Blue Bill*, 22 (1975), p. 14

[424] William Ross King, *The Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada* (Toronto: Coles Pub. Co., 1974), p. vi

[425] Anon, "The sportsman abroad," *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Jan.1867), pp. 35-46

[426] Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 17

[427] Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997). Fennimore Cooper published *The Spy* and *The Pioneers*; his popularity reached its height Feb 1923 when the *Pioneers* was published and 35,000 copies were sold by noon, extracts having previously been printed in the newspapers. Hans Huth, *Nature and the*

provided an ideal location to express notions of masculinity, heroism, and adventure. Numerous travel narratives focused on the sportsman-hunter naturalist in British North America such as William Ross King's *Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada: Or. Notes on the Natural History of the Game, Game Birds and Fish of That Country* (1866), Charles Wilkins Webber's *Romance of Sporting, Or, Wild Scenes and Wild Hunters* (1854), and William H.G. Kingston's *The Western World: Picturesque Sketches of Nature and Natural History in Northern and Central America* (1884). According to British military officer William Ross King, "whether to the sportsman, the naturalist, or the traveller, nothing can well be more alluring than its vast tracts of primaeval forest... flowing through grand and picturesque solitudes, little known and less frequented."[428]

For Thomas McIlwraith, the naturalist-sportsman tradition emphasized the importance of woodsmanship to maintain the virtues and standards of the outdoorsman.

> "Whether in the tangled forest, the deep recesses of the swamp, on the sea-coast, or in the clear woodlands, on mountain or prairie; it advises him of whatever birds may be there, and affords him a higher gratification, announcing the presence of a bird he does not know. We know no more exquisite pleasure than to hear in the woods the note of a bird which is new to us. It is in the latter case that the cultivated quickness of the eye of the experienced collector is especially important, and his coolness and steadiness of nerve is fully tested. It will not do to be flustered. But in fact, all these qualities must be possessed for the acquirement of the smaller species of birds found in our woods."[429]

American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), pp. 33-34

[428] William Ross King, *The Sportsman and Naturalist in Canada* (Toronto: Coles Pub. Co., 1974), pp. v-vii

[429] Thomas McIlwraith, *The Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton: Hamilton Association, 1886), pp. 15-16. McIlwraith reiterated John Cassin's view on bird collecting in his introduction chapter. John Cassin (1813-1869) was a Philadelphia bird man who helped shape American ornithology after Wilson and Audubon. A businessman by profession, he collected birds for the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. Named numerous species. C.W. Leahy, *The Birdwatcher's*

A critic from the *Hamilton Evening Times* also described the lure of field ornithology in 1865 as he wrote:

> "The most practical ornithologist, amid toils and dangers which are not always imaginary, is penetrating deep into the mysterious haunts of the most retiring of the feathered tribes, treading with elastic steps the quaking turf of the green morass, or, in the light and tottering skill, is arduous in the pursuit of those objects of beauty and interest which, but for his exertions, would never greet the public eye."[430]

However, romantic notions of primeval forest quickly disappeared among naturalists who experienced the harsher reality of rustic conditions, as backwoods settlers. As colonist William Pope expressed after spending five weeks in the backwoods of Ontario:

> "Beginning to get tired of living in the back-woods. Tales of the woods may read well in Cooper's novels or at a distance; in theory they may appear all charming and delightful – dwelling in the forest – in a log house – free and undisturbed by the cares and vanities of this deceitful busy world. What a happy life!!! How full of bliss!! Who so void of sense as not to try? And who on trying so full of idiotry as not to embrace the opportunity? That man must be a fool indeed who would not dwell beneath a beautiful forest – full of bogs and swamps – breeding places and nurseries of fevers, ague, rheumatism devils and mosquitoes – who would not look upon blackened stumps and trees and objects on the earth – who would not have a log house ten feet square – furniture in the most sumptuous and splendid manner – 1 bed–stead, 2 wooden chairs, a frying pan, and tables – and in short who would not live in the most luxurious and epicurean style on – salt-pork, sour bread, try-whiskey, ample-sugar and pumpkin 'sace'."[431]

According to William E. Saunders (1861-1943), a pharmacist and bird collector in southwestern Ontario, guns were essential "collecting weapons" for the "active members of the

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Companion: An Encyclopedic Handbook of North American Birdlife (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), p. 125

[430] Anon "The art exhibition in the Mechanics' Hall," *The Hamilton Evening Times* (June 7, 1865), p. 2

[431] William Pope, in M.A. Garland (ed.) *William Pope's Journal March 28, 1834-March 11, 1835* (London, Ont., Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, 1952-54), p. 44

fraternity."[432] For example, George Head never roamed the forest without his weapon. He recounted, "I had taken my gun with me, and as the weather was very good and the river quite smooth, I shot a few birds on the way. One, a sort of reed-sparrow, the size of a thrush, and of a rich, dead-black plumage; the shoulders of the wings a brilliant scarlet, tempered off with yellow [red-winged blackbird]."[433] As for William Pope, he viewed himself as the "second Crusoe" of the Ontario wilderness. "In the afternoon I equipped myself for walking and with stout stockings in my pocket my double-barreled gun upon my shoulder set off like a second Robinson Crusoe to view a little of the country."[434]

The Scientific Tradition

Knowledge of bird taxa and nomenclature was also an important skill to acquire when studying birds. As Charles Clarke stated, "it would be difficult to thoroughly enter upon the study of Ornithology without a knowledge of the names and terms which have become the common property of naturalists the world over."[435] Science therefore stamped natural history

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[432] William E. Saunders, "What gun to use for collecting," *Ornithologists and Oologist* 10, 3 (March 1885), p. 46. Oology involves the study of bird eggs. W.E. Saunders was born in London, Ontario. His father, William Saunders, was a leading entomologist and horticulturist in Canada. Martin K. McNicholl, "Brief biographies of Ontario Ornithologists," in M.K. McNicholl and J.L. Cranmer-Byng (eds.) *Ornithology in Ontario* (Toronto: Hawk Owl, 1994), pp. 358-359

[433] George Head, *Forest Scenes and Incidents, In the Wilds of North America* (London: J. Murray, 1829), p. 274

[434] William Pope, in M.A. Garland (ed.) *William Pope's Journal March 28, 1834-March 11, 1835* (London, Ont., Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, 1952-54), p. 27

[435] Charles Clarke, *Our Local Ornithology: Read before the Elora Natural History Society by Charles Clarke* (Elora: Lightening Press, 1875), p. 1

with the imprimatur of respectability, which had the Latin nomenclature to prove it.[436] Accurate knowledge of the different bird species was essential for the sportsman-naturalist, and assured the activities' inclusiveness. According to Linnaeus's *System Naturea* (1731), the approach focused on internal anatomy of animals rather than their outward appearances.[437] Order, genus, and species were at the forefront of the system, and provided an organizational principle for future work in natural history. For instance, William Pope applied Latin names to the various birds he observed such as the hairy woodpecker "(*P. villosus*)" and the "Titmouse" or chickadee "(*Parus utracapillus*)".[438] So did Alfred Domett as he listed the bluebird "(*Motacilla Sialis*)", the pileated

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[436] Lynn Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 257

[437] Thomas Veltre, "Menageries, metaphors, and meanings," in R.J. Hoage and W.A. Diess (eds.) *New Worlds, New Animals* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 18-29

[438] Henry B. Barrett, *The 19Th-Century Journals and Paintings of William Pope* (Toronto : M.F. Feheley, 1976), p. 160 and 163; Charles Fothergill, MS 140, vol. 20 *Canadian Researches Chiefly on Natural History 1816-1821*, vol. 1, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. William Pope used Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology* as his source. Wilson was the first ornithologist to describe and illustrate American birds within the Linnaean taxonomic framework. Edward H. Burtt, Jr. and Alan P. Peterson, "Alexander Wilson and the founding of North American ornithology," in W.E. Davis and J.A. Jackson (eds.) *Contributions to the History of North American Ornithology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Nuttall Ornithological Club, 1995), pp. 359-386

woodpecker "(*Picus Pileatus*)", and the flicker "(*Picus Auratus*)".[439] An able sportsman-naturalist thus required knowledge of the various ecological habitats, species' behaviour, and migration patterns in order to decipher between the rare and "prized" birds within the birding society.

The Role of Taxidermy

Most collectors also owned a collection of stuffed birds, eggs, and nests for identification, as portable field guides, small camera, and binoculars were non-existent during this time. When Ernest Thompson Seton moved to Stoney Creek, Ontario, he gained knowledge of the different bird species from Charlie Foley, a local taxidermist, who owned a collection of forty to fifty stuffed birds.[440] Amassing bird and egg collections enabled budding naturalists to identify birds in their community during a time when information on birds remained inaccessible.

Taxidermy became the medium to exhibit the perfect specimen and to preserve the sportman-naturalist experience. Many travel books popular in Ontario during the nineteenth-century included descriptions and instructions for taxidermy such as Charles Waterton's chapter "on preserving birds for cabinets of natural history" in his *Wanderings in South America, the North-West of the United States, and the Antilles, in the Years, 1812, 1816, 1820, and 1824, with Original Instructions for the Perfect Preservation of Birds, & for Cabinets of Natural History*

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[439] Alfred Domett, in E.A. Horseman and L.R. Benson (eds.) *The Canadian Journal of Alfred Domett: Being an Extract from a Journal of a Tour in Canada, the United States and Jamaica, 1833-1835* (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1955), p. 54

[440] Stoney Creek is 3 or 4 miles east of Lindsay, Ontario. Ernest T. Seton, *Trail of an Artist-Naturalist: The Autobiography of Ernest Thompson Seton* (New York : Arno Press, 1978), p. 43

(1825).[441] Alfred Domett referred to Waterton's work in his travels to southern Ontario.[442] McIlwraith's second edition to *Birds of Ontario* (1894) provided detailed instructions for the amateur naturalist.[443] McIlwraith was the leading authority on birds in Ontario who maintained networks of collectors throughout the province to inform his work.

The stuffed bird not only provided evidence of identification, it embodied the masculine practices of identifying, stalking, and collecting a rare or predatory bird. As Haraway stated, "taxidermy was the craft of remembering this perfect experience."[444] "Ideally, the killing itself had to be accomplished as a sportsmanlike act. Perfection was heightened if the hunt were a meeting of equals." Judging a perfect specimen also depended on the character of the bird and its physical appearance. "Cowardice would disqualify the most lovely and properly proportioned beast."[445] Furthermore, the "perfect expression of an animal" involved an adult male. "That particular tone of perfection could only be heard in the male mode. It was a compound of physical and spiritual quality judged truthfully by the artist-scientist in the fullness of direct

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[441] Charles Waterton, *Wanderings in South America* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1968), pp. 321-341

[442] Alfred Domett, in E.A. Horseman and L.R. Benson (eds.) *The Canadian Journal of Alfred Domett: Being an extract from a journal of a tour in Canada, the United States and Jamaica, 1833-1835* (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 1955), p. 55

[443] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario*, 2nd. ed. (Hamilton: Hamilton Association, 1894), pp. 15-21

[444] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 41

[445] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 41

experience."[446] As male birds exhibited colourful plumage, they were the most sought after. Taxidermy therefore developed into the art of displaying the perfect masculine specimen. For example, McIlwraith described a male adult shoveller as a prized possession for the cabinet.

> "An adult male Shoveller procured in the month of May makes a handsome specimen for the cabinet, as there are few of our waterfowl as gaily attired; the large spoonbill somewhat spoils his beauty of proportion, but it serves as a distinguishing mark of individuals of the species, of any age or sex."[447]

As an authority on taxidermy, Charles Waterton stated:

> "you must pay close attention to the form and attitude of the bird, and know exactly the proportion each curve, or extension, or contraction, or expansion of any particular part bears to the rest of the body. In a word, you must possess Promethean boldness, and bring down fire and animation, as it were, into your preserved specimen."[448]

Only then could "you will place your eagle in attitude commanding, the same as Nelson stood in, in the day of battle, on the *Victory's* quarter-deck." Lord Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) was a British national hero and enshrined in Britain's imperial centre.[449] By accentuating the hawk's chest to denote courage, the stuffed bird represented the ideal imperial male during the nineteenth-century.

Raptors such as eagles, hawks, and falcons often evoked experiences of masculinity and prowess. "This bold and spirited falcon," stated Alexander Ross Milton, "is one of the most

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[446] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 41

[447] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), p. 55

[448] Charles Waterton, *Wanderings in South America* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1968), p. 336

[449] Rodney Mace, *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976)

active and intrepid of the birds of prey."[450] Likewise, the "white-headed eagle" was a "noble bird", and the "golden" species was "magnificent."[451]

The taxidermist shop signified a gendered space that reinforced masculine ideologies within the birding society, as the majority of collectors were men. Collectors displayed their "trophies" and bragged about their birding exploits. "The taxidermist's shop was a common meeting place for the shooting fraternity and many notabilia were brought in for discussion, identification, preservation and sale."[452] Stories about bloodthirsty eagles and rapturous hawks resonated within the sportsman circle. By enforcing hunter folklore, bird collectors could boast about their courageous attempts to subdue birds of prey. For example, Ernest Thompson Seton reiterated a story by Bill Loane, who was one of Seton's naturalist mentors.

> "He told me of a young man who stalked an eagle on a tree at Scarborough. The eagle was winged and fell down the bank. The man descended and incautiously approached. The eagle seized his thigh with the talons of both his powerful feet, and held on despite the man's most desperate struggles. In the morning his anxious friends found him dead, the eagle still holding on, and his claws driven deep into the femoral artery; while, all around, the blood and marks showed how the gunner struggled for his life."[453]

Surviving war wounds from a hunting excursion represented the durability, bravery, and "manliness" of a sportsman who confronted the wild and unpredictable. A stuffed specimen, or "trophy", epitomized the brave act and would be displayed for the collecting fraternity to see. After Bill Loane had collected a live eagle, he immediately "went to Passmore's taxidermists shop on Yonge Street" to show off his prize.[454]

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[450] Alexander M. Ross, *The Birds of Canada* (Toronto: H. Rowsell, 1871), p. 1

[451] Alexander M. Ross, *The Birds of Canada* (Toronto: H. Rowsell, 1871), p. 6 and p. 8

[452] Percy A. Taverner, "The old taxidermy shop and Point Pelee days," *Fleming Memorial Papers. Read No. 5. 1940* (Toronto: The Brodie Club, 1940), p. 26

[453] Julia M. Seton, *By a Thousand Fires* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), pp. 66-67

[454] Julia M. Seton, *By a Thousand Fires* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), p. 67

Scientific Illustration

Hunter-naturalists also engaged in natural history illustration by painting the birds they collected in the wild. On 10 June 1834, William Pope "went out shooting" in the morning, and the rest of the day he "was occupied in painting a bird – these were my two principal amusements during the whole of the 5 weeks especially the latter."[455] However, rather than a "polite" activity, Pope's paintings illustrated the birds he killed from his collecting and hunting excursions, and he framed the bird in the moment of its discovery as a second validation of his trophy.[456] "As an adjunct to science, illustrative technical art captured the material details of discovery... As a testament to the magnetic pull of concrete, particularized objects, the art of natural history attracted artists interested in capturing nature's singularity."[457] Similar to tourist photographs and postcards, the illustration of the bird communicated "some point about experience in one particular place and time to an audience and their intended form."[458] For recreational birdwatchers, the illustration signified their presence in the backwoods, exploring the

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[455] William Pope, in M.A. Garland (ed.) *William Pope's Journal March 28, 1834-March 11, 1835* (London, Ont., Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, 1952-54), p. 41

[456] Ann B. Shtier, "Botany in the breakfast room: women and early nineteenth-century plant study," in P.G. Abir-Am and D. Outram (eds.) *Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives: Women and Science 1789-1979* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), pp. 31-43

[457] Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 164

[458] Mike Crang, "Picturing practices: research through the tourist gaze," *Progress in Human Geography* 21, 3 (1997), pp. 365

wilderness, and indicated to their fellow naturalists, "you were not here, I was."[459] As a wilderness naturalist, William Pope's paintings symbolized his ability as a hunter in obtaining the specimen as well as the wilderness experience he wished to embody. Many other sportsman-naturalists also illustrated birds within the same tradition such as Charles Fothergill (Figure 2).[460] Ernest Thompson Seton also painted birds. His first bird painting was a "Pigeon Falcon" on 9 November 1881.[461]

The Romantic-Aesthetic

However, while some upper and middle-class men challenged birds of prey, sportsmen naturalists also longed for the diminutive hummingbird, the splendid scarlet-bird, and the celestial bluebird. More specifically, they pursued natural history as "a poet's way... one who viewed nature aesthetically "with emotions of the human mind – surprise, wonder, terror, revulsion, admiration, love, desire, and so forth."[462] As George Head described, "a sportsman can readily comprehend how animating it was to listen to the wild sounds which now broke upon the ear, as

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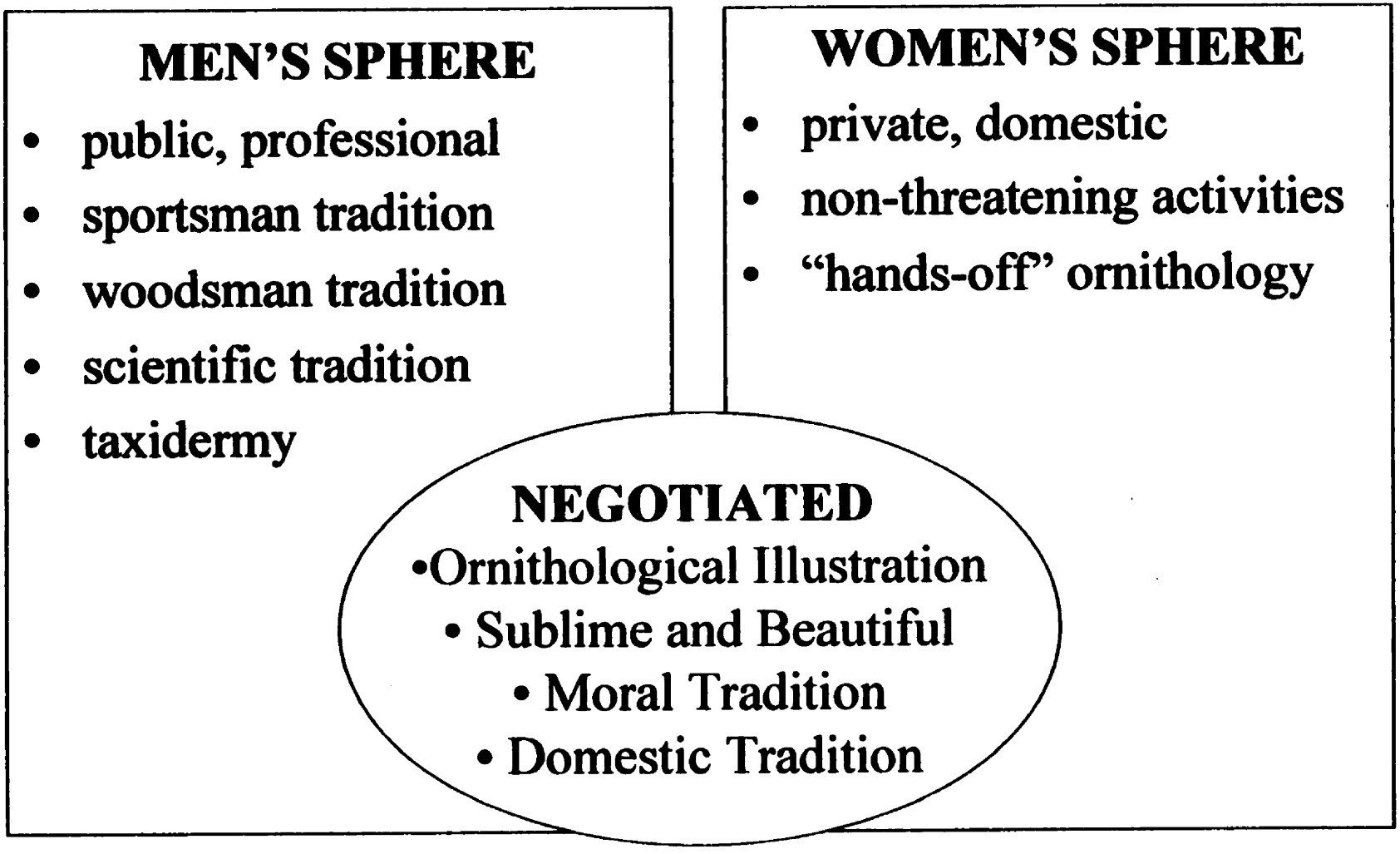
[459] Mike Crang, "Picturing practices: research through the tourist gaze," *Progress in Human Geography* 21, 3 (1997), pp. 365-366

[460] Charles Fothergill, MS 140, vol. 20, "Canadian researches chiefly in natural history, 1816-1821," The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Toronto

[461] Ernest Thompson Seton, *Trail of an Artist-Naturalist: the Autobiography of Ernest Thompson Seton* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), p. 151

[462] Philip Henry Gosse, *Romance of Natural History* (London: J. Nisbet, 1861), pp. iii-vii. Gosse was one the most influential naturalists to popularize natural history in Britain. He was also an integral figure in promoting Canada as a destination for the pursuit of natural history through his travel guide, *The Canadian Naturalist* (1840). Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820-1870* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 117-121; pp. 239-250

Figure 2: Gender and Recreational Birdwatching in Southern Ontario, 1791-1886



the feathered troops held their gabbling conversations together, and diving, and splashing by turns."[463]

Spring, in particular, elicited romantic imagery of nature for the hunter-naturalist. "It was beautiful to see the birds welcoming the budding leaf by their happy return from their long winter's banishment, while the eye followed their flitting track through the air, and the ear listened to notes in themselves, and till then unheard."[464] For birdwatchers, the spring migration provided a spectacle, "Nature" in all her glory. Ernest Thompson Seton longed for spring with the arrival of the bluebird. On first sighting, the bird made him cry whereby he exclaimed, "it has been my spring bird ever since."[465] The tiny hummingbird also evoked similar responses. William Pope narrated his reaction to the wonderful beings he encountered on a hunting trip. "Saw two or three of the little beautiful hummingbirds today as they were fluttering over the flowers that were growing by the edge of the water. These were the first of these pretty little creatures I had ever seen." Hummingbirds induced images of a "Mother Nature" and the Creator's work as "Nature certainly was in one of her gayest moments when she painted these, her gems of all the feathered tribes, with their little breasts glittering like the ruby."[466] By feminizing beautiful and tiny birds, men could experience nature's nurturing and spiritual effects.

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[463] George Head, *Forest Scenes and Incidents, In the Wilds of North America* (London: J. Murray, 1829), p. 258

[464] George Head, *Forest Scenes and Incidents, In the Wilds of North America* (London: J. Murray, 1829), p. 225

[465] Ernest Thompson Seton, *Trail of an Artist-Naturalist: the Autobiography of Ernest Thompson Seton* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), p. 41

[466] William Pope, in M.A. Garland (ed.) *William Pope's Journal March 28, 1834-March 11, 1835* (London, Ontario: Lawson Memorial Library, University of Western Ontario, 1952-54), p. 44

The Home Front

Male birdwatchers also observed birds around the home and in the garden, traditional spaces for women to engage in recreational birdwatching. Richard Bonnycastle, "used to sit in my little quiet and retired study at Toronto, which had two windows looking, the one, an a small lawn, the other over the bay, the island, and the Beautiful Lake Round."[467] From this male retreat, Bonnycastle observed the:

> "little fire-throated humming bird boldly darted from flower to flower, occasionally resting himself close to our hands, on the tiny branch of an apple or willow twig, where he would remain seated and eyeing us for minutes together. It is truly astonishing how familiar the little fellow becomes where he has plenty of food, and is never hunted."[468]

Richard Bonnycastle anticipated the flurry of beautiful birds that enlivened his garden during the spring.

> "Then in the spring came the brilliant and daring blue-bird; the timid and splendid scarlet-bird, with its wings tipped with glossy black; the orange-bird; the bright and golden-coloured yellow-bird, *sum multis aliis*; amongst which must not be forgotten the wood-pigeon, nor that magnificent fellow, the roggish [sic] blue jay, the most splendidly coloured of the Canadian birds; nor the little confiding wren."[469]

Bonnycastle's description depicted Pratt's "monarch of all I survey" on a small scale, as he "verbally painted" the natural world for his British audience. By aestheticizing the birds with rich material and semantic substance, Bonnycastle framed the scene from his

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[467] Richard Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841. vol. 2* (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers, 1968), pp. 48-49

[468] Richard Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841. vol. 2* (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. 50

[469] Richard Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841. vol. 2* (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. 50

window as if it was "intended to be viewed from where he had emerged upon it."[470] As he stated, "the British public will, therefore, naturally look with favourable eye upon any work treating of their actual condition."[471]

Thomas McIlwraith also collected birds in his garden. On one occasion, he amassed numerous species of rare warblers, "I collected more rare specimens in my garden that morning than I ever did anywhere else at the same time" winter, has passed away."[472]

Several other sportsman-naturalists maintained bird-feeders and bird-houses around their homes. George W. Allan made a feeding area at his home for the grosbeaks that frequently visited his home. "I had a quantity of apples cut up and and [sic] strewed on the steps of a verandah of the house, and before long I had as many as ten or a dozen of these beautiful birds feeding at the same time."[473] Seton constructed nesting boxes for swallows and wrens. "There was, however, one field of the wild world that was open to me, that soon made itself part of my life. That was making bird houses, or, as we often called them, 'pole Houses'."[474] White-breasted swallows, bluebirds, purple martins, and house wrens all visited his abode.

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[470] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*: (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 205

[471] Richard Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841, vol. 1* (Wakefield, England: S.R. Publishers, 1968), p. iii

[472] Thomas McIlwraith, *On Birds and Bird Matters* (Hamilton: Hamilton Scientific Association), p. 39

[473] George W. Allan, *Notes on the Ornithology of the Seasons: Read Before the Canadian Institute, January 17th, 1885* (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1885), p. 5

[474] Ernest T. Seton, *Trail of an Artist-Naturalist: The Autobiography of Ernest Thompson Seton* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), p. 42 and p. 77

The Moral Tradition

Some middle-class male birdwatchers also positioned themselves as mediators of morality in southern Ontario society. Although Victorians tended to view morality as traditionally a women's sphere, men also designated appropriate male and female behaviour by personifying birds as humans. For example, the brown-headed cowbird was often omitted from birdwatchers' bird descriptions, as it exemplified the demise of Victorian morality. As cowbirds exhibited polygamy and maternal neglect, nineteenth-century recreational birdwatchers condemned the species. In his *Birds of Ontario* (1886), McIlwraith personified the bird and its moral deficiencies.

> "At this season of the year [spring], when all other birds are mated and are striving to make each other happy in the faithful discharge of their various domestic duties, the Cowbirds, despising all family relations, keep roving about, enjoying themselves after their own free love fashion, with no preference for any locality save that where food is most easily obtained. The deportment of the male at this season is most ludicrous. With the view of pleasing his female associate of the hour, he puffs himself out to nearly double his usual size and makes the most violent contortions seeking to express his feelings in song, but like individuals of the human species whom we sometimes meet he is 'tongue-tied', and can only give utterance to a few spluttering notes."[475]

McIlwraith continued by describing a cowbird mother's scandalous conduct.

> "As the time for laying draws near the female leaves her associates, and manifesting much uneasiness seeks diligently for the nest of another bird to suit her purpose. This is usually that of a bird smaller than herself, which the owner has just finished and may have made therein a first deposit. Into such a nest, the female Cowbird drops her egg, and leaving it, with evident feeling of satisfaction, joins her comrades and thinks no more about the matter."[476]

Travelling naturalist Charles Waterton, in contrast, described shaping a dove specimen with appropriate "feminine attributes", which reflected the ways male birdwatchers viewed their feminine virtue.

> "Your dove will be artless, fearless innocence, looking mildly at you, with its neck, not too much stretched, as if uneasy in its situation, or drawn too close into

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[475] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), p. 193

[476] Thomas McIlwraith, *Birds of Ontario* (Hamilton, Hamilton Association, 1886), p. 193

> the shoulders, like one wishing to avoid a discovery; but in moderate, perpendicular length, supporting the head horizontally, which will set off the breast tot he best advantage. And the breast ought to be conspicuous, and have this attention paid to it; for when a young lady is sweet and gentle in her manners, kind and affable to those around her; when her eyes stand in tears of pity for the woes of others, and she puts a small portion of what Providence has blessed her with into the hand imploring poverty and hunger – then we say she has the breast of the turtle-dove."[477]

As for the mating ritual, female birds could not be too aggressive. According to Parker Gilmore, the mating rituals of migratory birds were scandalous as female birds engaged in foreplay.

> "I do not think that the callers were gallants come to make love to the bride, for then she would be probably timid, bashful, and silent; but it was quite the reverse, for the lady's voice was as highly pitched as her lord's, and her manner equally rude and objectionable."[478]

In Gilmore's view, the sight was "a disgrace to society, whether among birds or human beings."[479]

Women and Recreational Birdwatching

Throughout the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, upper and middle-class British women's involvement in natural history centered on activities considered feminine or "non-threatening" such as painting, writing, and admiring beauty in nature in southern Ontario.[480]

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[477] Charles Waterton, *Wanderings in South America* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1968), p. 337

[478] Parker Gilmore, *Lone Life: A Year in the Wilderness* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), pp. 135-136

[479] Parker Gilmore, *Lone Life: A Year in the Wilderness* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), p. 136

[480] Nicolette Scourse, *The Victorian and their Flowers* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), p. 32; Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women in Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. xiv-xv; Ann B. Shtier, "Botany in the breakfast room: women and

Many women, for instance, pursued botanical drawing as it was considered an acceptable form of recreation for ladies interested in studying nature. As the male fraternity created conceptual boundaries to limit women's participation in certain natural history activities, women rarely engaged in the more "bloody" pursuits such as bird collecting and taxidermy. Female birdwatchers therefore entered birdwatching through "non-consumptive" activities such as depicting birds through language and illustration, observing beautiful and diminutive birds and their nesting behaviours.

Women's Exclusion

Because women were excluded from the more outdoorsman aspect of recreational birdwatching, British middle-class women rarely collected birds with a gun or performed taxidermy. Many reasons supported the notion that middle-class women should not participate in these practices. Women rarely roamed the woods by themselves. As Margaret Morse Nice (1883-1974), one of North America's first female ornithologists, exclaimed, "one of the galling prohibitions of our youth was that against girls going walking in the woods and field without a

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early nineteenth-century plant study," in P. G. Abir-Am and D. Outram (eds.) *Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives: Women and Science 1789-1979* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987), pp. 31-43; Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen Morin, "Gender, nature, empire: women naturalists in nineteenth-century British travel literature," paper forthcoming in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2001)

brother."[481] Women were viewed as physically vulnerable and too fragile to hunt and exert themselves.[482]

Within the European natural history tradition, women were restricted in the professional field of ornithology throughout the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. In European circles, women rarely classified birds, applied taxonomic systems, or named new birds. As French ornithologist Baron Frederick Lafresnaye stated in *Le Revue Zoologique*, 1839, "we are far from approving of the habit of giving new birds the names of women, who are often strangers of the love of ornithology."[483] Although women were more active in botany, nevertheless women could not become members of the Linnaean Society until 1905.[484] As ornithology professionalized in North America, women were not invited to join the American Ornithologists' Union (AOU)

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[481] Margaret Morse Nice, *Research is a Passion with Me* (Toronto: Consolidated Amethyst Communications, 1979), p. 18

[482] Patricia Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (New York: Routledge, 1994)

[483] Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, *Audubon to Xantus: The Lives of those Commemorated in North American Bird Names* (Toronto, Canada: Academic Press, 1992), pp. 114-115

[484] Barbara Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 66

established in 1883.[485] They also rarely published in British and North American scientific journals and few received a systematic science education before 1900.[486]

If British women did contribute to ornithology, it was through scientific illustration. Elizabeth Gould (1804-1841), one of the world's finest bird illustrators illustrated her husband's work, *Birds of Australia*.[487] Jemima Blackburn (1823-1909), Scotswoman and amateur ornithologist, received recognition for her work *Birds Drawn from Nature* (1862).[488] Sarah Stone (ca. 1760-1844), like many other "accomplished" young ladies at the end of the eighteenth-century, painted the contents of Sir Ashton Lever's museum, and was one of the first artists to paint objects from Australia and the South Sea from British explorations Captain Cook's three round-the-world voyages.[489]

However, there were a few women who overstepped conceptual boundaries that were imposed on them. For example, at least one European elite woman on record stuffed birds.

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[485] Marianne G. Ainley, "Women in North American ornithology during the last century," *The International Conference on the Role of Women in the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Vezprem, August 15 – 19. Conference Proceedings. 1983*, pp. 3-7

[486] Mary R.S. Creese, *Ladies in the Laboratory? American and British Women in Science, 1800-1900: A Survey of their Contributions to Research* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), pp. 121-126

[487] Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 74

[488] Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 79-81

[489] Christine E. Jackson, *Sarah Stone: Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds* (London: Merrell Holberton: Natural History Museum, 1998)

Madame Offley, "'a lady that has an excellent artifice in preserving birds.'"[490] As Guelke and Morin stated, aristocratic women often had higher expectations and fewer constraints than those influencing middle-class British women.[491] In the United States, Martha Maxwell (1831-1881) explored the Colorado wilderness with a gun in hand and prepared bird skins during her leisure time. Leading American scientists of the day including Robert Ridgway and Elliott Coues acknowledged Maxwell's importance to ornithology.[492] Her taxidermy work was also exhibited in Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition of 1876-77. Charlotte Flett King (b.ca. 1860), who married Hudson's Bay Company trader William King, also shot her own bird specimens in the Hudson Bay region. As a Métis woman, she sent zoological collections to American naturalists and to museums such as the Smithsonian Institution.[493] When considering equally important variables of location (frontier wilderness) and class (aristocratic or lower class), women were provided opportunities to engage in bird collecting and taxidermy.

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[490] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983)

[491] Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen Morin, "Gender, nature, empire: women naturalists in nineteenth-century British travel literature," paper forthcoming in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2001)

[492] Ridgway, one of the most honoured professional scientists of his time, published a list of 234 birds Maxwell preserved. He even named a pale gray subspecies of the Eastern Screech Owl [*Otus*] *asio maxwelliae* in her honour. Her work in the field provided numerous specimens to development of American ornithology. See Marcia M. Bonta, *Women in the Field* (College Station: Texas A and M, 1991), pp. 30-41, and Barbara Mearns and Richard Mearns, "Women in the field," *The Bird Collectors* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), pp. 347-368

[493] Marianne G. Ainley, "Last in the field? Canadian women scientists, 1817-1965," *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science* (Montreal, Vehicle Press, 1990), pp. 25-62

In southern Ontario, however, the majority of British women of leisure participated in "polite" activities such as writing about birds, moralizing and aestheticizing them, and acquiring stuffed birds as objects of curiosity. Ontario women, therefore, rarely participated in taxidermy itself or collecting within the scientific or sportsman tradition. For instance, in the 1860s, "Miss Bell" brought bird specimens to the Ottawa Natural History Society. Although she most likely did not collect the birds herself, she approached a male dominated domain that usually restricted women's participation. Miss Bell was probably Robert Bell's (1808-1894) daughter. He was a printer, businessman, militia officer, and politician in Carleton Place, an Ottawa suburb.[494] As Ottawa locals considered Robert Bell an expert on ornithology, she might have brought her father's specimens to the meetings, as he was one of the founding members.[495] On 24 November 1865, Miss Bell donated a few specimens of "*Mergus Merganser*, *Larces Argulatus*, *Faccis*

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[494] During this time period, there were two Robert Bells living in the Ottawa region. The more well-known Bell (1841-1917) worked for the Geological Survey of Canada, beginning in 1865, and excelled in his field by receiving several Canadian and international awards. He did not have children until he was married in 1873. The other Bell married in 1839 and had two sons and a daughter. He involved himself with the Library Association and Mechanics Institute, which was founded in 1846, and evolved into the Ottawa Natural History Society in 1863. He later founded the Carleton place Game, Fish and insectivorous Birds Protective Society in 1884. A Robert Bell is named as one of the group's supporters in the meeting minutes. W.A. Waiser, "Robert Bell (1841-1917)," in R. Cook (ed.) *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XIV (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), pp. 55-56; Courtney C.J. Bond, "Robert Bell (1808-1894)," in F.G. Halpenny (ed.) *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990), pp. 85-86

[495] Lindsay suggested that women entered professional ornithology through their brothers, fathers, or husbands. Debra Lindsay, "Intimate inmates: wives, households, and science in nineteenth-century America," *Isis* 89 (1998), pp. 631-652

resculesar" to the Ottawa Natural History Society.[496] On another occasion, "the curator announced a donation from Miss Bell to the Society of 16 stuffed birds."[497] However, although she donated specimens to the society, Miss Bell remained unnamed as a member in the meeting minutes book, which illustrated her exclusion from the male fraternity. Women did not become members of the natural history group until the 1890s.[498]

Domestic Ornithology

Upper- and middle-class female naturalists gained authority through the private spheres of domesticity and morality. For settler Catharine Parr Traill in 1836, "my only resources are domestic details and the natural history of the country."[499] As women engaged in "non-threatening" activities, collecting birds with a gun lay outside their experience of recreational birdwatching. For example, Anna Jameson's view of hunting illustrated women's appropriate maternal response to blood sport during her trip to Upper Canada in 1838.

> "We saw a beautiful wild-duck emerge from a green covert" with "numerous brood of ducklings. It was a sight to touch the heart with a tender pleasure, and I pleaded hard, very hard, for mercy; but what thorough sportsman ever listened to such a word? The deadly guns were already levelled, and even while I spoke, the poor mother-bird was shot, the little ones, which could not

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[496] Ottawa Natural History Society Meeting Minutes, November 24, 1865, Ottawa Field-Naturalists' Club Fonds, MG 28-131, Container 1, NAC, Ottawa, Ontario

[497] Ottawa Natural History Society Meeting Minutes, July 31, 1868, Ottawa Field-Naturalists' Club Fonds, MG 28-131, Container 1, NAC, Ottawa, Ontario

[498] Ottawa Field-Naturalists' Club Fonds, MG 28-131, Container 1, NAC, Ottawa, Ontario

[499] Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. 240

> fly, went fluttering and scudding away into the open lake, to perish miserably."[500]

Jameson expressed her sorrow for the ducks by identifying with the mother bird and her ducklings. Respectable women did not destruct the innocent in nature.

As they did not collect the birds they observed, female birdwatchers "preserved" birds through language and art rather than a dead specimen. Catharine Parr Traill, for instance, did not shoot the birds she observed. Rather, she approached her observations by preserving them in description. Her "ornithological sketches" brought chickadees, bluebirds, and snowbirds to life as her "little favourites" engaged in "playful frolics" and "gay warbling," symbolic of her maternal rhetoric.[501]

By preserving her birds on paper, Traill collected her species and arranged them systematically in her memory. Traill's reminiscences and memories of the different birds she observed in specific places substituted for stuffed birds. "The red-headed woodpecker," for example, "is very splendid; the head and neck being rich in crimson; the back, wings, and breast are divided between the most snowy white and jetty black. The incessant tapping of the woodpeckers, and the discordant shriek of the blue jay, are heard from sunrise to sunset."[502] Elizabeth Simcoe recorded the birds observed in Upper Canada through pencil and watercolour, as she painted birds during her 1791-1796 trip. Her "New World" discoveries became "preserved" through art and paper. During her trip to North America, she sketched several species of birds. According to Mary Burges, her naturalist friend in England, "I think you draw

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[500] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 530

[501] Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. 184 and p. 182

[502] Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. 185

Birds better than anybody."[503] Similarly, Susanna Moodie painted Ontario birds as a means to gain "a little money." She wrote:

> "I practised a method of painting birds and butterflies upon the white, velvety surface of the large fungi that grow plentifully upon the bark of the sugar-maple. These had an attractive appearance; and my brother who was a captain in one of the provisional regiments, sold a great many of them among the officers, without saying by whom they were painted. One rich lady in Peterborough, long since dead, ordered two dozen to send as curiosities to England."[504]

The home and garden represented domesticated and tamed nature where in southern Ontario women moved safely and away from the dangers of the wild. Many planted specific flowers to attract birdlife. According to Traill, "this summer I had some beds of mignonettes and other flowers, with some splendid major concolvuluses... these lovely flowers tempted the humming-birds to visit my garden, and I had the pleasure of seeing a pair of these beautiful creatures."[505] Birds not only represented the beautiful, but also contributed to the aesthetics of a flower garden, a female domain.

Anna Jameson witnessed a procession of beautiful birds from her window in Toronto. She expressed, "I observed some birds of a species new to me; there was the lovely blue-bird, with its brilliant violet plumage; and almost gorgeous species of woodpecker, with a black head, white breast, and back and wings of the brightest scarlet."[506] Jameson's verbal description of the

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[503] Letter from Mary Agnes Burges to Mrs. Elizabeth Simcoe 28 June 1792, John Graves Simcoe Fonds, MG23-HI1, Folder 29, Reel A606, NAC, Ottawa, Ontario

[504] Susanna Moddie, *Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1997), pp. 325-326. The first edition was published in 1852.

[505] Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. 240

[506] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 237

birds she observed from her window resembles Richard Bonnycastle's observation from his home. Both illustrated Pratt's "monarch of all I survey", on a small scale, as they aestheticized the birds with rich material and semantic substance, which asserted power over nature rather than as a passive observer.[507]

While women's recreational space centered on the home, a "match between the study of plants and birds and women's social roles," provided many women an opportunity to participate in natural history.[508] Natural theology was an especially appropriate pursuit. Catharine Parr Traill delighted in studying the nesting behaviours of birds. As she professed, "are not these things, simple as they may appear, worthy of our attention? May they not lead us from the nest of the little bird and her ways to the throne of the All-wise God, who has implanted in His smallest creatures a wisdom that baffles the reason of the wisest of men to understand and explain?"[509]

As discreet watchers, women projected idealized family dynamics onto bird society. For instance, Traill observed the nesting patterns of the scarlet tanager.

> "The tanager's nest is made of strips of bass and fine rootlets woven together and fastened securely to a branch where no rude winds can shake it. There they hatch their little broods, and, as soon as the young birds are fitted for the change, quietly depart, their dazzling being no more seen glancing among the dark shades of the forest."[510]

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[507] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 205

[508] Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p. xv

[509] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 31

[510] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 33

As mothers and wives, women's social roles therefore shaped their recreational pursuits within birdwatching.

As Victorians strove to define themselves within both a new space and in a new land, birds provided a means to reinforce middle-class values. Catharine Parr Traill gained wisdom, morals, obedience, and religious instructions from birds. Traill stated:

> "Did not our Lord, in whom the fulness [sic?] of wisdom dwelt, point out to His disciples lessons to be learned from the flowers of the field and the birds of the air? We learn from them perfect obedience on His care; unselfish devotion, from their care for the offspring; perseverance, forethought and industry, from their efforts in obtaining food for the sustenance of their helpless family; unity of purpose, from the gregarious birds who move in flocks actuated by one will in their flight to distant climes; order, discipline, and obedience to their leader, as in a well-drilled army on the march."[511]

Using Masculine Traditions

A few female birdwatchers also experienced the sublime in Ontario's wilderness through its predatory birds such as owls, eagles, and hawks. As Traill exclaimed, "who is there among the early settlers that has not heard in the deep silent night, from some old oak in the woods or outbuilding near the house, the deep sonorous voice of the cat-owl calling to its mate? The hollow notes sound like "Ho-ho-ho-ho", repeated with a pause between each syllable, as if to prolong the echo."[512] Her observations included bald eagles soaring "majestically away across the lake."[513] Anna Jameson witnessed an eagle "sailing through the air on apparently motionless

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[511] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 31

[512] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 50

[513] Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. 185

wings."[514] For Jameson, Ontario's wilderness provided authentic experiences previously unobtainable in Britain. She wrote, "no one who has a single atom of imagination, can travel through these forest roads of Canada without being strongly impressed and excited."[515] Similarly, Margaret Simcoe experienced the awe and terror from "loons swimming on the lake; they make a noise like a man hollowing in a tone of distress." These findings therefore contradict Gould's presentation of Burke's feminine and masculine aesthetics, as both middle and upper-class men and women observed the sublime and beautiful in birds while in southern Ontario.[516]

Women also depended on their male counterparts for stuffed birds to inspect in order to learn about the different species in the region. On 3 December, Mrs. Elizabeth Simcoe visited Fort Niagara to view Captain Henry Darling's bird collection while residing at Newark. She recounted, "the most beautiful of them he called a meadow lark, the size of a blackbird, the colours of the richest yellow, shaded to orange intermixed with black; the Recollect, a light-brown with a tuft on its head and the tips of the wings are scarlet, like sealing wax."[517] Other birds comprised of "a blackbird with scarlet on the wings – they abound here in swamps; a scarlet

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[514] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 238

[515] Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 237

[516] Stephen J Gould, "The invisible woman," in T.B. Gates and A.B. Shteir (eds.) *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pp. 27-42

[517] Mrs. Elizabeth Simcoe's account of Captain Henry Darling's bird collection is in J. Ross Robertson, *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 141.

bird called the King bird, the size of a small thrush; a bird like a canary bird, but the colours much brighter; a grand Duc owl."[518]

If southern Ontario women acquired stuffed birds, it was for their curiosity cabinets rather than scientific investigation. Margaret Simcoe frequently sent her friend Mary Burges stuffed birds for her cabinet, including a "beautiful black and yellow bird."[519] Likewise, Catharine Parr Traill mailed natural history objects to her sister Jane in England, who took pleasure in the New World flora and fauna. "The next time I send a packet home," Traill wrote, "she shall have specimens fit for stuffing of our splendid red-bird, which, I am sure, is the Virginian nightingale."[520] At the Hamilton and Gore Mechanics Institute Exhibition, May 1865, Mrs. Roper exhibited her collection of birds from Australia, which were unnamed. She "sends a case of very highly colored birds from Australia – the blending of color is some which is truly beautiful.[521]

As Mrs. Simcoe resided in Newark, her natural curiosity pursuit must have well known in the community, as specimens such as loons and owls were often collected for her.[522] In her diary, she recounted receiving a dead loon from Niagara, which "was large as a swan, black, with a few

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[518] Mrs. Simcoe visited Darling again after returning from York to Niagara on June 9, 1793.

[519] J. Ross Robertson, *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 196

[520] Catharine P. Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989), p. 180

[521] The advertisement was on page 3 of *The Evening Times*, May 13, 1865

[522] J. Ross Robertson, *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 184 and p. 210

white marks on it."[523] On her regular visits to Captain Darling at Fort Niagara, she often received stuffed specimens from her friend. "Went this evening to the Fort. Mr. Darling stuffed a bird for me called a Recollect." An acute observer, Margaret Simcoe's measured the birds and inspected the dead bodies. In relation to an owl that was shot at Niagara, "it measured five feet from wing to wing when they were extended."[524]

Catharine Parr Traill described a long-eared owl after she examined it intently. "One was shot and brought into the house for my inspection. It was living having only been winged, and evidently was very angry with its captor, ready to avenge itself by a blow with its strong hooked beak and sharp talons. The glassy round eyes were glaring ominously from beneath the swathe thick rich brown mottled feathers that half shaded them from the light. The ears, or the tuft of feathers that concealed them, stood up, giving a warrior-like aspect to the grand, proud bird."[525] Although owls might be seen as a "masculine" species, Traill immersed herself in the "warrior-like" and "proud bird". Rather than inspecting a colourful, beautiful, and diminutive bird, she challenged herself to a bird of prey imbued with a "strong hooked beak and sharp talons."[526] However, Traill did not publish this account in her earlier works, where she focused on beautiful and diminutive birds. She printed her 1832 diary submission only in 1894, when women were

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[523] J. Ross Robertson, *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 184

[524] J. Ross Robertson, *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 210

[525] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 50

[526] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), p. 50

slowly entering the public sphere of science.[527] Furthermore, she did not use Linnaean nomenclature on birds until 1894, when she received a copy of McIlwraith's second edition of *Birds of Ontario*.[528]

"Hands-Off" Ornithology

Because upper- and middle-class British women rarely used a gun to collect birds or performed the act of killing, dissecting, and skinning dead birds, women developed a different way of viewing birds than men, based on gendered recreational practices. They would not have handled "a 32 calibre gun", which "can be comfortably carried in the coat pocket, make little noise," and "kills Warblers up to twenty yards and yet can be used at eight and ten yards very well."[529] As stuffed birds, sportsman-journals, and bird paintings depicting newly-shot birds symbolized masculine representations of the birds they collected, female birdwatchers would not have associated the stuffed bird with the thrill of the hunt or the bagging of a bird. Nor would they have shared a fraternal bond with collectors and the taxidermist's shop.

Summary

Throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, upper- and middle-class British women and men viewed birds differently based on ideologically-based gendered recreational

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[527] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), pp. 15-48

[528] Catharine P. Traill, *Pearls and Pebbles* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1999), pp.

[529] William E. Saunders, "What gun to use for collecting," *Ornithologist and Oologist* 10, 3 (March, 1885), pp. 46-47

practices rather than on physical and biological factors.[530] As natural history and overseas travel enabled gendered knowledges to be negotiated, women experienced the awe and terror in birds, while men identified with the tiny and the beautiful in southern Ontario, 1791-1886.[531] However, as women's social roles shaped their leisure activities within the domestic sphere, which discouraged them from participating in collecting birds with a gun or performing taxidermy, female birdwatchers' developed different ideas about birds. The thrill of the hunt, the physical involvement of killing, dissecting, and stuffing dead birds, lay outside women's experience of recreational birdwatching. Women therefore tended to observe birds passively while men more directly conquered and possessed them.

Upper- and middle-class British men therefore positioned themselves at the forefront of ecological imperialism in southern Ontario. In search of "trophies", "novelties", and "gems", birds were viewed as objects for consumption and means of asserting their masculinity. The intrepid and adventurist sportsman-naturalist became an icon for middle- and upper-class who wished to emulate birdmen such as John James Audubon. Recreational birdwatching therefore helped to shape middle- and upper-class British masculine identities in southern Ontario.

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[530] Vera Norwood, *Made from this Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Vera Norwood, "Constructing gender in nature," in J.P. Herron and A.G. Kirk (eds.) *Human/Nature: Biology, Culture, and Environmental History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1999), pp. 49-62

[531] Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen Morin, "Gender, nature, empire: women naturalists in nineteenth-century British travel literature," paper forthcoming in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2001); Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (New York: Guilford Press, 1994); Marian Fowler, *The Embroidered Tent: Five Gentlewomen in Early Canada* (Toronto: Anansi, 1982)

As southern Ontario's bird collectors created conceptual boundaries between the lower class, ethnic minority groups, and women, white, middle-class men maintained the edifice and asserted their imperial authority. However, as elite and middle-class British women participated in "non-threatening" natural history activities such as bird painting, curiosity cabinets, and souvenirs, they indirectly supported the natural history trade. Furthermore, recreational birdwatching helped to shape feminine identities as women engaged in "polite" activities that improved the mind, which allowed them to assert their moral and aesthetic authority.

In southern Ontario, upper- and middle-class imperial men roamed the woods with gun in hand, a skilled eye, and competitive outlook, while they pursued the activity as sportsmen-naturalists, bird collectors, and taxidermists. Some male birdwatchers identified with birds that reflected masculine traits such as eagles, hawks, and other predators that evoked the sublime. However, men also engaged in "non-threatening" or "non-consumptive" activities deemed "female" such as illustration, nesting box maintenance, and appreciation of the beautiful, spiritual and aesthetic in birds. Upper- and middle-class women, too, identified with masculine representations of wildlife such as eagles and owls, they sensed the awe, terror, and sublimity in wilderness. Yet, the majority of participation focussed on the private and domestic sphere as they observed birds from the garden, painted and described them on paper, and aestheticized and asserted their moral superiority on them. Many women were excluded from the professional and public sphere of natural history, which marginalized them to "polite" naturalist activities.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis addresses the historical and cultural development of recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario, 1791-1886, and how empire and gender shaped birdwatchers' identities and ideas about birds. By deconstructing recreational ornithological discourse, I suggest that recreational birdwatching reproduced the imposition of British colonial rule in Canada, together with condescension towards aboriginal peoples and non-British immigrants; and the reinforcement of British, middle-class, gendered identities in southern Ontario. I conclude with an outline of research contributions with relevance to my objectives, limits to the data, the application of my research findings to current birdwatching issues, and future research questions.

The historical and cultural developments of recreational birdwatching in southern Ontario, 1791-1886, originated from British natural history with its emphasis on rational recreation, natural theology, romanticism, sport-hunting, and scientific traditions. As British natural history emerged as a cultural phenomenon with the "discovery" of lands new to Europe, the activity became a fashionable activity for aristocratic gentlemen and ladies who collected natural curiosities. By the nineteenth-century, the activity filtered down to the middle-class who adopted it as a defining feature of British middle-class society. The increasing popularity of natural history therefore not only affected the British at home, but also the pastimes of British military officers, the travel patterns of wealthy and middle-class tourists, and the recreational activities of British immigrants in southern Ontario from 1791-1886.

The British tradition also included concepts of Britain's role in world affairs, and many of the activity's practices and ideas about birds reinscribed the ideology of empire in southern Ontario. As informal observers, a number of British military officers and settlers created avifauna lists and bird collections while stationed in Upper Canada. Imperial birdwatchers informed the metropolitan centre (Britain) and contributed to the growing knowledge of the colony by systematically documenting the birds they collected, publishing their works, and

sending specimens back to Britain during their leisure time. Rather than being mere innocent observers of nature versed in Linnaean nomenclature; these birdwatchers actively promoted British imperialism through direct military occupation, the promotion of colonization, and their British-derived imperial recreational activities.

As a growing natural history industry emerged in southern Ontario, collecting birds for souvenirs or scientific specimens became a colonial affair "in which knowledge of the living and dead bodies" of birds "was part of the systems of unequal exchange of extractive colonialism," and ecological imperialism.[532] Birds were therefore commodified as part of the western capitalist system that appropriated living beings for financial gain, especially as part of a developing tourism industry in southern Ontario. Canadian wilderness offered novelty and challenge for tourist-naturalists desiring a change from Britain and the European Grand Tour.

Imperial identities were also shaped in southern Ontario as British tourists, military officers, and colonists asserted their ethnic and class superiority through recreational birdwatching. Yet, without the help of aboriginal peoples of Canada, imperial birdwatchers could not have collected and described the birds of southern Ontario as they relied on their natural knowledge and hunting practices. The aboriginal population therefore exerted a real presence in birdwatchers' recreational space, albeit a subservient one in the birdwatchers' texts. As the majority of participants considered themselves British, collectively they asserted their superiority over aboriginals, Americans, non-British immigrants, and lower-class individuals who did not pursue the activity within the British natural history tradition.[533]

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[532] Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the Modern World of Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 19

[533] Robert G. Moyles, *"'Improved by Cultivation': English-Canadian Prose to 1914* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1994), p. 10

British ethnocentrism extended to bird species as well as to human "others". Many Canadian bird species were characterized as inferior to those from Britain or racialized with xenophobic sentiments. "New World" birds could not sing, lacked social manners, and were aesthetically deficient. The house sparrow was racialized with anti-immigrant attitudes as hostility towards non-British immigration increased. In southern Ontario, the pressure to define imperial identities became acute as British colonists and travellers strove to define themselves in place where they had no traditions or history during the nineteenth-century.

Recreational birdwatchers' social position as British, upper- and middle-class men and women, therefore shaped and constrained the types of activities they pursued, which in turn influenced gendered identities and ideas about birds. As upper- and middle-class Victorian society adopted the "doctrine of separate spheres" as both ideology and practice, men roamed the woods with gun in hand, a skilled eye, and competitive outlook; while they pursued the activity as sportsmen-naturalists, bird collectors, and taxidermists. Some male birdwatchers identified with birds that reflected masculine traits such as eagles, hawks, and other predators that evoked the sublime. Women, on the other hand, tended to focus on the private and domestic sphere as they observed birds from the garden, painted and described them on paper, and aestheticized and asserted their moral superiority.

However, as overseas travel and natural history lent themselves to negotiated discourse and gender roles, men also engaged in "non-threatening" or "non-consumptive" activities deemed "female" such as illustration, nesting box maintenance, and appreciation of the beautiful, spiritual and aesthetic in birds.[534] Some upper- and middle-class women, too, identified with

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[534] Marian Fowler, *The Embroidered Tent: Five gentlewomen in Early Canada* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 1982); Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen Morin, "Gender, nature, empire: women naturalists in nineteenth-century British travel literature," paper forthcoming in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2001)

masculine representations of wildlife such as eagles and owls; they sensed the awe, terror, and sublimity in wilderness. These findings therefore contradict Gould's presentation of Burke's feminine and masculine aesthetics, as both middle- and upper-class men and women observed the sublime and beautiful in birds while in southern Ontario.[535] As Guelke and Morin stated, "perhaps it is best to interpret their gendered knowledges as in a state of negotiation."[536]

Yet, middle- and upper-class women in southern Ontario continued to be restricted from the professional and public sphere of natural history, which marginalized them to "polite" naturalist activities. Location (wilderness frontier) and social class allowed few women to engage in male practices such as taxidermy and the sportsman tradition, as upper- and middle-class society deemed these activities inappropriate for "respectable" ladies. These women developed ideas about birds based less upon biological factors than on socially defined practices. Men were therefore at the forefront of creating imperial masculine identities as they engaged in scientific and outdoorsman forms of ecological imperialism. However, women also contributed indirectly, as they supported the growing natural history trade for their own practices of painting, natural curiosity collections, and decorations.

Sources

Primary sources for this thesis include many archival materials such as British military officers letters and journals, diaries, letters, natural history meeting minutes; published works

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[535] Stephen J Gould, "The invisible woman," in T.B. Gates and A.B. Shteir (eds.) *Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pp. 27-42

[536] Jeanne Kay Guelke and Karen Morin, "Gender, nature, empire: women naturalists in nineteenth-century British travel literature," paper forthcoming in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (2001), p. 32

(travel narratives, diaries, newspaper columns, and natural history periodicals), and unpublished manuscripts. All of these sources focus primarily on military officers, tourists, and settlers who observed, collected, or took an interest in southern Ontario's avifauna. As many of these sources focus on other topics, I rely most frequently on published birdwatching texts such as natural history and travel narratives from the nineteenth-century.

The Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM) database is extremely useful in obtaining old birdwatchers' texts such as the aims and objectives of natural history societies, museums, mechanics institutes, exhibitions, and papers on birds.[537] The ArchiviaNet database with the National Archives of Canada is also very helpful in finding unpublished sources on Ontario birds and birdwatchers. Archivianet is an automated research tool that allows researchers to access a vast amount of information from various databases and automated systems created by the National Archives of Canada.[538]

As I was able to uncover only in Ontario archives limited sources on British military officers engaged in recreational birdwatching, it is possible that the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec and British collections contain unexplored sources on birds written by these officers who were stationed in southern Ontario. As birdwatching was a popular leisure interest among military garrisons, many officers described birds in personal letters, maintained sportsman journals, or sent specimens back to family members and interested naturalists.

Current Issues and Future Research Questions

This study contributes to the ongoing research on the historical developments of outdoor recreation and tourism in Ontario, and provides insight into current issues in the birdwatching or

[537] Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/cihm/, (5 June 2001)

[538] National Archives of Canada, http://www.archives.ca/, (5 June 2001)

"avitourism" industry as recreational birdwatchers travel the world in search of rare birds and authentic experiences. Just as early recreational birdwatchers represented wilderness areas as authentic destination areas, so do current birdwatchers when representing distant lands in search of rare birds. In a study on avitourism in Texas, "traveling birders (avitourists) invest significant resources (time and money) in their visits to regions where they can become immersed in a new culture, historical tradition, and natural history. Avitourists are experiential tourists, travelers for whom authenticity is a critically important factor in judging the value of a trip."[539] Yet such comments would equally apply to Ontario birdwatchers of the nineteenth-century, suggesting a continuity of experience based on long antecedents. Essential to the authentic tourist experience both today and in the past have been representations of primitive people and primeval forests, as tourists long for a simpler life in comparison to their hectic life styles.[540] These constructions "maintain the myths of either eco-angels or noble savages reiterating colonial power relations."[541] How "Western" middle- and upper-class tourists represent recreational birdwatching destination areas, based on historical precedents, deserves further investigation; especially in terms of how birdwatchers reconstruct the "other" to suit their needs and preconceptions.

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[539] Fermata Inc, "Avitourism in Texas: two studies of birders in Texas and their potential support for the proposed World Birding Centre," Prepared for Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, October 12, 1999, www.fermatainc.com/eco_avitourism.html (May 10, 2001)

[540] Dean MacCannell, "Staged authenticity," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, 3 (1976), pp. 589-603; John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990), pp. 8-9; John Urry, *Consuming Places* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 173-192

[541] Gordon Waitt, "Naturalizing the 'primitive': a critique of marketing Australia's indigenous peoples as 'hunters-gathers'," *Tourism Geographies* 1, 2 (May, 1999), p. 141

This study also provides insight into growing literature on gendered participation in outdoor recreational activities.[542] As nineteenth-century recreational birdwatching was informed by the sportsman and woodsman traditions, notions of masculinity strongly influenced the activity's practices. With gun and paint brush in hand through the wilderness, many British middle-class men attempted to imitate intrepid birdmen such as John James Audubon and Alexander Wilson. Masculine identities continue to be negotiated through recreational birdwatching as binoculars and telescopes, which equip the "well-armed birder", have replaced the gun in current birdwatching practices.[543]

Recreational birdwatching today includes many other practices with older lineages that need to be critically analyzed, such as the use of photography once birdwatching evolved away from collecting bird specimens. As Sontag stated, "guns have metamorphosed into cameras in this earnest comedy, the ecology safari, because nature has ceased to be what it had always been – what people needed protection from. Now nature – tamed, endangered, moral – needs to be protected from people. When we are afraid, we shoot. But when we are nostalgic, we take pictures."[544] Moreover, for "the sportsmen harassed by sentimentalists, the camera offered a perfect compromise between the masculine joys of field sports and the moral values of wildlife.

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[542] Nancy B. Bouchier and Ken Cruikshank, " 'Sportsmen and Pothunters': environment, conservation, and class in the fishery of Hamilton Harbour, 1858-1914," *Sport History Review* 28 (1997), pp. 1-18; Kevin B. Wamsley, "The public importance of men and the importance of public men: sport and masculinities in nineteenth-century Canada," in P. White and K. Young (eds.) *Sport and Gender in Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 24-39; Greg Gillespie, "Sport and 'masculinities' in early-nineteenth-century Ontario: the British travellers' image," *Ontario History* XVII, 2 (Autumn, 2000), pp. 114-199

[543] Eirik A.T. Blom, "The well-armed birder," *Birdwatcher's Digest* (May/June, 2000), pp. 71-75

[544] Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), p. 15

Hunting seemed to undergo its final refinement."[545] Just as bird-shooting for specimen collecting required firearms, today's bird photographer boasts expert stalking and technical knowledge in order to "bag a trophy" photograph.

Current research suggests that "twitchers", or more advanced and competitive birders, also tend to be middle-class men.[546] A number of competitions have been organized for the more competitive birdwatcher such as "Big Days", a competition whereby teams of birdwatchers compete against each other to try identify the most amount bird species in one day. "On a Big Day," birdwatcher Ken Kaufman explained:

> "the peaceful and relaxing aspects of bird watching are replaced by the pressure and stress of rapid-fire birding... Every stop is planned for a specific 'target birds', and every stop has a time limit. Even the most common and 'easy birds' can be stunningly hard to locate when you're under pressure to locate them within, say, four minutes... the addiction is hard to beat."[547]

Canada has its own version of the "Big Day" with the Taverner Cup, named after Canadian ornithologist Percy A. Taverner.[548] The Great Texas Birding Classic is modeled after the World Series of Birding in New Jersey, a major birding competition. Although women do participate in

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[545] Peter Schmitt, *Back to Nature: the Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University, 1969), p.148

[546] R.H. Wauer, "The average birder is not a little old lady in tennis shoes," *Birding* 12 (1980), pp. 138-145; Stephen R. Kellert, "Birdwatching in American society," *Leisure Sciences* 7 (3), pp. 343 – 360; Lynn Wright, "Birders and twitchers: towards developing typologies, based on research into bird watchers and their activities, with particular reference to the North Norfolk coast,"in David Leslie (ed.) *Tourism and Leisure: Towards the Millennium* 1 (U.K.: LSA., 1995), pp. 211 – 239

[547] Ken Kaufman, "Big Days anonymous," *Birdwatcher's Digest* 20, 5 (June, 1998), pp. 19-24

[548] Taverner Cup, "2001 Taverner Cup," http://www.web-nat.com/taverner/tcfact.htm (11 June, 2001)

these competitions, men predominated the activity.[549] Recreational birdwatching has therefore maintained the sportsmanlike tradition nearly intact from the nineteenth-century, despite technical and organizational changes.

Recreational birdwatching is also a highly consumptive activity as birdwatchers consume photographs, field guides, bird feeders, and travel. Even the keeping of a life list "amounts to a form of consumptive use, since a species can be added to the birdwatcher's list only once in a lifetime, and, once added, is not longer available to the recreationist."[550]

When birdwatching became less of a blood sport, how did the changing practices affect women's participation in the activity? Birdwatching stereotypes colour popular birding guides describe the activity as an "effeminate sport" and the "hair-netted spinster in woolens and sensible shoes who probably talks to her plants at night and subsists on Ovaltine."[551] These statements highlight the ways recreational birdwatching creates gendered identities through recreational ornithological discourse.

Recreational birdwatchers today continue to contribute to science through activities like the Audubon Society Christmas Bird Counts. Many local recreational birdwatchers provide observations for the Ontario Breeding Bird Atlas, which maps all of the breeding birds in the

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[549] D. Scott, S.M. Baker, and C. Kim, "Motivations and commitments among participants in the Great Texas Birding Classic," *Human Dimensions of Wildlife* 4, 1 (1999), pp. 50-67

[550] J. E. Applegate and K.E. Clark, "Satisfaction levels of bird watchers: an observation on consumptive and non-consumptive continuum," *Leisure Sciences* 9, 2 (1987), p. 130

[551] Chris Leahy, *The Birdwatcher's Companion* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), p. 96; Lise Anglin, *Birder Extraordinaire: The Life and Legacy of James L. Baillie* (Toronto: Toronto Ornithological Club and Long Point Observatory, 1992), p. 23

province.[552] The "Cornell University Lab of Ornithology" has also organized several programs for recreational birdwatchers to contribute to science. "All across North America, thousands of people of all ages and backgrounds are participating in the Cornell Lab of Ornithology's bird projects. From backyards and city streets to remote forests, these people represent the world's largest research team. We call them citizen scientists."[553] This blend of recreation and science equally has deep cultural roots.

Historical birdwatching sources can also contribute to science. As recreational birdwatchers of my study period were also naturalists, many of the sources consulted can provide rich information on historical ecological reconstructions as birdwatchers often commented on the region's flora and fauna and species' ranges, as well as weather and geological conditions. In particular, the manuscripts of Charles Fothergill, the journals of William Pope and Alfred Domett, and the works of Catharine Parr Traill provide valuable sources of natural history in southern Ontario during the nineteenth-century. These can indicate "benchmark" conditions for studies of ecological change.

Ideas about wildlife today continue to be represented with moral and anti-immigrant sentiments. For example, the brown-headed cowbird continues to remain "North America's most hated bird."[554] The European starling has replaced the house sparrow as the most unpopular "non-native species" as it takes over native songbirds' nesting sites. A number of introduced insects have recently been endowed with terms such as "alien" and "immigrant" connotations.

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[552] Sandra Phinney, "The people who count," *Seasons* (Winter, 2000), pp. 28-29; Mike Cadman, "Calling all birders," *Seasons* (Winter, 2000), pp. 30-35

[553] Cornell Lab of Ornithology, "Citizen Science," http://www.birds.cornell.edu/citsci/ (11 June 2001)

[554] Rachael Winfree, "Brown-headed cowbird: North America's most hated bird," *Birdwatcher's Digest* (May/June, 1999), pp. 56-62

Titles such as "alien invasions" in "Ontario's ever-changing bugscape... the list of immigrant bugs gets longer very day" colour the pages of popular naturalist magazines in Ontario.[555] Primary attacks have centered on the "Asian long-horned beetle", as it "is just one of the better-known immigrants on a list that gets longer every day." Without minimizing the very real problems of insect infestations by exotic species, the pejorative use of terms like "immigrant" seems unfortunate. Researchers need to further investigate the ways people construct meaning about animals, which in turn reflect knowledge and power within society. As Stedman stated, the importance of animal geography to human dimensions of wildlife is "its implicit focus on the relationship between people and animals, rather than undifferentiated 'nature'".[556] "As a starting point for theory building", it serves "to frame debates about animals and their centrality to individual identity, social and political life, economic organization and dynamics, and the moral choices we face about how to relate to animals and nature."[557]

Many historical and cultural aspects of recreational birdwatching remain unanswered such as the effect of urbanization, industrialization, and Darwin's theory of natural selection on the activity. The bird conservation movement in Ontario today includes several cultural dynamics such the back-to-nature movement and Canadian nationalistic ideologies that emerged as the United States and Canada negotiated the Migratory Birds Convention Act (1917).[558]

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[555] Federation of Ontario Naturalists, *Seasons* (Spring, 1999)

[556] Richard Stedman, "Geography and the human dimensions of wildlife," *Human Dimensions of Wildlife* 5, 1 (Spring, 2000), p. 74

[557] Richard Stedman, "Geography and the human dimensions of wildlife," *Human Dimensions of Wildlife* 5, 1 (Spring, 2000), p. 74. Stedman quoted Jennifer Wolch's and Jody Emel's work on *Animal Geographies*, p. xix.

[558] Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada* (Toronto: Univerity of Toronto, 1998), pp. 225-235

Furthermore, as recreational birdwatching in Ontario transformed into a wider North American context, how were notions of empire or nationalism negotiated as Canada loosened its imperial links? The questions could be explored in more detail.

Methodology

As this study shows, recreational ornithological discourse provides a medium to deconstruct how birdwatching provides meaning to people's lives and their gendered approaches to the activity. Deconstruction of birdwatchers' texts is therefore a legitimate means to infer birdwatchers' attitudes towards birds and their views of "others". As birdwatchers are members of a birdwatching culture, they share certain perspectives and ways of seeing that have implications for the knowledge that is produced and the power that is linked to it.[559] A deconstructive approach reveals oppositions and hierarchies of ethnic, class, and gender relations; and how these hierarchies are constructed, legitimated, and challenged within the birdwatching community.

For example, as present and past birdwatchers today racialize certain bird species with anti-immigrant and xenophobic attributes, deconstruction can look "for places in a text where the author 'loses control of intention' or 'misspeaks'" in order to find hidden meanings in texts such as racism.[560] As recreational birdwatching is "contested space, and an arena where ideas about class, gender and ethnicity" are disseminated, deconstruction can "break the assumed link

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[559] Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, *Tourism Promotion and Power* (England: John Wiley and Sons, 1998), p. 15; Catriona M. Parratt, "About turns: reflecting on sport history in the 1990s," *Sport History Review* 29 (1998), pp. 4-12

[560] Henrietta Nichels Shirk, "Deconstructing depression: a historical survey of the metaphorical aspects of an illness," in T.C. Kynell and M.G. Moran (eds.) *Three Keys to the Past: The History of Technical Communication* (Stamford, Conn.: Ablex, 1999), pp. 131-152

between reality and representation."[561] Because deconstruction also looks for absences in texts, the method can also provide insight into the reasons why the house sparrow and brown-headed cowbird are often absent from birdwatchers' lists.

This thesis therefore highlights the utility of applying deconstruction to future studies on recreational birdwatching as a means to uncover the practices involved in legitimizing knowledge claims about birds and "others". "Knowledge or meaning is embedded in participatory forms of social practice and is subject to the structuring influences of historical processes and sociocultural beliefs that surround these practices," including the practices involved in recreational birdwatching.[562] As this research shows, notions of empire, class, ethnicity, and gender strongly shaped birdwatching identities and ideas about birds through recreational ornithological discourse.

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[561] Mike J. Huggins, "More sinful pleasures? Leisure, respectability and the male middle-classes in Victorian England," *Journal of Social History* (Spring 2000), p. 585; J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the map," in T. Barnes and J. Duncan (eds) *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in Representations of Landscape* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 231-257

[562] Michael Watkins, "Ways of learning about leisure meanings," *Leisure Studies* 22 (2000), p. 99; Catriona M. Parratt, "About turns: reflecting on sport history in the 1990s," *Sport History Review* 29 (1998), pp. 4-12

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