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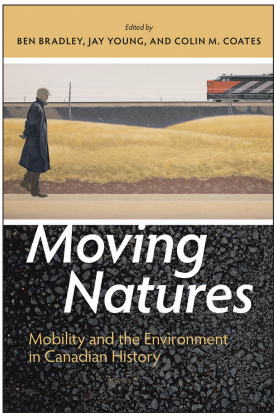

MOVING NATURES: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History Edited by Ben Bradley, Jay Young, and Colin M. Coates

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Producing and Consuming Spaces of Sport and Leisure: The Encampments and Regattas of the American Canoe Association, 1880–1903

Jessica Dunkin

At a time when technological change was rendering travel easier than ever for most North Americans, the canoe—a craft that depended on brute human strength—enjoyed a renaissance across the continent. Members of the urban middle class, in particular, could be found embarking on wilderness canoe camping trips, joining the newly formed canoe clubs that dotted urban waterways or paddling for pleasure at summer camps, resorts, and cottages.[1] Another manifestation of the newfound popularity of the canoe was the creation of the American Canoe Association (ACA), an amateur organization whose aim was to "unite all amateur canoeists for the purpose of pleasure, health, or exploration."[2] Central to the ACA's mission were encampments and regattas, yearly events that drew canoeing enthusiasts from both sides of the Canada-U.S. border.[3] The men and women who attended these

annual meetings travelled many hours—in some cases, days—by train, steamer, and canoe, crossing political and ecological boundaries to reach locations in Ontario, New York, and New England. There, for two weeks, they participated in sailing and paddling contests and explored the surrounding area, gathering for meals and nightly campfires with friends new and old.

As peripatetic tourist events, the annual meetings of the ACA inspired multiple forms of movement, including rail travel, paddling, walking, and sailing. These movements, in turn, engaged a diverse range of old and new motive technologies from streetcars and steamers to trains and canoes. Collectively, these practices and the technologies that afforded them exposed the canoeists to new landscapes and environments or, in some cases, returned them to familiar ones.[4] They also mediated the canoeists' experiences of their surroundings. Yet, even as these encampments were simultaneously mobile spaces and spaces of mobility, they were spaces of dwelling. Canvas tents were outfitted with domestic accoutrements, meals taken in the mess tent were served on china, and a Divine Service among the trees anchored the week's schedule. One of the animating questions of the larger research project of which this chapter is a part centres on the tensions inherent in the canoeing encampments between urban and wild, home and away, mobility and dwelling.

In this chapter, I explore themes of movement, dwelling, and experience at the annual meetings of the ACA between 1880, when the organization was founded, and 1903, the year it established a permanent encampment.[5] Mobilities, environments, and the intersections between them are deeply social and historical—a point that is marginal in contemporary theories of mobility. As geographer Tim Cresswell has noted, such theories centre on the figure of the nomad—Walter Benjamin's *flâneur*, Michel de Certeau's *Wandersmänner*, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's *nomad*—a "remarkably unsocial being . . . unmarked by the traces of class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and geography."[6] Furthermore, they pay little attention to the "historical conditions that produce specific forms of movement."[7] This case study suggests that a more complex understanding of the ways in which people moved to, moved through, and occupied leisure space is not only useful, but

necessary. For example, visitors to the ACA encampments encountered and inhabited these spaces not as isolated individuals, but as members of family units, canoe club groups, and the imagined community of canoeists.[8] Moreover, their experiences and thus their movements were "caught up in [the] power geometries of everyday life."[9] As white men and women of the middle and upper middle class, the canoeists had access to the ACA as well as the time and resources to travel to and participate in its annual meetings, even as gender and finer gradations of class shaped both their journeys to the encampments and the ways in which they navigated and inhabited the campsites. Finally, the annual meetings, as expressions of and responses to modernity, were rooted in the late-nineteenth-century world, embodying some of the central tensions of modern life, between movement and stasis, innovation and tradition, productivity and leisure.[10] These tensions flowed from the myriad economic, political, and social changes that were produced by the entangled processes of industrial capitalism, urbanization, and mass immigration.[11]

The Roots of the ACA and the Annual Encampment

The ACA was formed on Lake George in the Adirondacks in August 1880.[12] Although membership was ostensibly open to all "persons of respectable character, of any age, who possess a true love of Nature," those who joined were largely of the middle and upper middle class.[13] Predominantly, they were men. The ACA did not extend official membership to women until 1944; that said, the organization began to welcome small numbers of women as honorary or associate members in 1882, and women were an important component of camp life in different ways from 1881 onwards.[14] Finally, most of the members were of Euro-American descent.[15] The notable exception was famed Canadian "Indian poetess" Pauline Johnson, who became an honorary member in 1893.[16]

Initially, the leadership and members alike assumed that the annual meeting would remain at the Lake George site in perpetuity; in the fall of 1880, two members purchased three islands in the lake's centre for a permanent encampment. By 1882, however, the ACA had deemed

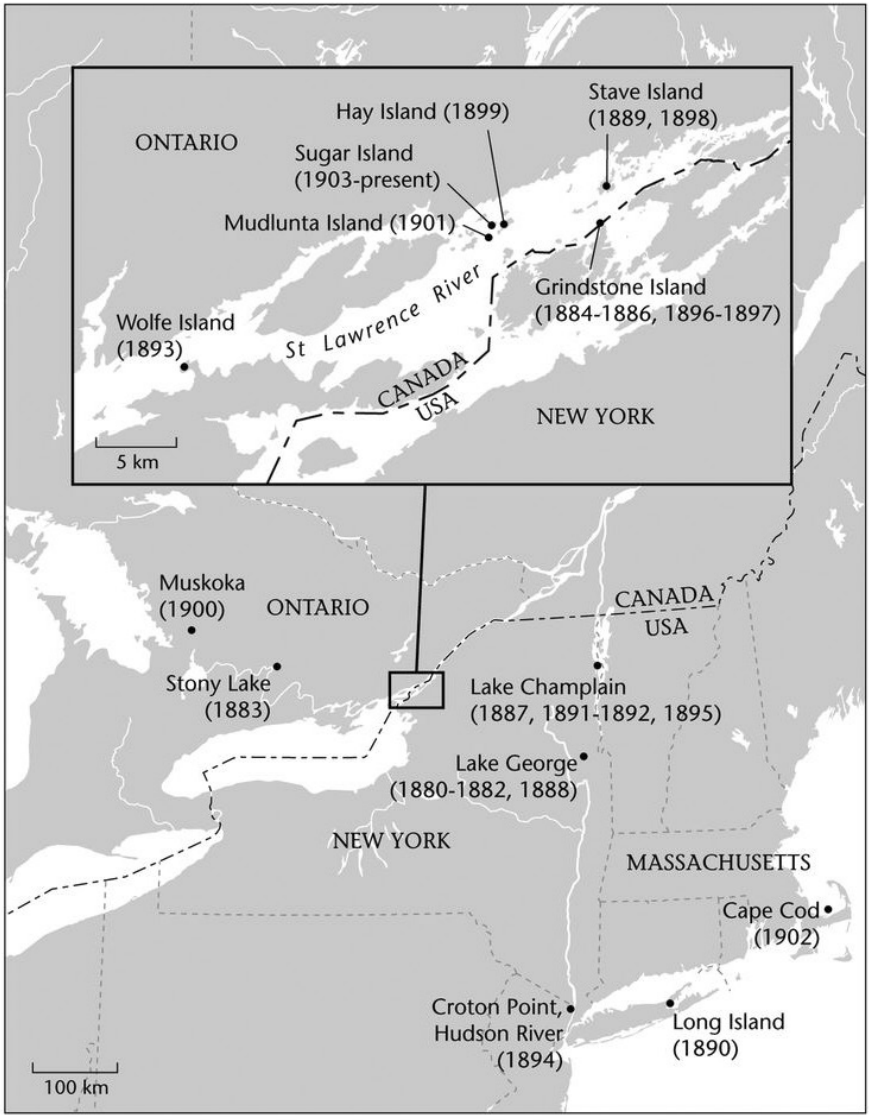

Figure 9.1. American Canoe Association encampments, 1880–1903. Map by Eric Leinberger.

the so-called Canoe Islands too small, the racecourses too distant from the islands, and the journey to Lake George unnecessarily arduous.[17] Thus, beginning in 1883, the association took its annual meeting on the road, so to speak, visiting locations in Ontario, New York, and New England (fig. 9.1).[18]

There were no official criteria for choosing a campsite. However, the organizing committee typically pursued accessible and well-serviced locations that were "far enough away from hotels and summer travel destinations to preserve the privacy and independence of the camp."[19] Beyond having ample transportation routes at hand, accessibility implied proximity to the Canada-U.S. border. Within a few years of the organization's beginnings, rising Canadian membership and involvement in the ACA meant that the ideal camp was held close to the Dominion.[20] Organizers also looked for a site to accommodate both paddling and sailing races—a challenge given that the former required calm and the latter wind. The aesthetics of the selected locations varied widely, from the craggy mountains of the Adirondacks to the rocky shorelines of the Canadian Shield to the seaside vistas of New England. Most organizers, however, aspired to find locations that resonated with romantic ideals of the day, marrying the sublime, which "entailed a new appreciation of natural phenomena" previously "regarded as unpleasantly frightening, unattractive, or even demonic," and the picturesque, which referred to a "less spectacular quality of landscape, one that was visually pleasing but lacked the emotional impact of the sublime."[21] In almost every case, the canoeists raised their tents on land that was occupied by Indigenous people, either at that time or in recent memory.[22]

A mobile encampment provided members with variety and attracted new adherents. However, it was expensive and time consuming to find and establish a new camp every year. After having debated the suitability of a permanent encampment for more than a decade, the ACA finally acquired land on the St. Lawrence River in 1900 from the Dominion Department of Indian Affairs.[23] The first annual meeting on Sugar Island took place in 1903. The association continues to gather there today.

Two important changes introduced in 1883 altered the spatial and temporal bounds of the encampment. First, the ACA extended the

event from four days, with three days devoted to racing, to two weeks with three or four days for racing. Commodore E.B. Edwards claimed that a longer encampment would be more relaxing.[24] However, we might also interpret the new format, which increased the time available for socializing and recreating, as part of the organization's ongoing offensive against professionalism. As Bruce Kidd has argued, white, middle-class, male sporting cultures around the turn of the century revelled in the "amateur ideal," which decried athleticism as a commodity.[25] In Edwards' own words, circulated to members in advance of the 1883 meet, "The regatta is intended to afford the means of testing in a friendly way the relative merits of various styles of canoes, rig, etc., and furnish a bit of pleasant sport at the end of the camp, rather than to promote the fastest racing in the world, and thus give rise to personal jealousies."[26] The longer encampment also afforded more time to explore the site and surrounding areas and, thus, to know the local environments.

Second, with the introduction of a women's camp—nicknamed "Squaw Point"—the encampment was no longer an exclusively homosocial masculine space, which in turn transformed how male and female canoeists navigated and occupied the spaces of the encampment.[27] In addition to reflecting women's growing interest in the sport of canoeing, the decision to include a women's camp appears to have been a response to anxieties about the perceived respectability of the event. A contingent of canoeists including O.K. Chobee felt that "visiting canoeists [would] not be tempted to forget their civilization" with a "refining feminine influence" present.[28] However, the decision to cloister women in their own camp, and the debate that raged in the pages of the *American Canoeist* over the suitability of having a women's camp at all, suggest that concerns over respectability and mixed-sex sociability coexisted.[29]

Imagining and Travelling

The experience of the annual encampment began long before the canoeists set foot on the campsite. Advance circulars and newspaper articles served as "manuals" for the event.[30] In their descriptions of the

natural and cultural history of the area, the topography of the site and its environs, and the various "improvements" made by the organizers, these documents articulated "imaginative geographies" for their readers.[31] With their lists of rules regarding members, the regatta, and the campsite, they also sought to discipline the kinds of practices that would unfold in that space.[32] Finally, in their provision of information about travel, accommodation, and activities, these texts served practical ends.

Travel to the meets was a function of the location of the event and the attending members. While a small contingent usually resided close to the campsite, most ACA members had farther to go. Particularly in the early years, it was not uncommon for the trip from home to camp to take two days or more. Organizers facilitated travel by circulating transportation schedules, arranging for fare concessions, and providing certificates of membership, which eased border crossing and eliminated customs duties.[33] Getting there typically involved multiple transportation technologies that passed through equally diverse landscapes. The more adventurous of the campers completed part, if not all, of the journey by canoe. Most of these intrepid travellers were men. However, some women also made such journeys, including the three female canoeists who cruised with the Jabberwock Canoe Club to the 1887 meet on Lake Champlain.[34] The majority of campers, however, availed themselves of the growing network of train and steamer lines that crisscrossed the Northeast to complete the bulk of their journey, while travel over shorter distances depended on streetcars, stages, wagons, and barges. There is a certain irony to the fact that these myriad forms of modern transportation enabled gatherings in honour of the canoe, an ostensibly antimodern technology.

The canoeists' accounts reveal that these varied modes of transportation permitted different engagements between travellers and their surroundings. They describe, for example, the ways in which overnight trains abolished space, while rail trips by day offered a "succession of pictures" glimpsed through plate glass windows.[35] Here, they echo the observations of Wolfgang Schivelbusch and Michael Freeman, who argue that rail travel offered up "new vistas," expanding the number of spaces for the leisured classes to consume, and "annihilated and

differentiated space," allowing passengers to compare a variety of landscapes and better appreciate environmental difference.[36] The two scholars also argue that the railcars functioned like cocoons, distancing the passengers from the smells and sounds of the passing landscape and curtailing visual perception. While the journey by train may have separated passengers from the landscape and from particular corporeal experiences (Schivelbusch argues that the railway put an end to the physical intensity of stagecoach-era travel), it is more useful to think of rail travel as a differently embodied rather than a disembodied experience. Even as travel by rail was a more passive form of movement, particularly in the summer months, it remained hot, dusty, and tiresome.[37]

The canoeists' rail experiences are not necessarily representative of those of other travellers in the same period. First, the travel discounts arranged by the ACA were always for first-class travel. By the 1880s, the original American railcar—an open compartment with seats lining a centre aisle that brought together people of different classes, races, and genders—existed alongside specialty and extra-fare cars that provided comfortable seating and sleeping berths to those with means, thereby enabling well-heeled travellers to distance themselves from "others."[38] Second, as time passed, it became increasingly common for canoe clubs and divisions to hire private cars to take members and their canoes to the meet.[39] In addition to the comfort afforded by such transportation (most were Pullmans), these shared cars likely offered a decidedly different travel experience from the typical first-class railway journey, which some have argued was characterized more by isolation and anonymity than social engagement.[40] This is particularly true for women, who did not travel on the same terms as men. By the late nineteenth century, trains had become a public space in which women could maintain their respectability, but doing so required vigilance. Among other things, travel etiquette advised women to be inconspicuous in both dress and decorum, covertly aware of the other companions in their car, and discerning in choosing topics of conversation.[41] Thus, the shared car may have made the journey more comfortable and relaxing for women, and more social for the canoeists generally.

The experience of train travel contrasted sharply with the experience of canoe travel. Unlike railcars, canoes were open, offering no

escape from a hot sun or driving rain. They were small and sat close to the water, making them susceptible to high winds and waves. Finally, they moved relatively slowly, allowing their captains time to engage with local environments and people in more intimate ways.[42] The means of propulsion further mediated the environmental experiences of ACA members travelling by canoe.[43] In different ways, sails and paddles "sensuously extended" the canoeists' capacities "into and across the physical world," producing particular configurations of body, technology, and environment.[44] It was through the shifting tension in ropes held by calloused hands and the resistance of the water felt through paddles that canoeists came to know the paths they travelled on their way to the annual meet. Travelling by canoe caused more immediate and sustained physical exertion and, ideally, accommodation as the body adjusted to the strain. This sense of accommodation is evident in Florence Snedeker's account of travelling to the 1891 meet: "Paddling on, we thought of weariness; then forgot it, and, an hour after, found ourselves fresh again. That is the advantage of paddling. There is no strain. The muscles soon play themselves to the rhythm. Each day there is less effort in the lazy motion, until one fancies one might fall asleep, and still keep paddling on."[45] Canoe travel thus produced different embodied, social, and environmental experiences than did journeys by train.

Regardless of the mode of transportation and the physical location of the camp, either the Canadian members or the American ones had to cross an international boundary. Even as the organizing committee alerted customs officials to the canoeists and arranged for duty-free passage, they could not eliminate wait times and searches. Nevertheless, only accounts of the 1889 meet on Stave Island (in Canadian waters) suggest widespread difficulties with crossing the border. In this case, American visitors were delayed in Clayton, New York, for a half-day or more while their applications were processed.[46] This instance aside, the ease with which the canoeists moved back and forth across the border raises questions about the meaningfulness of that boundary for middle-class recreationalists in the late nineteenth century.[47]

Given that most of the encampments were sited on islands or points of land not accessible by road, participants undertook the last stage of

the journey to the campsite by boat, usually a steamer. Unlike railroad journeys, steam travel remains understudied.[48] J.I. Little argues that historians have tended to conflate the passenger experiences of steamboats and trains. His work on the tourist industry on Lake Memphremagog suggests that, in contrast with railcars, steamers provided "ample opportunity for passengers who were so inclined to develop a spiritual affinity with their scenic surroundings" and boasted a "convivial atmosphere."[49] The canoeists' accounts do suggest a certain romance to steamer travel. Not only did these boats move more slowly than railcars, they also included spaces (decks) open to the outside world. From the prow of the steamer, one could watch with anticipation as the encampment—with its tiny white tents tucked in among the greenery, the many flagpoles, and the shoreline littered with boats—came into focus.[50] Those steamers that travelled to the meets also frequently served as clearing houses for travellers coming from various points, bringing ACA members new and old into contact before arriving to the campsite wharf and the onset of the annual meeting.[51]

Inhabiting

The ACA encampments inspired multiple forms of movement. While the longest journey was from home to campsite, myriad micro-journeys comprised daily life at the annual meetings.[52] The campers undertook most of these journeys on foot and in canoes, although bicycles, horses, and wagons could also be found on site. The first such micro-journey took attendees from the wharf to "headquarters."[53] Here, the secretary-treasurer registered the canoeists and gave each a coloured ribbon denoting their status: member, honorary/associate member, or visitor. This ribbon, worn for the duration of the encampment, signalled the individual's next movements; officials directed male members towards the men's, or main, camp, while the women members were shown the way to Squaw Point. Depending on the time of day and the nature of their invitation, visitors were either able to accompany their host to the campsite or had to remain in the public areas of the encampment.[54]

The distance travelled by men and women to and from their respective camps reinforced their differential status within the organization.

The men's camp was at the heart of the site, close to the public spaces of the wharf and the headquarters. Women, by contrast, were housed at the margins of the encampment, typically a quarter mile or more from headquarters, in "quiet coves" or "a secluded grove."[55] The emplacement and description of the camps echoed the separate spheres ideology so popular in the nineteenth century that associated men with public life and women with domestic affairs.[56] One of the enduring rules of camp life, reflecting the anxieties surrounding mixed-sex sociability, governed movement between the two camps. From the mid-1880s onwards, camp regulations allowed for women to be in the main camp during the day and, provided they had special permission and supervision, in the evenings as well. By contrast, for men, access to Squaw Point always required an invitation.[57] The camp police and the Squaw Point chaperone(s)—usually an older woman or couple—monitored such movements. An exception to the rule was made for married men attending the encampments with their families; they could move freely within and between the men's and women's camps. In other words, gender and marital status shaped the ways canoeists occupied and experienced the spaces of the encampment.

As much as the encampments were mobile spaces and spaces of mobility, they were also spaces of dwelling. Camp life, while comfortable, remained somewhat "rustic" throughout this period. Attendees procured water from a nearby well; candles and lanterns provided necessary light.[58] Nonetheless, by 1890 the majority of the tents had "raised board floors and canvas cots."[59] Campers of both sexes spent a not insignificant amount of time outfitting their tents (fig. 9.2). "Flags, banners and ensigns of every size, shape and color" adorned the exteriors, while hastily built shelves and trunks covered with shawls added a modicum of comfort inside, as did rugs, camp chairs, and ice chests.[60] Photographs and accounts of the annual meetings frequently depicted tents with their flaps pulled back, "open to admit the sun and air," their "contents unblushingly revealed to the passer-by."[61] We might interpret this transformation of private domestic space into a public spectacle as part of individual self-fashioning made available for public consumption. As Paige Raibmon has shown, Victorians understood domestic spaces and domestic goods as "material markers of civilization," and

FIGURE 9.2. Home away from home at the 1891 ACA meet on Lake Champlain in New York State. Courtesy of New York State Historical Association.

as windows onto "the individual's soul and the family's moral state."[62] The concern for decoration and display also shows the emerging consumerist ethos of the age.[63] That consumer culture appeared far from the shopping districts of major urban centres demonstrates the reach of consumerism and modernity into these remote locations.

We can also see this desire for and exhibition of domestic space as embodying the complex relationship between movement and dwelling that is at the heart of modern "mundane" tourist practices.[64] While the canoeists recognized the ACA encampments as temporary, they also went out of their way to domesticate such spaces, to configure the landscape and the schedule in ways that recalled the very places they had left behind. There are parallels here with Michael Haldrup's work on second-home holidays (i.e., cottaging) in contemporary Denmark.

Haldrup contends that such mundane holidays are characterized first and foremost by a desire to inhabit, and secondarily by a desire to see, gaze, and experience. Most interestingly, he sees inhabiting not as an immobile process but as a dynamic one that relies on "laid-back mobilities": "long walks, jogging and biking in the woods or along the beach . . . that enable the visitor to get familiar with and domesticate the scene of vacationing."[65] Such laid-back mobilities were also integral to camp life. Campers in search of a new vista, a meal, or a friendly face employed their feet, canoes, bicycles, carts, and horses to navigate the campsite.[66] These movements were part of both sensing and producing particular spaces. In other words, as canoeists moved around the site, more often than not with others, they not only came to know the landscape, but they transformed the raw material of water and land into lived spaced. A stretch of shoreline became New York Bay, a footpath through the camp became Yonge Street. Thus, while the organizers may have identified the location of key sites such as the wharf and Squaw Point, the site was made meaningful through the multiple spatial practices of the canoeists.

Campers also moved farther afield and, in doing so, engaged the encampments' surroundings. Most spent the "free time" during the first week exploring the local landscapes. Some did so via formal excursions, organized by the local committee, to "natural" and "cultural" sites of interests such as Bala Falls at the 1900 meet in Muskoka or the Lake Champlain Yacht Club regatta in 1891.[67] Typically, these excursions made use of steamers, although occasionally, a flotilla of canoes would set forth. While they employed the same technologies that had enabled the campers to arrive at the encampment in the first place—the steamer and canoe—the purpose of such excursions, to know the meetings' surrounding environments, provided a different context for the canoeists' engagement with the landscape. It was a journey for the journey's sake. Campers also organized more informal excursions—picnics, leisurely paddles, and fishing trips. As the canoeists visited local sites of interest, went fishing, or enjoyed picnics, they were rarely alone. That is, the environments of the meets were not just natural landscapes, they were social ones as well, produced (and consumed) through one's proximity to others. The canoeists' movements, both on- and off-site,

FIGURE 9.3. Competitors and spectators at the 1890 ACA meet at Long Island, New York. Courtesy of Adirondack Museum.

were not benign, but rather part of constructing these landscapes of leisure as white and bourgeois. Consciously or not, the canoeists, as they perambulated the campsite and its environs, sought to erase the memory of Indigenous presence on the land as well as any claim that local Aboriginal groups might have had to the territory. There were participants, in other words, in the entwined colonial projects of displacement and assimilation well underway at the turn of the twentieth century.[68]

The regattas afforded yet another mobile means to "know" the encampment space (fig. 9.3).[69] Competitors and spectators occupied the spaces of the regatta in different ways, although it was not uncommon for a canoeist to perform both roles. Whereas spectators included men and women in varying proportions from year to year, most of the competitors in this period were men.[70] Those who took part in the regatta

experienced the space through physical competition, although there were differences based on the contest. The yearly program featured between fifteen and thirty events, which varied in duration, distance, shape of course (e.g., triangle, straight line), and canoe type. The canoeist's relationship with a given course extended beyond a particular race to include time spent practicing during the first week—or even potentially to earlier encampments on the same site. Their success depended on their environmental awareness and ability to respond appropriately to the course conditions (e.g., wind, waves, current). Spectators were not necessarily immobile; while those on the shoreline followed the races through opera glasses, a large contingent of spectators in boats always chased the canoes as they moved around the course, or at least positioned themselves closer to the action.[71]

Attendees celebrated the end of the regatta with a banquet and awards ceremony. At this point, the annual encampment had for all intents and purposes come to an end. Although a few individuals stayed on the site for another week or two, most left sooner, and in much the same way they had arrived: by steamer, train, and canoe. Some would return the following year; many would not. But they would be replaced by others, drawn to the experience by the many periodical accounts that appeared in the weeks and months after the meet or by the stories and photograph albums of those who attended.

Conclusion

The annual meetings of the ACA were environments of sport and leisure produced and consumed through practices afforded and shaped by epochal and mundane technologies.[72] As such, they shed light on the intersections of place, practice, and technology that are at the heart of environments and mobilities in the modern age. In varying ways, technologies such as trains, steamers, and canoes/paddles/sails "sensuously extend[ed] 'human' capacities into and across the physical world," allowing certain movement practices and precluding others.[73] Through such practices, which David Crouch defines as embodied ways of "experiencing, making sense, [and] knowing" the world, canoeists came to know these environments.[74] They also transformed the farmers' fields,

woodlots, and waterways that housed the encampments into lived spaces, or places, "locations imbued with meaning and power."[75] Yet it was more than transportation technology that shaped the canoeists' movements to and through the encampment. "Mental and imaginative evidence"—such as the descriptions and maps circulated in advance of the meets, and the rules posted on site—also informed their mobilities.[76] Finally, social relations informed the canoeists' movements. While class and race largely determined access to the encampments, gender, class, and marital status further differentiated experiences of the meet and, by extension, the ways in which the canoeists produced and consumed their environments. In particular, anxieties about respectability and mixed-sex sociability and contemporary ideas about the body and athleticism constrained women's movements and experiences.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau introduces the archetype of the walker, a solitary masculine figure who moves through the spaces of the city with relative ease, the scripts of his movements intersecting with—but more often than not, diverging from—the scripts of the planners and engineers responsible for the built urban environment.[77] No comparable canoeist archetype can be identified at the annual meetings of the ACA, in part because attendees usually experienced the spaces of the encampment with others, but also because these spaces were experienced by bodies marked by class, gender, and race. In short, the annual meetings of the association reveal how movements are embodied and made meaningful in specific times and places and under particular social conditions. They also show some of the paradoxes of mobility in the late nineteenth century. Fleeing the city for a canoe encampment depended on new technologies and revealed a desire to recreate many features of the life left behind in the city, even as the paddlers propelled themselves around ostensibly wild lakes and rivers.

Notes

1 This chapter benefitted immensely from the comments of the editors and participants in the Environments of Mobility workshop. A special thanks is owed to John C. Walsh, David Banoub, David Tough, and Jim Clifford. This research was supported by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and Carleton University.

Historians of canoeing have tended to focus their attention on recreational and commercial canoe travel through "wilderness." However, as Jamie Benidickson has noted, "to ignore the extensive history of canoeing as an urban pastime, as an intensely social activity, and as a competitive sport would be to overlook much of the story of this versatile watercraft." Jamie Benidickson, *Idleness, Water, and a Canoe: Reflections on Paddling for Pleasure* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 110.

2 *American Canoe Association Yearbook*, 1883, 83-014, Trent University Archives, Peterborough, ON (hereafter TUA).

3 Prior to the 1870s, canoeing as sport, particularly within the context of performative spaces such as regattas, was largely restricted to Aboriginal people. The ACA represented a "whitening" of the canoe and the emergence of canoeing as a respectable middle-class recreational activity. See Jessica Dunkin, "Canoes and Canvas: The Social and Spatial Politics of Sport/Leisure in Late Nineteenth-Century North America" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 2012), 32–33.

4 In using terms such as "afford" and "affordances," I am borrowing from John Urry's writing on the ways in which different technologies allow for different forms and experiences of movement. See, for example, Phil Macnaghten and John Urry, "Bodies of Nature: Introduction," *Body and Society* 6, nos. 3–4 (2000): 1–11.

5 The analytic framework of this chapter is inspired by Michael Haldrup, "Laid-Back Mobilities: Second-Home Holidays in Time and Space," *Tourism Geographies* 6, no. 4 (2004): 434–55; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); and Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

6 Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London: Routledge, 2006), 53.

7 Ibid., 54.

8 I extend Anderson's idea of the nation as an "imagined community" to a community—characterized by common practices and a shared grammar—that spanned the boundaries of the nation-state. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

9 Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller, and John Urry, "Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities, and Moorings," *Mobilities* 1, no. 1 (2006): 3.

10 Cresswell contends that "mobility is both centre and margin—the lifeblood of modernity and the virus that threatens to hasten its downfall." Cresswell, *On the Move*, 21.

11 Keith Walden offers a cogent introduction to the unfolding of modernity in North America, in *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

12 For more on the origins of the ACA, see Ronald Hoffman, "The History of the American Canoe Association, 1880–1960" (Ph.D. diss., Springfield College, 1967). The ACA was of a piece with other middle-class organizations in the period. See Darren Ferry, *Uniting in Measures of Common Good: The Construction of Collective Liberal Identities in Central Canada, 1830–1900* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008); and Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, "The Growth of Voluntary Organizations in America, 1840–1940," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 4 (1999): 511–57.

13 *American Canoe Association Constitution and By-Laws*, 1 November 1880, 291/10/11, Mystic Seaport Collections Research Center, Mystic, CT (hereafter MSCRC). Sources list the attendance of doctors, clergy, lawyers, publishers, businessmen, and clerks. In addition to their occupations, the middle- or upper-middle-class status of the members is evident in the time and resources they could devote to the sport of canoeing and attendance at meets, although here there were certainly variations. Whereas some members stayed onsite beyond the two weeks of the meets and brought multiple well-rigged canoes, others complained about the time and money required to attend an encampment for even a short while.

14 Eight "lady members" were elected in 1882. By 1896, there were 115 honorary/associate members. *American Canoe Association Yearbook*, 1883; Thomas H. Stryker, ed., *American Canoe Association Yearbook* (Rome, NY: Rome Sentinel Company, 1896). Aside from the yearly Ladies' Day, women appear to have been entirely absent from the campsite prior to 1883. They were, however, welcome spectators at the races.

15 Beyond the membership lists, the photographic record of the encampments is the best indicator of the "racial" makeup of the organization. The only people of colour visible in the extensive photograph collection at the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, NY (hereafter NYSHA), are workers: cooks, servants, musicians, and a "chore boy."

16 *Executive Committee Minutes*, 4 November 1893, vol. 3, MSCRC.

17 C. Bowyer Vaux, "History of American Canoeing, Part III," *Outing* 10, no. 5 (1887): 396; "The American Canoe Association," *Forest and Stream*, 16 August 1888.

18 The divisions of the ACA, which were formed in 1886, were to take turns hosting the annual meeting. In practice, things were more fluid and locations were as likely to be chosen based on expediency.

19 "The 1884 Meet of the ACA," *Outing* 3, no. 6 (1884): 464–65.

20 In Canadian waters and on inland Canadian lakes meant two different things. Although ACA members certainly enjoyed the Stony Lake (1883) and Muskoka (1900) camps, they considered them too far from the cluster of clubs on the eastern seaboard that furnished the association with the bulk of its membership. This sentiment was played out in the dismal numbers at the 1900 meet: only 175 of the ACA's almost 4,000 members came to Muskoka. Hoffman, "American Canoe Association," 63.

21 Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 8–9.

22 Acts of (dis)placement in relation to the ACA and its encampments are explored in more detail in Dunkin, "Canoes and Canvas," chap. 3.

23 *Brief Synopsis of the History of St. Lawrence Island*, 1933, 291/23/5, MSCRC.

24 "The Meet," *American Canoeist* 2, no. 6 (1883): 82.

25 Bruce Kidd, *The Struggle for Canadian Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

26 "The Meet," 82. Concerns about professionalism did not disappear with the new format. See *Meeting of the Executive Committee*, 23 November 1889, vol. 3, MSCRC; "Discussed in Canoe Camp," *New York Times*, 15 August 1892; and "Meet of the Canoeists," *New York Times*, 15 August 1897.

27 The naming of the women's camp highlights the racialization of the space of the encampment. On the one hand, "Squaw Point" further exoticized the space of the women's camp, marking it as other to the larger institution of the ACA encampment. "Squaw" was also a "derogatory term based on the opposite image of the noble Indian Princess." Susan L. Joudrey, "The Expectations of a Queen: Identity and Race Politics in the Calgary Stampede," in *The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region*, ed. Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter, and Peter Fortna (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2010), 142.

28 O.K. Chobee, "Echoes from Stony Lake," *The American Canoeist* 2, no. 8 (1883): 114. Colin Howell has described a similar situation in baseball in the Maritimes in the late nineteenth century. Promoters, believing that women's presence in the stands "would have a civilizing effect," encouraged their attendance at games. Colin Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 76.

29 The organization's secretary, for example, issued a sweeping condemnation of the ladies' camp for being "detrimental to the best interests of the Association," in the January 1884 issue of the *American Canoeist*.

30 Articles appeared in the organization's official organ (*American Canoeist*), national dailies such as the *New York Times*, and local newspapers. John C. Walsh has demonstrated how newspapers and programs for Old Home weeks in the Ottawa Valley performed a similar function, in

"Performing Public Memory and Re-Placing Home in the Ottawa Valley, 1900–1958," in *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, ed. James Opp and John Walsh (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 27, 29.

31 Edward Said developed the term "imaginative geographies" to describe the ways in which colonizers represented (re-packaged) places and people in order to justify their subjugation. Edward Said, "Invention, Memory and Place," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 2 (2000): 175–92. There are connections here also to John Urry's writing on "imaginative travel." John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2007), 157–82.

32 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977).

33 *Forest and Stream*, 31 July 1890.

34 *Photographs of ACA Meet, Lake Champlain*, 1887, 1.1/28, NYSHA. Florence Watters Snedeker documented her canoe journey to the 1891 meet, in *A Family Canoe Trip* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892).

35 C. Bowyer Vaux, "The American Canoe Association, and Its Birthplace," *Outing* 12, no. 5 (1888): 414–15; C. Bowyer Vaux, "Canoe Meet at the Thousand Islands," *Outing* 14, no. 5 (1889): 345; "Canoeists' Annual Meet," *New York Times*, 26 August 1900.

36 Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1986), 36, 53–55; Michael Freeman, *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 7, 23, 80.

37 See, for example, "Resting at Lake George," *New York Times*, 13 July 1883.

38 Amy Richter, *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 66.

39 "Canoeing," *Daily Mail and Empire*, 3 August 1900; "Camp Circular," 1908, 1.6/11, NYSHA.

40 Richter, *Home on the Rails*, 55.

41 See Ibid., 32–58.

42 Florence Snedeker's account, for instance, offers detailed accounts of their encounters with the local landscapes and inhabitants. Snedeker, *Family Canoe Trip*.

43 That most switched back and forth between the two depending on the conditions means these were not isolated experiences.

44 Macnaghten and Urry, "Bodies of Nature," 8; Mike Michael, "These Boots Are Made for Walking . . . : Mundane Technology, the Body, and Human-Environment Relations," *Body and Society* 6, nos. 3–4 (2000): 107–8.

45 Snedeker, *Family Canoe Trip*, 23.

46 "American Canoe Association Meet," *Forest and Stream*, 12 September 1889.

47 See also Colin Howell, "Borderlands, Baselines, and Big Game: Conceptualizing the Northeast as a Sporting

Region," in *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons*, ed. Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 264–79.

48 James Armstrong and David M. Williams, "The Steamboat and Popular Tourism," *Journal of Transport History* 26, no. 1 (2005): 61–76.

49 J.I. Little, "Scenic Tourism on the Northeastern Borderland: Lake Memphremagog's Steamboat Excursions and Resort Hotels, 1850–1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35, no. 4 (2009): 717, 739.

50 "ACA Camp," *Forest and Stream*, 14 August 1884; Columbine, "A Visit to the American Canoe Association," *The Young Friend's Review*, November 1886, 67; "Canoeists in Camp," *New York Times*, 9 August 1890.

51 D.J. Howell, "The International Canoe Meet," *The Canadian Magazine* 15, no. 6 (1900): 515; "American Canoe Association [Boarding] the Muskoka Navigation Company's Steamers from the Great [Grand] Trunk Railway Bars at Muskoka Wharf, Ont., 1900" (photograph), R2936-1-2-E, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (hereafter LAC). Perhaps because of the conviviality of the steamers, some travellers suggest that the encampments began not with docking at the wharf, but on board. Snedeker, *Family Canoe Trip*, 84; Howell, "International Canoe Meet," 515.

52 I am indebted to Bryan Grimwood for coining the term "micro-journey."

53 Most people who attended the annual meetings held memberships in the ACA. However, there were others who contributed to camp life from the margins, such as the farm girls who served meals in the 1887 mess tent and the African-American musicians who entertained the campers on Long Island. I examine their place at the encampments in more detail in Dunkin, "Canoes and Canvas," chap. 10. For the purpose of this chapter, they will, unfortunately, remain at the margins.

54 Unless there was a special event, visitors were allowed onsite only between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. Restrictions reflected the organization's contention that visitors posed a threat to the order of the encampment.

55 "Canoeists at Lake George," *New York Times*, 16 August 1887.

56 Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 9–39.

57 "Camp Circulars," 1888, 1892, 1907, 291/23/2, MSCRC. Some campers tried to evade—or at least bend—the rules. At the 1883 meet on Stony Lake, an American canoeist was "court martialled for visiting the ladies' camp without a permit." "ACA Annual Meeting," *Peterborough Daily Review,* 14 August 1883.

58 "Pleasures of the Canoe Camp," *New York Times*, 22 July 1894.

59 "Canoeists' Enjoyable Time," *Daily Mail and Empire*, 9 August 1900.

60 Columbine, "Visit," 67; "The Canoe Men in Camp," *New York Times*, 17 August 1890; "The Lake Champlain Canoe Meet," *Outing* 11, no. 3 (1887): 262–64.

61 Columbine, "Visit," 68.

62 Paige Raibmon, "Living on Display: Colonial Visions of Aboriginal Domestic Space," *BC Studies*, no. 140 (2003): 71.

63 Stefan Muthesius, *The Poetic Home: Designing the 19th-Century Domestic Interior* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009).

64 Michael Haldrup argues that scholars of tourism have focused their attention on "out-of-the-ordinary" experiences to the exclusion of "more mundane and trivial sorts of tourist practices," such as family-based tourism. Haldrup, "Laid-Back Mobilities," 436.

65 Ibid., 445.

66 "A Meeting of the Central Division at the Bow Arrow Camp," 1887, 1.1/24, NYSHA; "Bluff Point Camp," 1895, 1.5/4, NYSHA; "The 1884 Meet," *American Canoeist* 3, no. 11 (1884): 168.

67 Howell, "International Canoe Meet," 518; "Fun for the Canoeists," *New York Times*, 21 August 1891.

68 On colonial projects targeting Aboriginal people in Canada and the United States, see John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); Gray S. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

69 Despite efforts to draw attention away from the regatta, the races remained a highlight of the encampment for members.

70 The ACA added races for women to the program in 1890, although there were never more than three such races and they were always classified as "Other" or "Novelty" races. Colin Howell identifies a similar contrast between men's and women's baseball teams in the Maritimes. Howell, *Northern Sandlots*, 86.

71 "Canoes on Kill Von Kull," *New York Times*, 25 June 1882.

72 Epochal technologies of mobility include trains and steamships, while mundane technologies could include anything from shoes to paddles. Macnaghten and Urry, "Bodies of Nature," 1–11.

73 Macnaghten and Urry, "Bodies of Nature," 8.

74 David Crouch, "Places around Us: Embodied Lay Geographies in Leisure and Tourism," *Leisure Studies* 19, no. 2 (2000): 68, 65.

75 Cresswell, *On the Move*, 3; Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.

76 Crouch, "Places around Us," 68.

77 De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 100.