

Abstract

In 1911 Central Vancouver Island Park became the site of British Columbia's first provincial park, Strathcona. Designed over the site of Buttle Lake, the "jewel" of the Park, reveal the ideas of park held by an elite group of Anglo middle-class men on Vancouver Island from the time of its inception. These ideas were often diverse and contradictory and A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Paula Louise Eng
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MASTER OF ARTS
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The changes to the idea, or construction, of park follow the rise and decline of the first conservation movement in British Columbia and indicate a shift in emphasis from parks for the people in 1910, to parks for resource extraction after 1918. The debates also reveal the process of the commodification of scenery, or the discussion of scenery in economic terms, which was used in the 1920s to justify

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Abstract

In 1911 Central Vancouver Island became the site of British Columbia's first provincial park, Strathcona. Debates over the fate of Buttle Lake, the "jewel" of the Park, reveal the ideas of park held by an elite group of Anglo middle-class men on Vancouver Island from the time of its inception until the early 1930s. These ideas were often diverse and contradictory and reflected the acceptance of transforming or improving nature.

The changes to the idea, or construction, of park follow the rise and decline of the first conservation movement in British Columbia and indicate a shift in emphasis from parks for the people in 1910, to parks for resource extraction after 1918. The debates also reveal the process of the commodification of scenery, or the discussion of scenery in economic terms, which was used initially for description, and by the late 1920s to justify park preservation. Conservationists also posed a challenge to the dominant industrial expansionists who had, until that time, virtually exclusive use of the province's resources. By the 1920s there was another division among park proponents and opponents which reflected the desire for local control of resources at central and northern Vancouver Island. Importantly, this case study of Strathcona Park and the conflicts over the appropriate use of the park reveals the origins of land use conflicts which continue to plague British Columbia.

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Tables and Figures

This thesis is dedicated to Kenneth Eag whose support and amazing patience helped me to achieve my goal, and to Jamie Disbrow who gave her support and advice at all hours of the

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I would like to thank the members of my committee, Peter Baskerville, Patricia Roy, and Philip Dearden, who contributed a great deal of time to this project, and provided thoughtful comments and direction.

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Finally, thank you to my family and friends who tolerated six years of playing second fiddle to school work, and who stuck it out anyway.

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1911, Native peoples had constructed trade routes and extracted resources; prospectors and timber cruisers, members of the 1864 Vancouver Island Exploration Expedition, and members of the 1910 Price Ellison expedition had also built trails and extracted resources.

The creation of Strathcona did not happen in isolation. It was part of the public park movement which lobbied for the creation of Yellowstone and Yosemite in the United States, and Banff, Glacier, Yoho, Waterton, Jasper, and Algonquin parks in Canada.² The Canadian conservation movement closely followed the American movement. In both

¹ For the purposes of this paper, I am defining "wilderness" as an area not accessed or used by humans. There is no clear definition of the idea of wilderness held by park proponents during this study period. There were general characteristics such as remoteness from cities, and relatively little European activity in an area which they have applied to their definition of wilderness.

² J.L. Nicol, "The National Parks Movement in Canada," *The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1968) 39.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Between 1905 and 1910, the impetus for the creation of Strathcona, a provincial park on Vancouver Island (See Figure 1), came from a seemingly incongruous and overlapping group of natural historians, members of local boards of trade, politicians, and bureaucrats. Like today's preservationists, who argue that park land should be protected from industrial use, they sought to preserve the forests and fauna in relatively pristine areas, and prevent resource extraction in those areas. Although their ideas differed from the dominant expansionists, their willingness to construct parks "for the people," to establish artificial boundaries within natural areas previously used primarily by indigenous people, and to transform nature to improve upon it, clearly demonstrates their belief that nature could be managed and that the beliefs of the Native cultural groups could be ignored. These early park proponents were part of the first modern conservation movement in British Columbia but they were not aware of the concept of an "ecosystem" nor of the inherent conflict between the preservation of natural areas and tourism.

Though not wilderness, the area at Strathcona was relatively pristine and geographically isolated from major cities.¹ Before 1911, Native peoples had constructed trade routes and extracted resources; prospectors and timber cruisers, members of the 1864 Vancouver Island Exploration Expedition, and members of the 1910 Price Ellison expedition had also built trails and extracted resources.

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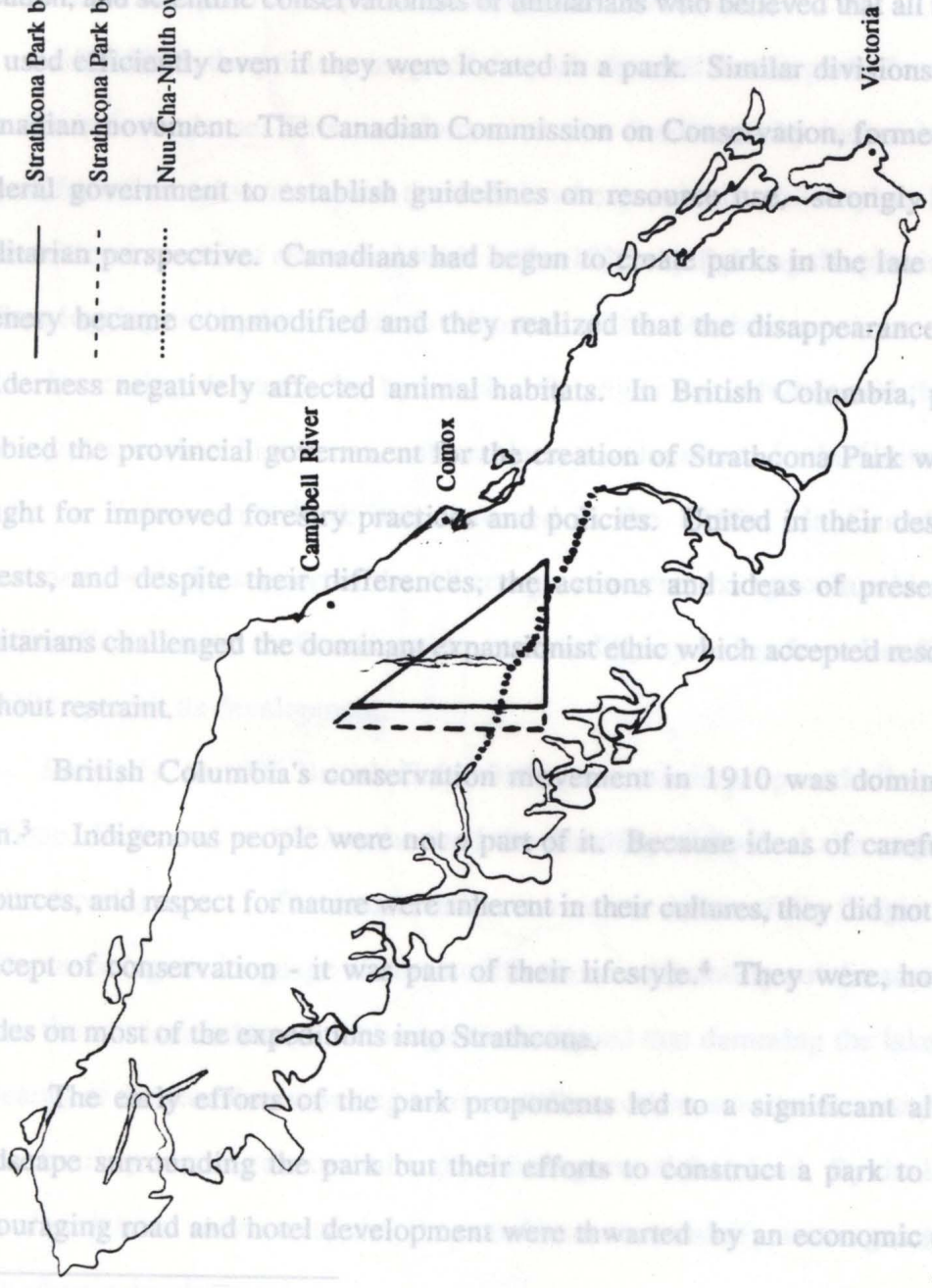
² J.I. Nicol, "The National Parks Movement in Canada," *The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1968) 39.

countries conservationists lobbied for park creation, for examinations of, and changes to, forestry practices and policies, and protested against industrial pollution. In the 1910s the American movement divided sharply between preservationists, who advocated park creation, and scientific conservationists or utilitarians who believed that all resources should be used efficiently even if they were located in a park. Similar divisions appeared in the Canadian movement. The Canadian Commission on Conservation, formed in 1910 by the federal government to establish guidelines on resource management, represented the utilitarian perspective. Canadians had begun to create parks in the late 19th century as scenery became commodified and they realized that the disappearance of forests and wilderness negatively affected animal habitats. In British Columbia, preservationists lobbied the provincial government for the creation of Strathcona Park while utilitarians fought for improved forestry practices and policies. Limited in their desire to conserve forests, and despite their differences, the actions and ideas of preservationists and utilitarians challenged the dominant pragmatist ethic which accepted resource extraction without restraint.

British Columbia's conservation movement in 1910 was dominated by Anglo-American men.³ Indigenous people were not part of it. Because ideas of careful utilization of resources, and respect for nature, were inherent in their cultures, they did not have a separate concept of conservation - it was part of their lifestyle.⁴ They were, however, used as guides on most of the expeditions into Strathcona.

The efforts of the park proponents led to a significant alteration of the landscape surrounding the park but their efforts to construct a park to rival Banff and encourage road and hotel development were thwarted by an economic depression and

Strathcona Park boundary 1911
 Strathcona Park boundary 1913
 Nuu-Cha-Nulth overlaid trail (Drucker)



Strathcona Park, Vancouver Island, British Columbia

Figure 1

³ Although a few women were active in the Natural History Society, they were not in positions of authority. Women were also active in the Alpine Club of Canada since its inception but that organization was not part of the movement to create British Columbia's first provincial park nor was the club an active participant in the 1910 Royal Commission on Timber and Forestry.

⁴ The Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound, *Report 3: First Nations Perspectives Relating to Forest Practices Standards in Clayoquot Sound*, March 1995, 6. The report discusses the cultural values of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth people who inhabit the north and central west coast of Vancouver Island.

From: BCARS, "Government Reserve for National Park," June 5, 1910, Map s.616.9 bj6791. British Columbia, "Geology of Strathcona Park," (Map), Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources (Victoria: Geological Survey Branch, 1995)
 Philip Drucker, *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1951) Face page 1.*
 "Strathcona Park Act," 1913, *Statutes of British Columbia*

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The early efforts of the park proponents led to a significant alteration of the landscape surrounding the park but their efforts to construct a park to rival Banff by encouraging road and hotel development were thwarted by an economic depression and

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World War I. The government funded the construction of roads and trails, the draining of McIvor Lake to facilitate road construction, and the planting of non-native plant species to beautify and "improve" the park's entrance. These actions clearly demonstrate the imposition of European concepts of landscape onto the land.

After 1918, the primary usage of the park changed from a park "for the people" to a park for industrial use. This transformation was facilitated by increasing government support for industrial ventures and the traditional expansionist philosophy. In response, the conservation movement reasserted itself in the 1920s by fighting the province's initiatives to allow logging and hydro electric development within Strathcona.

Increasing demands for hydro-electric power by industry and the public made certain parks, such as Strathcona, vulnerable to development. In the United States, Hetch Hetchy in Yellowstone Park was dammed in the 1910s. In Canada, the federal government, with the support of the Alberta government, the agricultural industry, and the Canadian Commission on Conservation, removed Spray Lakes from Banff National Park in 1930 to permit its development.

Similarly, in 1926 British Columbia's government proposed allowing logging in Strathcona Park, and in 1927 authorized the flooding of Buttle Lake as part of a hydro-electric development. The conservation movement successfully fought logging in the park by invoking the language of commodification and pointing out the scenic value of the park to the tourism industry. Although some argued that damming the lake would impair the beauty of the area thus reducing tourism dollars, others saw the necessity of developing hydro-electric power for the central and northern parts of the island. By the late 1920s their ideas of park were so fractured that they could not successfully unite against the proposed hydro-electric development.

Changes to the land inside and outside park boundaries were significant. By the late 1920s alterations to the landscape outside the park's entrance included government-funded road building, the draining of McIvor Lake, and the planting of non-native species.

Inside the boundaries, mining, hydro-electric dams, trails, and cabins transformed the landscape. In comparison to later developments on a small scale. Once the provincial government approved the construction of a hydro-electric dam on the Campbell River and the flooding of Buttle Lake in the 1950s, the landscape changed significantly.

Strathcona Park, located near 50° latitude and 126° longitude, is a diverse region containing alpine areas, lakes, meadows, mountains, and glaciers. Formed by the same geological forces that created Vancouver Island, the mountains of Strathcona, part of the Vancouver Island Range, resulted from volcanic activity, and were modified by glaciation, erosion, and earthquake activity. Geological activity continually modifies the landscape. Strathcona contains some of the highest peaks on Vancouver Island, including the highest, Golden Hinde, at 2228 metres.

The diversity of its landscape can also be explained by referring to the three biogeoclimatic zones found in the park: the Alpine Tundra (AT) zone, the Mountain Hemlock (MH) zone, and the Coastal Western Hemlock (CWH) zone. These zones contain five subzones including Coastal AT, Maritime Forested MH, Wetter Maritime CWH, and Drier Maritime CWH, each which include several vegetation types, subzones, and variants indicate the type of vegetation and animal species found at particular elevations and locations.

The Alpine Tundra zone occurs on the higher mountain peaks. The zone is characterized by mosses, lichens, and shrubs. There are no forested areas; stunted trees and some deciduous wood plants appear at lower elevations. The Coastal AT subzone in Strathcona generally occurs in mountain ranges east of Buttle Lake but also

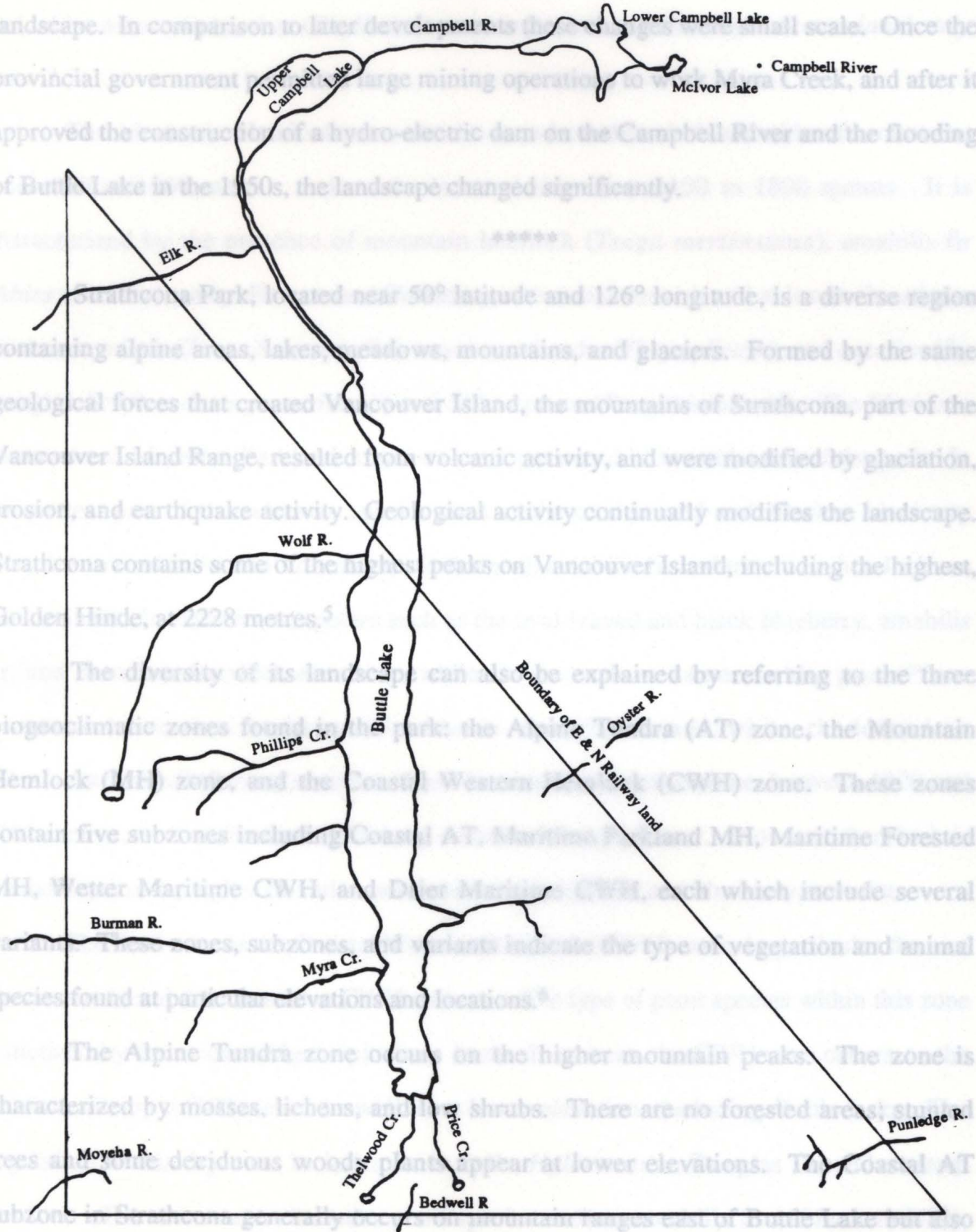


Figure 2 Strathcona Park, 1911

From: BCARS, microfilm CM A926, "Government Reserve for National Park," 1910; and British Columbia, Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks, "Map of Vancouver Island," 1992.

5 British Columbia, "Geology of Strathcona Park," Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources, (1960).

6 Jean Hayika, "Master Plan Background Report," British Columbia, Ministry of Parks, October 15, 1990, 3.

Inside the boundaries, mining, hydro-electric dams, trails, and cabins transformed the landscape. In comparison to later developments these changes were small scale. Once the provincial government permitted large mining operations to work Myra Creek, and after it approved the construction of a hydro-electric dam on the Campbell River and the flooding of Buttle Lake in the 1950s, the landscape changed significantly.

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The Alpine Tundra zone occurs on the higher mountain peaks. The zone is characterized by mosses, lichens, and low shrubs. There are no forested areas; stunted trees and some deciduous woody plants appear at lower elevations. The Coastal AT subzone in Strathcona generally occurs on mountain ranges east of Buttle Lake but also

yellow cedar, western hemlock, and ericaceous shrubs including false azalea or fool's

⁵ British Columbia, "Geology of Strathcona Park," Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources, Geological Survey Branch, 1995; Jean Hnytka (OMNI Environmental Consultants), "Strathcona Park/Strathcona-Westmin Park Master Plan Background Report," British Columbia, Ministry of Parks, October 15, 1990, 3.

⁶ Jean Hnytka, "Master Plan Background Report," 7.

occurs at the Wolf River area. In some areas where there is little snow accumulation, pink and white mountain heather (*Phyllodoce empetriformis* and *Cassiope mertensiana*) may grow.⁷ The Mountain Hemlock zone can be found on the windward side of mountains from 900 to 1500 metres, and on the leeward side from 1100 to 1800 metres. It is characterized by the presence of mountain hemlock (*Tsuga mertensiana*), amabilis fir (*Abies amabilis*), and yellow cedar (*Chamaecyparis nootkatensis*), and at lower elevations, western hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla*), western red cedar (*Thuja plicata*), and occasionally Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*) and Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*). The Maritime Forested and Maritime Parkland subzones are represented in several areas of the park. In the wettest part of the subzone, species such as the oval-leaved and Alaskan blueberry (*Vaccinium ovalifolium* and *Vaccinium alaskaense*), amabilis fir and mountain hemlock are predominant. In dryer areas, species such as the oval-leaved and black blueberry, amabilis fir, and mountain hemlock dominate, while shrubs such as western white pine (*Pinus monticola*), western tea-berry (*Gaultheria ovatifolia*), and white rhododendron (*Rhododendron albiflorum*) co-exist. The Maritime Parkland subzone, between 1300 and 1700 metres, is characterized by a long duration of snow cover. Mountain hemlock is predominant at the higher elevation, and white rhododendron and blueberry, co-exist. The final zone is the Coastal Western Hemlock (CWH) zone, in particular the east Vancouver Island drier maritime CWH variant. The type of plant species within this zone is dictated by the amount of precipitation. In the drier areas, the CWH zone occurs on the leeward side up to 700 metres as well as at lower elevations including Buttle Lake. The vegetation in this dry zone includes *Stokesiella*, *Hylocomium*, Douglas fir, and western hemlock. The wetter zone includes plant species such as amabilis fir (*Abies amabilis*), yellow cedar, western hemlock, and ericaceous shrubs including false azalea or fool's huckleberry (*Menziesia ferruginea*). At the lower elevations along the west coast, species

⁷ Jean Hnytka, "Master Plan Background Report," 8.

such as salal (*Gaultheria shallon*), red huckleberry (*Vaccinium parvifolium*), Alaska blueberry, Sitka spruce, western hemlock and amabilis fir are found.⁸ Strathcona Park contains many species of mammals including several rare or endangered species, such as the Vancouver Island marmot (*Marmota vancouverensis*), the wolverine (*Gulo gulo*), trumpeter swan (*Cygnus buccinator*), and peregrine falcon (*Falconidae peregrinus*). The main carnivores are the black bear (*Ursus americanus*), the raccoon (*Procyon lotor vancouverensis*), the weasel (*Mustela erminea*), and the cougar (*Felis concolor vancouverensis*). Other species of land mammals include the black-tailed deer (*Odocoileus hemionus columbianus*), red squirrel (*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus lanuginosus*), beaver (*Castor canadensis*), and Roosevelt elk (*Cervus elaphus roosevelti*). Numerous birds, including bald eagles (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*), golden eagles (*Aquila chrysaetos*), white-tailed ptarmigans (*Lagopus leucurus*), sandhill cranes (*Grus canadensis*), and three-toed woodpeckers (*Picidae tridactylus*) live in the park as do some reptiles, including garter snakes (*Thamnopholis sirtalis* and *Thamnopholis elegans*), and several species of fish including rainbow and cutthroat trout (*Salmo gairdneri* and *Salmo clarki clarki*), dolly varden (*Salvelinus malma*), and sculpin (*Cottus asper*). The trout occur as a result of stocking.⁹

The park has several drainage systems for ten major water systems (see Figure 2). They include the Oyster, Brown, Puntledge, Salmon, Bedwell, Burman, Gold, Megin, Moyeha, and Somass Rivers, and most importantly for the purpose of this study, the Campbell River which drains to the east. Several of these rivers - the Gold, Brown and Salmon - were not included in the original park boundaries but were added after our period of study.¹⁰

⁸ Jean Hnytka, "Master Plan Background Report," 8-12; see also Betty Brooks, "Natural and Human History Themes Strathcona Provincial Park," British Columbia, Ministry of Parks, March 1989, 25-96. See also Jim Pojar and Andy MacKinnon, Eds., *Plants of Coastal British Columbia*, (Vancouver: Province of British Columbia and Lone Pine Publishing, 1994) *passim*.

⁹ Jean Hnytka, "Background Report," 17 & 28.

¹⁰ Hnytka, "Background Report," 14.

Descriptions of the park area from the 1910s tend to focus on those areas close to Butte Lake. In 1913 one writer described park development occurring in three distinct areas. The first, at Elk River (see Figure 2) near the entry into the park, contained habitats for elk and other game, as well as "the most magnificent standing timber in British Columbia."¹¹ The second area centred on Butte Lake which was approximately 40 kilometers long and 1.5 to 3.2 kilometers wide. The writer described it as:

a magnificent waterway...whose charm is intensified by the ever varying panorama of beauty disclosed from turn to turn of Alpine view and forest. On either side streams and rivers,-many of them having leaping falls of wonderful beauty,- come pouring through countless valleys from the glaciers and snowfields, of which glimpses are constantly obtained.¹²

The third division, at Ash River, included mountains, glaciers and snowfields at the higher elevations. At lower elevations there were "open pasturage with fruit and heather lands but lightly timbered, and [the land] is dotted in every direction with lakes of varying size, - oftener than not the result of the activity of the beaver in damming up the streams flowing off the watershed."¹³

As part of the study of Strathcona Park it is necessary to examine the works of other historians pursuing similar studies, and to examine how they incorporate the study of nature into their work. Most historians who deal with nature are considered "environmental historians" who document the "interaction between and among the human and nonhuman components of the natural world."¹⁴ Existing studies range from political analyses of national parks policies to more sophisticated analyses which attempt to study ecological change as part of a symbiotic relationship with a given culture. Several historians have successfully placed nature at the centre of their analyses and many continue

¹¹ W.W. Foster, "Strathcona Park," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, 1913, 98.

¹² Foster, "Strathcona Park," 98.

¹³ Foster, "Strathcona Park," 98-99.

¹⁴ Carolyn Merchant, *Instructor's Handbook for Major Problems in American Environmental History* (Lexington, Ma.: D.C. Heath, 1993), 4. Merchant notes that historians Donald Worster, William Cronon, Alfred Crosby and Merchant agree on this definition.

to employ primarily political analyses. In addition, a few Canadian environmental historians use detailed case studies to examine the changes to, and the conflicts within, cultural constructions of "park," study the relationship between the capitalist economy and changes to nature, and examine the commodification of nature. Historians examine the expansionist ethic in contrast to the conservation movement which emerged in the late 19th century and which gained momentum in the early decades of the 20th century. In addition, they generally accept the two interwoven streams of conservationist consciousness: utilitarian or "wise use," and preservationist.¹⁵

The methods and topics chosen by environmental historians closely resemble that of historical geography. In fact, the two disciplines sometimes overlap, complement, and inform each other.¹⁶ Several Canadian historical geographers, including J.G. Nelson, J.G. Battin, and Robert Scace, examine the place of humans in nature by studying land use issues, park planning and management, economics, public policy, and conservation initiatives using varying analytical approaches, and accepting similar assumptions to historians. I will discuss their work later in this chapter.

Similarly, this study of Strathcona Park attempts to meld ecological, cultural, political, and economic approaches to the creation, development, and use of the park. It also analyses the rise and decline of the influence of the conservation movement, and generally accepts the two streams of conservation consciousness. However, these streams were not always easily separated nor easily identifiable both from each other and from the dominant expansionist ethic. Generally, Canadian environmental historians have accepted a relative homogeneity of conservationist ideas. However, this study will demonstrate that this was not always the case. In discussions over Strathcona Park, for example, park proponents generally agreed on the use of the park at its creation. By the late 1920s they

¹⁵ See Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987) *passim*; Gerald Killan, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System* (Ontario: Dundurn Press, 1993) 36 and *passim*; and Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd Edition (Binghamton, New York: Vail-Ballou Press, 1992) 129.

¹⁶ Michael Williams, "The Relations of Environmental History and Historical Geography," *Journal of Historical Geography*, v. 20, no. 1, January 1994, 9-10.

were fragmented, making a solid movement towards a unified goal of park preservation very difficult. In his *Manitoba, A History* demonstrates the cultural attitudes of farmers toward Canadian environmental historians generally model their work after Americans Richard White, William Cronon, Donald Worster, and Carolyn Merchant. These and other American historians, as well as historical geographers, have written voluminously on the inter-relationship of Americans with their environment. Richard White suggests that historians must examine the cultural aspects of change, "fully explore the political, social, and economic contexts in which the environmental actions and policies that influenced the environment took shape," and learn to define a healthy ecosystem before judging it to be in decline.¹⁷ For example, in *Changes in the Land*, William Cronon analysed the New England landscape by comparing the activities of pre-Colonial Amerindians with those of the New England colonists and by measuring the impact on the land. Unlike other historians, he did not assume a pristine wilderness before the arrival of the Europeans. Following White's example, this thesis explores the political, social, and economic contexts which allowed specific environmental changes to occur, without judging the Strathcona Park ecosystem to be in decline after Europeans altered the landscape. Instead, as Cronon did, an analysis of Native land use demonstrates that both Natives and immigrants used the land, but with a different purpose and scale. Both, however, modified the landscape. As in the American literature and Ramsay Cook's article, "Cabbages Not Kings: Towards an Ecological Interpretation of Early Canadian History," the more successful environmental historians focus on a particular aspect of "nature," set it within cultural, social, political and economic contexts, and use some form of analysis to measure ecological change. Cook is possibly the first Canadian historian to examine approaches to Canadian environmental history. He suggests that traditional Canadian history has always been informed by natural processes; however, those processes have not, until recently,

¹⁸ Ramsay Cook, "Cabbages Not Kings: Towards an Ecological Interpretation of Early Canadian History," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, v. 25, Winter 1990/91, 14-15.

¹⁷ Richard White, "Historiographical Essay American Environmental History: the Development of a New Historical Field," in *Pacific Historical Review*, v. 54, 1985, 334-335, 12.

been brought to the forefront and examined on their own. For example, he suggests that W.L Morton in his *Manitoba, A History* demonstrates the cultural attitudes of farmers towards land. By examining changes in Canada from an ecological perspective, Cook suggests that the cultural perceptions of appropriate landscape affected the importation of different species of plants and animals. These new species left permanent evidence of the impact of one culture upon another. He suggests that "cabbages, turnips and lettuce proved more enduring seeds of change" than political symbols, and "that change would gradually transform America into Europe and in doing so uproot, conquer and marginalize long-established cultures, both natural and human."¹⁸ This ecological imperialism bears a resemblance to the transformation of Strathcona Park as the government authorized the planting of non-native species in the area. Potentially, these plants could "conquer" and replace the native vegetation.

Like White, who suggests that historians must conduct inter-disciplinary research to examine the causes and consequences of change and to determine cultural attitudes to the environment, and William Cronon who puts this model into practice, Cook advocates invoking anthropological and ecological analyses in the search for evidence. He suggests that the reports of explorers, merchants, missionaries and soldiers provide rich sources to measure ecological change and serve as indicators of cultural attitudes towards land, especially when compared over time and critically analysed to filter out European cultural biases and class assumptions. According to Cook, who quotes Cronon, "what gradually emerges is a contrast between two human ways of living, two ways of belonging to an ecosystem."¹⁹ Certainly in the case of Strathcona Park such sources have been useful to measure ecological change and discern cultural attitudes, and to compare one culture with another. Anthropological evidence, especially, helped to describe the cultural practices of the Nuu-Cha-Nulth and Kwakwaka'wakw peoples.

¹⁸ Ramsay Cook, "Cabbages Not Kings: Towards an Ecological Interpretation of Early Canadian History," in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, v. 25, Winter 1990/91, 14-15.

¹⁹ Cook, "Cabbages Not Kings," p. 10. See also William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 12.

on the Canadian environmental historians focus on national parks. They generally analyse their topic within a political framework, or incorporate culture, with varying degrees of sophistication, into the study of the evolution of park policies. Several dominant conflicts appear: the contradictory aims of the 1930 National Parks Act which states parks are to be used by the people and at the same time are to be preserved; the contradictory aims of preservationists and conservationists; and jurisdictional disputes between the federal and provincial governments over the control of natural resources. Parks historians readily accept the influence of American ideas on the evolution of park policy. With the exception of Richard Stuart, and most historical geographers, they rarely question the concept of park wilderness or the fact that park boundaries are artificial, not natural, constructions. Park historians usually neglect ecosystem analysis and rarely give as much as a passing reference to race or class.

Political analysis of the struggle between the federal government, the Pro Political historian W.F. Lothian wrote perhaps the first historical account of the formulation of national parks and park's policy while under contract with Environment Canada Parks. *A Brief History of Canada's National Parks* is a chronological and regional account of the creation of the parks as an expression of Canadian nationalism, with Lothian envisioning the creation of the first park at Banff as the fulfillment of the vision of "far-sighted legislators who realized that natural phenomena in the midst of scenic magnificence would be preserved and administered as a public rather than a private enterprise."²⁰ Although Lothian mentions the Canadian Pacific Railway and William Pearce as driving forces behind Banff's creation, he ignores the interactive relationship between members of the public, public servants and politicians in determining policy, and he does not fully place his work in its ecological, cultural, social, and economic contexts.²¹

Michel Girard's study of the rise and fall of the Canadian Commission of Conservation is a political analysis of federal environmental policy that narrowly focusses

²⁰ W.F. Lothian, *A Brief History of Canada's National Parks* (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1987) 10. "This volume is a revised and expanded edition of the first of a series of four volumes published from 1976 to 1983." See p. 7.

²¹ Lothian, *A Brief History of Canada's National Parks*, 7, 10 & *passim*.

on the influences of a few men. In *L'écologisme retrouvé: Essor et déclin de la commission de la conservation du Canada*, he argues that the Commission, formed in 1910, was not concerned with preserving parks but supported using the "resources" within federal parks. This utilitarian group, led by Clifford Sifton, advocated state use and control of resources and attempted to work with the provinces to promote the "wise-use" and conservation of timber, mining, fishing and water resources. Girard argues that the economic recession, Sifton's resignation, the death of Theodore Roosevelt, the defeat of Wilfrid Laurier, federal-provincial disputes over resource control, unclear legislation and accountability issues, contributed to the Commission's disbanding in 1921.²²

Continuing the trend of political analyses are Gerald Killan and George Warecki in their article, "The Battle for Wilderness in Ontario: Saving Quetico-Superior, 1927 to 1960." It is essentially a political analysis of the struggle between the federal government, the Province of Ontario, the State of New York, and both American and Canadian conservationists over the creation of Quetico-Superior park, bordering Ontario and New York. They argue that the effort to protect the "primitive character" of the region set a precedent for future efforts to preserve wilderness in the late 1960s. However, they do not question the existence of "wilderness" even though they acknowledge that one of its proponents, Ernest Oberholtzer, lived on an island in Rainy Lake in the middle of the proposed park.²³

Killan's *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System*, is a comprehensive, chronological account of the evolution of Ontario parks. He analyses the actions of the various conservation groups, politicians, bureaucrats, and park users who, he argues, shaped parks policy over time.²⁴ Even though the jacket cover suggests that the

²² Michel Girard, *L'écologisme retrouvé: Essor et déclin de la commission de la conservation du Canada* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994) 30-32, 245, 252, 263, 265-266.

²³ Gerald Killan & George Warecki, "The Battle for Wilderness in Ontario: Saving Quetico-Superior, 1927 to 1960," in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, eds. Roger Hall et al. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988) 330.

²⁴ Gerald Killan, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System* (Toronto: Dundurn Press & Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1993) 1.

"analysis cuts across the disciplines of history, geography, political science, environmental studies, and the earth and life sciences," it does so only at a superficial level. Killan successfully demonstrates the influence of interest groups, the economy, American policies, and the emergence of ecology as a science on government policy but his work remains primarily an analysis of policy evolution. Killan explores the conflict between park preservation and use although he does not set them up as a dichotomy but as "currents in a single conservationist stream, sometimes converging to their mutual benefit, at other times flowing at cross purposes" which certainly parallels the trend in British Columbia.²⁵ Killan's contention that only in the 1930s did the course of the conservationists and preservationists cease to be parallel²⁶ seems somewhat late given that the struggle between the two over the damming of the Spray Lakes took place in the 1920s, and the divisions in the American conservation movement over the damming of Hetch Hetchy in Yosemite were evident in the early 1910s. Janet Foster also invokes a political analysis. In *Working For Wildlife: the Beginning of Preservation in Canada* she examines the evolution of federal wildlife policy and argues that from the late 19th century until 1922 senior civil servants, influenced by American ideas of conservation, were responsible for influencing federal government decisions to create legislation and parks to protect game and wildlife. Foster acknowledges the role of James Harkin in protecting wildlife but does not examine the influence of other groups or individuals on public policy.²⁷ Leslie Bella's work *Parks for Profit*, goes beyond traditional political analyses to incorporate cultural attitudes towards park use. She argues that national parks "represent a compromise between the demand for profit and the need for preservation."²⁸ Bella's work

²⁵ Killan, *Protected Places*, 1 and *Passim*.

²⁶ Killan, *Protected Places*, 35.

²⁷ Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: the Beginning of Preservation in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) 1-4, 32-33, 219. Although Werecki and Killan discuss the jurisdictional dispute between the federal government and the province of Ontario over the control of land and resources, Killan does not emphasize this conflict, perhaps because the book was published by the Province of Ontario's Department of Natural Resources.

²⁸ Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987) 1.

is relevant to the case study of Strathcona Park because the profit motive ties in with the commodification of scenery, and debates over appropriate park use, particularly in Banff, mirror some of the debates over Strathcona. She does not, however, examine the *process* of commodification, or how people discussed the park using economic language, which is particularly relevant in determining cultural attitudes that allowed parks to be viewed as "resources." In Strathcona, for example, park proponents increasingly used economic language to justify park preservation. In federal parks, Bella studies arguments for the multiple use of parks versus preservation. In some parks resource extraction took place within park boundaries, or those boundaries were adjusted to exclude areas containing valuable resources; in other parks nature became a resource for tourists and thus tourism became the economic impetus behind their creation.

Bella examines the proponents and opponents to hydro-electric development at Spray Lakes, formerly in Banff National Park, noting the diversity of the groups, including business, women's, naturalist's and sportsmen's organizations, while accepting their relative agreement over park use. Unlike Killan who acknowledged the overlapping of preservation and utilitarian conservation ideas, Bella sets up a dichotomy between park preservationists and utilitarians.²⁹ Bella's conclusions about park usage are extremely useful, but in the case of Strathcona it is important to examine the evidence at a deeper level to discern the ideas of park use held by members of an elite group of British Columbians. Gillis and Roach argue that Bella, like Killan, suggests that federal-provincial jurisdictional conflicts complicated the establishment of parks. In the late 1920s in Alberta, for example, the two levels of government struggled over the control of natural resources, and over the Province's desire to develop hydro-electric power at Spray Lakes in Banff National Park,

²⁹ Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 10-13. In the United States, for example, sports fishermen and hunters identified the need for wildlife conservation and for the conservation of wildlife habitats in the mid-19th century. Yet, Bella does not explore the relationship between sportsmen and wildlife and park conservation. Sportsmen are more difficult to classify than simply as preservationists or conservationists. For an analysis of the role of sports hunters and fishermen in wildlife conservation see John F. Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation* (New York: Winchester Press, 1975).

controlled by the federal government. The 1930 National Parks Act, Bella argues, reflected a compromise between the federal government and the resource-hungry provinces by preventing further resource extraction in national parks, but redefining park boundaries to allow access to resource rich areas. This type of struggle did not occur in British Columbia as it retained control over its natural resources.

Bella's discussion of boundary erosion, resource extraction, and unresolved Native land claims, parallels the development of Strathcona Park. The boundaries of Strathcona were adjusted to allow logging. An important difference, however, is that British Columbia allowed resource extraction within the park's boundaries. Bella also sees unresolved Native land claims, especially in the north, as a "threat" to the parks. This issue is also emerging with the Nuu-Cha-Nulth people's claim to Strathcona. To protect parks, Bella suggests that preservationists and native people unite to better understand and protect their mutual interests.³⁰

Several historians, including Peter Gillis, Thomas Roach, C.J. Taylor, and PearlAnn Reichwein use cultural and political analyses to examine the symbiotic relationship between cultures and political policies. In *Lost Initiatives: Canada's Forest Industries, Forest Policy and Forest Conservation* Peter Gillis and Thomas Roach discuss the relationship between governments and the forest industry, and its effects on forestry policies and the conservation movement from the colonial period until 1984.³¹ Gillis and Roach argue that this insidious relationship, and the belief in unlimited resources, were the prime reasons effective forestry conservation policies were not implemented, despite numerous opportunities. Economics, federal-provincial jurisdictional disputes, and public apathy towards conservation exacerbated the problem.

They conclude that sustainable yield forestry practices would have alleviated many problems associated with the decline in resources experienced today. However, Gillis and

³² Lorne Hammond, "Canada's Dominion: Environment and Social History" (Canadian Historical Association, 1994) 9.

³⁰ Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 152-159. "The National Parks Act of 1930," in *Canadian Issues: To See*

³¹ Peter Gillis and Thomas Roach, *Lost Initiatives: Canada's Forest Industries, Forest Policy and Forest Conservation* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986)

Roach fail to point out that replanting would have solved only part of the problem. Attempts to manage forests and apply a predictable economic model to the unpredictable growth rates of forests, create problems. In this sense, Gillis and Roach operate within the same economic model as governments and industry - assigning economic value to the forests based solely on their utility. They do not appear to consider the benefits of large-scale forest preservation nor acknowledge the critical role of the biodiversity of forest ecosystems. However, as Lorne Hammond noted, Gillis and Roach, the only historians to examine the role of lumbermen in the conservation movement, provide a small glimpse into the corporate view of nature.³²

C.J. Taylor, an historian with Parks Canada, also attempts to examine the relationship between a particular culture and the political process in "Legislating Nature: The National Parks Act of 1930." He explores differing ideas of "national park" and the evolution of the "principle of inviolability" prior to its entrenchment in the National Park Act in 1930.³³ According to Taylor, the idea of "national park" is based on human perception and can vary from nature preserves to highly developed recreation areas. He notes that early concepts of "park" were often associated with forest reserves and this was explicit in the 1911 Dominion Forest Reserves and Park Act which allowed for resource extraction within these areas. However, by the 1930s people associated the idea of park with preservation. Taylor assumes that these ideas were widespread among the public but he does not support his contentions with evidence.

Instead, Taylor focuses on the ideas of James Harkin, the Commissioner of Dominion Parks, and unnamed members of the Parks Branch. He treats the Branch as if it were an entity capable of producing ideas, instead of examining the ideas of its members. According to Taylor, Harkin and "the Branch" struggled to define "national parks" in light

³² Lorne Hammond, "Canada's Dominion: Environment and Social History" (Canadian Historical Association, 1994) 9.

³³ C.J. Taylor, "Legislating Nature: The National Parks Act of 1930," in *Canadian Issues: To See Ourselves/To Save Ourselves, Ecology and Culture in Canada* (Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies, 1991), 126-127. *Journal of Canadian Studies* v. 21, #1, (Spring 1986)

of the conflict between use and preservation. Taylor argues that it was Harkin's idea to apply the concept of "inviolability" to Canada's national parks. Its introduction into the 1930 Act was intended to ensure that there would be no resource extraction within park boundaries. However, an amendment to the Act could allow resource extraction. The Act failed to protect the parks from tourists, and did not establish a parks classification system which would allow the creation of wilderness parks. The Act, according to Taylor, reflected a compromise between the federal government and the province of Alberta over resource use when it permitted the reduction of the boundaries of Banff National Park to free up resource-rich areas for the province's use. Although Taylor intended to show the relationship between the emergence of popular ideas and parks policy, he really only examined Harkin's ideas and presents an analysis of parks policy. He neither set his argument into cultural, social or economic contexts, nor evaluated ecological changes.

Many historians, including Bella and Killan, associate the rise of the first conservation movement in the early 20th century with increased public awareness of environmental issues. In "Rivers of Sawdust: the Battle over Industrial Pollution in Canada, 1865-1903," Peter Gillis notes that many Canadians were concerned with environmental degradation. In this case study about sawdust dumping in the Ottawa River, Gillis also explores the cultural/political relationship and argues that as early as the 1850s sports fishermen lobbied to prevent water quality deterioration. A few progressive pulp-mill owners, who were utilitarians, and navigation experts, sportsmen, public health advocates, naturalists, and scientists, whose ideas resembled those of the future preservationists, joined them.³⁴ When pulp mills refused to change their practices, the conservation groups effectively lobbied government to enforce the Fisheries Act and prevent further dumping of sawmill refuse into the river. Eventually mill-owners complied; however, Gillis notes the industry was declining and owners were diversifying

³⁴ Peter Gillis, "Rivers of Sawdust: the Battle over Industrial Pollution in Canada, 1865-1903," in *Constructing Modern Canada*, ed. Chad Gaffield (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994), 172. Originally published in *Journal of Canadian Studies* v. 21, #1, (Spring 1986)

their interests. Gillis places his case study within the cultural, social, political and economic contexts of 19th century Canada. Although he does not define a healthy river ecosystem before evaluating the river's condition, it is obvious that the dumping of the refuse caused stream aggradation, affected the water quality, and hampered navigation. ³⁴ began in 1885, although PearlAnn Reichwein also examines the cultural-political relationship. In her case study of the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) she skilfully explores the ideas of ACC members particularly relating to their rejection of hydro-electric development in Rocky Mountain national parks. She argues that throughout the early 20th century the ACC allied with the National Parks Branch and became a key player in forming public policy and helped shape "the changing vision of Canada's national parks." She suggests that most members of the ACC agreed that parks were for the people and not for hydro-electric development. In fact, she identifies F.W. Godsa as "one of the only recorded dam proponents in the Alpine Club." While there may have been a degree of homogeneity among members of the ACC, as Reichwein suggests, a broader examination of park proponents indicates that other park preservationists were far from homogenous.³⁵ ³⁶ provide

Diverting from the political/cultural model are historians Richard Stuart and Graham MacDonald who examine the relationship between culture and ecology. Stuart, the National Historic Sites Coordinator with the Canadian Department of Heritage, is one of the few parks historians to examine the sub-field of environmental history. In "History is Concerned with More than Ecology but it is Concerned with Ecology Too' Environmental History in Parks Canada," he argues that historians need to study Canadian environmental history and suggests that historical analyses of the relationship between humans and natural environments in national parks could assist Parks Canada in ecosystems restoration, in understanding human impacts on ecosystems, and in providing historical context for environmental decision making. Stuart advocates studying the history ³⁷ consider wilderness areas to include land occupied, or used, by Aboriginal people.

³⁵ PearlAnn Reichwein, "Hands Off Our National Parks': The Alpine Club of Canada and Hydro-Development Controversies in the Canadian Rockies, 1922-1930" (Canadian Historical Association, August 1995) 40 & 42. ³⁶ *History in Parks Canada*, 1994.

of existing ecosystems and incorporating the approaches of other disciplines such as ecology, geography, and anthropology to attempt to identify the elements of a healthy ecosystem. Unlike other historians, Stuart challenges the concept of wilderness, arguing that "nowhere in Canada was there wilderness when the park system began in 1885, although there may have been areas unused for several years."³⁶ Therefore, he suggests that national parks are "'cultural landscapes' or 'second nature,' ecosystems created, marked, even managed, by humans."³⁷ The concept of "cultural landscape", or cultural construction, is particularly relevant to the study of Strathcona Park as it reinforces the notion that concepts of park are culturally specific.

In a brief historiography of available literature, Stuart notes the reliance of Canadian environmental historians on American literature and he argues that this will not change until "students of Canadian environment history have their own theory, rooted in the Canadian context, to draw from." The purpose of this study of Strathcona is not to add to Canadian environmental theory, but to its historiography. By including Canadian cultural and political values as manifested in land and park use, the expansion of the historiography provides an opportunity to apply "a Canadian approach within an interdisciplinary context."³⁸

Also exploring the relationship between culture and ecology is Graham MacDonald who demonstrates how environmental history can be used to analyse the interactions between human action and wildlife in "Science and History at Elk Island National Park: Conservation and its Contradictions."³⁹ These interactions changed the landscape, increased the number of species within the park boundaries, influenced conservation policies, and created conflicts over use similar to Strathcona park. MacDonald suggests

³⁶ Richard Stuart, "History is Concerned with More than Ecology but it is Concerned with Ecology Too' Environmental History in Parks Canada" (Winnipeg: Canadian Department of Heritage, 1994) 16. Stuart suggests the definition of wilderness is culturally specific, for example, he says urban dwellers consider wilderness areas to include land occupied, or used, by Aboriginal people.

³⁷ Stuart, "History is Concerned," 5, 6, & 16.

³⁸ Stuart, "History is Concerned," 23.

³⁹ Graham MacDonald, "Science and History at Elk Island National Park: Conservation and its Contradictions," (Calgary: Parks Canada, 1994)

that historical analysis and the application of ecological principles have led to an increased understanding of the existing ecosystem, and to more complicated and precise interpretations of landscape definitions among Parks officials. The transference of ecological ideas, particularly from American scientists and parks officials, contributed to the realization that all species played a vital role within a "system" which had a "carrying capacity," or a maximum number of species it could support without stress. Increased awareness of the functioning of a system led parks officials to change their method of controlling the herds from rounding up an excess number and killing them, to selective culling. Parks Canada also expanded the boundary of the park to include an farm, where it grew feed for the herds.⁴⁰

MacDonald argues that there were essentially three conflicts between official park policy and attempts to preserve large ungulate species. The first was the conflict between preservation and use that characterized all national parks. However, he notes that Elk Island park was subject to the additional demands of Edmontonians who looked to the park as a respite from the city. The second conflict, relating to the isolation of Elk Island as a "special landscape," different from surrounding agricultural lands, demonstrates that the concept of "national park" is an artificial construct. According to MacDonald, an ecosystem cannot exist as a distinct entity from its surroundings. The third conflict reflects the boundary problem. Park managers had to manage the herds within park boundaries by periodic slaughter to control the number of each species and the spread of disease. In addition, the concepts of an isolated landscape area and species control through culling conflicted with theories of wildlife ecology and carrying capacity.⁴¹

The ecological and economic analyses employed by Barry Potyondi to examine the ecological transformation of the prairie landscape from a diverse and complex buffalo landscape to a simplified, monocultural landscape designed to produce crops for immediate

⁴² Barry Potyondi, "Loss and Substitution: The Ecology of Production in Southwestern Saskatchewan, 1860-1930," (Calgary, Great Plains Research Consultants, 1994).

⁴⁰ MacDonald, "Elk Island National Park," 17. *See Ourselves To Save Ourselves, Ecology and Culture*

⁴¹ MacDonald, "Elk Island National Park," 17. *Studies*, 1991) 139-148.

economic gain reveals that the region underwent three stages of transformation during this period based on the commodification of a particular resource.⁴² In "Loss and Substitution: the Ecology of Production in Southwestern Saskatchewan, 1860-1930," Potyondi notes the commodification of buffalo, domestic livestock, and wheat. Potyondi's argument demonstrates how any aspect of nature could be commodified and identified as a resource. In the case of Strathcona and Banff, the commodities were scenery, trees, minerals, and water.

Potyondi is one of the few historians who explicitly links the commodification of natural resources and animal species to extinction, displacement and replacement. Although other historians, such as Bella, linked resource use and value, none have directly linked consumption with the capitalist economy as Potyondi does. He acknowledges that the Métis willingly participated in the buffalo trade, and suffered dislocation as a result of the decline of the buffalo. He does not, however, acknowledge the participation of indigenous Natives in the market economy as Cronon did.

Also addressing the commodification of resources is Thomas Dunlap. In "Ecology, Nature and Canadian National Park Policy: Wolves, Elk and Bison as a Case Study,"⁴³ he argues that between 1920 and 1950 Canadian park administrators became increasingly influenced by the emergence of the science of ecology, and its popularity among American park administrators. Then, instead of perceiving wildlife as scenery, they viewed wildlife as an essential part of a tourist's experience and as part of a system rather than as single species. They protected all wildlife species rather than only those who were previously labelled as desirable. Dunlap is more successful than Taylor in defending his argument as he precisely links the transfer of American ideas to Canadian conservation

⁴² Other examples of Canadian history which are informative but not particularly applicable to this thesis include Colin Coates analysis of the cultural appropriation of land in Lower Canada, and Michel Girard's argument favouring the use of historical information in environmental decision making in "The Oka Crisis from an Environmental History Perspective, 1870-1990." See Colin M. Coates, "The Oka Crisis from an Environmental History Perspective, 1870-1990," in *Canadian Environmental History: The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada*, in *Canadian Environmental History*, 4th edition.

⁴³ Barry Potyondi, "Loss and Substitution: The Ecology of Production in Southwestern Saskatchewan, 1860-1930," (Calgary, Great Plains Research Consultants, 1994)

⁴³ Thomas R. Dunlap, "Ecology, Nature, and Canadian National Park Policy: Wolves, Elk, and Bison as a Case Study," in *Canadian Issues: To See Ourselves/To Save Ourselves, Ecology and Culture in Canada* (Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies, 1991) 139-148.

policies and supports the evidence that British Columbia's early conservationists were influenced by American ideas.⁴⁴

Historical geographers have also contributed significantly to the literature on national parks, and have compiled several anthologies including multi-disciplinary approaches to problems associated with public parks. While much of their work deals with contemporary issues and recent history, there are several studies worth noting. In *Man's Impact on Point Pelee National Park*, J.G. Battin and J.G. Nelson use a human ecological approach to examine the effects of fishing, logging, commercial trapping, mining, draining, and cultivation on Point Pelee National Park to understand the structure of current and past ecosystems and to predict future changes. Battin and Nelson argue that humans must be considered among the agents of ecological change; therefore, human beings and nature have an interactive relationship and cannot be separated in an analysis of an ecosystem.⁴⁵ The analysis of Point Pelee includes the models suggested by White and Cronon and therefore bears some similarity to this analysis of Strathcona Park. Human impact on the landscape results in change, some perceived as "good" others perceived as "bad". Both studies demonstrate how the results of such change cannot necessarily be predicted and that the environment can also modify human action.

The authors borrow from anthropology, biology, and history to identify the people who historically occupied or used the land, to examine their cultural practices, and to describe the plant and animal species that have existed in the area in order to gauge human impact on the Point Pelee ecosystem. As in Cronon's model, their analysis begins with the Native people who occupied or used the land and continues to the mid 1970s. Like Bella,

⁴⁴ Other examples of Canadian history which are informative but not particularly applicable to this thesis include Colin Coates analysis of the cultural appropriation of land in Lower Canada, and Michel Girard's argument favouring the use of historical information in environmental decision making in "The Oka Crisis from an Environmental History Perspective, 1870-1990." See Colin M. Coates, "Like The Thames to the Putney: The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada," in *Canadian Historical Review*, v. 74, 1993, 317-344; Michel Girard, "The Oka Crisis from an Environmental History Perspective, 1870-1990," in *Readings in Canadian History, Post-Confederation*, 4th edition, Eds. R.D. Francis & D.B. Smith (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1994)

⁴⁵ J.G. Battin & J.G. Nelson, *Man's Impact on Point Pelee National Park* (Toronto: National & Provincial Parks Association of Canada, 1978), 2-3.

Battin and Nelson examine the roles of conservationists, naturalists and scientists in establishing the park and the conflict between use and preservation. Although after 1918 resource extraction was greatly reduced in the park, other activities such as fishing, hunting, brush clearing and reforestation continued to alter its landscape. As public use increased in the 1930s and camping became popular, human impact exacerbated the ecological degradation and resulted in policy changes to limit usage. Advances in technology designed to "fix" the results of human action were often unsuccessful or unsightly. For example, constructing groins to prevent erosion only shifted the problem to another area of the point, thus facilitating more technological fix-its.⁴⁶ So in analysing ecosystems, one must look at how the environment shapes human activity as well as how humans shape the environment. This environmental influence can be found in the construction of roads into Strathcona Park. When engineers attempted to locate a road near McIvor Lake, the lake undermined the road, and the engineers drained the lake. *Byrne relies mostly on government documents*

Nelson, in particular, has written prolifically on environmental change. His "Man and Landscape Change in Banff National Park: A National Park Problem in Perspective," examines the results of tourism, development, and public use, and the actions and plans of the National Parks Branch which have, and will continue to, effect changes in the landscape of Banff.⁴⁷ Ten years later he co-edited a follow-up anthology on the national parks, but the edition only included discussions of the changes in land use, planning, management, and policies, that occurred between 1968 and 1978.⁴⁸ In 1973, he wrote "Canada's National Parks: Past, Present, and Future," which studies the inter-relationships between humans, animals, and the landscape, and compares the trends in American and Canadian policies and procedures. He suggests that an interest in the preservation and protection of nature or wilderness, planning for the recreational and aesthetic needs of the people, and the

⁴⁶ Battin & Nelson, *Point Pelee National Park*, 99 & 122.

⁴⁷ J.G. Nelson, "Man and Landscape Change in Banff National Park: A National Park Problem in Perspective," in *The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow* (Calgary: University of Calgary & The National and Provincial Parks Association, 1968)

⁴⁸ J.G. Nelson, et al., editors, *The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow Conference II, Ten Years Later* (Waterloo: University of Waterloo, 1978)

income from businesses associated with national parks have interacted to shape activity in national parks. He argues they have reduced logging and mining but not aggregate mining for construction, provided for the regeneration of forests and other vegetation, increased the numbers and types of animal species since 1900, made relatively pristine areas available for scientific research and monitoring, increased the volume of recreational use "with emphasis on auto and facilities-oriented tourism," and produced increasing conflicts between recreational land use and environmental or resource conservation.⁴⁹

Following the example of Battin and Nelson, A.R. Byrne examines the interdependent relationship between humans and natural processes and their effects on the land in Banff National Park prior to the passing of the 1911 Forest Reserves and Park Act. In "Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area Before 1911," he considers the geomorphology, climate, and vegetation, and the human activities, including native use of the land, prior to Banff becoming a park. Byrne relies mostly on government documents for his historical information but his inclusion of landscape change and native land use broadens his study.⁵⁰

Several historical geographers, like historians, use political analyses to analyse change. Kevin McNamee, in "From Wild Places to Endangered Spaces: A History of Canada's National Parks," surveys the evolution of parks policy, the relationship between public protest and policy, and the shift of the use of parks from 1885 to the early 1990s.

He argues that national parks were "primarily places of business" before 1911. After the government passed the Forest Reserves and Park Act of 1911, they became the objects of tourism promotion which was "absolutely necessary for the recreation of the people."⁵¹

⁴⁹ J.G. Nelson, "Canada's National Parks: Past, Present, and Future," in *Recreational Land Use: Perspectives on its Revolution in Canada*, Eds. Geoffrey Wall & John S. Marsh (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982) 58-59. Originally published in *Canadian Geographical Journal*, 86, (1973) 69-89.

⁵⁰ A.R. Byrne, *Man and Landscape Change in the Banff National Park Area Before 1911*, Ed. R.C. Scace, National Park Series, Studies in Land Use History and Landscape Change, No. 1, (1968)

⁵¹ Kevin McNamee, "From Wild Places to Endangered Spaces: A History of Canada's National Parks," in *Parks and Protected Areas in Canada: Planning and Management*, Eds. Philip Dearden and Rich Rollins (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993) 22.

Also using a political analysis, J.I. Nicol, in "The National Parks Movement in Canada," studies the relationship between the parks movement and government policy. He suggests that until the 1960s Canada did not have a national parks movement, but does not discuss the formation and activities of the Canadian National Parks Association in the 1920s.⁵²

Other authors including historian Michel Girard and geophysicist Sean McCutcheon employ multi-disciplinary approaches to study environmental problems. Girard's "The Oka Crisis from an Environmental History Perspective, 1870-1990," explains the relationship between the crisis and the removal of vegetation critical to protecting the Oka community.⁵³ McCutcheon explores the relationship between the Cree people, Francophone politicians, the political process, and ecological changes in *Electric Rivers: The Story of the James Bay Project*.⁵⁴

Historians have paid little attention to British Columbia's provincial parks system, the evolution of the first conservation movement, and the development of hydro-electricity in the 1920s. Local histories, however, provide contextual information about the first few decades of the twentieth century and some superficial information regarding the creation of Strathcona Park.⁵⁵

A survey of Canadian environmental literature indicates the sub-field's recent popularity, although historical geographers have studied similar issues for many years. Having reviewed most of the available literature one must admire the diverse approaches to

⁵² J.I. Nicol, "The National Parks Movement in Canada," 38.

⁵³ Michel Girard, "The Oka Crisis from an Environmental History Perspective, 1870-1990," *Readings in Canadian History, Post Confederation*, 4th ed., Eds. R.D. Francis & D.b. Smith (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1994) Adapted and translated by Michel Girard from his article, "L'aménagement de la forêt d'Oka à la lumière de l'écologie historique," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, v. 27, #2, Summer 1992.

⁵⁴ Sean McCutcheon, *Electric Rivers: the Story of the James Bay Project* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1991) 87.

⁵⁵ See Wallace Baikie and Rosemary Phillips, *Strathcona: A History of British Columbia's First Provincial Park* (Campbell River: Ptarmigan Press, 1986); Jean Barman, *West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 272 & 281; Ben Hughes, *History of the Comox Valley: 1862-1945* (Nanaimo: Evergreen Press, n/d) 2; D.E. Isenor, et al., *Land of Plenty: A History of the Comox District* (Campbell River: Ptarmigan Press, 1987) passim; D.E. Isenor, E.G. Stephens, D.E. Watson, *Edge of Discovery: A History of the Campbell River District* (Campbell River: Ptarmigan Press, 1989) 372-376, & 254-263; and Helen A. Mitchell, *Diamond in the Rough: A History of Campbell River* (Campbell River: The Upper Islander, 1966) 109-115.

the subject matter while noting how much more is to be done. Not only could Canadian environmental historians debate their theoretical approaches as both Cook and White mentioned, but they could expand existing areas to include ecological analyses and, as Richard Stuart noted, historians could apply the ecological model to studies of national parks, as historical geographers have done. Michel Girard and Sean McCutcheon demonstrated unique ways in which they integrated historical and ecological analyses to increase the understanding of the relationship between culture, land use and development. While historians, including Leslie Bella and Gerald Killan, have examined the conservation movement they excluded in-depth analyses of the role of sportsmen in the conservation movement.

In contrast, William Cronon and Barry Potyondi addressed the influences of the market economy on resource extraction and looked at the implications of "private property" on land use but these areas remain relatively unexamined by Canadian environmental historians. Links between the global economy, "comparative advantage," and resource extraction could be explored. There is no equivalent in Canada to Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind*, a comprehensive study of the ideas of nature in America. The small case studies which often provide more detailed and arguably accurate histories than the larger comprehensive volumes could be built upon to establish a Canadian version of environmental thought.⁵⁶

Continuing the discussion of Strathcona Park, the following chapter discusses the rise of the conservation movement and the creation of the park from 1905 to 1916. It also explores Native land use in the area prior to the park's inception and the Anglo British Columbian disregard for them when creating the park. Both cultures impacted the land; however, human impact increased after the Anglo culture and its economy infiltrated the

⁵⁶ See Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982)

area. The evidence reveals the early ideas of "park" held by park proponents and suggests that a process of scenery commodification had begun by 1910.

Chapter 3 discusses the change in the primary use of the park away from parks for public recreation to parks for industrial extraction. Following the conservation movement's response to this shift in values, I discuss the reasons for the change, the increase in the commodification of scenery, and the fragmentation of conservation ideas which let industrialists influence the provincial government. In conclusion, chapter 4 summarizes the key points of the thesis and compares the differences in park ideas within the first three decades of the 1900s.

Influenced by early conservationists, reserved the land for park use. The primary use of the park would be by people, and not by industry. Park proponents did not argue for maintaining relatively pristine areas but accepted the transformation, or improvement, of nature to suit their cultural definitions of park. Their actions effectively challenged forest companies and the prospectors who had, until then, used the land according to their need. They also challenged the decision-makers who embraced the expansionist ethic and who had already granted timber and mining licenses in the area of the Park.

Preservationists initially lobbied for the creation of a park to reserve forest areas and create wildlife refuges. Park proponents generally, but not always, opposed hunting in the park, but all agreed that parks were to be used for public recreation prompting the use of the rhetoric "parks for the people." By 1910 there was some evidence of the commodification of scenery, or the applying of economic terms to scenery, in order to discuss its "value" to society. This evidence increased slightly after Price Ellison, the Chief Commissioner of Lands, visited the new park area in 1910 and especially after 1914 when

¹ For the purposes of this paper I have used the term Anglo-British Columbians to mean those people who were either born in Britain, or whose families originated in Britain. In the 1910s and 1920s the population of British Columbia was dominated by that culture. For statistical information relating to population and gender, see Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 363-369.

Chapter 2 "Parks for the People": The Rise of Conservation in British Columbia, 1905-1916

From 1905 to World War I, an elite group of middle-class Anglo-Canadians in British Columbia set the stage for the transformation of the land now known as Strathcona Park.¹ (See Figure 2) Explorations made the area known, allowed industrial development to occur, and eventually facilitated park creation. This was done without regard to the Native people who had traditionally used the land. As the use of the land changed, decision-makers, influenced by early conservationists, reserved the land for park use. The primary use of the park would be by people, and not by industry. Park proponents did not argue for maintaining relatively pristine areas but accepted the transformation, or improvement, of nature to suit their cultural definitions of park. Their actions effectively challenged forest companies and the prospectors who had, until then, used the land according to their need. They also challenged the decision-makers who embraced the expansionist ethic and who had already granted timber and mining licenses in the area of the Park.

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³ Betty Brooks, Ed. "Natural and Human History Themes: Strathcona Provincial Park" (prepared for the Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Parks, 1989) 111. Brooks, however, does not note when

¹ For the purposes of this paper I have used the term Anglo British Columbians to mean those people who were either born in Britain, or whose families originated in Britain. In the 1910s and 1920s the population of British Columbia was dominated by that culture. For statistical information relating to population and gender, see Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 363-369.

park proponents used the economic value of parks to oppose the government's decision to cut funding for the park's infrastructure, and to argue for opening up the area for tourism.

Before examining the Anglo construction of "park," it is necessary to understand how native people previously occupied and used the land now known as Strathcona Park. Members of both the Anglo and Native cultures transformed the land to suit their particular purposes. Not only was there a difference in the scale of use but Anglos also sought profit while Natives respected the land as a spiritual place.

Anthropological studies of the Strathcona area are sparse, but available evidence suggests that the land was used by the Mowachaht and Hopachisat (hopâtçisâth) tribal groups of the Nuu-Cha-Nuulth people on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and the Laichwiltach and Comox tribal groups of the Kwakwaka'wakw people on the east coast.² The Mowachaht, the Laichwiltach and Comox people used the area for hunting, trapping, trade routes, and extraction of trees to make goods.³ Oral histories suggest that the Native people named many of the mountains, lakes, and rivers in the area, and reveal a spiritual

² In the period of study the Nuu-Cha-Nuulth people were referred to as the Nootka, and the Kwakwaka'wakw as the Kwakiutl. By superimposing a map of Strathcona Park over maps drawn by anthropologists Philip Drucker, Franz Boas, Donald Mitchell and Leland Donald to show linguistic distribution of dialects, it appears the "border" dividing these two Native groups ran diagonally through the approximate geographical centre of the land which became Strathcona Park. See BCARS, Microfiche A598, Franz Boas, "Distribution of Salish Dialects Before 1800," n.d. Philip Drucker, *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1951) p. x of the forward; and Donald Mitchell and Leland Donald, "Archaeology and the Study of Northwest Coast Economies," *Research in Economic Anthropology: Prehistoric Economies of the Pacific Northwest Coast*, Ed. Barry L. Isaac (Connecticut: JAI Press, 1988) 296. A source for information on Native activity is a report compiled by Betty J. Brooks for the Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks. The report, "Natural and Human History Themes: Strathcona Provincial Park," is problematic in that the authors discuss Strathcona Park in relationship to its modern, and not historical, boundaries. (For historical boundaries see Figure 1) Brooks, et al, discuss Native activity in the whole of the modern park without dealing with the boundary changes thus limiting my ability to determine the exact location of Native activity prior to 1911. However, combined with clues in other sources, it can be concluded that there was significant Native activity.

³ Betty Brooks, Ed. "Natural and Human History Themes: Strathcona Provincial Park" (prepared for the Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Parks, 1989) 111. Brooks, however, does not note when the Native activity took place and the activity is mostly described in relation to the "park" as a geographical description rather than the land which makes the time frame ambiguous. However, the inclusion of one oral history which describes "other legends associated with what is now Strathcona Park," a second oral history describing a spiritual ritual in the 1890s, the discovery of masks in the 1840s and of other artifacts such as arrowheads confirms Native activity in the region prior to the establishment of the park. See 111-115.

relationship with the land, which ensured their responsibility for the stewardship of the land, and plant and animal species. According to elder Roy Haiyupis, the Nuu-Cha-Nuulth "have a common Creator through which we share the land and the resources of the land and the seas."⁴ Andy Callame of the Mowachaht people, who told how his people used to travel up the rivers of Strathcona park to hunt, said that "the mountains of Strathcona *probably* [my italics] provided a source of yellow cedar bark, berries, and other important plant products."⁵ Natives harvested the yellow-cedar and treated the bark before weaving it into clothing and blankets, or before carving paddles, chests, dishes, and fishing net hoops for trade. They would often offer up a prayer, "asking permission to remove the 'dress' of the tree, stating the use to which the bark would be put, and requesting their safe return to the village."⁶ Wedledi Speck of Comox recounted a Puntledge legend which said a whale was "tied up to the Comox Glacier in the (time of the great) floods."⁷

The Native people also harvested the abundant, edible berries, especially huckleberries. Different tribes evolved their own method of preparation:

Skunk cabbage leaves were sometimes employed as picking baskets by folding the leaves in a special way and holding the edges together with sticks. Kwakiutl women sometimes raked the berries off the bushes with wooden combs, then the twigs and leaves were cleaned off by rolling them down a wet slanted board. The leaves and twigs stuck to the board while the berries continued to roll into a waiting basket. The Kwakiutl then boiled them in cedar boxes and mixed them with red salmon spawn. Finally, the mixture was covered with heated skunk cabbage leaves and sealed with eucharion fat. This preparation preserved them through the winter months when ceremonial feasts took place. Other tribes merely ate them fresh or dried them into prepared cakes.⁸

There is also evidence to suggest that the Hopachisat (hopâtcisâth) people of the Nuu-Cha-Nuulth used an overland trail between Sproat Lake and Muchalat Inlet located in the south-west section of the park added in 1913. Anthropologist Philip Drucker noted that the hopâtcisâth used the trail to attack the tsaxana people, avenging the death of their

⁴ The Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound, *First Nations' Perspectives Relating to Forest Practices Standards in Clayoquot Sound*, March 1995, 67.

⁵ Andy Callame, as quoted in Brooks, "Natural and Human History Themes: Strathcona Park," 111.

⁶ Brooks, et al, "Natural and Human History Themes," 114 & 115.

⁷ Wedledi Speck, as quoted in Brooks, 113.

⁸ Brooks, et al, "Natural and Human History Themes," 115.

kinsmen. A map in his book shows an overland trail between Matchlee Bay at Muchalat Inlet to where Port Alberni now stands.⁹ (See Figure 1) In addition, the territory of the Muchalaht people extended eastward almost to Buttle Lake whereas the land in the southern part of the park was the traditional territory of the Otsosaht, Ahousaht and Opetchesaht tribal groups.¹⁰

There is no evidence of the government, or those who fought for the park's creation, recognizing the Natives' use of the land. According to one report in 1910 the Natives had shunned the area because they believed it to be the home and hunting ground of "massache ikto," an "evil spirit," whose acquaintance is by no means to be courted, and whose home territory it is unwise for any native to invade."¹¹ However, the presence of trails in the area contradicts that claim.¹²

Immigrants also had imprinted the land through exploration, logging and prospecting. In 1864 Robert Brown's Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition explored and gathered knowledge about Central Vancouver Island.¹³ It is unclear if Brown actually reached what is now the park but his journals confirm the presence of an extensive network of trails used by the Native people.¹⁴ For example, he observed a cross-Island trail between the head of the Alberni Canal and the Qualicum River, from which a trail to Comox branched off. Although both Natives and Europeans used the cross-Island trail, Brown adds that "it is merely (of course as they all are,) an Indian trail, and impossible to be followed without a guide." A few members of the Opetchesaht group whose wives

the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway 809,400 hectares of land on Vancouver Island in 1884.

⁹ Philip Drucker, *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1951) p. 356. See also Map I, p. x, of forward. Drucker's research was conducted in 1935-36 - see p. 1.

¹⁰ James C. Haggarty and Richard I. Inglis, "Westcoast Sites: An Archeological and Macroenvironmental Synthesis," *Prehistoric Places on the Southern Northwest Coast*, ed. Robert. E. Greengo (Seattle: Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, 1983) 21.

¹¹ "Expedition to Buttle Lake," *Nanaimo Free Press*, July 4, 1910.

¹² Isenor et al., *Edge of Discovery*, 255.

¹³ Robert Brown, "Robert Brown and the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition," ed. John Hayman (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989) 30.

¹⁴ According to Brooks, et al, Brown came close to the south-east corner of the park; she notes that Brown reached Toma Creek and Elsie Lake, just outside the park boundary but suggests he did not travel further west. Brooks, et al., "Natural and Human History Themes," 116-117.

were from the Comox tribe occasionally used this trail.¹⁵ John Buttle, another member of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition, led a party into Central Vancouver Island "to search for minerals and to note agricultural possibilities and timber stands" but his "sense of direction seems slightly in error." Although he may not have entered the park area, he does appear to have seen the lake, named after him, in the distance.¹⁶

The 1896 exploration expedition of William Bolton, an instructor at the University School in Victoria, and John Laing, a registered land surveyor, covered the interior of the Island including the future park.¹⁷ Bolton's account in the *Vancouver Province* indicates not only the beauty and relative remoteness of the area, but his idea that unless the land was more easily accessible it would be "only available for the artist, the mountaineer and the sportsman" in addition to the wild creatures that inhabited it.¹⁸

Settlers who began arriving in the Comox Valley in 1862 and in Campbell River in 1884, logged, prospected and built trails in the area of Strathcona. Mike and Jim King, partners in the logging firm of King and Casey, based in both Campbell River and Comox, constructed three cabins in the area, cruised for timber along the Campbell River, and explored the future park area for its "economic potential." Mike King was especially familiar with the area as he traversed the land from coast to coast, conducting timber cruises, and prospecting near Buttle Lake.¹⁹

In addition to the alteration of the landscape through trail building and resource extraction, the land was also altered for industrial purposes. The province had granted to the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway 809,400 hectares of land on Vancouver Island in 1884.

¹⁵ Brown, "Robert Brown and the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition," 31.

¹⁶ Brooks, et al., "Natural History," 117-118.

¹⁷ BCARS, Add MSS 249, Harry McClure Johnson, "Journal of B.C. Exploratory Survey Trip into Buttle's Lake Region," (1910) 23; Brooks, "Natural History," 118.

¹⁸ W.W. Bolton, *Vancouver Province*, August 22, 1896 as reprinted in "Vancouver Island by Land and Water," in *The Link*, v. 14, no. 2 (Victoria: Corporation of British Columbia Land Surveyors, 1991) 31-33.

¹⁹ BCARS, Add MSS 249, vol. 1, folder 35, Harry McClure Johnson, "Journal of B.C. Exploratory Survey Trip into the Buttle Lake Region," July 5 to August 13, 1910. Johnson's journal covers the Price Ellison expedition; Isenor, et al., *Land of Plenty*, 140; Brooks, "Natural History," 118; Mitchell, *Diamond in the Rough*, 61; Isenor, et al., *Land of Plenty*, 174.

This railway belt formed part of the future park's boundary, and the province had granted timber licenses around Buttle Lake and other parts of the future park.²⁰ Before 1910, the British American Trading Company opened the Quinsam trail, a 30 to 32 kilometer overland trail from the Campbell River into Buttle Lake, and had established a camp at the Campbell River end of the trail. In addition, the trail was used for animals to pack supplies to a diamond-drill mine, and surveyors cleared open spaces along the E & N line. The Price Ellison expedition of 1910 camped near the headwaters of the Salmon River where men, "probably trappers or timber cruisers," had camped before and at another camp on the Elk River where Colonel Holmes had been the previous year. As these alterations to the land were occurring, conservationists in the United States and Canada began arguing for the conservation of forests and parks.²¹

 The roots of the conservation movement can be traced to the late 18th century when it arose in response to the new dominant expansionist world view which originated during the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment when philosophers, scientists and economists reinterpreted the Biblical Doctrine of Creation, and revived Classical Greek ideals to establish a world view that placed humans above, and separate from, nature. Expansionists believed uninhibited societal growth, development, and potential could be achieved in an orderly, symmetrical and controlled manner. Scientists applied these ideas to nature believing, that once harnessed, it could be controlled. Therefore, they reduced nature to specific working components without learning about its interaction as a system. Expansionists assessed nature's value according to its utility and exploited it for human purposes, disregarding its intrinsic value and moral importance.²²

²³ Paul Brooks, "Wilderness in Western Culture," *Voices for the Wilderness*, Ed. William Schwartz. (New York: Ballantine, 1969) 41.

²⁴ See Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd edition, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967) 84-121; Perry Miller, "Nature and the American Ego," in *Errand into the Wilderness*.

²⁰ According to Jean Barman, coal baron Robert Dunsmuir received 2 million acres of land to build the E & N Railway. See Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 121. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

²¹ Johnson, "Journal of B.C. Exploratory Survey Trip," 43, 101, 129 & 156.

²² Robin Attfield, *The Ethics of Environmental Concern* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1983) 4.

In 1759 the publication of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* indicated a positive shift in human attitudes toward nature. British Romantic poets, such as William Wordsworth and John Keats, described nature's positive effects on humans, and referred to humans as a part of nature, rather than separate from it. These "spiritual ancestors of today's conservationists" insisted "that wild nature, like the artistic creations of man, is important not just for some specific purpose, but for itself."²³

Romantic ideas which were popular among American authors, painters, and intellectuals, in the latter half of the 19th century, influenced American conservationists.²⁴ Conservationists still embraced, but modified, the enlightenment ideas of the transformation of nature without always agreeing on the degree of transformation. The American conservationists, although somewhat divided over park preservation and the "wise use" of park resources, were united over preserving the remaining American wilderness resulting in the creation of Yellowstone and Yosemite National Parks. However, the 1910 conflict over the successful proposal to develop hydro-electric power at Hetch Hetchy in Yosemite National Park split the conservation movement into two groups: park preservationists and utilitarian, or wise-use, conservationists.²⁵

In Canada, the federal government had cooperated with the Canadian Pacific Railway in establishing its first national park, Rocky Mountain Park (Banff), in 1885. Between 1885 and 1909, the government created Glacier, Yoho, Waterton, and Jasper National Parks. In 1909, the Liberal government of Wilfrid Laurier established the Commission of Conservation. Members of the Commission included the former Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, and representatives from each province. The goals of the Commission closely resembled the utilitarian approach to the conservation of natural

²³ Paul Brooks, "Wilderness in Western Culture," *Voices for the Wilderness*, Ed. William Schwartz. (New York: Ballantine, 1969) 41.

²⁴ See Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd edition, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982) 84-121; Perry Miller, "Nature and the American Ego," in *Errand into the Wilderness*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956) *passim*; Lee Clark Mitchell, *Witnesses to a Vanishing America: The Nineteenth Century Response*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) *passim*.

²⁵ See Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 129-30, 135-139, & 161-181.

resources of the American Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot. The Act to create the Commission noted its duty:

to take into consideration all questions which may be brought to its notice relating to the conservation and better *utilisation* [my italics] of the natural resources of Canada, to make such inventories, collect and disseminate such information, conduct such investigations inside and outside of Canada, and frame such recommendations as seen conducive to the accomplishment of that end.²⁶

In addition to creating the Commission, the federal government requested copies of all the provincial regulations concerning mining, timber, fire protection, irrigation, water powers, and provincial lands for use at the North American Conservation Conference. Significantly, it did not request park legislation, but included hydro-electric development. This indicates that the federal government placed more emphasis on utilitarian conservation than on park preservation.²⁷

Similarly, in the early decades of the twentieth century, a new conservationist ethic emerged to challenge the dominant expansionist ethic in British Columbia. This conservationist ethic reflected the two streams of conservation which occasionally overlapped. Utilitarian conservationists fought to regulate forestry policy whereas preservationists fought to create British Columbia's first provincial parks, and occasionally lobbied for reforestation.

The initiative for forestry conservation in British Columbia came from government representatives. Forestry interests were not generally interested in conservation, as they were in the United States, because most of the forested land was publicly, not privately, owned. The commissioners of the Royal Commission on Timber and Forestry, 1910, embraced utilitarian conservationism and manifested utilitarianism in the 1912 Forest Act which advocated the "wise use," or rational use, of timber resources. The new Minister

²⁶ Girard, *L'écologisme retrouvé*, passim. See also Gillis and Roach, *Lost Initiatives*, 52; BCARS, GR 441, v. 35, Wilfrid Laurier to Premier Richard McBride, July 21, 1909, enclosing a copy of Bill 159 "An Act to establish a Commission for the Conservation of Natural Resources."

²⁷ BCARS, GR 441, v. 33, W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, to Richard McBride, February 8, 1909.

of Lands, William Ross was responsible for introducing and implementing forest conservation ideas in British Columbia, and he recruited Harvey R. MacMillan, an assistant director of Alberta's Forestry Branch, and future timber baron, as British Columbia's new chief forester. In addition, members of the Royal Commission visited the American Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot in Seattle and supported his utilitarian and sustainable yield forestry practices. Pinchot identified his three primary objects of conservation:

First, to develop our natural resources so that this generation may have its full share and use of the riches of the earth.

Second, to prevent needless waste and destruction of these resources, so that future generations may likewise have their just part in the material foundations of prosperity.

Third, to see to it that the great natural resources so developed and protected shall be used permanently for the welfare of the many instead of the profit of the few.²⁸

The Minister of Lands noted that the American Forest Service "under the auspices of President Roosevelt and Mr. Pinchot, reached a high degree of scientific and business organization," and influenced the new Forest Act and the creation and work of the Provincial Forest Branch. Although the Commission received requests to reserve land for parks, it did not recommend any. However, "large-scale capitalist development of the forests was not compatible with conservationist goals and scientific resource management," and the province "deferred to the immediate needs of the business class in most areas of policy and administration." In fact, in 1913 forest revenues broke all previous records as the government earned \$2,832,788 mostly from license rentals. Part of the problem was that the 1914 Royalty Act, intended to protect the public interest by

making timber companies pay for the timber they cut, tied royalties to the cutting rate and involved government directly with timber interests and in timber marketing. Another

²⁸ Stephen Gray, "Forest Policy and Administration in British Columbia, 1912-1928," M.A. Thesis, (Simon Fraser University, 1977) 54; Gillis and Roach, *Lost Initiatives*, 144-145; BCARS, GR 271, Box 1, File 3, British Columbia Royal Commission on Timber and Forestry, 1909. See also the 1912 Forestry Act; BCARS, GR 271, Box 1, File 3, British Columbia Royal Commission on Timber and Forestry, 1909, p. 1349.

factor was that joint government and industry committees allowed timber interests to influence forestry policy.²⁹

While the utilitarian conservation ethic appeared in British Columbia's forestry policy, between 1908 and 1910 Anglo middle-class proponents of parks who lobbied the Provincial government to create Strathcona Park to protect forests and wildlife reflected the preservationist ethic. Decision-makers and park proponents generally understood parks were for public recreation. In their construction of park, preservationists defined a provincial "park" as an area which would protect forests and fauna, and serve the travelling public and tourists. They began to commodify scenery which moved the issue of park preservation away from the Romantic notions of "park" to a commercial one coinciding with the growing importance of the tourism industry on Vancouver Island.³⁰

The lobby for, and subsequent creation of, Strathcona Park demonstrates the imposition of elite Anglo ideas of "park" on the landscape and on the Native cultures which had traditionally used the land. The first demand for a provincial park came from the Kaslo Board of Trade which called for the government "to acquire a hundred thousand acres of East Kootenay pine lands for a public park." In 1905, the Victoria Board of Trade endorsed a resolution of the Central Farmers' Institute, and asked Premier Richard McBride to reserve "a tract of forest as a National Park to the end that at least a remnant of

²⁹ BCARS, GR 271, Box 1, file 13, p. 1, 3 & 6. See Minister of Lands, undated speech on the 2nd reading of the Forest Bill; BCARS, GR 271, Box 1, file 20, Testimony of R.H. Chapman of the Geographical Survey, Ottawa, May 30, 1910. Chapman advised the Commissioners to reserve land in the East Kootenay area for a National Park to abut one in the U.S. Timber extraction would be regulated. The reserve would allow a migration corridor for game. See also *Final Report of the Royal Commission on Timber and Forestry 1909-10*. The Natural History Society also wrote to the Commission regarding reforestation not park reservation. See Natural History Society Minutes October 18, 1909; "Annual Report of the Minister of Lands for Year Ending 1913," British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers, 1914*, D 51; Stephen Gray, "Forest Policy and Administration in British Columbia," 26-30, 187 & 191.

³⁰ As Leslie Bella notes, tourism was an alternative use for the land and it accomplished the preservationist's goals of reserving the land from industrial use. Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 1; and "Strathcona Park and Tourist Traffic," *Colonist*, January 13, 1915.

our original forest may be preserved for posterity." The Board did not mention tourism only forest preservation.³¹

Two years later the Provincial Game Warden suggested setting aside land for a game reserve since finding "suitable spots" would soon be "extremely difficult." In fact, by the end of that year, provincial government records indicate 311,765.5 hectares of provincial timber land were under lease with another 1,036,032 hectares under license. However, it was later reported that 3,642,300 hectares were held under license. Concerned that the number of issued licenses compromised the public interest in preserving public land, the government withdrew "all unalienated timber lands from all forms of alienation." In 1908, the North American Fish and Game Protective Association called for a game reserve between Elk and Bull Rivers in the Kootenays. F.J. Fulton, the Chief Commissioner of Lands stated that the Game Warden would be making "a personal examination and ascertaining whether such reserve would be desirable." The Game Warden later regretted that reserves had not been set aside in the Kootenays and on Vancouver Island, and suggested that a reserve in the Kootenays would attract tourists.³²

³¹ The members of the petitioning organizations were predominantly white Anglo males and members of the Legislature were all males. A survey of the minutes of the organizations shows that only the Natural History Society had women members, and their numbers were few. See BCARS, Natural History Society Minutes, August 23, 1909 and October 4, 1909 and minutes for 1909 & 1910. See also VCA, Victoria Board of Trade Minutes 1909 & 1910. Aside from one reference in the Victoria Board of Trade minutes showing that the organization had created the Vancouver Island Development Group, I have not found any minutes or records relating to the Development Group. In 1911, 67.8% of British Columbia's population was of British ethnic origin, and 70% of the province's non-native population was male. Women were not enfranchised until 1917 and the first women legislator was not elected until 1918; therefore, in 1910 there were 42 white male legislators in the Provincial Legislature. See Jean Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 363, 369, 230, 357; and "Kootenay Lands for Public Park," *Province*, February 13, 1903; and BCARS, GR 441, v. 25, letter #981, F. Elworthy, Secretary, the Victoria, British Columbia Board of Trade to Premier Richard McBride, March 16, 1905. There are many references to the creation of a national park in correspondence to the provincial government. It seems that in the early 19th century "national" meant government-created not necessarily federally created. This used changed in the late 1920s.

³² British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers, 1907*, "Game Warden's Report"; British Columbia, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1907*, 67. The *Journal* states that 770,362 acres were under lease with another 2,560,000 acres under license. The total timber land (excluding Dominion land in the province) deemed "productive" in 1913 was 12,308,578 hectares (30,414,080 acres). Therefore, using that figure, approximately 11% of crown timber land was committed to timber interests. See also Robert E. Cail, *Land, Man and the Law* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974) 274; "Royal Commission on Timber and Forestry," D16, as quoted in Cail, *Land, Man, and the Law*, 103 & 104; BCARS, GR 441, v. 31, F.J. Fulton, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works to the Premier, February 27, 1908; and British Columbia, Legislative Assembly,

In March 1908 the provincial government passed "An Act to Provide for the Maintenance of Provincial Parks" which allowed it to reserve land for park purposes and appoint trustees "of any such public park or pleasure-ground for the recreation and enjoyment of the public" but it did not reserve specific parcels of park land. The Act protected animals, birds, and fish within park boundaries; however, humans would be the primary users of provincial parks. It is also important to emphasize that the park boundaries were human made and not natural - something that animals, birds and fish did not recognize. Park trustees were authorized to transform nature by leasing, granting, or conveying the land as well as by erecting fences, walls, and buildings, planting shrubs, and building roads and sidewalks, "in such a manner as may be most convenient and suitable for the enjoyment and recreation of the public." There is no suggestion that the reserved park land could be used for industrial purposes.³³

Following the passage of the Parks Act members of the Natural History Society, the Victoria Board of Trade and Vancouver Island Development Group, began to lobby for a provincial park on Vancouver Island. Between 1908 and 1914 members of the Natural History Society were concerned with creating a park and collecting plants, animals, and birds. In addition, they actively lobbied to create parks in the city of Victoria, and discussed native and non-native plants, Indian and other artifacts, and the maintenance of the native plant garden in Beacon Hill Park. According to the Society's Constitution, amended in December 1909, its objectives were "to promote the study of the natural sciences and historical research, ...the collection of all available data in connection therewith, to act as an independent auxiliary to the Provincial Museum, Department of Agriculture, Department of Mines, and Library of the Legislative Assembly."³⁴

Sessional Papers, 1908. "Game Warden's Report" attached to the Report of the Provincial Game and Forest Warden.

³³ "An Act to Provide for the Maintenance of Provincial Parks," Assent received March 7, 1908, *Revised Statutes of British Columbia*, v. 3, 1911.

³⁴ BCARS, Add MSS 284, Natural History Society of BC Minutes, 1908-1914. See minutes dated April 27, 1908, May 11, 1908, December 21, 1908, January 4, 1909, July 11, 1910, & July 21, 1910, and December 13, 1909.

They were primarily men of British origin who allowed "ladies" to join as "ordinary members" provided they paid "the same entrance fees and dues." At that time the entrance fee was \$2.50 with an annual subscription of \$2.00. Among the influential members of the Victoria community with political and business connections who belonged were Francis Kermodé, the curator of the Provincial Museum, and Arthur W. McCurdy, an inventor and scientist, who was also a member of the Victoria, British Columbia Board of Trade. There were other links between the Society and the Board of Trade. For example, Chartres Pemberton, a lawyer and botanist was a member of the Society. His cousin, Frederick B. Pemberton, who was in the real estate and insurance business and a horticulturalist, was a member of the Victoria Board of Trade although not a member of the Society. Arthur Crease, a prominent lawyer, was a member of the Society and most likely a member of the Board of Trade.³⁵

In January 1909 Henry Pullen of the Natural History Society suggested establishing a game sanctuary on Vancouver Island. The following month the Society asked the Provincial government to "set aside a tract of Forest land on Vancouver Island as a Reserve or Sanctuary for our Wild Creatures." In forwarding the Resolution to the Chief Commissioner of Lands, the Society suggested that in selecting the reserve, "due regard should be given to the Conservation of the most important water sheds." When W.J. Sutton, a geologist for the E & N Railway, expressed concern about "destructive" logging practices and the scarcity of game, and suggested the Society "put itself on record" regarding reforestation "so that it might come before the Forestry Commission," the Society appointed him "to prepare a paper on the subject for submission to the Forestry Commission."³⁶

³⁵ BCARS, Add MSS 284, Natural History Society Minutes 1908 & 1909. In particular see December 13, 1909. The first woman to join the Society appears to have been Miss Tuck who was elected as a member August 23, 1909. The Society had considered Miss Laugher in March 1909 but apparently she was unable or unwilling to pay the fees associated with joining the Society. (See Minutes Mar. 29, 1909 & June 14, 1909); BCARS, Vertical Files, See Reel #110, files 282, 309 and Reel #34, file 2696.

³⁶ Natural History Society Minutes, January 4, 1909, February 19, 1909, March 3, 1909, September 20, 1909 and October 18, 1909.

In January 1910 Sutton presented a paper on the "Forest Health of the Province" which emphasized "the necessity of forest preservation and the reforestation of areas which have been denuded of trees and other areas now treeless." When Mr. Dennison suggested forwarding the paper to the Royal Commission, J.R. Anderson argued that the report was "an individual expression" that did not represent the views of all members of the Society. Anderson disagreed with Sutton's views on reforestation. He said that "his experience during the last 50 years in the forests of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia convinced him that the proper regulation of logging operations and the subjugation of fines entirely met the question."

However, when J.C. Bridgman suggested preserving the forest area around Cameron Lake as a "perpetual reserve" because of the presence of specimens unique to the primeval forest, Anderson recalled how he had brought the matter to the government's attention ten years before, and "had since never lost an opportunity of urging it upon the Provincial and Dominion Governments." He said that he had approached the CPR about reserving some of the land acquired from the E & N Railway, and had drawn out a map of an area ten miles square near Cameron Lake which contained the forest, mountain streams, and lakes. However, it is unclear whether or not Anderson thought logging could take place in those reserves.³⁷

In any case, the Society endorsed the idea of reserving land at Cameron Lake and sent a resolution to the Boards of Trade, the Branch Development Leagues on Vancouver Island, and to the E & N Railway Company. Members also struck a committee of Messrs. Dennison, Anderson, Pemberton, Bridgman, and Wallace to seek the cooperation of other Boards of Trade of Vancouver Island, the Vancouver Board of Trade, and "other public bodies." They sought to establish "a large and influential delegation to lay the question before the Government so that a movement might be made toward reacquiring the

³⁶ Natural History Society Minutes, February 10, 1910, February 21, 1910.

³⁷ Natural History Society Minutes, March 30, 1910 & April 4, 1910; and Victoria City Archives.

alienated rights." Their cooperation indicates the presence of conservation ideas among the members of these organizations.³⁸

The committee met representatives of the Victoria Board of Trade. A.W. McCurdy, president of the Natural History Society, was also an Executive member of the Victoria Board of Trade. At their meeting on March 4, 1910, members of the Board endorsed the Society's resolution; however, there seemed to be a delay in notifying the Society of the Board's intentions.³⁹

The resolution sent by the Natural History Society to the Vancouver Island Development League, an association created by the Victoria Board of Trade to represent "all the business communities throughout the Island," indicates that their idea of park focused on the need to preserve forests and streams but also recognized the park's tourism potential. In fact, the Board had actively promoted tourism, along with the Tourist Development Association, in Victoria, since 1901. By 1910 the Canadian Pacific Steamship line carried passengers between Washington State, Vancouver, and Victoria; the Empress hotel was completed; and Butchart Gardens opened to visitors, but the actual commodification of scenery by tourism and park advocates was only beginning. These organizations recognized that scenery could be marketed to attract visitors, but did not yet refer to it as an "asset." The Resolution read:

Whereas The supplies of wood in their natural state; inexhaustible as they appear in this province; are rapidly being exhausted and -

Whereas We have a grand heritage in our noble forest probably unequalled in magnificence and extent, in many parts of the world, it behooves us now; before it is too late; ere the devastating fire, or the insatiable lumberman have destroyed its pristine beauty to use every effort to induce the proper authorities to make such provisions as will insure to ourselves and to those who come after use; at least a remnant of our grand old forests. The alienation of the forests [], if not the principal source of our wealth; without due provision against waste and destruction, is certainly not in conformity with the recognised principles governing the

³⁸ Natural History Society Minutes, February 10, 1910, February 21, 1910.

³⁹ Natural History Society Minutes, March 30, 1910 & April 4, 1910; and Victoria City Archives (VCA), 32B3-8, vol. 3, Victoria Board of Trade Minutes, March 4, 1910.

conservation of forests so well ascertained by long years of experience in the older countries and even in the older portions of Canada and the United States.

And Whereas Within easy reach by waggon road and soon by rail is the magnificent primeval forest surrounding Cameron Lake, unsurpassed for beauty and streams, lakes and mountains within an area of five to ten miles square; from Mt. Arrowsmith alone a panoramic view is to be obtained of the Northern and Southern ranges of the Island, of Alberni, Barkley Sound, the Pacific Ocean, the Straits, the Gulf of Georgia, Nanaimo, Vancouver, Comox, etc. unequalled in any other accessible part of the province, the whole lending themselves in the highest degree as an ideal forest and plant reserve, a game sanctuary and tourist resort.

Be it therefore resolved That in the opinion of the Natural History Society of British Columbia the preservation of the area in question is of paramount importance not only to Vancouver Island but to the whole province and to Canada at large and the cooperation of the Vancouver Island Development League is therefore asked to use its best endeavours to induce the powers that be to take such steps as will result in the reacquirement of all alienated rights within said area with a view to the formation of a forest reserve and game sanctuary.⁴⁰

In the covering letter to the Development League, the Natural History Society noted that the object of the reservation was to create a "national" park. By national, they meant publicly owned as they limited their lobby to the provincial government.⁴¹

The three groups - the Natural History Society, the Victoria Board of Trade and the Development Group - formed a committee and presented a petition to the provincial government. In addition, the Alberni Board of Trade asked the government to reserve the area near Cameron Lake as a park.⁴²

Unfortunately for park proponents, much of the land near Cameron Lake contained "some of the finest Fir timber in British Columbia." The Victoria Timber and Trading

⁴⁰ BCARS, microfilm 423A, B.C. Board of Trade *Annual Report 1909-10*, October 1909, 15, 52 & 53. Records of the Development League could not be located. The minutes of the Natural History Society, the Victoria Board of Trade and the newspapers, however, indicate the League's responses to the proposal; Kenneth Lines, "A Bit of Old England: The Selling of Tourist Victoria," M.A. Thesis (University of Victoria, 1972) 26-41; and BCARS, Add MSS 284, Natural History Society Minutes, April 4, 1910.

⁴¹ A *Colonist* article even referred to the park as "a magnificent provincial national park." See "Designed to be Provincial Park," *Colonist*, June 1, 1910.

⁴² BCARS, Add MSS 284, Natural History Society Minutes, April 18, 1910 & April 20, 1910; "National Park on the Island," *Colonist*, April 21, 1910. A copy of the petition could not be found in any of the group's minutes, *Sessional Papers*, or in the premier's papers so I am unable to determine if the contents differed significantly from the Resolution; and BCARS, GR 441, v. 37, E.B. McKay, Surveyor General to Price Ellison, Chief Commissioner of Lands, May 11, 1910 and enclosing letter from Alberni Board of Trade.

Company either owned the land or leased it from the province and both the Surveyor-General and the Chief Commissioner of Lands estimated it would be expensive to purchase the company's rights. However, the government did recommend reserving the area near Buttle Lake for a park. On May 31, 1910 the government passed an Order in Council reserving "the unalienated and unoccupied land in the vicinity of Buttle's Lake, with a view of later on setting it apart as a Provincial Park." There were, however, 24 timber leases around Buttle Lake and elsewhere in the proposed park. (See Figure 3) In addition, the northern end of Buttle Lake remained outside of the reserved area, in the E & N Railway Belt. W.J. Sutton, a member of the Natural History Society, personally wrote to McBride suggesting that the government acquire the northern end of Buttle Lake from the E & N. He noted that the area had "very little commercial value being rugged and mountainous."⁴³ According to a journal of the trip, one member of the expedition noted that the Buttle Lake region "more than successfully rivals the Lake of the Clouds, Emerald Lake and Lake Louise" and the area would "constitute a magnificent provincial national park for the people of British Columbia, quickly and easily accessible from the chief centres of population upon the completion...of already projected transportation facilities." The lake was "especially distinguished for the magnificence and variety of its scenic delights, mountains - perpetually snow crowned - rising from its dense blue waters to a height of from seven to eight thousand feet, while charming waterfalls, majestic glaciers and fairy-like islands afford alluring contrasts."⁴⁴ Following the government's announcement, members of the petitioning groups and the press, had contradictory ideas of the role of the new park. However, all agreed it was for public recreation; they did not address the possibility of resource extraction in the park. Members of the Victoria Board of Trade were unclear if the park was meant as a game

⁴³ BCARS, GR 441, v. 37, McKay to Ellison, May 11, 1910; Price Ellison to Premier Richard McBride, May 31, 1910; and McBride to James Motion of the Alberni Board of Trade, June 1, 1910; BCARS, Map s.616.9 bj6791, 1910, showing "Government Reserve for National Park, 348 Square Miles Should E & N Contribute 1/4th or 84 Square Miles" dated June 5, 1910; and BCARS, GR 441, v. 39, W.J. Sutton to Premier Richard McBride, June 3, 1910.

⁴⁴ "Designed to be Provincial Park," *Colonist*, June 1, 1910.

reserve or not. McCurdy suggested the government install fish ladders so Buttle Lake could become a spawning ground, and suggested that McBride intended to protect fish and game in the park. M.B. Jackson responded that "the government's intentions in connection with the reserve were not very clear" and he inquired what the public's "privileges" would be. H.A. Munn noted the need for trails especially between lakes to make portaging easier. E. McCaffey of the Development League said the League supported the reserve as "a game sanctuary, where only vermin and wild beasts would be destroyed." His wild beasts were predators native to the area. Another member of the League suggested prohibiting hunting and fishing in the reserve.⁴⁵

About one month after the government's announcement, the Chief Commissioner of Lands, Price Ellison, and a party of 23 people including his daughter, Myra Ellison, left Victoria for the Buttle Lake region. According to a journal of the trip, one member of the expedition, William Bolton, had told Ellison about a previous trip through the area, and had aroused Ellison's "interest in the Buttle's Lake region as a desirable National Park." The party left Victoria on July 5, 1910. Ellison's mission was to assess the area and suggest ways of transforming the natural area to a park. In a report recalling Enlightenment ideas of transforming and controlling nature, the *Nanaimo Free Press* indicated that Ellison's party was to examine the area "to comprehend in its grandeur what the park should be when generous nature has been supplemented by intellectually directed human aid in the conversion of the natural park of which Buttle Lake is the central feature into one of the world's very greatest rest and recreation centres." The reporter expected the area to be transformed into an "incomparable pleasure ground." Members of the petitioning groups

Figure 3 "Government Reserve for National Park, 348 square miles should E & N contribute 1/4th or 84 square miles, to total would approximate 430 square miles. Buttle Lake about 20 miles long of which 5 miles lies within the E & N grant; suggest that E & N contribute 84 square miles." Map shows timber licenses held around Buttle Lake and in other parts of the proposed park.

From:
BCARS, microfilm CM A926, "Government Reserve for National Park," 1910.

⁴⁵ "Endorses Idea of Provincial Park," *Colonist*, June 10, 1910; see also Natural History Society Minutes, June 13, 1910; and BCARS, GR 441, v. 37, Victoria Board of Trade to McBride, June 23, 1910.

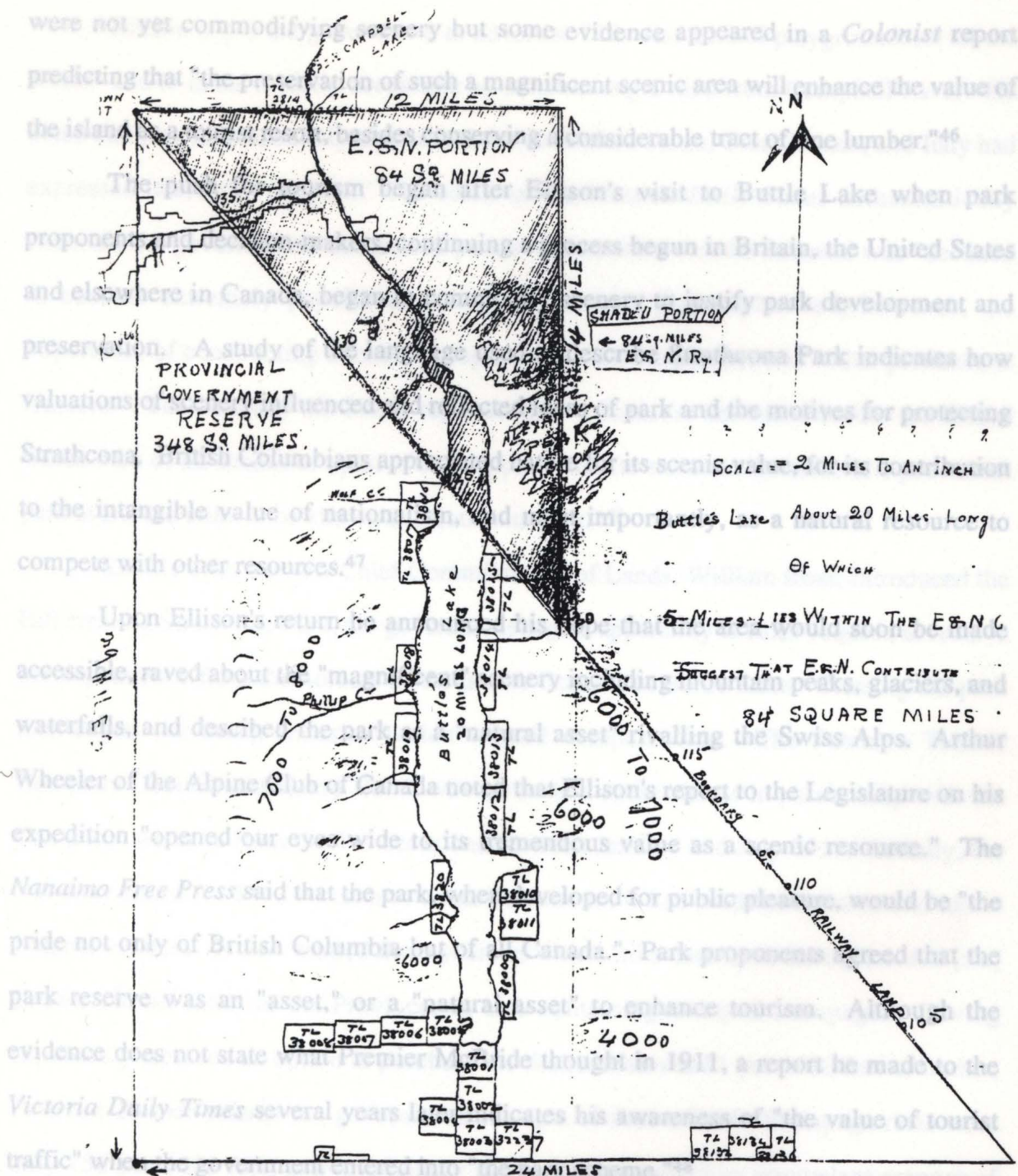


Figure 3 "Government Reserve for National Park, 348 square miles should E & N contribute 1/4th or 84 square miles, to total would approximate 430 square miles. Buttle Lake about 20 miles long of which 5 miles lies within the E & N grant; suggest that E & N contribute 84 square miles." Map shows timber licenses held around Buttle Lake and in other parts of the proposed park.

46 BCARS, Add MSS "Lake Region," 23; "Expedition to Buttle Lake," 23; "Provincial Park Decision Laided," *Colonist*, June 2, 1910; and BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 39, W.J. Sutton to Premier Richard McBride, June 3, 1910.
 47 "Designed to be Provincial Park," *Colonist*, June 1, 1910; and BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 39, W.J. Sutton to Premier Richard McBride, June 3, 1910.
 48 "Immense Asset to the Province," *Colonist*, August 14, 1910; Arthur G. Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada in Strathcona Park," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, v. 5, 1913 (Winnipeg: Stovel Co., 1913) 91; "Expedition to Buttle Lake," *Free Press*, July 4, 1910; "Provincial Park Decision Laided," *Colonist*, June 2, 1910; "Immense Asset to the Province," *Colonist*, August 14, 1910; "No Money to Spend on Strathcona Park," *Victoria Daily Times*, November 19, 1915.

were not yet commodifying scenery but some evidence appeared in a *Colonist* report predicting that "the preservation of such a magnificent scenic area will enhance the value of the island as a tourist resort, besides conserving a considerable tract of fine lumber."⁴⁶

The push for tourism began after Ellison's visit to Buttle Lake when park proponents and decision-makers, continuing a process begun in Britain, the United States and elsewhere in Canada, began to commodify scenery to justify park development and preservation. A study of the language used to describe Strathcona Park indicates how valuations of scenery influenced and reflected ideas of park and the motives for protecting Strathcona. British Columbians appreciated nature for its scenic value, for its contribution to the intangible value of nationalism, and most importantly, as a natural resource to compete with other resources.⁴⁷

Upon Ellison's return he announced his hope that the area would soon be made accessible, raved about the "magnificent" scenery including mountain peaks, glaciers, and waterfalls, and described the park as a "natural asset" rivalling the Swiss Alps. Arthur Wheeler of the Alpine Club of Canada noted that Ellison's report to the Legislature on his expedition "opened our eyes wide to its tremendous value as a scenic resource." The *Nanaimo Free Press* said that the park, when developed for public pleasure, would be "the pride not only of British Columbia but of all Canada." Park proponents agreed that the park reserve was an "asset," or a "natural asset" to enhance tourism. Although the evidence does not state what Premier McBride thought in 1911, a report he made to the *Victoria Daily Times* several years later indicates his awareness of "the value of tourist traffic" when the government entered into "the park scheme."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ BCARS, Add MSS 249, v. 1, folder 35, Johnson, "Journal of B.C. Exploratory Trip into the Buttle's Lake Region," 23; "Expedition to Buttle's Lake," *Nanaimo Free Press*, July 4, 1910; "Provincial Park Decision Lauded," *Colonist*, June 2, 1910.

⁴⁷ "Designed to be Provincial Park," *Colonist*, June 1, 1910; and BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 39, W.J. Sutton to Premier Richard McBride, June 3, 1910.

⁴⁸ "Immense Asset to the Province," *Colonist*, August 14, 1910; Arthur O. Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada in Strathcona Park," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, v. 5, 1913 (Winnipeg: Stovel Co., 1913) 91; "Expedition to Buttle's Lake," *Free Press*, July 4, 1910; "Provincial Park Decision Lauded," *Colonist*, June 2, 1910; "Immense Asset to the Province," *Colonist*, August 14, 1910; "No Money to Spend on Strathcona Park," *Victoria Daily Times*, November 19, 1915.

Ellison urged the government to advertise "this vast natural playground...to all the world" and to make it easily accessible by constructing a road from Campbell River. He noted that people, particularly alpinists, from the United States, Great Britain, and Italy had expressed interest in the park. The editor of the *Victoria Daily Times* enthusiastically endorsed the government's decision to preserve the park which he believed was "destined to become extremely popular as a holiday resort." He emphasized, however, the importance of constructing a road so people could visit the glaciers and "other picturesque features." The next day the *Times* reported that "a measure has come before the House which men of all shades of opinion can support, that for the establishment of a provincial park at Buttles Lake to be known as Strathcona park."⁴⁹

Shortly after the new Chief Commissioner of Lands, William Ross, introduced the Bill creating Strathcona Park, the government began, apparently at Ross' request, to receive correspondence from the holders of the timber licenses at Buttle Lake. Creating the park challenged the forest industry which wanted compensation. The Paterson Timber Company Limited and Henry Hemlow, who owned some claims in partnership with the Company, wrote to Ross on five occasions between January and July 1911. Initially, the company asked for \$40,000 cash to cover the amount it had paid for licenses and to the original vendors. It also wanted three years in which "to select from the inalienated [sic] Crown Timber lands of the Province, an area containing an equal stumpage." Having supposedly received an option to purchase the timber leases at \$1 per 1000 feet of timber, Paterson Timber offered the government the right of first refusal. Stumpage rates were only 75¢ per 1000 feet, and presumably the company wanted an equivalent amount of timber based on the \$1 rate. Therefore it would acquire more timber, not an equivalent amount, in the proposed exchange.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ "Buttles Lake Park Reserve," *Colonist*, January 27, 1911; "Road to Strathcona Park," *Times*, Editorial, January 26, 1911; "All Approve of New Playground," *Times*, January 27, 1911.
⁵⁰ The Bill was introduced on January 23, 1911. See "Defines Limits of Province's Park," *Colonist*, January 24, 1911; GR 991, Recreation & Conservation, Closed Park History Files, Paterson Timber Co. Ltd. to William Ross, Chief Commissioner of Lands, January 24, 1911. According to this letter, Ross spoke with a representative of the company on January 23rd and requested the company make a

Apparently Ross did not respond to Paterson Timber's letter. Having heard a rumour about the potential restrictions the government could place on the timber at Buttle Lake, the company again wrote on February 21st. This time they requested an equivalent amount of timber for the \$42,000 spent to date, which at 1000 board feet for every dollar, amounted to 42,000,000 board feet of timber. They estimated that there was 384,000,000 feet in their existing leases. Therefore, they wanted a total timber exchange equivalent to 426,000,000 feet. If the government refused, Paterson Timber wanted Ross to let them cut on the existing, and not a special, lease regardless of the park. In April, Hemlow suggested swapping 20 timber claims within the Park for 25 claims selected by Paterson Timber and himself.⁵¹

In July, Paterson Timber notified the government that it would conduct land surveys and timber cruises and sought assurance that the timber licenses would be made in perpetuity and renewed. Government records do not include replies to these letters but a government timber cruiser noted that "extensive river improvements will be necessary in order to drive the logs from Buttle Lake to the outlet of Lower Campbell Lake." It was not likely in the government's interest to purchase the timber at that time as the river between the two lakes was obstructed by rocks and drift logs and the government estimated it would cost a forest company \$6 - \$7 per 1000 feet of timber to cut and float the logs into tidal waters.⁵²

In the latter half of 1911, Paterson Timber sold its timber rights to the Vancouver Timber and Trading Company headed by Alvo von Alvensleben, a friend of Premier Richard McBride. In December 1911, von Alvensleben said that "the Government does

proposal to the government; BCARS, GR 1991, Paterson Timber to Ross, January 24, 1911 & February 4, 1911; Stephen Gray, "Forest Policy and Administration in British Columbia, 1912-1928," M.A. Thesis (Vancouver: Simon Fraser University, 1977) 19.

⁵¹ For the purposes of discussing stumps and timber values, I am using the Imperial system of measure, as historically this is the method the government used for timber calculations - it cannot be comparably converted to metric. BCARS, GR 1991, Paterson Timber to Ross, February 21, 1911, and Harry Hemlow to Ross, April 4, 1911.

⁵² BCARS, GR 1991, Paterson Timber to Ross, July 5, 1911, and Report by C.L. McCammon[?] to Ross re timber cruise at Buttle Lake, July 12, 1911. McCammon appears to be either a government employee or someone hired to cruise the area.

not want any logging operations to be carried on on the banks of this lake [Buttle], as such work would no doubt injure the Park's attractiveness both while in progress and in the future." He did not say anything about logging elsewhere in the park but requested an exchange of timber. He suggested the Company select several small areas equivalent to only 8/10 of the size of the claims in the Park since the smaller areas contained more timber than an equivalent area of the Park. Therefore, he would receive an equivalent amount of timber. In addition, von Alvensleben reminded the Premier that the company expected to be reimbursed for money spent on "locating the old licenses in Buttle's Lake," in taxes and license fees, and the cost of locating the new timber.⁵³

While timber companies attempted to negotiate with Ross, the provincial government passed the Strathcona Park Act in March 1911, naming the park after Ross' former guardian, Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Reflecting the wording of the 1887 Rocky Mountain Park Act, the Strathcona Park Act created "a public park and pleasure-ground for the benefit, advantage, and enjoyment of the people of British Columbia," allowed for the construction of park buildings, the "care, preservation, and management of the park," the protection of fish, game and birds, and the prohibition of trespassers. Despite the promise of parks for the people, Section 6 of the Act allowed holders of timber leases and mining claims to maintain, but not necessarily exercise, those rights. In effect, the clause created a contradiction which gave future governments the opportunity to change the primary use of the park. There is no evidence to suggest why the government included the clause. The Rocky Mountain Park Act dealt explicitly with mining but it does not contain an equivalent clause to section 6 of the Strathcona Park Act. There was no indication that park proponents realized its potential;

⁵⁴ Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, was the guardian of William Ross, when Ross was orphaned at age 9. See Peter Gillis and Thomas Roach, *Lost Initiatives*, 142-143; "An Act Respecting Strathcona Park," *Statutes of British Columbia, 1911*, 331-332. The Rocky Mountain Park Act (later Banff National Park) created "a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada." See Kevin McNamee, "From Wild Places to Endangered Spaces," 20; and "Rocky Mountain Park Act, 1887," *Statutes of Canada, 1887*.

⁵³ BCARS, GR 1991, file 443/11, Alvo von Alvensleben to McBride, December 22, 1911; and GR 441, v. 60, McBride to von Alvensleben, September 15, 1914. See also von Alvensleben to McBride, September 4, 1914 and October 21, 1914.

however, the contradiction in the Strathcona Act would parallel the contradictory ideas of park use held by the public in the 1920s.⁵⁴ Tourists soon traveled to the area. Their accounts indicate an acceptance of controlled logging in the park as long as parks were primarily for human pleasure. Frederick Longstaff, a member of the Alpine Club from Victoria, went to Strathcona Park via Upper Campbell Lake to Buttle Lake, returning overland to Great Central Lake and Alberni. He noted the presence of beaver and elk between Upper Campbell and Buttle Lakes and was awed by the enormity of the cedar and fir trees. Describing his entry into the park, he stated: "The valley narrows until the contracting walls of rock form a natural portal to the northern entrance of the park, and a rocky promontory provides a look out point embracing the Elk Valley." Between Buttle and Great Central lakes he observed bear and grouse. Despite his admiration for the scenery and the wildlife, Longstaff's idea of park and wildlife suggested his desire to transform nature. For example, he noted that depleted elk herds should be preserved by exterminating the cougars. In addition he suggested extending the "park domains" to include a waterway approach, and meadows for wintering big game. He also proposed altering the landscape by establishing a market garden area and an experimental farm, constructing a chalet, and building trails for "quick access" to mountain peaks. Longstaff did not preclude timber extraction from the park but noted that any extraction would have to be done under supervision and the logged area reforested "with deciduous varieties."⁵⁵

In 1913 the Alpine Club of Canada visited Strathcona Park and the *Canadian Alpine Journal* for that year contains numerous accounts of the trek. The Alpine Club was

⁵⁴ Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, was the guardian of William Ross, when Ross was orphaned at age 9. See Peter Gillis and Thomas Roach, *Lost Initiatives*, 142-143; "An Act Respecting Strathcona Park," *Statutes of British Columbia, 1911*, 331-332. The Rocky Mountain Park Act (later Banff National Park) created "a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada." See Kevin McNamee, "From Wild Places to Endangered Spaces," 20; and "Rocky Mountain Park Act, 1887," *Statutes of Canada, 1887*.

⁵⁵ Longstaff was an architectural draughtsman, educated at Eton and Cambridge. He was a member of the Alpine Club of Canada, and after 1925 a member of the National Parks Association. See BCARS Add MSS 677 - index to Frederick Longstaff papers, and v. 400, file 239, Frederick Longstaff papers, "Strathcona Park," 1-6.

not involved in the lobby to create the park but its president, Arthur Wheeler of Sidney, British Columbia, had joined the Natural History Society in March 1911. Wheeler described Strathcona as "one of the most delightful scenic parks of the entire Dominion." His observations demonstrate that his idea of park included the transformation of nature:

The park abounds in all the attributes of Nature in its primeval condition: Giant forests; sunlit lakes miles in extent, bounded by bold rock shapes and overshadowed by snowy peaks reflected in their placid waters; rushing torrents of deep pools...the whole awaiting only access by well-built roads and pony trails for the many thousands to whom the fearful grind of modern civilization renders such opportunities a vital necessity.⁵⁶

Wheeler pictured summer homes "of wanderers from the cities of Vancouver Island and elsewhere," and suggested alpiners would want good pony trails and walking trails through the forests to reach the mountains quickly - alpinists did not want to linger in the forests. He also favoured clearing the Cedar flat, an area a few miles northeast of the Park boundaries, to facilitate travel and as a holding ground for the elk, deer, and buffalo which would eventually be placed within the park. In arguing for public accessibility, Wheeler did not seem to be aware that these transformations would alter the areas he perceived as "gloriously wild."⁵⁷

Wheeler's observations of the alterations already made to the landscape and what he accepted as future alterations help indicate how the land at the park looked in 1913. Wheeler observed that transportation to the park was both difficult and costly; his group had applied, and received government assistance to make the trip. Although the trip was still difficult, Wheeler said that it was significantly easier than when Ellison visited. By 1913 there were good pony trails, motor launches on the lakes, and excellent trails. Passage had been cut through blown over trees.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Natural History Society Minutes, March 6, 1911 and March 20, 1911. Wheeler was nominated by A.W. McCurdy of both the Society and the Victoria Board of Trade; Arthur Wheeler, "The Alpine Club of Canada in Strathcona Park," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, v. 5, 1913 (Winnipeg: Stovel Co., 1913) 82-83.

⁵⁷ Wheeler, "Alpine Club...in Strathcona Park," 82, 84, 85, 91.

⁵⁸ Wheeler, "Alpine Club...in Strathcona Park," 82-85.

The dichotomy between use and preservation appears in another article documenting the Alpine Club's trip to Strathcona Park, written by W.W. Foster, a member of the Club, a member of the provincial legislature, and former Deputy Minister of Public Works.⁵⁹ Demonstrating his idea of park he wrote:

In the development of the Park, two points must necessarily receive equal consideration, ie, giving the public the best possible opportunity to take advantage of their domain as soon as expedient, and its preservation to prosperity as a heritage unspoiled by too great an interference with the original gift of Nature.⁶⁰

Like national park preservationists, Foster did not see the apparent incompatibility between public use and the preservation of natural areas. Foster, like Longstaff, did not preclude logging in the park, but argued for "reafforestation of timber areas cut or to be cut."⁶¹

After the Park's creation, the redefinition and modification of the land continued. The government had not considered geological features in defining park boundaries but located the park on supposedly unalienated (not privately owned or publicly leased) land west of the E & N Railway Belt. Part of Buttle Lake remained outside Strathcona Park in the railway belt. In January 1912, the members of the Development League endorsed the government's decision to create the Park "for all time" but suggested negotiations between the E & N Railway Company, "other owners," and the government to ensure inclusion of all the land around Buttle Lake in the Park. The president of the Victoria Board of Trade thought it "desirable that the boundaries of Strathcona Park should be further extended." However, it is unclear if that included Buttle Lake. In February 1913, when he announced the creation of the second provincial park, Mount Robson, William Ross extended the north and west boundaries of Strathcona Park. (See Figure 1) The new boundaries were intended to incorporate "features of exceptional interest or of special scenic charm, and also

⁶² BCARS, GR 441, v. 44, letter #125, Ernest McGaffey, Secretary of the Vancouver Island Development League to Premier McBride, January 25, 1912; VCA, 32B3-8, v. 3, 330, Victoria, British Columbia Board of Trade Minutes, September 5, 1912; "Nature's Beauty to be Conserved,"

⁵⁹ BCARS, GR 441, v. 49, letter 17, Arthur Wheeler, Alpine Club of Canada, to Premier McBride, June 14, 1913, requesting Foster as the province's official representative at the ACC's summer camps at Lake O'Hara and Mt. Robson; William Ross, "National Parks," *Canadian Alpine Journal* 1914, p. 167; Canadian Parliamentary Guide, Ed. E.J. Chambers (Ottawa: 1916) p. 408. Foster was elected as a Conservative by-election in December 1914 but was defeated in 1916.

⁶⁰ Foster, "Strathcona Park," 99, on Vancouver Island: Strathcona Park, *British Columbia Magazine*,

⁶¹ Foster, "Strathcona Park," 99.

to control the natural and impressive entry portals." Despite this expansion, the north end of Buttle Lake remained outside the park. A report in the *Daily Colonist* suggested that "prospecting and exploration" had continued in the park since its inception, although the amount and nature of such work is unclear. Indeed, the report speculated that once the park development program was completed, parts of the park could be "released for private utilization." Again, it is unclear what is meant by private utilization; the report did not specify if that meant tourism, industrial extraction, or something else.⁶²

In addition to supervising the physical establishment of the Park's boundaries, engineer Reginald Thomson, an American hired to develop access into the park, supervised surveying and road building, and initiated the planting of non-native plant species around the park entrance. The province had spent over \$100,000 in the summer of 1913 on "topographic surveys, contouring and trail making, including provision for immediate access at the north end." Thomson, who was committed to his task, wrote about the park in glowing terms. His idea of park, like Longstaff's, included the transformation of nature by developing roads and trails in order to access family camps, summer homes, and children's playgrounds so close to "mountains that [they] may be touched." He noted that Strathcona was difficult to access but he suggested that "every effort is being made to subdue the wilds so as to render several portions accessible and usable by 1915." He added that he was trying to "preserve all curiosities and to develop animal life." It was also important to Thomson that animals and birds become "less shy, so they will not flee from the presence of man."⁶³

⁶² BCARS, GR 441, v. 44, letter #125, Ernest McGaffey, Secretary of the Vancouver Island Development League to Premier McBride, January 25, 1912; VCA, 32B3-8, v. 3, 330, Victoria, British Columbia Board of Trade Minutes, September 5, 1912; "Nature's Beauty to be Conserved," *Colonist*, February 5, 1913. See also "An Act to Amend the 'Strathcona Park Act 1913,'" *Statutes of British Columbia 1913*, 335.

⁶³ "Baseless Criticism of Strathcona Park," *Colonist*, December 13, 1924; and "Strathcona Park and Tourist Traffic," *Colonist*, January 13, 1915. For a discussion of the planting of non-native species, see Isenor, et al., *Edge of Discovery*, 256; W.W. Foster, "Strathcona Park," 98; BCARS, R.H. Thomson, "The Great Playground on Vancouver Island: Strathcona Park," *British Columbia Magazine*, vol. IX, July 1913, 363-370.

Even though park development continued, by 1913 British Columbia's economy was suffering from an economic depression and railway debts. Perhaps as a result of the depression and perhaps foreseeing a way to recoup some money, the new owner of the Buttle Lake timber leases, Alvo von Alvensleben, again wrote to William Ross in July 1913. Von Alvensleben said that a recent timber cruise showed 477 million feet of merchantable timber which he offered for sale to the government for \$1.50 per thousand feet. Stumpage rates were now \$1.00 per 1000 board feet and von Alvensleben stood to make a healthy profit by selling leased public timber back to the Crown. He suggested that unless the government was willing to purchase the timber it should not interfere with its cutting. Von Alvensleben argued that because the timber leases were within the park and therefore could not be cut, title to them was somewhat unclear. He could neither cut the timber nor find a buyer willing to agree to the special license conditions. He assured the government that logging would not scar the area around Buttle Lake as it would take place over 15 or 20 years, and the company would cut only 30 million feet per year. He suggested this logging would give the government a good idea whether or not logging would adversely affect the beauty of Buttle Lake. He neglected to add that if logging adversely affected Buttle, it would be too late to rectify the problem.⁶⁴

The Surveyor-General questioned the methods used by von Alvensleben's surveyor. In August 1913, the government received notice of intent to apply for special licenses to log the timber at Buttle Lake from four men holding 20 timber licenses in the park.⁶⁵ Presumably von Alvensleben also represented these men. There is no evidence of the government's formal response; however, logging did not take place and the government did not purchase the timber leases.

⁶⁴ Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 200; BCARS, GR 1991, Alvo von Alvensleben, Vancouver Timber and Trading Co. Ltd., to William Ross, Minister of Lands, July 8, 1913; Stephen Gray "Forest Policy and Administration in B.C.," 24.

⁶⁵ BCARS, GR 1991, G.H. Dawson, Surveyor-General to the Minister of Lands, February 10, 1914; & GR 1991, Documents received in draughting office on August 27, 1913.

1915 The First World War, the economic depression, declining revenues, and railway debts curtailed the government's plans to develop Strathcona Park and likely affected any consideration of purchasing the timber leases.⁶⁶ By 1914 the amount allocated to park development was reduced somewhat, and in 1915 was substantially reduced. (See Table I).

Thomson assured the public that Strathcona Park would be easily accessible to tourists by the summer

Table I - Exploration and Development Costs for Strathcona Park

1911-12	10,003.64
1912-13	103,389.83
1913-14	130,828.78
1914-15	96,937.48
1915-16	7,881.60
1916-17	8,800.28
1917-18	751.25

From BCARS, GR 1991, Closed Park History Files, Public Works Department - Exploration and Development Costs for Strathcona Park.

By December 1914 most work had stopped and most men had been laid off. The government came under attack for spending money on the park, which was not perceived as essential. The main complaints, however, were Thomson's \$15,000 per annum salary, purportedly the same as the engineer in charge of building the Panama Canal, and his American citizenship.⁶⁷

During these debates park proponents commodified scenery to justify park preservation and development. In 1914, W.W. Foster addressed the Natural History Society on the development of the travel industry in British Columbia. He said that improved transportation facilities and advertising would guarantee an "immense income" from the overlooked "value of the scenic attraction of [British Columbia's] mountains, valleys and rivers." In reality there were few touring motorists on Vancouver Island in strained financial conditions existing. Instead, McBride promised to issue a pamphlet to

⁶⁶ "Strathcona Park and Tourist Traffic," *Colonist*, January 13, 1915. The report says that Premier McBride intimated "that the prevalence of abnormal conditions, due to the war, might necessitate a revision of the government's programme in this matter."

⁶⁷ "Strathcona Park," editorial, *Times*, January 13, 1915.

1915 but tourism promoters saw the potential market and the "wider distribution of...vacation dollars," and began to plan for motorists.⁶⁸

Engineer Thomson agreed with Foster. He raved about the park's "scenic beauty," a great "asset in respect to scenic attraction." Despite cutbacks to the park infrastructure, Thomson assured the public that Strathcona Park would be easily accessible to tourists by the summer of 1915, but by the summer of 1916, the road reached only from Campbell River to Forbes Landing, well outside the Park boundary, and a trail was opened between the Landing, where the closest hotel existed, to Buttle Lake. There were also a few cabins at Buttle Lake for public use.⁶⁹

The Liberal *Daily Times* launched an attack on the eve of the 1916 election. It alleged that the area around Buttle Lake was either in the E & N Railway Belt or held by timber companies, and not controlled by the people of British Columbia and that timber interests threatened to confiscate the buildings which were on private land.⁷⁰ Although no other evidence suggests the timber interests were going to confiscate the buildings or were concerned with any public construction near Buttle Lake, the issue of ownership of the timber leases at Buttle Lake would resurface in the late 1920s when the Conservative government finally purchased the leases.

The three groups who lobbied for the Park's creation had differing responses to the cutbacks. The Vancouver Island Development Association met with McBride asking for his assurance that the road to Buttle Lake would be opened by the summer of 1916 so they could advertise the Park in railway brochures. Despite their plea that "the tourist business...had become an industry," McBride said "no promise would be given that any money would be provided in the estimates for public work of this character...because of the strained financial conditions existing." Instead, McBride promised to issue a pamphlet to

⁶⁸ William Ross, "National Parks," *Canadian Alpine Journal*, 1914, 167. Ross quotes W.W. Foster's address to the Natural History Society; & Kenneth Lines, "A Bit of Old England," 46.

⁶⁹ "Strathcona Park and Tourist Traffic," *Colonist*, January 13, 1915; & "Strathcona Park Open For Tourists," *Colonist*, June 6, 1916.

⁷⁰ "Large Sum Wasted on Strathcona Park," *Times*, September 8, 1916.

let tourists know the real condition of the Park and its accessibility. The City of Victoria also heard debates over spending public funds for tourism promotion: both taxpayers and businessmen thought the other should pay.⁷¹

By 1915 the Natural History Society was more concerned with its own financial problems than with Strathcona Park. It was having difficulty collecting dues because of the war and its former treasurer had embezzled funds.⁷² Similarly, the Victoria Board of Trade was preoccupied with the economic problem and the effects of the war on troops, business, and especially, declining lumber exports.⁷³

By the time of its defeat in 1916, the Conservative government had created two provincial parks. Anglo ideas of park meant that Strathcona Park was created primarily for the use of "the people," not industry. "The people" meant white Anglo British Columbians and wealthy tourists who could afford to get to the park; Native people, who had traditionally used the land for hunting and gathering, could no longer use it for those purposes. One section of the Strathcona Park Act created the potential for later conflicts over use. The Act let timber and mining interests remain, but the Conservatives did not allow them to exercise their rights. Allowing timber cutting at the start of the depression may have gained the government some royalties, but it would have alienated influential park proponents. After 1914, instead of permitting cutting to generate revenues to support park development, the government reduced expenditures. To encourage the government to continue constructing roads to the park, park proponents often commodified scenery to argue that an easily accessible park would attract tourists. Their acceptance that nature could be transformed meant improvements increased the value of the scenery. However, because of government debts, park development did not proceed.

⁷¹ "No Money to Spend on Strathcona Park," *Times*, November 19, 1915; Kenneth Lines, "A Bit of Old England," 48.

⁷² Natural History Society Minutes, September 10, 1915 and March 20, 1916.

⁷³ VCA, 31F7-9, Victoria Board of Trade Minutes, October - December 1914.

Reports in the newspapers indicate the landscape modification which took place after 1911, primarily in areas outside the park's boundaries. These changes are significant in demonstrating the impact of park development on the surrounding landscape and showing that development was not limited to Strathcona Park. Outside the park, design problems meant that a road built too close to McIvor Lake was susceptible to flooding, and had to be rebuilt. It is unclear, though, if that road was part of the park's road system or an access road to a nearby Indian reservation. However, engineers drained the lake in order to build the new road. They also planted native and non-native trees at the park's entrance which the *Times* suggested were planted where soil conditions were inappropriate, while the *Colonist* replied that trees had not died but had been planted in the fall shortly before they lost their leaves.⁷⁴ Inside the park, the government constructed cabins and developed trails. Even though the scale of development was relatively small humans had significantly altered the landscape of Strathcona and its surrounding area by World War I. The company built trails and camps but was impaired by inadequate transportation and access into the park.¹

This shift to the acceptance of industrial extraction can be tied to the relationship between government and the forest industry which developed after 1912. Under the Conservative administration (1903-16) members of the forest industry were invited to participate on joint committees and began to influence forest policy. The Liberals, in power from 1916-28, also welcomed the participation of industry members in their decision-making processes. This was part of a move away from state to corporate control in the name of free enterprise. In fact, by the mid-1920s provincial forest policy was "once again...a mere instrument of the lumbermen."²

¹ "An Act to Amend the 'Strathcona Park Act,'" *Statutes of British Columbia, 1918*, 275, & "An Act to Amend the 'Strathcona Park Act,'" *Statutes of British Columbia, 1925*, 265; "Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1918," *British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1919*, K 268; "Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1922," *British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1922*, N 241. The company stopped operating in the area in 1925, however, it continued assessing some claims. See *British Columbia*

⁷⁴ "Strathcona Park Work has Stopped," *Times*, December 9, 1914; "Baseless Criticism of Strathcona Park," *Colonist*, December 13, 1914. *Administration in B.C.*, 6-7.

Chapter 3 Reshifting Values: Parks for Industrial Use, 1918 - 1933

The ideas held by Anglo middle-class legislators, users and park developers signify The passing of a 1918 Amendment to the Strathcona Park Act signified the beginning of a change in the construction of "park" away from "parks for the people" to "parks for industrial use." The Amendment allowed individuals or companies holding mineral claims prior to the park's inception to apply for permission to mine within the park. A further amendment extended the date for such application. Significantly, there was no public opposition when the government allowed mining in the park in 1918. From 1910 to 1918 the park had been closed to prospecting. After the 1918 amendment, the Black Bear Group, owned by a group of Vancouver businessmen, and containing the Black Bear, Cariboo and Beaver claims, prospected for copper ore at Myra Creek near the south end of Buttle Lake. From 1920 to 1924, the Paramount Mining Company which owned three groups of mineral claims, systematically prospected at Myra Creek and Price Creek using diamond-drilling and working-openings. The company built trails and camps but was impaired by inadequate transportation and access into the park.¹

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² Stephen Gray, "Forest Policy and Administration in B.C.," 6-7.

The changes to the construction of "park" continued throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. The ideas held by Anglo middle-class legislators, users and park developers signify the ambiguous, contradictory, and diverse definitions of park "resources" and land use in Strathcona Park.³ There was a distinct move away from the idea that the Park was primarily a pleasure ground for the people, to heterogeneous ideas promoting either the preservation of the park, or promoting its use both for people and for industrial purposes.²⁶

The process of scenery commodification increased in the 1920s with the growing importance of the tourism industry and the challenge by industrialization to park preservation. In fact, both conservationists and expansionists spoke of the park primarily in economic terms. The earlier construction of "park," defined by conservationists in 1911, provided the basis for the continuation of conservation ideas into the 1920s. Organizations in Campbell River, Comox, Courtenay, Vancouver, and Victoria, joined national organizations to protest the government's decisions in 1926 and 1927 to allow logging and the construction of a power dam in the park. The inclusion of Island and national groups indicates a shift from the Victoria-based groups which had lobbied for the park's creation. The protests would not have occurred without an awareness and acceptance of the conservation ethic; however, protesters were not homogeneous and their opinions varied

province remained dependent on the export of natural resources. Tourism was becoming

³ Although women were involved in conservation organizations and in some boards of trade they were not involved in a pivotal way. Women had been enfranchised in 1917, and their numbers were approaching half of the non-native population in British Columbia, but their participation in the Legislature was limited to one out of a total of 48 Members. (See Jean Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 230, 358 & 369) Women's membership in business organizations was also small. A 1932 membership roster of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce shows only three women members out of a total of 325. (See BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 321, File C-8-G, Membership Roster of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce, March 31, 1932) By comparison, many women were active in the Alpine Club of Canada and the Canadian National Parks Association; however, these organizations did not significantly influence British Columbia's decision-makers in the 1920s. (See *Canadian Alpine Journal*, 1925, 1928, 1930, *Passim*. It is difficult to determine the exact number of women involved in the ACC. However, the *Journal* frequently refers to the activities of various women in the organization. A photograph of the 1925 Lake O'Hara camp, shows approximately 35 women out of 82 people. As Officers of the ACC, however, their primary role was that of secretary in local sections.) (See also BCARS, Add MSS 677, Vol. 393, File 166, Frederick Longstaff Papers, "Canadian National Parks Association Constitution and List of Members, 1925." 34% of the Association's members were women, while women's clubs constituted 24% of those groups which held club memberships. The list of officers indicates one woman served as the Central Vice-President; however, the remaining 18 officers were men.

according to the land use being debated and the spatial relationship between the protester and the resources.

By the late 1920s, the shift towards accepting industrial extraction in parks, the commodification of scenery, the perception that the economic benefits of scenery could be measured against those of industry, and the growing desire for local development contributed to the assertion of the expansionist ethic over the conservation ethic. In 1926 when the Alberta and federal governments proposed allowing the Spray Lakes hydro-electric development at Banff, members of the Alpine Club of Canada and the National Parks Association opposed it. Members of these groups embraced tourism as an acceptable use of parks for the people, but objected to logging, mining and hydro-electric development. A conflict also arose between preservationist and utilitarian conservationists in 1927 over logging and hydro-electric development in Ontario's Algonquin and Quetico Provincial Parks where preservationists challenged the utilitarian methods which had previously dominated park development.⁴

To understand this shift in park values it is necessary to examine the economic climate. Between 1923 and 1929, British Columbia experienced a period of relative economic prosperity, with both business and individuals reaping the benefits, although the province remained dependent on the export of natural resources. Tourism was becoming an important industry in Victoria and on Vancouver Island where an increasingly well-to-do retired population did not want "the silence and charm of their retirement haven desecrated by the sights, sounds, and smells of modern industry." The sale of scenery, the increase in automobile use, and an auto-carrying ferry system became integral factors in developing the tourism industry. Encouraged by the economic return from Canada's national parks, the Vancouver Island Boards of Trade were very interested in developing tourism and viewed parks as an attraction. Arthur Lineham, a city alderman and realtor, lobbied for provincially funded, province-wide tourism promotion. He argued that the

⁴ Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 2 and 39-58; & Gerald Killan, *Protected Places*, 36.

resource industries had failed to "produce the large population necessary to attract industry," and suggested that tourism development would fill the void. His solution was to build roads into provincial parks, to Alberta, and to the United States, to provide camping facilities, and to extend the Pacific Great Eastern railroad to Prince George. By 1928, the Sidney-Anacortes car ferry and two other CPR car ferries brought tourists to Vancouver Island. The Empress Hotel, expanded once in 1913, was again expanded in 1928-29 to accommodate the increasing numbers of middle-income tourists.⁵

British Columbia's resource industries also underwent significant changes. Provincial exports significantly increased with one half of its lumber, a large part of the fruit crop, most canned salmon and "nearly all minerals" being shipped to foreign markets. Yet, the demand for coal and the gross value of coal mined declined. In the growing communities of Comox, Cumberland and Courtenay in the Comox Valley, coal mining, logging and farming were the primary industries. At Campbell River, further north, the primary industries were fishing and logging; however, tourism had gained in popularity as the area attracted sports fishermen and tourists visiting Strathcona Park. Coinciding with the international decline in the demand for coal after World War I, was the increasing development of hydro-electric power in British Columbia including central Vancouver Island.⁶

Mining continued throughout the 1920s. In 1927 the Department of Mines assisted in constructing trails from Buttle Lake to the fifteen Cross and DuBois claims, and other

⁵ Kenneth Lines, "A Bit of Old England," 51; and Jean Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 236-237, 239. Barman notes the attraction of the Crystal Gardens, the accessibility to Vancouver Island by car and ferries from Vancouver and Washington State, and the development of an "autocamp" in the Victoria suburb of Saanich; BCARS, GR 1991, Microfilm B1774, J.B. Harkin, Commissioner, Canadian National Parks to Ernest Manning, Acting Chief Forester, Department of Lands, Victoria, June 28, 1926. Harkin estimated the economic benefit brought by the visitors to the national parks. He said that in the 1925/26 season 333,397 people, spending approximately \$23 million, visited those parks; and Kenneth Lines, "A Bit of Old England," 51-70.

⁶ Jean Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 240, 210 & 376. Barman reports that the gross value of coal mined declined from \$13.5 million in 1920 to \$9.4 million in 1930 and to \$5 million by 1935; Ben Hughes, *History of the Comox Valley*, 21-30, 57. See also D.E. Isenor et al, *Land of Plenty*, 171-173; and Helen Mitchell, *Diamond in the Rough*, 8, 10-12, & 15-21. Mitchell notes that the Tyee Club of British Columbia, formed in Campbell River in 1924, was influential in promoting Campbell River as a sport fishing and tourist resort. (p. 17)

mineral claims, at Price Creek. Trail work was also completed on Myra Creek where James Cross and Joseph DuBois also owned the seven Lynx claims. Further up Myra Creek was the Cougar claim, owned by J.F. Breeze, a partner in Paramount in 1920. By 1928 there were 40 - 50 claims in good standing, controlled by Paramount, and Cross, Eleanor and DuBois. Transportation and access remained the primary obstacles to mining in the park. The auto road remained as it was in 1915. From Forbes Landing, 16 kilometers from Campbell River, miners travelled on 19 kilometers of rough road to a camp on Upper Campbell lake, and from there took a launch 8 kilometers to the head of the lake. From there they travelled 14.5 kilometers by pack-trail to Buttle Lake. Once at Buttle Lake they made private boating arrangements to travel the 14.5 kilometers to Myra and Price Creeks.⁷ the Chamber of Commerce recommended that the government reserve the timber. During this economic boom, the Liberal Minister of Lands, T. Dufferin Pattullo, announced the first of his attacks on park policy even though during his tenure the government created four new provincial parks - Mt. Assiniboine (1922), Garibaldi (1920), Kokanee (1922) and Sir Alexander Mackenzie Historical Park (1926). Pattullo supported the interests of the forest industry by forming joint business-government advisory committees which influenced government forestry policies and regulations. In 1926 he stated that his government would allow timber companies to exercise their right to log around Buttle Lake in Strathcona Park. There is no evidence that Pattullo supported the "wise use" of resources. Perhaps best expressing the expansionist ethic, he argued that "we can't leave timber standing and expect to build up a lumber industry." Pattullo said the province could not afford to buy back timber leases granted prior to the park's creation and he was unable to prevent the lease holders from logging around Buttle Lake.⁸

⁷ "Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1927," *British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1928*, C 349-350; & "Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1928," *Sessional Papers, 1930*, Vol. I, C 378.

⁸ BCARS, Add MSS.3, Box 27, File 5, Pattullo Papers, "British Columbia: Provincial Parks," 1928; Stephen Gray, "Forest Policy and Administration in B.C.," 7; T.D. Pattullo as quoted in "Government Cannot Stop Desolation of Strathcona Park by Cutting of Timber," *Times*, May 20, 1926; and "Pattullo Replies to Agitation for Park Preservation," *Times*, May 31, 1926.

In response, the Victoria Chamber of Commerce, Island Boards of Trade, newspaper editors, and the Local Council of Women protested Pattullo's decision. The response by north Island groups suggest a spatial relationship between the community and its resources particularly relating to the local economy. Members of the Courtenay-Comox Board of Trade, influenced by their proximity to the proposed developments, supported developing Strathcona as a tourist resort and feared that once the timber was extracted, Buttle Lake would be "surrounded by blackened stumps." However, they were also concerned about timber resources leaving the community instead of being manufactured into lumber "on the spot," and noted that if the government could not prevent the logging, it should at least promote local manufacturing.⁹

In Victoria, the Chamber of Commerce recommended that the government reserve the timber and all other resources in the Park. The Chamber had already referred to the timber in the park as a "national asset" tying its value to the nation; its members urged Pattullo to preserve the park from "the utter desolation which follows modern logging methods."¹⁰ Despite these protests Pattullo insisted that logging would only produce short-term degradation, that the timber would reproduce rapidly, and the "new growth [would] soon overcome the desolation left by the loggers." He estimated it would take 15 years to log the periphery of Buttle Lake, thus allowing for substantial new growth where logging had first occurred. Declaring that British Columbia had a bounty of "scenic wonders...which will never be destroyed," Pattullo stated:

In British Columbia there are innumerable beauty spots on which the foot of man has not yet been set and which will never be the scene of industrial endeavor, yet from a scenic standpoint are of transcendent magnificence. Both our own people and tourists will have the advantage of visiting these areas in perpetuity.¹¹

⁹ "Strathcona Park," *Argus*, May 27, 1926.

¹⁰ "Boards of Trade and Power Board," *Argus*, July 18, 1929; "Board of Trade Elects Officers," *Argus*, May 21, 1931; VCA, 32-B-4, Victoria Chamber of Commerce Minutes, June 26, 1925; "Government Cannot Stop Desolation of Strathcona Park by Cutting of Timber," *Times*, May 20, 1926.

¹¹ Dufferin Pattullo, as quoted in "Pattullo Replies to Agitation for Park Preservation," *Times*, May 31, 1926.

Not everyone agreed with Pattullo. The editor of the *Victoria Daily Times*, for example, endorsed the Chamber's recommendation that the government reserve the timber and all other resources in the Park "for the exclusive use of the general public," and the park developed as a "revenue-producing tourist resort" to assure the public treasury a "considerable return." Demonstrating amazing foresight, he prophesied the loss of such scenic areas to logging methods:

For the moment, of course, Strathcona Park to most people is just a place on the map, difficult to reach, and of not much use in its undeveloped condition; but to consider the question from that standpoint would be to take no account of the future. The most insistent point is that, as our agricultural and industrial activities expand, the day will come when Strathcona Park will be one of the few remaining preserves of the kind on the Island. It should be protected as a park now.¹²

His comments, of course, suggest the necessity of developing the land as a park in order to make it more desirable, thus constructing it in his image of "park."

Several indicators suggest this protest was organized. First, the editor of the *Vancouver Daily Province* criticized Pattullo's decision to allow logging in the Park and argued that a "newspaper campaign of publicity" would force Pattullo to change his mind. He suggested Pattullo address the issue of timber licenses and criticized the former Conservative government for not purchasing the timber licenses in the 1910s. Second, the Victoria Chamber of Commerce accepted the recommendation of its Tourist Trade Group that it cooperate "with other interested parties to hold this wealth of forest as a potential asset," and argued that logging would "destroy the grandeur of Buttles Lake and remove forever one of the great attractions of the district." When the Chamber argued for park preservation and for tourism it did not perceive these uses as contradictory but as an effective way of preventing timber extraction. The third indicator of an organized protest was the Chamber's promise to bring the matter before the Associated Boards of Trade of Vancouver Island to organize support to prevent logging within the park.¹³

¹² "Strathcona Park," Editorial, *Times*, May 18, 1926, and "Strathcona Park," Editorial, *Times*, June 7, 1926.

¹³ "Mr. Pattullo and the Park," Editorial, *Province*, June 8, 1926; "Urge Preservation of Timber Stands in Strathcona Park," *Times*, June 18, 1926; VCA, 32-B-4, Victoria Chamber of Commerce

The protests affected Duff Pattullo. He acknowledged that other economic priorities had prevented his Ministry from park development, and noted his appreciation of the value of scenic attractions. Defending his actions, he assured the public that he was acting in their best interest by investigating park development but not allowing himself "to be bulldozed or abused [presumably by the protesters] into costly or undesirable action."¹⁴

Despite Pattullo's so-called assurances, members of the Vancouver Branch of the Alpine Club of Canada unanimously protested logging in the Island's only provincial park. Logging, they stated, would destroy the beauty of the park, create a fire hazard, and spoil the waterways. They argued that the park had been set aside for public use and for future generations, and linked Strathcona Park with the development of "national character," which presumably implied that the preservation of the park benefitted all Canadians. Members of the Branch noted that "the economic value of parks has been more fully recognized" in the United States and suggested that the return for speculators in resource

extraction was "infinitely small compared with the economic value of the timber in its present state as an integral part of the Park."¹⁵

The Canadian National Parks Association, created by the Alpine Club of Canada, offered its assistance in solving the logging issue because of its experience in the Spray Lakes controversy. Because it recognized that timber licenses had been granted before the creation of the Park, it recommended better logging practices, not expropriation of the timber. It was not, however, above pressuring the timber interests, and the government, as it explained to Oliver:

It would be a very thick skinned lumber company indeed who could withstand the publicity we could give them should they refuse to cut in accordance with their

¹⁴ BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 255, File 19, Canadian National Parks Association to Oliver, July 7, 1926

Minutes, June 25, 1926; and "Island Boards of Trade to Launch Campaign to Save Strathcona Park," *Province*, July 7, 1926.

¹⁴ "'Public May Rest Easy,' says Pattullo," *Province*, June 12, 1926.

¹⁵ BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 255, File 17, Letter 45, Vancouver Section, Alpine Club of Canada to Premier John Oliver, June 16, 1926; also "'Hands off Park' is Cry," *Daily Province*, June 15, 1926.

lease or refuse to accept an equitable exchange of limits in an area outside of the parks.¹⁶

Although Oliver forwarded the letters to Pattullo, it does not appear that either of them ever considered the offer.

Oliver's reply to the Alpine Club indicates a shift from "parks for the people" to parks for industrial use. He noted that Section 6 of the Strathcona Park Act, 1911, stated that the park would not "deprive any person of any vested rights or interests which he may have acquired within the limits of the Park prior to the passing of this Act." Oliver, then, placed greater importance on the rights of vested interests, in this case industrial developers, than on preserving the park for public use and tourism. By doing so he displayed his support of the expansionist ethic. Ironically, he argued that he was protecting the public's right to use the park but he expanded "public" to include industrialists.¹⁷

Within the government bureaucracy, staff manipulated "park" ideas. For example, Acting Chief Forester Ernest Manning informed the Deputy Minister of Lands that "the cutting of green timber on a commercial scale" was not allowed on lands under the jurisdiction of National Park authorities, even though J.P. Harkin, the Commissioner of Canadian National Parks, had informed him otherwise. Manning did not tell the Deputy Minister that the federal Timber and Grazing Branch honoured the timber licenses issued prior to the inception of a park, and let those licensees log within park boundaries.¹⁸ Whether or not this omission affected government decision-making is unknown, but it is significant in demonstrating the presence of preservationist thought within the bureaucracy.

In order to investigate the timber situation for himself, Pattullo visited Buttle Lake in July 1926. Upon his return he announced that the privately owned timber along Buttle

¹⁶ BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 255, File 19, Canadian National Parks Association to Oliver, July 7, 1926 and July 13, 1926.

¹⁷ BCARS GR 441, vol. 255, file 17, Premier John Oliver to A.M. Dewar, Secretary of the Vancouver Branch of the Alpine Club of Canada, June 16, 1926.

¹⁸ BCARS, GR 1991, microfilm 1774, E.C. Manning, Acting Chief Forester to the Deputy Minister of Lands, July 13/26 and J.B. Harkin, Commissioner, Canadian National Parks to Ernest Manning, Acting Chief Forester, June 28, 1926.

Lake should be preserved, a comment he would later deny. He also suggested that the park was "essentially alpine in character," with the steep shoreline of Buttle Lake being inappropriate for swimming and bathing, and for those reasons "the lake will not become a popular resort." Pattullo did not say why he changed his mind, nor is there any direct evidence to suggest what happened. However, the public campaign against logging likely influenced his decision.¹⁹

Pattullo did not purchase the timber rights at Buttle Lake. Instead, he announced, in January 1927, his intention to introduce a Bill to allow the damming of Buttle Lake to provide power for a pulp and paper operation. Development of hydro-electricity on Vancouver Island coincided with the economic boom and with the hydro-electric development boom in the rest of Canada. A report of the Ministry of Lands referred to the Campbell River water system, which included Buttle Lake and Elk Falls, as "probably the largest and one of the most attractive undeveloped powers on Vancouver Island." The government had granted water rights on the Campbell River lakes in 1903 but the power had not been developed. In 1926 the local owners of the Campbell River Power Company asked for an extension to carry out their agreement for power development. The company had held the rights for at least 17 years, but was hampered by economic depression, the insecurity of tenure, and the lack of a market for the power. As a result, the Company stood to lose the water rights and it lobbied members of the legislature for support. Pattullo, arguing that he had already granted Campbell River Power many extensions, did not renew the license and, by reserving the water rights, let other companies to bid on them. Shortly after, Canadian Crown Willamette applied for, and received, the Campbell River water rights.²⁰

¹⁹ "Pattullo Inspecting Strathcona Park Timber," *Province*, July 30, 1926; and "Strathcona Timber Should be Preserved, says Pattullo After Inspecting Park Area," *Times*, August 5, 1926.

²⁰ BCARS, GR 1289, *Hydro-Electric Progress in Canada in 1925* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1925) 1. The report notes that "hydro-electric and water power development in Canada reached record proportions during the year 1925, the increase in the total installation far exceeding that of any previous year." Shows an addition of 719,000 hp, bringing the Dominion's total to 4,290,000 hp. In British Columbia there was a net addition of 58,984 hp contributed by BC Electric Railway's development at Stave Falls, and West Kootenay Light and Power Company's development at Lower

River. The 1927 Amendment to the Strathcona Park Act allowed the raising of the water levels of all of the lakes in Strathcona Park, but the Act was particularly relevant to Buttle Lake. The legislation was introduced to provide power for Crown Willamette's pulp and paper operation, and despite the possible degrading of the perimeter of Buttle Lake, Pattullo said the lake would be suitable for public use in the summer months. In addition, Pattullo expected Crown Willamette to log the periphery of the lake, and compensate the government and the timber interests when the lake was flooded. Pattullo acknowledged that the flooding would result in "an ugly appearance" when the water level was low but suggested the "scarred areas" would be covered with water during tourist season. Pattullo claimed that raising "the lake, while it might change the appearance of Buttle's lake, would not spoil it in any way for outing purposes."²¹

Pattullo's announcement blurred the lines between the conservation and expansionist ethics. The inability to define the differences between the two signifies the decline of the first conservation movement. The response to the amendment and subsequent efforts to develop the power on Campbell River, suggests that while conservationist ideas were present, they were superseded by expansionist ideas. The issue became one of local development, and debates ensued about which industry - tourism or industrial development - and which source of power - hydro-electric or coal - would be best for the region and for the province.

Importantly, the conflict over park usage centred on the effect of hydro-electric development on Buttle Lake, and not on the other creeks within the park, some of which hosted hydro-electric plants. By 1931 there were hydro-electric developments to support mining operations, on Myra Creek, Thelwood Creek, and Della Falls on the Drinkwater

Boonington Falls; *Water Powers, British Columbia, Canada, 1924* (Victoria: Ministry of Lands, 1924) p. 105; BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 40, M. Drewry, Chief Water Commissioner, to Premier Richard McBride, September 6, 1910; "Extension of Time Allowed," *Colonist*, September 7, 1928, p.12; BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 255, File 19, Mssrs. Bremner and Burns to T.D. Pattullo, February 26, 1926; Premier's notes on interview with Mr. Bremner and Mr. Gavin Burns re Campbell River Power, March 20, 1926; BCARS, GR 441, Vol. 255, File 19, Pattullo to Oliver, March 23, 1926; "Extension of Time Allowed," *Colonist*, September 7, 1928.

²¹ "Will Dam Buttles Lake, Raising it for Power Project," *Times*, January 27, 1927.

River, all within Park boundaries. In addition, seven more developments were on rivers or creeks which either originated in or flowed into Strathcona Park.²² Therefore, when people argued against new hydro-electric development in the park they were really arguing against the development at Buttle Lake.

Initially, there was little response to Pattullo's announcement to dam the lake. A report in the *Comox Argus* demonstrates that residents of central Vancouver Island viewed the park's preservation differently from "outsiders". Noting the importance of tourism to the Comox Valley and the importance of Strathcona as an attraction, the reporter suggested that other scenic attractions, besides Buttle Lake, were available.²³ Although his opinion of the abundance of available scenery was similar to Pattullo's, their opinions differ because Pattullo did not understand the importance of preserving Strathcona for tourism.

The protests began in earnest in February 1928 when Pattullo launched his next attack on provincial park policy. This time he expanded his target from Strathcona Park to include all provincial parks created under the Park Act. The proposed legislation allowed the government to lease park lands and to cancel the Assiniboine Park reserve, created in 1922, near Windermere Lake.²⁴ Protesters responded to this move, and as one critic observed, leasing the park land would amount to the same thing as the power of cancellation.

The Canadian National Parks Association attacked the proposed park legislation stating that British Columbia's parks could be "the greatest asset of the province." The Association's Western Vice-President, and former President of the Alpine Club of Canada, Arthur O. Wheeler addressed the Victoria Local Council of Women prompting the latter group to write to Pattullo protesting the commercial exploitation of any park, including Strathcona. His comments demonstrate his acceptance of the commodification of scenery.

He stated:

²² "Water Powers, British Columbia, Canada," (Victoria: Ministry of Lands, 1931) 34-40.

²³ "Buttles Lake," *Argus*, March 10, 1927.

²⁴ BCARS, Add MSS.3, Box 27, File 5, Pattullo Papers, "British Columbia Provincial Parks," 1928.

The protests did not affect Pattullo's actions. Despite Crown Willamette's promise apart from their value as recreational spots for the people of Canada and elsewhere, the national parks had an actual commercial value. The 'sale of scenery' was, next to wheat, the largest export of Canada, as it was also of great value to Switzerland, France, New Zealand and the United States.²⁵

However, while Wheeler promoted the commercial value of tourism in the nation's parks, he also stressed the importance of preserving unique scenery and protecting wildlife.²⁶

Pattullo subsequently withdrew the Parks Bill but was determined to amend the Strathcona Park Act. Acting Opposition Leader R.H. Pooley was one of Pattullo's greatest critics. When the Amendment was debated in March 1927, Pooley objected to logging and hydro-electric development which would damage Buttle Lake, and to an American firm developing the power. Although the Conservatives occupied 17 of the 48 seats, only two members joined him in voting against the amendment. Nevertheless, he launched a campaign against damming the lake by "call[ing] for united action on the part of residents of the Island in the interests of saving Strathcona Park," and expressing his concern for the devastation and destruction of the Park's beauty. Pooley also criticized Pattullo for not developing the park as a tourist resort. He supported the efforts of the Liberal *Victoria Daily Times* and the Conservative *Vancouver Province* "for the preservation of Strathcona Park to the people for all time." The Liberal MLA for Comox, P.P. Harrison disagreed; he asserted "that the consensus of opinion in the [Comox] district [is] that the raising of the level of Buttle Lake will not hurt Strathcona."²⁷

²⁵ BCARS, Add MSS 2818, Box 1, File 26, Local Council of Women, Account Book 1928-61 - see entry May 14, 1930. For financial reasons, the Victoria Local Council of Women did not join the Canadian National Parks Association until 1930; & "Women Protest Proposed Bill," *Colonist*, February 23, 1928. Wheeler addressed the Local Council of Women regarding his protest against commercial exploitation of the parks.

²⁶ BCARS, Add MSS 677, Vol. 393, File 166, Longstaff papers, Circular Letter #2, Canadian National Parks Association Annual Meeting, March 23, 1928.

²⁷ "Pattullo Withdraws Park Bill," *Province*, February 23, 1928; "May Sacrifice Park for Mills," *Province*, March 5, 1927; "Alpine Reserve is Jeopardized," *Colonist*, March 5, 1927; and "Remedy Must be Found for B.C.'s Needs," *Colonist*, May 18, 1927; Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 358; "Protests at Buttle Plan," *Province*, May 20, 1927; and "Remedy Must Be Found for B.C.'s Needs," *Colonist*, May 18, 1927. It is important to note that the following year was an election year and part of the rhetoric was likely due to campaigning; & "Hands off Our Parks," Demands Pooley in House," *Province*, March 6, 1928.

The protests did not affect Pattullo's actions. Despite Crown Willamette's promise to develop the power within 18 months, the Company asked for and received two subsequent extensions, the last one granted by Pattullo shortly before the 1928 election. The Conservatives, now led by Simon Fraser Tolmie, won the election and shortly after, members of the new government visited Campbell River and Strathcona Park to investigate the potential for power development.²⁸

The Victoria Chamber of Commerce challenged the Conservatives to expropriate the timber, "to make no concessions for the development of water power that would interfere with the waters of Buttle Lake or in anyway destroy or impair any of the natural beauties of Strathcona Park," and to turn the park over to the National Parks Branch. Significantly, the majority of the Conservatives supported the preservation of the timber at Buttle Lake. The Chief Forester advised his Minister, F.P. Burden, that some of the timber licenses in Strathcona Park were located at Myra and Thelwood Creeks, "a considerable distance from the lake, and probably the cutting of this timber would not in any way affect park development which would be largely concentrated around the lake." In 1929 the government purchased only the timber licenses at Buttle Lake but only those within the park's boundaries.²⁹

The *Province* reported that the Conservative Party had always held that damming Buttle Lake "would entirely ruin the park by flooding large areas and creating a margin of devastated land at low water." Yet contrary to this rhetoric, the Conservatives neither repealed the 1927 Act nor disallowed mining. Instead, the government pursued the prospect of hydro-electric development within the park. By purchasing the timber licenses, the government ensured that if the lake were flooded, it would be compensated by the

²⁸ "Extension of Time Allowed," *Colonist*, September 7, 1928; and "Pattullo's Surprise Package," *Province*, September 5, 1928; "Cabinet Sees Power Source," *Times*, October 16, 1928; and "Elk Falls Inspected by Cabinet," *Colonist*, October 17, 1928.

²⁹ VCA, 32-A-1, Victoria Chamber of Commerce Minutes, March 1, 1929; BCARS, GR 1991, microfilm B1774, Chief Forester to Minister of Lands, November 28, 1928; Agreement Between the Dominion Bank and the Minister of Lands Frederick P. Burden on Behalf of the Crown, October 24, 1928; J.R. Scoby, Manager, The Dominion Bank, Victoria, to the Minister of Lands, April 24, 1927. The agreement covered the sale of timber licenses 3958-3964 and 3966-3977 for \$335,000.

developer. This makes the government's motives to "preserve" the timbers in Strathcona very suspect and Burden, the Minister of Lands, acknowledged that the Province's purchase of the timber licenses in Strathcona was a way of protecting its investment in case Buttle Lake was flooded. According to one newspaper report, many members of the Legislature who were familiar with the Strathcona Park issues felt that if the park were used for hydro-electric development, "the best plan for the province to follow would be to create a new park in the same district...and give the Strathcona Park area entirely over to industry."³⁰

The government did not extend Crown Willamette's license, much to Pattullo's displeasure. Pattullo remained convinced that the park could be used for "park purposes and power developed too." He wrote:

In British Columbia there is not the slightest doubt that there is plenty of room for both parks and for industrial endeavor without either encroaching upon the other. It is important, however, that no likely mining prospect nor any large water power should be tied up in perpetuity by reason of the declaration of a park area.³¹³²

As leader of the Opposition, he argued that the timber was not worth the \$335,000 that the government paid for it. He continued to criticize the purchase, even though the amount was apparently less than the amounts suggested by forest companies in 1910 and 1913. In addition, he attacked the government for reneging on his agreement with the Crown Willamette Company regarding the Campbell River water rights.

³⁰ "B.C. Power Co. Plans Huge Hydro Project in Strathcona Park," *Province*, February 27, 1929; & "Government Must Decide Park Future," *Times*, March 4, 1929.

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³² "Repudiation of Power Pact is Assailed," *Times*, March 8, 1929; BCARS, Add MSS 3, Vol. 25, File 5, Pattullo Papers, undated (probably 1928-29) and untitled document numbered 25-28 in file; "Purchase of Park Opposed," *Vancouver Sun*, March 8, 1929; and "Critics are Restless as Answer Comes," *Colonist*, March 11, 1930; "Repudiation of Power Pact is Assailed," *Times*, March 8, 1929; & BCARS, Add MSS 3, volume 27, file 5, document numbered 25-28, T.D. Pattullo Papers, undated document (likely 1929). Document is found among other documents dated 1929, and refers to an amendment to the Park Act one year earlier. Pattullo proposed then withdrew an amendment in February 1928. See also "Pattullo Withdraws Park Bill," *Province*, February 23, 1928. The latter article documents Pattullo's efforts to give the government the power to cancel park reserves and to allow "the leasing of portions of any park to private interests."

The government's decision not to renew Crown Willamette's license set off a corporate scramble for the right to develop the Campbell River. In January 1929 the Vancouver Island Power Company, a subsidiary of the B.C. Power Corporation, proposed developing the power for the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company's copper smelter. A few months later, another subsidiary of the B.C. Power Corporation, B.C. Electric Railway joined up with Crown Willamette. The other major player in the fight over Campbell River Power, was the Canadian Collieries Limited. While awaiting the decision of the Water Board, the two companies began acquiring the northern and central Island interests of other power companies. One reporter considered these acquisitions as "preliminary to the fight for the great water power at Campbell River."³³

The responses to these developments demonstrate the increasing contradictory ideas of park use. There are also noticeable similarities and differences between the way residents of central Vancouver Island and "others" viewed parks. Residents argued for local control of resource development and the distribution of power to the north Island before it would be distributed elsewhere; outsiders wanted the power to be used by Victoria and Vancouver first, with other Island communities benefitting peripherally. By the late 1920s there were so many contradictions in the arguments that it is nearly impossible to characterize the ideas of park.

The definition of "park" proposed by the *Comox Argus* suggests the importance of local control over industrial development and over the destiny of Strathcona Park, and demonstrates the weighing of the value of traditional resource extraction against the somewhat unknown value of tourism. A reporter from the *Argus* applauded the government's purchase of the timber licenses at Buttle Lake and acknowledged the

³³ "Big Power Scheme for Campbell River," *Times*, January 11, 1929; BCARS, Add MSS 3, Pattullo Papers, Vol. 33, File 6, May 15, 1929, Re: Hearing Before Water Board of Applications for Campbell River Power "Hydro-Electric Plant is Reported Sold," *Argus*, July 11, 1929. Purchases by the Canadian Utilities Company gave them control of the power plants and franchises of Nanaimo and Duncan. *Ibid.*; purchases of National Utilities by BC Electric Railway gave the latter company control of National Utilities' power plants and franchises at Alberni, Port Alberni, Cumberland, Union Bay, Royston and Parksville. See "BC Electric Acquire Power Plants," *Argus*, June 27, 1929.

importance of preserving Strathcona timbers for future generations and for tourism. He noted that "in a very few years trees as God grew them will be worth more than logs in the water so that from a dollars and cents point of view alone the government has made a wise investment." However, apparently contradicting these remarks he suggested that there were other areas suitable for park development. He noted:

if the Comox district has to choose between power and pay-roll, and tourists and big timber, then the big timbers must go...if the choice has to be made there are other park areas on the island fully as lovely as Buttles Lake, where there is not power....it is about time that a little more of the natural wealth that was and is in the Comox district, stayed here.³⁴

By 1929 reports in the *Argus* reflected the complicated debate over the appropriate use of the park. The editor argued that unless the government could obtain good terms from the power development company which guaranteed local industrial development, "it would be far better for the upper island as a whole to leave Strathcona a dominion park and the government should not trade this great asset away without adequate compensation." Similarly, members of the Courtenay-Comox Board of Trade noted the district's contribution to the development of the rest of the province by exporting its resources, and suggested that it was "only equitable that this District should have first consideration in any dealings with its remaining assets."³⁵

Apparently not recognizing the contradiction between preserving Strathcona Park for tourism, and developing power on the Campbell River, the Victoria Chamber passed a resolution supporting the granting of Campbell River water rights to B.C. Electric Railway provided that it started development immediately and was ready to operate in three years, that Campbell River power be distributed to the whole Island according to specific need, and that British Columbia Electric charge the same or lower rates as they charged in Vancouver. One possible reason for the Chamber's contradictory position was that George

³⁴ "Power and Buttles Lake," *Argus*, May 2, 1929. See also "Upper Island Sets Forth its Requirements," *Comox Argus*, May 16, 1929; and untitled editorial, *Argus*, September 19, 1920.

³⁵ "Power and the Upper Island," Editorial, *Argus*, May 23, 1929; "Power Decision Will Not Be Delayed," *Argus*, May 28, 1929.

M. Tripp, general superintendent for British Columbia Electric Railway, was also a member of the Chamber. However, Tripp's was only one voice in the Chamber.³⁶

The contradictory ideas of park found in the 1929 evidence continued into the 1930s. For example, in 1930 members of the Associated Boards of Trade of Vancouver Island and the Campbell River Board of Trade believed that industrial development should be excluded from park areas. Even though the membership of the Associated Boards of Trade included the Victoria Chamber of Commerce and the Courtenay-Comox Board of Trade, reports from the Association do not reflect the contradictions found among the individual Boards. Either influential members of the Association either overruled the ideas of some of the individual boards, or representatives of those boards did not put forth the ideas of their members. Consistently the Associated Board suggested that Strathcona be developed as a federal park and that the government acquire adjacent land to extend the park to sea level to meet Federal requirements for an ocean park. It is unclear, however, who began to lobby the federal government to take over Strathcona but the first suggestion of approaching the federal government came from the Victoria Chamber of Commerce in 1929.³⁷

The arguments changed again in 1931 when the Island Boards of Trade perceived that hydro-electric development would threaten the existing coal industry. This perception increased the contradictions in their arguments for park preservation. The Boards demanded that the park be turned over to the federal government. Importantly, in 1930 the federal government had passed the National Parks Act which prohibited hydro-electric development and mining in federal parks.³⁸ Therefore, Strathcona did not meet the federal requirements. Perhaps unaware of the federal changes, the Boards of Trade kept lobbying.

³⁶ VCA, 32-A-1, Victoria Chamber of Commerce Minutes, January 19, 1931. One source indicates that the British Columbia Electric Railway was the parent company. Regardless, there was a business relationship between the three companies. See "Big Power Scheme for Campbell River," *Times*, January 11, 1929, and BCARS, Add MSS 3, Vol. 3, File 6, Pattullo Papers, May 15, 1929.

³⁷ BCARS, GR 1991, microfilm B1774, Resolution from Associated Boards of Trade of Vancouver Island to Premier Tolmie, November 5, 1930; & VCA, 32-A-1, Victoria Chamber of Commerce Minutes, March 1, 1929.

³⁸ For a description of the Spray Lakes development, see Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit*, 50-58.

One example of the contradictory ideas of park was found in a motion passed by the Victoria Chamber of Commerce. Its members suggested that the provincial government "refuse the power rights at Campbell River, ... forever preserve the waters of Buttle Lake, ... grant Strathcona Park to the Dominion Government as a Dominion Park," and investigate developing hydro-electric power near Cumberland or Comox. They also asked that British Columbia Power Company be given the first opportunity to develop the Campbell River if it were "absolutely necessary" to develop it in the future, and demanded that the government support the coal industry.³⁹

The concept of "park," held by members of the Courtenay-Comox Board of Trade, was also ambiguous and contradictory. By June 1931, its members opposed damming or flooding Buttle Lake yet supported hydro-electric development on the Campbell River, and opposed the hydro-electric development if it militated "against the coal industry and prevent[ed] Strathcona Park being taken over as a national park." The Board advocated the development of Strathcona as a tourist resort, rejecting any development which could mar the "scenic value" of Buttle Lake, and asked for the appointment of a committee of qualified persons who could weigh the "relative values" of industrial and tourist development. They also argued for greater local control of, and economic benefit from, the region's resources. Members asked the province to turn the park over to the federal government, and endorsed Strathcona's importance to the tourist trade. In fact, they perceived the tourist trade as "one of the greatest assets in the material progress of British Columbia."⁴⁰

³⁹ VCA, 32-A-1, Victoria Chamber of Commerce Minutes, January 19, 1931. One source indicates that British Columbia Power Company was the parent company for Vancouver Island Power, while another suggests British Columbia Electric Railway was the parent company. Regardless, there was a business relationship between the three companies. See "Big Power Scheme for Campbell River," *Times*, January 11, 1929; and BCARS, Add MSS 3, Vol. 3, File 6, Pattullo Papers, May 15, 1929, Document re hearing before Water Board of Applications for Campbell River Power.

⁴⁰ "BC Electric Get Extension," *Argus*, March 12, 1931; "Defer Decision on Power Scheme," *Argus*, July 2, 1931; "Power Decision, Will Not Be Delayed," *Argus*, May 28, 1929; "Board of Trade Elects Officers," *Argus*, May 21, 1931; "Defer Decision on Power Scheme," *Argus*, July 2, 1931; "Minister of Lands on National Parks," *Argus*, July 16, 1931; and BCARS, GR 1991, microfilm B1774, Courtenay-Comox Board of Trade to Hon. S.S. Lougheed, Minister of Lands, July 18, 1931; "Strathcona Park Should be Used," *Argus*, March 12, 1931; "BC Electric File Big Plan," *Argus*, June 25, 1931.

By 1931 there was only occasional evidence of conservationist language. The Associated Boards of Trade supported the federal takeover of the park, and in reference to the development of Elk Falls (part of the Campbell River system), they "favoured the scenic and tourist standpoint being retained as against the industrial," and suggested using coal instead of water for power development. The Campbell River and District Board of Trade stressed the importance of the tourist trade to Vancouver Island, argued for the preservation of Strathcona Park, and requested that the Provincial Government turn the park over to the National Parks Branch.⁴¹ References to park preservation, without considering the coal issue, were few. This is understandable considering the region's reliance on the coal industry for employment.

From 1918 through to the early 1930s there was a distinct shift, especially by decision-makers, to the acceptance of industrial activity in provincial parks as part of a broader government philosophy supporting industrial activity. The conservationists successfully fought the government's initiative to allow logging in the park and to change the provincial Parks Act; however, by the late 1920s they were fragmented and unable to mount a united movement to fight the development of hydro-electricity in Strathcona Park. The diverse interests of park proponents, who were influenced by their proximity to the park, their interests in the tourism industry, and their desire to protect the land, meant that they did not agree on the primary use of the park. While evidence suggests that they believed parks should be for the people, many park proponents also supported hydro-electric development on the Campbell River. Inevitably, such development would affect Buttle Lake within Strathcona Park.

⁴¹ VCA, 32-A-1, Victoria Chamber of Commerce Minutes, January 19, 1931; Charles Simms of the Courtenay-Comox Board of Trade suggested the government oppose the renewal of BC Electric Railways license to develop and use coal-generating plants to develop power - see "Power Rights at Elk Falls," *Argus*, February 12, 1931. See also "BC Electric Get Extension," *Argus*, March 12, 1931 - article discusses position of Associated Boards of Trade and Courtenay-Comox Board of Trade; "Will Discuss Power Rights," *Argus*, May 14, 1931; "BC Electric File Big Plan," *Argus*, June 25, 1931; "Oppose Hydro-Electric Development at Falls," *Argus*, July 23, 1931; "Strathcona Park Should Be Used," *Argus*, March 12, 1931.

By 1931 the government was likely aware of the negative effects of hydro-electric development on salmon streams which contributed to the depletion of fishery stocks.⁴² Despite this, they extended the license for Campbell River power to the B.C. Electric Railway in 1931 and 1932. Although hydro-electric development in British Columbia remained high during 1930 and 1931, by 1932 it was severely restricted, along with mining and tourism, by the economic effects of the Depression. At Campbell River, the B.C. Electric did not have a market for its product, and the government eventually reserved the license. By 1932, there was no reported mining at Buttle Lake, or at Myra and Price Creeks. Tourism, too, reached its lowest ebb in 1932-33, although it showed some recovery in 1934. The Depression saved Buttle Lake from becoming a reservoir, but when the issue resurfaced in the 1950s Buttle Lake became part of the Campbell River power system.⁴³

"ment" but the important difference was the type of development they stopped. In 1914, the depression stopped the development of the park as a tourist resort; in 1933, it stopped hydro-electric development. Both would have changed the park landscape, and both would have benefitted the province economically. However, the scale of industrial and hydro-electric development eventually and irreparably altered the landscape.

A more probable reason for allowing industrial development in the park was that powerful members of society, particularly politicians, wanted it to happen. From 1908 to the early 1930s the construction of "park" in British Columbia shifted from parks for the people to parks for tourism and industrial use. In the first decade of the 20th century, and encouraged by American and Canadian conservationists, British Columbia's conservationists sought to reserve land to preserve forest and fauna. After 1910 the commodification of scenery led to an increasing emphasis on tourism as the means for

⁴² "Effect of Hydro-Electric Projects on Salmon Streams," *Province*, April 6, 1929.

⁴³ "Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1932," *British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1933*, A 206-209; Kenneth Lines, "A Bit of Old England," 71; "Year's Extension for Power Rights," *Argus*, September 24, 1931 and "Vancouver Island Power Co. Gets Long Extension," *Argus*, October 13, 1932; BCARS, GR 1289, *Hydro-Electric Progress in Canada in 1930* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1930) 1-2; *Water Powers, British Columbia, Canada* (Victoria: Ministry of Lands, 1931) *passim* and *Hydro-Electric Progress in Canada in 1932* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1932) 1-2; "A Secret Pact," Editorial, *Argus*, October 13, 1932.

away from Chapter 4 Conclusion: The Origin of Land Use Conflict in British Columbia
precedence and the government allowed industrial development in the Park.

It is tempting to parallel good economic times with park creation and preservation. While it may be true for park creation, it is not necessarily so for preservation. In 1910, good economic times allowed the Conservatives to initiate park creation. Similarly, the Liberals created several parks in the 1920s, but not always when the economy was strong. In the later 1920s when the economy had strengthened, the Liberals wanted to allow industrial extraction in the park - they did not want to "preserve" it from such use. In 1914 the economic depression was a contributing factor in the government's decision to stop developing Strathcona Park for "the people." In 1932, the Great Depression stopped any schemes to develop the Park for hydro-electric development. Both depressions halted "development" but the important difference was the type of development they stopped. In 1914, the depression stopped the development of the park as a tourist resort; in 1933, it stopped hydro-electric development. Both would have changed the park landscape, and both would have benefitted the province economically. However, the scale of industrial and hydro-electric development eventually and irreparably altered the landscape.

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away from parks for the people. From 1918 through the 1920s the vested interests took precedence and the government allowed industrial development in the Park.

However, conservationists who had been inactive during and immediately following the war, reappeared in response to the government's actions. Conservationists successfully challenged the government's desire to allow logging in the park and to change the Parks Act; however, the increasingly diverse ideas of "park," and the emphasis on park utilization made an effective lobby against hydro-electric development at Buttle Lake impossible. The increasing acceptability of tourism as an industry, the discussing of scenery as a commodity, and the desire for local development in the Comox Valley, also contributed to the decline in conservationist thought. By 1931 it became difficult to discern the differences between the conservationists and expansionists.

The primary dictator of park values in the 1910s and 1920s was the idea of park held by elite groups of Anglo British Columbians. As the values of these people shifted to incorporate conservation ideas, the government responded by creating Strathcona Park, and by effectively displacing the Natives who had used the land for traditional purposes. Even though the Conservatives did not allow industrial development in the park, by including a development clause in the Strathcona Park Act they made it possible. As values shifted and park proponents became less homogeneous, those who held expansionist views reasserted their power to dictate how park resources would be used. By the late 1920s the diverse, and often fragmented, ideas held by park conservationists prevented them from effectively challenging the expansionists.

In a larger context, this case study suggests that park proponents were not always united in their ideas of conservation or in their acceptance or rejection of resource extraction in national or provincial parks. For example, the wishes of the Courtenay-Comox Board of Trade differed from those of the Alpine Club. In fact, conservation ideas are arguably influenced by other factors such as proximity to development.

despite Land-use conflicts in British Columbia can be traced to the early conflicts over park development and land use. Conservationists expressed concern about forest practices and the need to conserve forested land and protect fauna for future generations. By the 1920s park proponents expressed fragmented ideas over the use of the park. The increase in the commodification of scenery influenced the cultural construction of "park," and the increasing emphasis on the utilization of park resources facilitated the resurgence of the expansionist ethic over the conservation ethic. These factors determined how the land in Strathcona Park was to be used and for whose benefit.

Changes to the landscape caused by industrial development, between 1910 and 1933, in and around Strathcona Park were extensive. Outside the park, the government funded road building, the draining of McIvor Lake, and the planting of non-native species. Inside the boundaries, the government funded the construction of a few cabins, built trails for public use and trails for mining access. Companies mined for iron and copper ore on Myra and Price Creeks near the southern end of Buttle Lake. Hydro-electric development on some of the smaller creeks such as Thelwood Creek, fed power to the mines. This alteration of landscape appears minimal when compared with the potential for development in this time period had the Conservative government proceeded to develop a resort to rival Banff, and had the Liberal government allowed logging in the park, and had the damming of Buttle Lake proceeded.

Case studies such as this one can help explain the difficulty in resolving land use issues in British Columbia and demonstrate the impact of such decisions on the landscape. In many ways the debates over current land use policies are quite similar to those of the 1910s and 1920s. In the 1910s members of conservation organizations had the "ear" of politicians and could influence political decisions. In the late 1920s, the government generally supported industry. In the closing decade of the 20th century, there is a greater

¹ For further information see Wendy Wickwire, "Ethnography and Archaeology as Ideology: The Understanding of Ecological Systems and Principles, particularly relating to parks, but Philip Dearden and Lawrence Berg, "Canada's National Parks: A Model of Administrative Penetration," *The Canadian Geographer*, 37, no. 3 (1993) 194-211.

² Personal communication, Ron Lampard, B.C. Parks, September 23, 1996.

despite this accumulation of knowledge, these bodies of preserved landscape remain at risk from over-use, privatization, and government policies which support industry. Since the period of this study, conservationists (or environmentalists) have organized groups such as the Sierra Club or Western Canada Wilderness Committee, which present a serious, if unwelcomed, challenge to industry. Natives, excluded from park decision-making in the period of this study, have become actively involved in resolving treaty and sovereignty issues by fighting to protect culturally-important areas from non-native exploitation. To achieve this, they may side with environmentalists, industrialists, or with government to protect their interests in particular landscapes, including national and provincial parks.¹ Indeed, as Philip Dearden and Lawrence Berg note, Native groups are influencing federal parks' policies. In the case of the Stein valley, the Lytton and Mount Currie Indian bands also influenced land use decisions because of their historical presence in the valley. In 1994, the Nisga'a and Parks Branch signed a joint management agreement for the Nisga'a Memorial Lava Beds.

Similarly, the Nuu-Cha-Nulth and Kwakwaka'wakw people are initiating land claims in Strathcona park. Although they are informed of any changes in park management, they are not really involved in park planning. In fairness, since the late 1980s there has not been any significant change to the master plan. The Mowachats and Ahousat of the Nuu-Cha-Nulth do cooperate with the parks branch over resource issues. Although they pick berries in the park, the Parks Branch discourages bark extraction, which may harm trees, and prohibits hunting.²

Despite the influence of environmentalists and Natives, economics remains the primary determiner of land-use issues. Logging, for example, provides short-term jobs but degrades culturally-significant landscapes and, arguably, the environment, but

¹ For further information see Wendy Wickwire, "Ethnography and Archaeology as Ideology: The Case of the Stein River Valley," *B.C. Studies*, No. 91-92 (Autumn and winter 1991-91) 51-78; and Philip Dearden and Lawrence Berg, "Canada's National Parks: A Model of Administrative Penetration," *The Canadian Geographer*, 37, no. 3 (1993) 194-211.

² Personal communication, Ron Lampard, B.C. Parks, September 23, 1996.

governments have not totally banned resource extraction from these areas. This thesis shows that the locus of power remains with the provincial government but that from early on, it has been influenced by industry. Supporting the "sharing" concept invented by the

The primary source evidence used in this paper include the minutes of the meetings forest industry, the government will reserve some areas as parks, but allow logging on for those organizations actively debating the role of Strathcona Park. While one could their borders.

argue that Minutes do not express the wishes of particular individuals, they do represent the wishes of the majority of members present at meetings. Although minutes do not show the opinions of those members who were not present at a particular meeting, one can decision-making, probably because little importance is placed on past valuations of land. These past relationships with the land should not go unheeded as they can provide valuable

insight into the spatial and cultural relationships between people and land. Historians can show the locus of power, explain how and why land use decisions were made, and demonstrate how human action impacts the environment and affects cultures.

Newspapers provided information on the debates surrounding the development of Strathcona Park. To be representative of the political beat of each newspaper and the geographic location of the population each informed, I drew from the two Victoria newspapers, one Vancouver newspaper, and the *Comox Argus*. In particular, the latter newspaper showed different attitudes towards park development not seen in the more metropolitan newspapers.

Information available from the British Columbia Archives and Record Services included access to the Premier's Papers from 1905 to 1933, the T. Dufferin Pattullo Papers, the Price Ellison Papers, and the Frederick Longstaff Papers. Park history files for Strathcona Park were useful, although, proved problematic as there was no information for the period 1915 to 1926, most of the time when Dufferin Pattullo was Minister of Lands. A search of the Parks Branch files did not turn up any new information.

Victoria British Columbia Royal Archives, 1905-1933, 3285-8, 3187-9, 30-31, 32-33

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The primary source evidence used in this paper include the minutes of the meetings for those organizations actively debating the role of Strathcona Park. While one could argue that Minutes do not express the wishes of particular individuals, they do represent the wishes of the majority of members present at meetings. Although minutes do not show the opinions of those members who were not present at a particular meeting, one can assume they would respond if they disagreed with the general direction taken by their organization.

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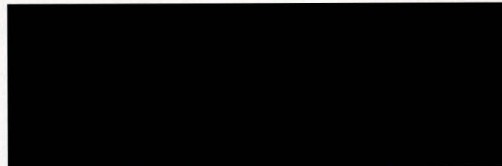
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