GUARDIANS OF THE WILD

A HISTORY OF THE WARDEN SERVICE OF CANADA'S NATIONAL PARKS

by Robert J. Burns
with the assistance of Michael J. Schintz

Revised January, 1999
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Guardians of the Wild is dedicated to the men and women of the National Park Warden Services.
Alf Burstrom and Ginger were the first professionally trained master and dog in the Canadian Park service. Between them they epitomized much of what was good about the Warden Service; courage, integrity and dedication. [Photo courtesy A. Burstrom]
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Abstract

The Warden Service has been integral to the National Park system of Canada from its earliest days. First established in Rocky Mountains Park (now Banff National Park) in 1909, the position of Fire and Game Guardian was the precursor of today’s National Park Warden, whose duties now include resource management, law enforcement and public safety. *Guardians of the Wild* traces the growth of the warden service from its formative years, examines how its members reacted to evolving national park philosophies and explores the role they played in implementing the changing policies emanating from Ottawa. The story describes the warden service as a way of life in the early days of our national parks, and goes on to show how trends in visitor activities and changing attitudes in society impacted on the service. New skills were developed to deal with different geographical and climatic conditions as the system expanded, and technological change both assisted and complicated the lives of the wardens. And finally the story tells how the involvement of Native people and women altered the face of the warden service. It is a tale of the great outdoors, bureaucrat’s struggles, bears, incredibly hard work, poachers, enormous devotion to duty, humour, and human and animal tragedy.
Le Service des gardes de parc est une composante du Réseau des parcs nationaux du Canada depuis que ce réseau existe. D’abord établi en 1909 dans le parc des Montagnes-Rocheuses (maintenant le parc national Banff), le poste de garde consistait alors à être à la fois observateur à une tour d’observation et garde-chasse. Aujourd’hui, les fonctions d’un garde de parc comprennent notamment la gestion des ressources, l’application de la loi et la protection de la sécurité du public. Guardians of the Wild retrace la croissance du Service des gardes de parc; il regarde comment ses membres ont réagi aux diverses philosophies de gestion des parcs nationaux, et examine le rôle que celles-ci ont joué dans la mise en application des divers changements de cap proposés par Ottawa. Le document raconte ce qu’était la vie de garde de parc dans nos parcs nationaux et comment les nouvelles activités mises à la mode par les visiteurs ainsi que les changements d’attitudes dans la société ont influencé le Service. Au fur et à mesure que le réseau des parcs s’est agrandi, les gardes de parc ont dû acquérir de nouvelles compétences pour s’adapter aux diverses conditions géographiques et climatiques, de même qu’au virage technologique, lequel a à la fois facilité et compliqué leur existence. En dernier lieu, on y explique comment la face du Service des gardes de parc a été modifiée par l’exigence d’un niveau plus élevé d’instruction et par l’arrivée de groupes anciennement sous-représentés, dont les femmes et les Premières nations. Il y est question de grands espaces, de lutte des bureaucrates, d’ours, d’un travail acharné, de braconniers, d’une dévotion sans borne au métier, de situations humoristiques, et de tragédies tant chez les humains que parmi les animaux.
FOREWORD

“A Backward Glance”

It was May 1951 and I had a summer job with the Banff National Park Warden Service. My first task was to help one of the local wardens deliver portable fire pumps and hose to Echo Creek on the outskirts of Banff. It was for a forest fire equipment handling demonstration for new employees.

The warden had just taken possession of a new truck with a gear shift arrangement different to what he was used to. He proudly drove down the incline and nosed the truck to the edge of the creek. All waiting hands quickly pitched in and removed the load. The warden briskly got back in the truck to drive it out of the way. He looked over his shoulder, threw the truck into gear, released the clutch and drove into the creek. When he hit the brakes he stalled the engine. He got the engine going again but because of the crowd now gathered on the shore he called to the warden mechanic nearby, “All clear?” The mechanic shouted, “Go ahead, back up.” - and he did.

This incident captures many of the elements of the forces at play in shaping the warden service and indeed, Canada’s National Parks.

Parks administrators in the early days, as well as today, were trying to figure out Mother Nature’s gearshift arrangement so that they could achieve a balance of nature in harmony with and beneficial to tourism. After all, to gain political support, parks were expected to make money and provide jobs.

Looking back was not much help in the beginning because there was little documented history on managing large natural areas as a nation’s parks. Besides, hindsight isn’t necessarily 20-20 as anyone who has been lost can tell you.

“Go ahead, back up” could well have been the motto for management and protection of park natural resources. In the context of controlling predators versus “beneficial wildlife” the classic example was wolves vs. elk. Elk were re-introduced to the mountain parks from Yellowstone Park in the U.S. in the 1920's and wolves were killed so they couldn’t prey on the elk; then what became over abundant elk herds were reduced by organized slaughters carried out by the Warden Service.

Asking observers and bystanders for advice can prove interesting and potentially devastating if its not carefully considered, as the warden at the wheel of the truck would attest. James Harkin, the first Commissioner of National Parks, was often the recipient of conflicting advice and sometimes found himself “up the creek” because of it.
The warden history is about the creation and evolution of an institution, the Warden Service, which was integral to the evolution of the National Parks concept in Canada. The concept and the institution went through many growing pains, some of them excruciating. The wonder of it has been that so many people, often with no park related experience or training, could come together to form the National Parks organization and become so overwhelmingly captivated by the purpose and challenge. They pretty well all wanted to do the right thing but sometimes weren’t quite sure what that was. Therefore, they ended up doing a lot of the wrong things for the right reasons.

The warden history is like the tip of an iceberg. It is a pure sample of the larger piece, drawn form the written word and many interviews. As with the iceberg, the bigger part remains hidden. It is largely made up of human his and her stories - about mental stress brought on by living in isolation, about suppressed fear when traveling alone in the unknown, about accidents in the wilds where your only help was you, about the joy of being in and working to protect some of the most spectacular examples of nature. These stories all bear telling. Like the warden history they are a part of our Canadian heritage.

Steve Kun*
November 1993

* Beginning with the summer job in 1951, Mr. Kun went on to a long and impressive career with National Parks. Positions he has held include: Superintendent of Banff National Park and Director General in Ottawa. When he retired a few years ago, he was Director General of Western Region.
PREFACE

It is perhaps timely that this publication of Guardians of the Wild is occurring as we move from being a branch of a federal department to special agency status. Whether the change bodes good or ill for the organization we have known and loved, only time will tell. In any case, for those who follow, it can do no harm to have at hand a history of the senior service, the National Park Wardens.

Many people associated with the wardens over the years have written about various aspects of the service. Sid Marty wrote feelingly of his experiences in Men for the Mountains; Ann Dixon portrayed warden wives in her book Silent Partners; and Frank Camp recounted his reminiscences in Roots in the Rockies. Mr. Ferg Lothian also dealt with some of the administrative details of the Warden Service in a chapter of one of four volumes he prepared on the history of the National Parks. In fact, it was the title of that chapter which gave us the name for this book. While each of these publications was interesting and informative they did not, even collectively, provide a comprehensive history of the Warden Service. During the last few years of my career with Parks, which spanned from 1952 to 1991, it became my goal to produce, or have produced, such a history.

It did not come easily at first. Having always worked in Operations, it was natural that I looked there for the resources to get the project underway; but while my colleagues were unanimous in their moral support, it was from the historic side of the house that the first real assistance was forthcoming.

I was fortunate from the very beginning to have a staunch ally in the person of Maryalice Stewart, in Banff. Maryalice was the first Curator/Director of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, and shared with me a love for the mountains and an interest in Parks and the Warden Service. We frequently pondered the problem of how to get Parks interested in our history project.

The first break occurred on a day in 1983 when Bill Yeo, then Head of Research and Archeology for Western Region, called at Maryalice’s home at 439 Muskrat Street. At some point during the discussion that afternoon Maryalice broached the need to start interviewing veterans of what was actually the second generation of wardens, before even that link with the past should disappear. Bill, to whom I shall be forever grateful, agreed to commit certain funds from his budget to pay for expenses, and our dream took its first step towards reality.

During the next three years we continued with the oral history, using whatever means were available, including having Maryalice work as a volunteer when funds were hard to come by. Then in 1986 David Lohnes, Director of Natural Resource Conservation at Headquarters came to our rescue and provided money which enabled us to extend the research into Prairie Region and the Atlantic. Ev Doak, a former Park Superintendent and an administrator, conducted the interviews for us in the Maritimes.
During this period I used every opportunity to promote the Warden History project. In the field I spoke to wardens, and chief wardens and superintendents; in the regions I lobbied chiefs of resource conservation and operations directors; and at headquarters I made it a point to hammer on the need for such a project at every chance; so much so that after a while my appearance at a conference would elicit good natured groans like “here comes old Mr. History”, or “here’s Warden Artifact again”!

Slowly but surely support began to grow for the preparation of a Warden History. By 1987 there was reason to believe the project might actually gain Program Management acceptance. In light of this Dr. Rick Stuart who was then in Western Regional Office, helped to prepare an Activity Proposal for presentation to the Program Management Committee (PMC).

The next step in the process was to meet with Mr. Max Sutherland, Director of Historical Research for Parks Canada, in Ottawa. I was much in awe of this scholarly gentleman, but we seemed to hit it off, and he agreed to speak in support of the project to his boss, Dr. Christina Cameron. This also went favourably, with the result that Max prepared a Headquarters project initiation document for presentation at the February 1990 meeting of PMC. Sandy Davis, newly appointed Director-General of Western region, liked the project as well, and graciously agreed to back the proposal.

Finally at the eleventh hour, I placed a personal telephone call to every park superintendent in the country that I could reach, explaining the status of the proposal, and asked each one to send a message of support to Max Sutherland. The results were impressive. On February 6, 1990, Max advised me that the warden Service History was the first HQ item to be approved. We had our go-ahead, and it was time to start.

In early May 1990, Dr. Robert Burns wrote me a letter of introduction, as our assigned historian. We met soon after, and embarked on what was to be a fascinating and absorbing project. Over the next three years, Bob and I worked together to assemble our information. While I concentrated on finding old records in the mountain Parks, Bob plumbed the depths of Parks documents in the National Archives in Ottawa and in a range of repositories across the country. He also visited parks from Newfoundland to British Columbia, tracing records, interviewing retired and active wardens, and when feasible, accompanying wardens in their day-to-day work. We share a profound sense of gratitude to many Parks staff across the country, from superintendents to records clerks who gave so freely of their time and experience, and who shared our enthusiasm for this study.

The original report was published in-house in the spring of 1994. The 150 copies were distributed to Parks, regional offices and interested individuals for comment. A number of useful critiques were received and in general the response was favourable.
As it turned out, the review and preparation of a second draft has taken longer than we at first envisioned. A number of factors contributed to the delay. Max Sutherland retired, and the Editorial Review Board, of which he was a member, became inoperative. Then Dr. Burns, our historian, left Parks and went into consulting. And perhaps most significantly of all, the Park Service entered upon a period of re-organization, with the result that more pressing issues inevitably took centre stage.

Finally in 1997, we managed to get the project back on track. With the help of Mr. James De Jong, and then Dr. Rick Stuart, who by this time was in Ottawa, a contract was let to Bob Burns to prepare a second manuscript in accordance with the various critiques received. This he did during the winter of 1997/98, again with some input from me. This second edition was given an editorial review at Headquarters and then shipped to the Calgary office of Canadian Heritage for final review and publication.

For those of you who have had the opportunity to see the first draft, I believe you will find this edition an improvement. We have tried to tighten up the text, and reduce repetitious material. We have also beefed up the sections on native and female involvement in the Warden Services, two areas which were dealt with very briefly in the first manuscript. A number of poor quality photographs have been deleted, and better ones added; and an historic and evocative image of Warden Robert Mann now appears on the cover.

It remains now for me to thank the present day park managers in Alberta and British Columbia for making the 1999 publication possible. Also heartfelt thanks to Dr. Jim Taylor of the Calgary office for his valuable advice and consistent support throughout. It is largely due to the efforts of Jim Taylor and Rick Stuart that this new edition has been made possible. And finally, many thanks to Katharine Kinnear for her assistance in the final preparations for this book, and to Rob Storeshaw for his excellent cover design.

We found much to be proud of in the history of Canada’s park wardens, also some things to make us weep. For the benefit of our readers we have tried to provide accurate history, and also much of interest. We hope we have succeeded. For the wardens, past, present and future, this is your story. Enjoy.

M.J. Schintz
Warden Operations Manager, Western Region (ret.)
Establishment and Consolidation, 1885-1920

CHAPTER 1

In the winter of 1926, Banff Warden Arthur L. Allison recorded an extraordinary experience in his diary:

Patrolling and doing chores and looking over horses to see how they were standing the storm. As I was coming home over middle field, a big doe deer came for me and my horse was afraid of her. I got him quiet and the deer came right close and stopped. She looked all in and her tongue was hanging out. Just then two coyotes came over the hill after her. They saw me and made off. She stayed by me for fifteen minutes and I rode off. She followed quite close for half a mile and ran off into the timber.¹

Allison was understandably pleased that his presence had saved the deer from predators, and his response truly reflected the role and purpose of the Warden Service, as its members understood them in the 1920s. The following study is a detailed examination of the way in which that role changed over time, the factors that influenced the change and the underlying principles that have guided the wardens of Canada’s national parks who have served as guardians of the wild for more than a century.

Beginnings

In the early 1880s, the entrepreneurs and empire builders who pushed the Canadian Pacific Railway across the continent encountered many natural vistas of exquisite beauty. One in particular, a hot spring that was nestled in the Bow Valley of the eastern Rockies, caught their attention and their imaginations. Recognizing its singular beauty and its commercial value, they acted quickly to preserve it for a discriminating development under the auspices of the Railway, and for the benefit of all Canadians—including the Railway’s shareholders. In 1885, the federal government set aside Banff, a small reserve of ten square miles. Initially, Banff’s lure was its therapeutic possibilities and the dream that it could become the centre of a fashionable resort, where one would come to relax, take the waters in the European style, and rejuvenate mind and body. In 1887, this special place was designated a national park, under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, and was extended to 250 square miles in recognition of the natural beauty of the surrounding mountains and forests that held health and recreational possibilities. Rocky Mountains Park, as it was designated, was to be a means of directing commercial development while preserving for tourists the essence of the surrounding landscape and its big game— tourists who would be transported and accommodated by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Banff, given its wilderness setting, would, when properly developed, become a recreational magnet, drawing discerning and affluent Easterners to relax at grand hotels set in one of the beauty spots of the natural world. Such was the reasoning that led to the establishment of Canada’s first national park.

¹ National Archives, RG84, Vol. 7, B300, Part 3, extract from the diary of Warden A. L. Allison, Rocky Mountains Park (hereafter RMP), December 13, 1926.
By the turn of the century, Banff was one of six national parks, park reserves and national forest reserves that were all in the Rockies. Soon, two Ontario jewels, Point Pelee and the Thousand Islands national parks were added to the system. The 1920s saw the creation of a prairie park and, in the following decade, the system was extended to the Maritimes with the establishment of Cape Breton Highlands National Park. In the 1970s, the national park system was again extended, this time into Quebec and the North with LaMauricie, Nahanni and Kluane parks. Today, the system spans the country, from the Pacific coast to the Arctic tundra and the Atlantic shores, with a mandate to represent and preserve examples of every natural habitat. While the system grew, the philosophy behind it evolved, reflecting changes in thought regarding game protection, wildlife management and park development. Over time, the protective/exploitative impulses of 1885 gave way to wider perspectives on the natural world and man’s place in it.

First Park, Officials and Regulations

In the United States, similar nineteenth century imperial aspirations resulted in the completion of the Union Pacific Railway and the discovery of Yellowstone, another special natural place that became the world's first national park in 1872. At Yellowstone, the U.S. Army, represented by various cavalry units, enforced regulations and maintained desultory patrols of the park from 1886, until they were replaced by civilian employees in 1918. In Canada's Rocky Mountains Park, a handful of federal civil servants and day labourers transformed Ottawa policy into action. Thus, the position of fire and game guardian, the precursor of today's national park warden was established in 1909. Just as the purpose of, and philosophy behind, Rocky Mountains Park, and the other national parks changed over time, the roles of their “guardians” changed as well. The following pages trace the growth of the Warden Service from its formative years, examining how its members reacted to evolving national park philosophies and exploring the role they played in implementing the changing policies from Ottawa.

The Order in Council creating Canada's first national park reserve in 1885 did little to assure the preservation of the park's special qualities. This became abundantly clear in 1886 in a report that outlined the damages sustained from the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the reserve and the ongoing depredations of commercial development. The report lamented that, after only a few years:

....large game and fish, once various and plentiful in this mountainous region, are now scattered and comparatively scarce. Skin-hunters, dynamiters and netters, with Indians, wolves and foxes, have committed sad havoc. The rapid settlement now progressing in that vicinity will add other elements of destruction. Therefore, the necessity for promptness and efficiency becomes a vital urgency in the adoption of any scheme for saving and increasing what is left. How to avert irreparable disaster to the remnant of game and fish, to restore partial exhaustion, to restock the mountain uplands, valleys and plains, and to replenish the waters is worthy of immediate and serious consideration.

2 Fire and game guardian was the name originally given to those entrusted with the enforcement of federal park regulations. In 1915, they were officially renamed wardens, but, through the years, they have answered to a wide variety of titles, including ranger, fire ranger, deputy warden and patrolman. Chief Warden Sibbald habitually referred to his men simply as "Deputy Staples" or "Deputy Bevan" in correspondence. For simplicity's sake in this study, they will be called fire and game guardians and then wardens, as reflected in contemporary usage. In quotations, the original terms will be retained.

The danger to the park's natural habitat was twofold. Fire, particularly fire from the sparks of passing Canadian Pacific Railway locomotives, could rapidly destroy large tracts of forest, and hunters—who were often workers from the expanding mining operations within the park—were a constant threat to park fauna. The government had been vague and tentative in its intentions when first setting aside the park reserve, and it would be some years before a coherent policy of conservation emerged. Still, it was soon apparent in Ottawa that, without agents on-site, the concept of a special reserved place would be meaningless.

In 1887, the federal government sent its first superintendent, George A. Stewart, to Banff. Stewart was immediately overwhelmed by the scope and the extent of his responsibilities, and, within months, he had turned over many of his duties to a federal land agent, also residing in Banff. Stewart soon called for a "game guardian" with the powers of a constable to be stationed at Devil's Lake (now Lake Minnewanka) near Banff. As well as protecting game, Stewart's guardian would be responsible for the prevention of "fires, and the enforcement of the Rules and Regulations of the Park, particularly those relating to Liquor." Assistance arrived in 1889, when John Connor was appointed as a forest ranger to prevent hunting and to protect the park against fire hazards. Connor soon complained of lax attitudes toward firearms, with "people carrying rifles around, and banging them off whenever they like." He begged for stricter rules: "The employees around the hotels are the worst...for they take guests along with them and never warn them about the danger of rifle bullets flying across from one road to another."

The park's first printed regulations appeared in 1890 and included, at Stewart's suggestion, a clause prohibiting visitors from killing or injuring any wild animals or birds—with the exception of predators: wolves, bears, coyotes, cougars, wolverines, lynx, hawks and eagles. Weapons were prohibited to park visitors, but park officers continued the battle against "noxious" or predator species—a battle waged until surprisingly recent times. In the United States, the first wildlife-protection regulations, including fishing rules and penalties for hunting in Yellowstone National Park, were enacted in 1894 and enforced by the U.S. Army, which had been given responsibility for the Park in 1886.

Connor died in 1890, and Stewart himself was replaced in 1896 by Howard Douglas, following a long and bitter personal feud with the North West Mounted Police officer stationed at Banff. Douglas, first as superintendent at Banff and then as chief superintendent at Edmonton, devoted the

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5 Banff, Administration Building, Superintendent Stewart's letterbook, Stewart, to the secretary of the Minister of the Interior, June 25, 1888.
6 RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, John Connor [forest ranger], Banff, to William Pearce, superintendent of Mines, Department of the Interior, Calgary, July 8, 1889.
7 RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, printed regulations governing control and management of Rocky Mountains Park, November 27, 1889; [George A.] Stewart, superintendent, RMP, to secretary, Department of the Interior, April 19, 1890.
next 15 years to protecting and expanding the national park system. Around 1901, some individuals were appointed to act as forest and game guardians in Rocky Mountains Park, but Douglas was not satisfied with the results. He recommended, in 1903, that the North West Mounted Police station a constable at Laggan (Lake Louise) expressly for park patrol work. Department of the Interior Deputy Minister James A. Smart supported Douglas, arguing that "...it is more satisfactory to have a man in uniform and connected with the Police performing this service, rather than to appoint guardians such as we have had for the last two or three years." The police, however, declined the invitation.

Douglas continued Stewart's campaign to strengthen the Park's regulations regarding hunting and fires. In 1906, for example, he argued against an interpretation of existing rules that would have required authorities to actually observe the discharge of firearms within the Park before being able to act. Douglas contended, and Ottawa agreed, that the existing regulations were meant to bar weapons from the Park except in the hands of park officers. He also suggested that those wishing to travel from Banff to hunt outside the Park should be required to have their weapons mechanically sealed before leaving. Then, anyone caught with unsealed weapons inside the Park could be charged under park regulations. This step had been taken in Yosemite National Park in 1896. In April 1907, Douglas hired a chief game warden, Philip A. Moore, and argued for more stringent firearms and poaching regulations to support the efforts of this new official. Moore, a U.S. citizen with some inherited wealth and a penchant for hunting, was a friend and former business partner of Banff teamsters and entrepreneurs William and James Brewster. Douglas was under no illusions regarding the ability of one man to patrol the whole Park, but he did feel the very presence of a game guardian would cool the enthusiasm of many would-be poachers.

Douglas wanted all animals in the parks to be specifically protected by the regulations. He also proposed that the chief game warden or any other wardens "have suitable badges or marks of distinction, and ... wear such on each and every occasion of exercising their authority." Douglas wanted park guides to be licensed by the federal government and to "have the power of a game warden to enforce the laws." He recommended that wardens be granted power of contraband search and seizure, which, when actually implemented, outstripped that of any other Canadian law-enforcement agency. He also asked for 1,000 lead seals and 12 presses to establish a weapons-sealing program. Unsealed weapons would be confiscated, with guilty parties liable to a fine of $10.00 to $20.00. Those convicted of killing game in the Park would be liable to prison terms of

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9 RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, T. G. Rothwell, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, to Deputy Minister of the Interior, July 16, 1894; ibid., December 24, 1894.
10 RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, Deputy Minister of the Interior James A. Smart, to Comptroller of North West Mounted Police Fred White, Ottawa, April 8, 1903.
11 RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, Superintendent Howard Douglas, to secretary, Department of the Interior, Banff, April 5, 1906.
12 Ise, Our National Park Policy, p. 63.
13 RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, Howard Douglas, to Deputy Minister of the Interior W. W. Cory, March 16, 1907. Moore soon disappears from the official records. Two years later, when the new position of chief fire and game guardian was filled, Moore was not a candidate, and the post went to Howard Sibbald. In 1912, Moore was arrested for poaching in the park.
14 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, report of the superintendent, RMP, Howard Douglas, Banff, August 1, 1907.
two months to a year, and any guide whose party members killed game would automatically lose his licence for two years.

Questions of Jurisdiction and Park Philosophies

The unsettled nature of jurisdiction and authority within the national parks was further emphasized in 1907, when the Government of Alberta, established as a province in 1905, issued regulations prohibiting hunting in Rocky Mountains Park. Superintendent Douglas, accustomed to exercising sole authority in his domain, called on Ottawa for direction. The provincial authorities had issued notices, printed on cloth, so that they could be posted on trees, warning that anyone found shooting or carrying firearms in Rocky Mountains Park would be prosecuted. The penalties ranged from $50.00 to $200.00 plus court costs. Douglas pointed out that he now had a federal game guardian, Moore, empowered to enforce existing regulations. If the province too was going to have officers in the Park, there hardly seemed a need, in Douglas' view, for federal duplication. He concluded: "I do not quite understand what position to take, as the Park has always been entirely controlled by the Federal Government." The end result was a continuation of existing protocol and the establishment of a small force of federal game guardians to implement federal policy. Alberta continued to maintain its right to legislate for the federal parks but, in practice, was satisfied to have federal employees enforce provincial regulations or federal legislation, as long as the latter was not less stringent than its own rules. In the United States, similar agreements between federal and state agencies were in effect by 1908.¹⁵

In the national parks in British Columbia—a province rather than a territory, when the first national parks were established—there was no official understanding until 1921. In the interim, park wardens often found themselves unable to enforce any hunting prohibitions that were at odds with provincial legislation. It was a problem that continued to cause awkward situations for park employees for some years.¹⁶ It was also a powerful incentive in Ottawa for the creation of a federal arm or agency that could be relied on to enforce national regulations. As long as British Columbia in effect denied federal jurisdiction in the parks, the province would hardly direct provincial game officials to enforce federal park regulations.

At the same time, officials in Ottawa were still groping to establish a philosophy of usage for the national parks and to determine what activities were compatible with that philosophy. For example, not only was timber harvesting permitted in defined areas of the parks, but mining was also being carried out under the benign eye of park officers. In 1908, Douglas warned, unsuccessfully, against the granting of grazing leases within Rocky Mountains Park. Stressing that he had the support of the federal superintendent of forestry, he argued that "it is not wise to grant any grazing leases in the

¹⁵ RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, warning notice against shooting or carrying fire arms in Rocky Mountains Park, George Harcourt, Deputy Minister of Agriculture for Alberta, June 1, 1907; ibid., Howard Douglas, to secretary, Department of the Interior, July 5, 1907; Ise, Our National Park Policy, p. 111.

¹⁶ RG84, Vol. 176, Y300, Part 1, E.D. Hoar, assistant superintendent of Yoho Park Reserve and Rocky Mountains Park, to W.A. Galliher, M.P., September 26, 1906. Hoar provided one of the earliest complaints in this regard, noting that the only recourse that the federal government had under British Columbian law to prohibit hunting on its land was the same as that open to private citizens—post the land as being closed to hunters. This was hardly what federal agents responsible for massive parks saw as a suitable means of implementing national park policy. Hoar wanted the same arrangement that existed in Alberta. The settlement would come in 1921, in association with the construction of the Banff-Windemere highway.
Establishment and Consolidation, 1885-1920

the Park is supposed to be a game preserve and the land that would be suitable for grazing is usually one of the very best game resorts, and allowing these stockmen and their cowboys to build and live all through the park would make it impossible to protect the game without an army of game wardens.

I certainly think with all the open land in this grand big country, the settlers might allow the Mountains to remain for the game and forests to grow and thrive....

The national parks, although protected, to some extent, from the worst ravages of hunting and man-made fires, were beginning to show signs of succumbing to their very popularity. The following eye-witness description paints a vivid picture of what was happening in popular scenic areas without regulations and the staff to enforce them:

When Tom Wilson and I camped at O'Hara Lake in 1896 there was nothing to greet us except the 'natural beauties' of a charming spot in the wilderness; one of the most entrancing in these mountains, and that means also of the world over. Yesterday I counted in one little place ten feet square, formerly the home of beautiful wild flowers, more than seventy-five tin cans and broken bottles. The entire area where the lake first comes on the view of the visitor is a desolation of old camp grounds, chips of wood, rusty cans, broken glass, decayed provisions and bedding; while the brush of camp beds, tent poles, the charcoal of fireplaces and other rubbish, make this place resemble a city dump of one of our great manufacturing centres. Some vandal has built his camp fire near one of the great spruce trees (probably 300 years old) and killed it, and another equally grand specimen is blazed and marked with names one-third of its circumference, so that a little more will kill it also. Everyone who desires brush or tent poles cuts from the nearest available tree with no consideration for those to follow. Trees three hundred years old are not replaceable.

The combination of these problems in the national parks led officials from the Department of the Interior in Ottawa to contemplate more definite rules and a more powerful means of enforcing them. Correspondence with the Alberta government late in 1908 led to distinct understandings regarding roles and responsibilities based on earlier precedents. As a prelude to establishing revised regulations for the parks, U.S. park bureaucrats were canvassed for their opinions on control problems. Enforcement of park policy, including an effort to lessen depredation of the natural habitat by park visitors, would be accomplished through the creation of a regular force of park fire and game guardians.

17 RG84, Vol. 93, U3-13, Part 1, Douglas, to Acting Deputy Minister of the Interior J. A. Cote, April 1, 1908.
18 RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 2, Walter D. Wilcox, to Mrs. Parker, Banff, September 23, 1908.
19 RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, Assistant Secretary Department of the Interior L. Pereira, to Alberta Attorney General C. W. Cross, October 28, 1908; ibid., Part 2, Attorney General of Alberta C. W. Cross, to L. Pereira, Department of the Interior, November 14, 1908; ibid., T. S. Palmer, Bureau of Biological Survey, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., to R. H. Campbell, superintendent, Forestry Branch, Department of the Interior, November 4, 1908. Palmer explained that U.S. practice regarding park visitors and firearms was that such weapons were taken from visitors and returned to them on their leaving the park. Armed visitors who were simply passing through Yellowstone National Park, perhaps on their way to points in Wyoming or Montana, were required to have their weapons sealed on entry. Visitors with sealed weapons were required to offer them for inspection to the military personnel stationed in the Park; ibid., Part 2, superintendent of Forestry Branch, Department of the Interior, R. H. Campbell, to Arthur O. Wheeler, president of the Alpine Club of Canada, Calgary, from Ottawa, February 16, 1909. Wheeler had recently written Campbell enclosing the above-noted Wilcox description of damage being done in the park. Campbell responded in part: "We would require a much more thorough organization of the parks than we have hitherto had in order to provide for the effective carrying out of regulations, and this we hope to do by having several permanent guardians appointed and by having a much fuller control of guides and outfitters, and a closer check on parties travelling through the Park."
although remaining in Banff and reporting through the Forestry Branch, recommended more stringent protection of game in the park and, again, the prohibition of guns, except for those carried by the game guardians to shoot coyotes.

Douglas suggested hiring a chief guardian at a salary of $125.00 per month plus expenses, and two guardians at $75.00 plus expenses. Each would be supplied with two horses, with the chief guardian residing in Banff and his subordinates "at outlying points." As well as enforcing the fire and poaching regulations, the new game guardians would exercise more control over guides and outfitters, and would provide a closer check on parties travelling through the Park." In June 1909, new park regulations, with provisions for the hiring of game guardians, came into effect by Order in Council.20

These regulations, and subsequent directives, established the bureaucratic framework for the parks for decades to come. They also set the national park system on a course that would lead to a greater stress on preservation of the natural environment and away from the view of parks as sources of raw materials for economic gain. Preservation, though, has always shared an uneasy existence with promotion for tourism—a dichotomy perhaps best exemplified over the years by the park warden as conservationist cum public relations officer.

**Game Guardians and Their Role**

The first fire and game guardians hired in 1909 were all stationed at Rocky Mountains Park, although there were, by this time, six more national parks/forest reserves—Jasper, Waterton Lakes, Buffalo [now CFB Wainwright] and Elk Island in Alberta; and Yoho and Glacier in British Columbia.

In the next few years, game guardians appeared at the other parks in response to local needs and conditions. Often, they were seasonal employees hired in the spring for fire patrol and kept on in the fall for the poaching season. Sometimes, as was the case at Yoho National Park in 1912, they were simply day labourers paid on a monthly basis.21 It would be years before Ottawa was convinced that the benefits of full-time fire and game guardians in every park outweighed the costs. In the decade following 1909, the fire and game guardians evolved into the Warden Service with a presence in every park and a clearly defined mandate to enforce the regulations of the national parks. In this endeavour, they were aided by the establishment in 1911 of the National Parks Branch and


75 Game guardians may be appointed by the Minister of the Interior; and ...shall have authority to enforce the laws and regulations in force within the Parks. Each game guardian shall be furnished with a badge of office which shall be displayed by him on every occasion when he is exercising the authority of his office.

76 Every game guardian appointed shall take an oath of office as prescribed by the Minister of the Interior.

21 RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, chief superintendent of Dominion Parks, to Superintendent F. Maunders, Yoho National Park (hereafter YNP), June 7, 1912.
the appointment of James B. Harkin as its first commissioner. For the next quarter of a century, Harkin was the guiding spirit of a twin policy advocating conservation and the encouragement of tourism in the national parks. The internal contradictions of this policy would eventually become apparent, as visitors increased in numbers and began to threaten the existence of the natural surroundings that they had hoped to enjoy.

In the United States, a similar National Parks Service was created in 1916. Its ranger component appeared in 1918 with the hiring of 25 park rangers, four assistant chiefs and a single chief park ranger. The U.S. system evolved in a manner not dissimilar to its Canadian counterpart, as each carried similar responsibilities and faced similar problems. However, there were differences of approach. The U.S. use of sports hunting, as a partial solution to the pressures of ungulate overpopulation, was rejected in Canada. On the other hand, the Canadian solution to this problem—the establishment of abattoirs and a systematic slaughtering policy—was never widely adopted in the United States. The two forces also projected subtly differing images. To this day, U.S. park rangers routinely carry open-holstered sidearms, while, with the exception of the early years, Canadian wardens have eschewed the official use of handguns.

In Canada, a new bureaucratic arm of the federal government was created to oversee the regulations. In practice, game guardians were to be chosen, following political considerations, who were familiar with life and survival in the mountains. This meant, in most cases, men who had served as outfitters, guides and packers in the Rockies. The delicate task here was to pick individuals who had not, in the past, been too blatant in their violation of existing poaching and weapons regulations. The official criteria called for an individual who was "sober, industrious and orderly, and ... engaged in no other employment than his official duties." Superintendents were directed that recruits should be "used to operations in the woods, able to organize and manage a crew of fire fighters, and have education enough to report intelligently to the Department." The regulations also specified the work to be carried out: "trails to be patrolled, old roads and trails to be cleared and repaired, new roads and trails to be made, [identification of] equipment needed, rangers cabins and other buildings to be constructed, signal towers to be erected, telephone lines to be built, and other work to be done."

From the beginning, the cabins were meant to give the guardians more mobility, permitting them to stay out in the park longer than if they were dependent on packing tents and all their necessities wherever they patrolled. Guardians were also to have all the powers of a justice of the peace and were authorized, in fire emergencies, to order adult males to assist in fire suppression. The system of warden diaries, which would be a component of the Warden Service until the 1970s and one of the early strengths of the organization, was also established in embryonic form at this time. In a similar vein, requirements were made for each level of the bureaucracy to report conditions and needs to the next level on a regular basis. The warden diaries were regularly shipped to Ottawa, where Harkin used them to keep a close rein on his far-flung empire. Unfortunately, the diaries disappeared some time before the Second World War, probably the casualty of a records' cleanup in Ottawa. Only fragments of them remain, usually cited in Harkin's directives to the parks.

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22 Ise, Our National Park Policy, p. 208.
24 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1909, report of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks Howard Douglas, Banff, July 15, 1909, p. 8. The clause dealing with warden reports actually read:
The first chief game guardian, Howard E. Sibbald, was hired in 1909 and made his initial inspection trip through the northern portions of Rocky Mountains Park, even before the regulations were in force. Sibbald, an energetic and practical outdoorsman, would guide the Warden Service during its first quarter of a century. While his centre of operations was Banff, he became responsible for wardens in other parks, as they made their appearance. During the summer, Robert Robertson and John Hogarth, both of Banff, were brought on as game guardians. In the fall, both were authorized to enforce Alberta legislation, with the understanding that they could now pursue offenders beyond park boundaries. Little is known of the backgrounds of Robertson and Hogarth, and the latter soon vanishes from the warden records. Robertson, however, remained for several years and found himself the centre of one of its formative legal tests. Late in 1910, he shot a coyote, responding to complaints that the animals were destroying deer, antelope and, more to the point and more likely true, domestic poultry. An individual who had previously been fined for shooting two mountain sheep in the Park attempted to have Robertson convicted under article 61 of the park regulations forbidding the carrying and use of firearms. The result was the clear establishment of the right of park officers to be armed and to use their weapons in the execution of their duties. Robertson was last reported as a game guardian in 1912.

In assessing their impact after two years on the job, Douglas noted that fires were less frequent in the Park, a result of the guardians' work in enforcing the regulations:

"...the patrolling daily of the park by the fire guardians, and the enforcement of the regulations regarding camping parties, has been largely responsible for the small amount of damage by fire reported, and is sufficient proof of the wisdom of having permanent men on the ground. In many cases, when out on patrol, they have been able to discover and extinguish small fires before they had made much headway, and have thus been enabled to preserve much of the natural beauty of the park."

Douglas also attributed the apparent increase in game to the efforts of the guardians who had caught two persons killing Rocky Mountain sheep and had confiscated four unsealed rifles in their first two years of operations. The guardians also cleared and widened existing trails, and cut one new trail, 24 miles long, joining Banff and the Spray Lakes to the southeast. As well, seven temporary game guardians were sworn in during the winter of 1910. These appear to have been local residents who were not paid but were permitted to carry unsealed rifles for use against lynx and coyotes, whose pelts they could keep. Together, they accounted for 30 coyotes, in the superintendent's words, "an exceptionally good record for a mountain district."

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9. "Every warden shall report immediately at the close of each calendar month to the Superintendent under whose direction he is employed, or to the Chief Warden in any park where such officer has been appointed, in compliance with the requirements for forms for such purpose which shall be furnished to him by the said Superintendent or Chief Warden. Every such report shall be forwarded within one week after the receipt thereof at the office of the Superintendent or Chief Warden, to the Chief Superintendent of Dominion Parks, and shall be forwarded by him within one week after receipt thereof to the Commissioner of Dominion Parks."


28 Ibid., report of the superintendent, RMP, A. B. Macdonald, pp. 15-16.
In January 1910, Lewis J. Swift became the first game guardian in Jasper Park, and, late in 1911, three more men, Walker, Fay and Knott, were sworn in as game guardians—possibly unpaid temporaries working for pelts—in Rocky Mountains Park. At the same time, one game warden, John George “Kootenai” Brown, was employed full-time at Waterton Lakes. By 1912, a second warden, Alex McDougall, was working out of Fitzhugh Townsite (Jasper) in Jasper Park, and at least one temporary fire warden, Bulwell or Burwell, was active in Yoho National Park, where federal forest rangers still carried out most of the fire patrols.

By the spring of 1913, Sibbald had five men working under his immediate direction and was hoping to expand the Warden Service to 12. He got ten of the 12 positions. His wardens at various times in 1913 included Jack Bevan, E. W. (Bill) Peyto, William Noble, Edward Tabateau, Ben Woodworth Jr., Howard Caine, Andrew Wright, Burton S. Fox, Louis Hill, John McKay, William George Fyfe, Thomas Staples, L. S. Mumford and L. A. Mill. Of these, eight were kept on that winter: Fyfe at Castle Mountain, Peyto and Mumford at Banff, Cain at Laggan, Bevan and Noble at Canmore, Staples at Exshaw and Wright at Bankhead. Each was responsible for fall and winter patrols from these locations. In arguing for a more permanent staff, Sibbald noted: "... to have efficient Game Wardens, it is necessary to keep the men on the year round, as temporary men do not care to make enemies when only hired for a few months." Harkin acquiesced but was not yet willing to bring warden staff on permanent strength in the federal civil service. In 1914, Walter Peyto, J. F. Morrison, Fred Ashley and John Joseph Leitcher were added to the warden roster at Rocky Mountains Park.

In Jasper, Alex McDougall became chief warden and Rootes, Chisholme, Frank James, R.W. Langford, Simpson, Buckham and George Busby appear as wardens, with Busby taking up duties at Pocahontas on the rail line east of Jasper. At Glacier, John McDonald and William Williamson were hired that year for the four-month summer season. Sibbald recommended a new recruit, noting that the candidate "is just the class of man we require, being young and active and an experienced..."
hunter and trapper, and knows the mountains like a book. He is also a student of geology, which is a qualification that would be of great benefit to the Park." Such were the qualities sought in new recruits, and there seems to have been no shortage of candidates.

By 1916, it was becoming clear that the wardens were making an impact on the developing national parks. Reported fires were fewer, and were more frequently caught and extinguished at an early stage. Poaching was becoming less common in the wake of several successful and well-publicized prosecutions and convictions. Also, the wildlife population was growing steadily.

The demands of World War One slowed but did not halt the growth of the Warden Service. In 1915, the number of wardens in Jasper rose from six to nine, with two additional temporary wardens for the busy summer and fall seasons. This was a result of the vast increase of the park's size the previous year. Nevertheless, a 30-percent increase in staff indicates vigorous growth in a period of scarce resources. On the other hand, Waterton Lakes suffered from a shortage of wardens, particularly after its similarly massive extension of territory in 1914. Early the following year, Warden George William Knight complained that homesteaders near Yarrow Creek were poaching with impunity, because there was no warden in that area of the park.

Yoho and Glacier national parks had languished for years without permanent or even temporary game guardians. In 1915, Yoho's four temporary wardens were not appointed until mid-May and then just for five months. Two years later, Yoho's superintendent found himself unable to report on trail conditions in June, because wardens had not yet been appointed. In 1918, Superintendent Russell persuasively argued the merits of retaining the current chief warden on a permanent basis:

> The difficulties of picking up an entire new staff of wardens each season, including the man who is to act as their direct chief are many, but the situation would be greatly helped, if the Chief warden at least was a man with past experience in this work under this department, who would know how to properly instruct his wardens, as to their duties and reports, and who by his past experience was in a position to know the trails in the two Parks, and the condition & probable repairs required on each. With an entire new staff of wardens each year, the whole burden of training these wardens is thrown on the Superintendent, who naturally has not sufficient time to devote to the matter.

Harkin agreed but was unable to comply because of wartime restraints on the civil service. When a permanent chief warden was appointed in 1919, the post went to a war veteran and a newcomer to the Warden Service, John M. "Jack" Giddie. In 1920, when game protection in the British Columbia

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36 Mount Revelstoke National Park (hereafter MRNP), Schintz Package # 5, chief park warden correspondence file, 1915-24, superintendent, to Harkin, August 22, 1918.
national parks finally became a federal responsibility, the wardens there were given permanent or year-round appointments.\(^{37}\)

Wardens began to appear too at some of the other federal parks by the end of the war. In 1916, Superintendent Smith of Buffalo National Park near Wainwright, Alberta, first referred to "Riders" working in the Park and doing buffalo counts. Although not called wardens or perhaps recognized as such officially, riders Hawkins and Foster certainly seem to have been functioning in that role. Two other riders and a caretaker, Davison, were mentioned later the same year. The latter is probably Warden Davison who first appears as such in 1918. In 1917, Superintendent Archibald Cox of Elk Island Park named three employees who had been responsible for predator control over the previous year. While Cox did not call them wardens, they carried out recognizably warden work.\(^{38}\)

Back east in the small, new federal parks in Ontario, circumstances were different for the Warden Service. St. Lawrence Islands National Park, established in 1912, was, as the name suggests, a collection of islands in the St. Lawrence River. Given its small territory and proximity to Ottawa, the Park was maintained by part-time caretakers for several decades. Wardens were not assigned there until the mid-twentieth century. Shortly after its creation in 1918, Point Pelee National Park did receive a single warden—George Finlayson, a former member of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police. Finlayson wore the warden's badge, but his duties were performed in an environment quite different from that of his mountain compatriots. Point Pelee also had an honorary warden, W. E. Saunders, who had lobbied hard in favour of the Park's creation as a bird sanctuary. A respected Ontario animal specialist, Saunders was granted the privilege of taking specimens in the Park. He hardly resembles the honorary wardens of the mountain parks who were appointed from time to time to cut down on local predator populations.

The First World War had another, and more profound, effect on the Warden Service. Some wardens such as George Knight at Waterton Lakes and Bill Peyto at Rocky Mountains Park left the service to fight in the war. More important, in the long run, than individual decisions, however, was the government policy of hiring veterans, whenever they were available. This policy, which was in place by 1917 for invalided soldiers who could stand the rigours of warden work, would influence the make up and attitudes of the service for a generation to come. By 1920, most of the 46 wardens under Harkin's direction were employed in the seven mountain parks, and many were veterans of the Great War.\(^{39}\)

Forest Reserves and National Parks

For a time prior to the establishment of the National Parks Branch in 1911, officials in the various


parks, including the game guardians created in 1909, reported to the Minister of the Interior through the National Forestry Branch. This Branch was responsible, from 1906, for national forest reserves, which were often contiguous to the parks, and for a body of national forest rangers who served as fire-prevention officers and monitored the activities of lumbermen working in the forest reserves. The existence of forest reserves and national parks, and their respective forest rangers and park guardians led to some confusion as to their roles and responsibilities. Indeed, prior to 1911, some of the two enforcement agencies actually overlapped. John George “Kootenai” Brown, in charge at Waterton Lakes until 1914, was variously described as superintendent and game guardian, but, in his annual reports, he referred to himself as the forest ranger in charge of the park. Waterton Lakes was established as a national park reserve in 1895, designated as a forest reserve in 1907 and not given full national park status until 1910. Similar bureaucratic struggles occurred in the United States, where Gifford Pinchot, chief of the U.S. Forestry Service, championed the concept of conservation as sustained resource-utilization during the formative years of the U.S. National Parks Service. Stephen Mather, first director of the U.S. National Park Service, shaped its future by encouraging tourism to the parks. He was motivated, in part, by a determination to strengthen his fledgling service both against the older Forestry Service and against the insatiable commercial demands on park resources.  

Elk Island and Buffalo national parks were originally established as forest reserves under the *Forest Reserves Act* of 1906. Similarly, Jasper National Park was established in 1907 as Jasper Forest Reserve. By 1910, it was patrolled by one permanent fire and game guardian, and two forest rangers. Together with a small detachment of North West Mounted Police, they monitored the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific through the Reserve, guarding particularly against the ever-present danger of fire. In 1910, the whole eastern slope of the Rockies surrounding the existing national parks was declared a forest reserve, and even the timber berths within the parks were managed by the Forestry Branch. Thus, forest rangers were, for a time, literally working side by side with park game and fire guardians. In Elk Island National Park, the forest rangers responsible for the adjacent Cooking Lake Forest Reserve were also directed to patrol the Park.

The mixing of forest rangers and park guardians created some problems at the time, as well as confusion for the future, because the roles of the two groups differed as did the purposes of the territories for which they were responsible. The federal forest reserve program was a means of directing lumbering activities and a source of federal income. Forest rangers monitored the harvesting of trees and enforced commercial agreements in the timber berths. Their concern was the efficient and profitable utilization of natural resources, and they were constantly on guard against fires. They were not, however, concerned with game protection beyond the enforcement of existing cyclical hunting regulations. Park game and fire guardians were also concerned with fire prevention but in place of the ranger’s preoccupation with timber harvesting, they were directed to enforce a total prohibition of hunting within the parks. With the creation of the National Parks Branch in 1911, the

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stage was set for the development of a distinct philosophy of resource conservation—a philosophy reflected in the duties of the game and fire guardians.

Initially, there seems to have been little, if any, conflict between the forest rangers and the park guardians. Jasper, a forest park reserve, had as its first superintendent a forest ranger, J.W. McLaggan, and federal forest rangers patrolled Yoho National Park for several years after the appearance of park guardians elsewhere. However, when the mountain parks were reduced in size, ironically so that the small coterie of park guardians could better manage them, the excluded areas were absorbed into existing national forest reserves. The different principles applied there soon led to tension and disagreement. Rocky Mountains Park officials were assured, at first, that game preservation would be maintained as usual in the areas excluded from the Park, but it was soon evident that, whatever the priorities of the forest rangers, they did not have the staff to maintain park patrol standards. In practice, game guardians continued to patrol areas that were now outside the parks, which, in theory, were the responsibility of forest rangers enforcing Alberta game legislation.  

Tension and conflict were perhaps inevitable, given the confusion. Sibbald complained early in 1913 that very little patrol work was being done in the territory south of the Red Deer River, and he again suggested sending in park guardians, particularly during the provincial hunting season. In 1914, Park Commissioner Harkin, supported by Forestry Branch Commissioner R.H. Campbell, succeeded in returning the mountain parks to their previous size, thereby extending the jurisdiction of the fire and game guardians to their original limits. However, Campbell soon came to feel that Harkin was trying to extend the authority of the Parks Branch at the expense of the Forestry Branch. There ensued a brief but vigorous struggle that resulted in a clearer mandate, and a new name, for the park guardians.  

Campbell complained:

I made no objection when Mr. Harkin asked to have the Act amended so that he would be given jurisdiction over everything in the Parks, but that was apparently only a preliminary move on his part toward trying to get a legal position from which he could work to get control of a large measure of the forest administration as well as of what is properly Parks administration."

The extent of Harkin's bid for power is not now clear, but he did argue that, because of the expertise built up in the young Parks Branch, it should administer all federal game preserves, whether in parks or in forest reserves. Citing U.S. precedents and a Canadian academic forestry specialist, Harkin maintained "that forest rangers are not suitable for the duties of game guardians ..." because the duties of the two groups were incompatible. The game guardians were, of course, his chosen instrument.

Later in the same year, Harkin informed his staff that "the officers who have heretofore been called Fire and Game Wardens, Game Guardians, Deputy Wardens, etc., are to be appointed as

42 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Superintendent Brown, WLNP, to commissioner of Dominion Parks, September 5, 1912.
43 RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 1, Sibbald, to Harkin, January 25, 1913; ibid., Vol. 176, Y300, Part 1, R.H. Campbell, Forestry Branch, to Deputy Minister Cory, January 7, 1915. Campbell felt that Harkin, in his vigorous defence of park officers as game protectors, was trying to extend his sway into the national forest reserves, where forest rangers now carried out federal and provincial regulations pertaining to both forest management and game protection.
44 RG84, Vol. 176, Y300, Part 1, Harkin, to Cory, January 13, 1915. The specialist was W.N. Millar, formerly district inspector of forest reserves for Alberta and now assistant professor of forestry at the University of Toronto.
'WARDENS' and should be so designated hereafter in all your correspondence and records."  

Harkin gave no reason for the choice of the name "warden" to replace the various titles then in use, and past speculation has been that he wished to differentiate Canadian park officers from their U.S. cousins who were known as park rangers. It seems more likely, in view of his recent struggle with Campbell and the Forestry Branch, that Harkin actually wanted to distinguish his park enforcement officers from Canadian forest rangers and thus chose the term warden rather than ranger. Whatever the reasoning, park-enforcement officers now had a new official name, and this name has been retained to the present day. At the same time, the wardens themselves were establishing common work routines in the mountain parks and were becoming a permanent presence in several of the other federal parks.

**Game Protection and Poaching**

The whole purpose of the predator-control program was to protect the big-game animals indigenous to the mountain park areas. Unfortunately, the main threat to these animals came not from coyotes and wolves, but from two-legged predators, and the pressure increased with the growing human presence in the mountains. Game preservation was not an issue in the initial legislation, but it soon came to form a central pillar of park development. However, as park officials worked to encourage tourism, they heightened the dangers to one of their major drawing cards. Thus, another facet of the paradox that would elude permanent solution was introduced—the tension between preservation and development. In the U.S. national parks, predator control, game protection and efforts to curb poaching were *ad hoc* and sporadic prior to the creation of a ranger service in 1918, and the first federal regulations had no enforcement provisions.

In Canada, game-preservation efforts began in earnest with the prohibition of hunting in Rocky Mountains Park by the regulations of 1890. To this was added the control of firearms in the parks with the introduction of a tentative weapon-sealing program in 1909. What was needed as much as rules, however, was an enforcement capability. This came, first in an *ad hoc* manner with the hiring of men such as John Connor, and then on a regulated and permanent basis with the creation of the game and fire guardians in 1909. Howard Douglas in his 1907 *Annual Report* made a clear case for hiring more game guardians to curb the wanton destruction of game in Rocky Mountains Park. He wrote plaintively:

> I find great difficulty in enforcing the laws in regard to the preservation of game within the park limits, as game is generally killed in the more remote districts, and offenders are careful to see that their actions are unobserved. There is great difficulty in securing evidence regarding unlawful killing other than the possession of the game. Among the offenders against the game laws, the Indians are by far the worst. They come to the National Park at all seasons of the year and slaughter any animal that they may see, without regard to age or sex.

A game warden...patrolling the park....has had a most salutary effect, and little, if any, poaching has been done during the year. Owing to the large extent of territory embraced in the Rocky Mountains Park, it is impossible for one man to make anything like a satisfactory patrol, and it is only after

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45 RG84, Vol. 93, U3-15, Part 1, Harkin, to head office staff, November 19, 1915. It is interesting to note here that Harkin does not include "ranger" among the terms describing fire and game guardians in the past, although it was in common usage in the field.

46 Wright, *Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks*, pp. 4-5.
information has been received, that hunting parties are already out in the mountains, that we are able to trace their movements.

Douglas suggested:

...that all guides and camp helpers shall pay an annual license [sic], and each be held responsible for the good behaviour of his assistants and of the parties in his charge, and shall have the powers of a game warden to enforce the laws in this respect; the illegal possession of each and every head of game to be a separate offence; the game wardens or persons in whom the proper authority is vested to have the power to search the premises of any person suspected of having game or fish in his possession unlawfully; and also that the game warden shall have power to at once confiscate such game or fish and arrest such person or persons and bring them before the proper authority for dealing with the case; all guns or firearms of any sort carried by persons travelling through the park to be sealed in the proper manner, and such seals not to be broken within the park limits; the head guide in charge of the party to be provided with one extra seal for each gun or firearm and a sealer to be given to the guide; and on return to the park boundary the head guide shall again seal all guns and firearms in his party, such seals to remain until broken by the proper authorities at Banff; the penalty for violation of any of these regulations to be not less than $20 nor more than $200 for each and every head of game illegally killed, or to a term of imprisonment of not less than two months nor more than one year; the license [sic] of the head guide of any party that illegally shoots or kills game to be cancelled for two years, and he will not be allowed to accompany any of the parties through the park in any capacity for such period of two years.  

In his next Annual Report, Douglas continued this argument, adding:

Although no convictions for violations of the regulations for the preservation of game have been made during the year, it is strongly suspected that game has been slaughtered by both Indians and white men.

Owing to the large extent of territory embraced in the park it is impossible under our present system to keep as careful a patrol as is necessary to fully protect the game...it will be necessary to appoint permanent men who can combine the duties of game and fire wardens.  

Howard Sibbald immediately addressed two prime concerns—game protection and fire suppression. He recommended, following his initial official tour of Rocky Mountains Park, that the northern and northeastern boundaries be changed from heights of land to river valleys to facilitate border patrols and to delineate park boundaries more clearly. While his suggestion would have made the Park somewhat smaller, he and his two guardians would still have been responsible for patrolling some 4,000 square miles of wilderness.

When the National Park Branch was created in 1911, both Rocky Mountains and Waterton Lakes Parks were dramatically shrunk in size, the former to 1,800 square miles, the latter from 54 to 13.5 square miles, with the excluded territories added to existing federal forest reserves. The rationale

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47 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1907, report of the superintendent, RMP, Howard Douglas, Banff, August 1, 1907.


50 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1912, report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks J.B. Harkin, pp. 3-9. The boundary changes were as follows:
was that the parks must be of a size that could be maintained by the existing staff. Opposition was swift and loud, and based largely on the established mandate to preserve big-game species—a mandate that did not extend to the forest rangers who patrolled the federal forest reserves. Douglas stressed the accepted notion of the national parks as breeding grounds for big-game animals and a source of game for hunters in areas surrounding the parks. He maintained, in part:

> We have been protecting this portion of the Park at considerable expense and care for the last ten years until it abounds with big game of all kinds where they seem to realize that they have protection. Trails have been cut through this area and log cabins built for the game wardens and it is not an unusual sight almost any day in the year to see bands of mountain sheep, goats, and deer, which have become comparatively tame and in my opinion it would be a suicidal policy to allow the Indians [sic] and others to go in there during the open season and slaughter and kill what it has taken years to protect and shelter.

Douglas was not successful in derailing the boundary changes, but he did elicit an official announcement from Ottawa that hunting would continue to be banned in the areas now being integrated into the forest reserves. In practice, it was easier to make pronouncements than to enforce them. The few federal forest rangers had never been charged with maintaining a total ban on hunting in their jurisdiction. Gradually, the game guardians reacquired their former powers. In 1912, for example, "Kootenai" Brown at Waterton Lakes was instructed to enforce game laws in the former portions of the park on the understanding that these now constituted Alberta game reserves and should be protected, until the province stepped in with its own officials, while in Rocky Mountains Park, game guardians continued to patrol the excluded territories.

In their first several years on patrol, the game guardians of Rocky Mountains Park had few encounters with poachers—no doubt more a reflection of the vast extent of territory to be kept under surveillance than an accurate indication of reality in the Park. Perhaps the most celebrated early poaching incident occurred in 1912, when Sibbald and deputy guardians J. Warren and Bill Peyto prosecuted former Chief Game and Fire Guardian Moore, his brother-in-law the prominent local figure J. I. Brewster, and two others for killing two mountain sheep in the Park. The next year, Sibbald prepared a detailed plan for the protection of the Park’s game and forests, and forwarded it to Harkin for approval. He outlined seven patrol districts that he wanted to establish, indicated that he would need 12 men to patrol them properly, and gave some details of the duties that they would be expected to perform. Despite being few in numbers and having vast territories to patrol, the original game guardians soon began to have a measurable impact on the development of Rocky Mountains Park. Late in 1913, the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Park</th>
<th>Area (square miles)</th>
<th>Former Area (square miles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Mountains</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>4,500 square miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoho</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glacier</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasper</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterton Lake</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Buffalo and Elk Island parks remained unchanged at 162 and 16 square miles respectively.


Minister of the Interior was informed of the extent to which big game had increased in recent years, an increase seen to be, in large part, a direct result of the untiring efforts of the park guardians.\textsuperscript{53}

The popular attitude toward game protection and the atmosphere in which the early guardians worked is well evoked in a brief anecdote of a Yoho Park incident, which appeared in the Banff Crag and Canyon late in 1913, under the title "Wanted to See a Bear":

A small group of tourists including a British army officer, at Field early this week, expressed a burning desire to see 'a live b'ar' in his native haunts. So Jack Giddy hooked up a team and toted the party out toward Emerald Lake. Meeting a slide in the road they left the rig and ran plumb into a grizzly. The bear arose on his haunches, when Jack pumped a bullet into him and then charged the party. A couple more well aimed shots put bruin out of commission. The tourists expressed their perfect satisfaction.\textsuperscript{54}

The free-wheeling, gun-toting teamster, Jack Giddy, as fashioned for us by a Banff journalist, is an earlier incarnation of John M. Giddie who would be chief warden of Yoho National Park in 1920. The threat to game animals from human predators was ever-present, but park officials, in their public pronouncements, seemed confident that they held the upper hand. From casual observation and the day-to-day reports of patrolling wardens, it was evident that game animals were increasing in numbers and becoming a more visible part of the park landscapes. Another telling sign of their protected status was that they were losing their natural fear of man and, ironically, beginning what would become a pattern of nuisance behaviour in park townsites such as Banff. When this latter problem was initially addressed, it was simply seen as a minor price to be paid for a larger success. It would be decades before the Warden Service faced the inherent contradictions, conflicts and dangers of establishing a complex, technological society in the form of commercial operations in a largely natural setting. In 1915, the concerns of the wardens were limited to the immediate issue of how best to protect their wilderness charges from human assaults.

The greatest danger came from local residents, particularly trappers, and the guides and packers who led hunting parties through the parks to legitimate hunting areas. The wardens, often former trappers and guides themselves, knew their adversaries and their methods from personal experience, and were well-equipped to counter their efforts. The major disadvantage facing the wardens was that they were few in numbers and spread thinly over vast territories. The main weapons against poachers soon came to be regular warden patrols and the judicious use of park-licensing authority. Knowing that they could not be everywhere at once, Chief Warden Sibbald encouraged his men to concentrate on strategic areas of entry. Where possible, park boundaries were clearly delineated, and patrol trails and cabins were carefully located to intercept those attempting to enter the parks surreptitiously. Sibbald emphasized proper procedures in the gathering of evidence for trials and, in 1918, investigated the application of new finger-printing techniques, in circumstances where hunters could not be linked to their crimes by such traditional means as snow tracks and ejected cartridges.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{53} RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 1, H. E. Sibbald, chief game and fire warden, RMP, Banff, to J. B. Harkin, commissioner of Dominion Parks, Ottawa, December 7, 1912; ibid., January 25, 1913; ibid., Vol. 35, U300, Part 1, memo, to Minister of the Interior W. J. Roche, from Dominion Parks Branch, Ottawa, November 18, 1913.

\textsuperscript{54} RG84, Vol. 137, B212, Part 1, clipping from Banff Crag and Canyon, October 25, 1913.

\textsuperscript{55} RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 2, Sibbald, to Harkin, November 20, 1918.
Park regulations required guides and packers to be licensed to work in, or in the case of hunting parties, to traverse the parks. These licences were routinely denied to anyone convicted of poaching violations. At first, the prohibitions were viewed as permanent, but, by 1914, a new process, not reflected in the regulations, evolved, whereby individuals could reapply for licensing after signing a bond for their future good behaviour. In December 1916, prominent Banff outfitter James Simpson was convicted of killing two mountain sheep in Rocky Mountains Park, and his licence was immediately cancelled on a permanent basis. In 1918, Simpson reapplied for a guide’s license and was soon back in business, although with the understanding that his future circumstances depended on his own actions.56

Park policy on poaching evolved against a background of continuing infractions against existing regulations. Some episodes were routine, as in a 1919 case in which Chief Warden Sibbald and Warden Peyto came across two Banff residents "just trying out" a high-powered Luger pistol in the vicinity of a herd of mountain sheep. Others were bizarre, as in the case of the military guard who fired on the park buffalo herd from a train carrying British sailors to the west coast.57 The most blatant acts of poaching during these years occurred at Waterton Lakes, the southernmost of the mountain parks. Here, a variety of circumstances combined to the advantage of poachers, although the wardens did eventually gain the upper hand.

Waterton Lakes National Park is nestled in the southwest corner of Alberta, bounded on the west by British Columbia and on the south by the international border and the U.S. Glacier National Park. Thus, Park officers had no jurisdiction whatsoever beyond two of its borders. On the east, the ranching frontier was a constant source of pressure against the wildlife of the Park. The dramatically shifting dimensions of the Park—from 54 square miles to 13.5 in 1911 and back to 423 square miles in 1914—brought confusion and, for poachers, opportunities.58 Conflicts among park officers at Waterton Lakes, during these years, also created a favourable environment for poaching.

Early in 1915, Ottawa received the first intimation that deteriorating relations among park officers at Waterton Lakes were beginning to interfere with park operations. Warden J. Ekelund tracked down and charged two men after hearing shots fired in the park. In the ensuing trial, at which Park Superintendent Robert Cooper presided as the local justice of the peace, the case was dismissed and

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56 RG84, Vol. 153, U3-19, Part 1, Superintendent Clarke, Banff, to Harkin, March 16, 1916. By 1916, Tex Woods, a mountain guide and sometimes employee of the Brewster ranch, had been operating with a park licence for two years following an earlier conviction for poaching. Woods had signed a $500.00 bond of good behaviour to regain his licence; ibid., memo, Harkin?, to Cory, May 27, 1918. Simpson had not actually been put out of business after losing his licence, as he continued to employ men who themselves were licensed to work in the park. By May 1918, all his regular licensed guides were in uniform, and he wanted permission to work in the parks, ostensibly so that he could train new guides.

57 RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 2, extract of letter from superintendent, RMP, to Harkin?, May 15, 1919. Both men were residents of Banff, and they admitted that they knew they were breaking park regulations. Since there was no indication of any animal being killed or wounded, the shooter was charged and convicted of carrying an unsealed gun in the park. He was fined $25.00, and the weapon was confiscated; ibid., Chief Warden H. E. Sibbald, Banff, to Superintendent Clarke, November 6, 1917. In Sibbald’s ensuing report, the guard was described as "not being very bright" and the sailors as "a wild bunch of men." The sailors had apparently coerced the guard into taking a shot at the 'wild beasts' of the plains.

58 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Harkin, to Benjamin Lawton, chief game guardian, Department of Agriculture, Alberta, February 9, 1915. During the fall and winter of 1914-15, a good deal of confusion developed between parks officials and Alberta game officers regarding jurisdiction in the extension portions of the park and, indeed, over the nature of hunting restrictions to be enforced. By the 1915 fall hunting season, these problems had been overcome.
the men released, much to the chagrin of the warden involved and the recently appointed Chief Superintendent of Dominion Parks P.C. Bernard-Hervey. The fact that parties unknown later posted a note on Ekelund's cabin door to the effect that he would have to go a long way to "ketch" them did not improve the warden's humour. That fall another warden, Isaac Lougheed, complained that Cooper was pressuring him to return a line of traps that he had confiscated in the park. Lougheed contended that the superintendent had given outsiders permission to trap coyotes in the park and was now trying to dispose of the evidence.

In 1916, Warden Lougheed set in motion the first of several enquiries into affairs at the park, when he forwarded to Ottawa an affidavit indicating that Superintendent Cooper was permitting unrestricted trapping of lynx and coyotes in the park. By the end of the year, Harkin had received information from an Alberta game officer that big-game poaching was occurring on a regular basis and that neither Cooper nor Chief Park Warden George Allison, who were, by this time, locked in a personal battle for authority, were doing anything to prevent it. It was only after Cooper was replaced in 1919 that the wardens were able to deal effectively with the park's poaching problems.

Warden Andrew Bower had noted an increasing number of hunters travelling west through the park, ostensibly to hunt in British Columbia. Bower suspected that some of these individuals were actually poaching along the western boundary, but he was unable to catch them in the act and could not pursue them into British Columbia, if they chose to flee westward. Early in 1919, and at Bower's urging, the new superintendent made arrangements with British Columbia game officers to investigate. In March, Bower, Alberta Game Officer Henry Riviere, and a British Columbia counterpart converged on the western boundary of the park and caught three men who "had been trapping for fur, had killed a cow moose, a calf moose and two mountain goat[s] all out of season." The three were convicted, with one being sentenced to a $900.00 fine or 16 months' hard labour, and the other two receiving $800.00 fines or 12 months' hard labour.

"With this clean up," wrote Superintendent Maunder, "we have three of the worst poachers in the Beaver Mines district out of the way for a time, and it was a continuation of Warden Bower's investigation re the reported elk killing case, as reported in the diary last fall, which led to the following up of these poachers. There are still a few well known poachers in this locality, but we are hoping to get some more of these and teach them a lesson also."

On the same trip, Bower and Riviere followed up another lead and found on the western edge of the Park "a trapping outfit which included ammunition, tents, fur coats, grub, camp stove, snowshoes, etc." Bowers explained: "Someone had evidently informed them that we were after them, as they

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59 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, chief superintendent, to Superintendent Robert Cooper, WLNP, February 12, 1915; ibid., chief superintendent, to Harkin, March 9, 1915; ibid., extract from diary of Warden Isaac Lougheed, WLNP, September 1915.
60 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, H. Riviere, to Harkin, personal, October 29, 1916; RG84, Vol. 2216, W179, Part 1b, Harkin, to S. H. Carpenter, commissioner of police, Banff, April 13, 1916. Before Cooper was actually dismissed, Harkin sent the Superintendent of Yoho National Park F. E. Maunder, to Waterton Lakes to oversee park activities. Cooper soon defied Maunder by returning to its owner a rifle that had been seized in the park and ordered held until Ottawa sent directions for its disposal. RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Maunder, to Harkin, February 28, 1919.
61 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Superintendent Maunder, to Harkin, April 19, 1919.
seemed to have left in a hurry leaving even their pipes and tobacco." Bower's exploits were an indication that motivated and knowledgeable wardens, supported by conscientious superintendents, could counter even sustained and methodical poaching activities.

Game protection became the responsibility of the wardens in British Columbia's national parks in 1920, and was an added impetus for making their positions permanent and year-round appointments. The superintendent at Mount Revelstoke reported that he and his warden had cleared brush out along the park's southern boundary in 1920, and placed boundary notices and metal fire notices all along the line. The almost immediate result was as follows:

Blue grouse and partridge appear to be multiplying judging from the increased numbers to be seen along the road and trails, and black and brown bear are frequently met. An occasional deer has been seen during the summer, while at the northern end will be found quite a number of caribou.

In a similar vein, Harkin reported of Yoho National Park:

The results of absolute protection have again been demonstrated in Yoho park where, owing to the agreement completed with the province of British Columbia, the parks' game regulations have been in force since January, 1920...almost immediately an increase in many forms of wildlife was noticeable. Bear, moose and deer roam the park at will and seem to know that no harm will befall them, while goat, grouse, ptarmigan and beaver are rapidly becoming more numerous.

Although those participating in the drama had no sense of it at the time, the Warden Service was about to enter what would be viewed in retrospect as a "golden age" of predator control and game regulation. Soon, the problems they were creating would come back to haunt them, but, for a brief period in the 1920s, park officials, with their focus on the mountain parks, seemed to have achieved a balance between the aims of man and the necessities of nature.

The "Bear Problem"

In July 1915, Rocky Mountains Park Superintendent S. J. Clarke and Chief Game Guardian Howard Sibbald led a small expedition of parks officials out of Banff along the Bow Valley auto road. Among the party were Parks Branch Commissioner James Harkin, his boss, Deputy Minister of the Interior W.W. Cory, and W. Cory Jr. The purpose of the trip, according to a local newspaper account, was to hunt bear—specifically one black bear that had been raiding camps over the previous three years. When the group encountered an old female black bear with two cubs, young Cory quickly shot the adult, and the cubs were deposited in the Banff zoo. "All trouble to the campers will now be very much lessoned [sic] in the Bow Valley," the Crag and Canyon declared, "and the officials sure had some day." That fall wardens responded to another "bear incident" with killing force. The Crag and Canyon reported:

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63 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1921, report of Superintendent E.N. Russell, Yoho and Glacier parks, pp. 36-40; ibid., report of Superintendent F.E. Maunder, MRNP, pp. 40-42.
64 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1921, report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks J.B. Harkin, p. 5.
The big black bear, which has been doing some damage at Grand View Villa, departed this life very suddenly on Friday night or Saturday morning. His complaint was a couple of bullets from the rifles of Wardens Peyto and Warren, and his early demise is put down to a sweet tooth and preference for Grand View viands. He was one of the handsomest specimens bagged in recent years, and his hide and head will be mounted and probably sent to one of the Dominion Government collections.66

Such was the style and tenor of bear policy, and firearms restrictions, in the parks in 1915. Attitudes to bears in U.S. national parks were similar. Yellowstone authorities banned bear feeding at park dumps in 1902 to lessen bear/people encounters, but problem bears were routinely shot.67

The year 1916 seemed particularly busy for bear/people confrontations. In May, wardens Peyto and Warren shot a black bear that had been prowling about a dairy farm near Banff. At Jasper, Acting Superintendent Driscoll reported that the townsite "has been overrun with bears this year, as many as six being counted at one time in the vicinity of the corrals...." They made women with young children around particularly nervous, although the official acknowledged that "in most cases they are perfectly harmless." Sibbald felt sufficiently pressured by events to reiterate park bear policy in a local newspaper. He reminded people that grizzlies, although dangerous, were reclusive by nature and seldom came in contact with humans. Black bears he characterized as "frolicsome but perfectly harmless creature[s], with a propensity for marauding and pilfering something nice to eat." Wardens only shot bears that had become "too troublesome." Sibbald also reminded his readers that park regulations did not forbid firearms being carried in the parks, as long as they were sealed, and that, if endangered, individuals had the right to defend themselves.68

Two weeks later at Pocahontas, east of Jasper townsite, Warden Biggs reported numerous complaints of lurking bears, including three in the past two days. "Women and children are afraid to go out of their homes," he wrote, "and the children are afraid to go to school. We have made coal oil torches and tried to drive them away but they go only as far as we go and then come back again."69 Driscoll passed this on to Ottawa, adding that he had received similar complaints from Brulé and Jasper, and that tourists were becoming nervous of the ever-present bears. He also noted bear stories grew with the telling, so that black bear incidents in the park became grizzly tales when recounted in Edmonton—all to the detriment of the park's tourism reputation.

At Waterton Lakes that fall, the superintendent simply ordered his wardens "to shoot any bear seen in the vicinity where stock is being killed." Harkin reversed this order and admonished Cooper for such a draconian step. "As you know," he wrote, "this branch is very much opposed to the destruction of any wild animals and no bears should be killed...except...where one becomes a real nuisance. In such cases you may authorize one of your wardens to kill the bear but I would impress on you that the case against the animal must be complete and that you must exercise the utmost

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67 Wright, Wildlife Research and Management in Our National Parks, p. 129.
69 Jasper. Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, Accession (hereafter acc.) 84.147.1, Biggs, to Acting Superintendent Driscoll, September 13, 1916.
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judgement and discrimination.⁷⁰

Early in 1918, Sibbald, likely reacting more to pressure from people than from bears, reversed his stand and asked permission to authorize "the wardens to destroy any bear found within any townsite within the parks." Such a policy he wrote "would avoid any friction with the citizens, as up to the present we have only killed the bear when they were troublesome having no official authority to do otherwise. This would avoid such cases as the one at Pocahontas where the citizens took the law into their own hands and did away with the animal." In February 1918, Commissioner Harkin, citing the increasing number of incidents of bears intimidating people in park town sites, granted blanket permission for wardens to "kill all bears on the same being encountered, roaming at large, within any townsite in your park." Sibbald circulated the order to his wardens the following month.⁷¹

The authorization to kill did not extend beyond the townsites, and wardens who reported bear kills in other situations continued to emphasize special circumstances. Warden Charles E. Nelson of Jasper Park, for example, gave a vivid description of a bear encounter at his cabin at Athabaska Falls:

I was working on my stable, when...the dog ran in and was apparently scared very much. I looked out of the window and observed a black bear, about two yards from the Cabin. I endeavoured to scare him away, he refused to go; shortly afterwards I heard a noise at the rear of the Cabin where I store my provisions, I... saw the bear standing there...he made for me and I retreated to the cabin; and closed the door [sic] he (bear) again went to the rear of the Cabin, and I heard the store box fall. I then went to see what he had done and found he had stolen a pound of butter.... I then saw the bear rear up at the window, with his front feet on the window, when he saw me inside he tore the netting off from the window (one of the windows was open) he upset all the articles and food from the table, he dropp... to his four feet again and made for the dog, and then returned to the window, and appeared as if to jump through. In the meantime I had secured my loaded rifle, I then saw by his attitude that he was out for mischief. I fired... (shot through the head).⁷²

Two days later, Warden Davies, Nelson’s partner at Athabaska Falls, experienced a particularly harrowing bear encounter. Davies, a "Returned Soldier suffering from shell-shock," was shaken by Nelson’s recent close encounter and exhausted by a 50-mile ride in search of missing horses. With his partner briefly absent in Jasper, Davies was confronted by a grizzly while unarmed and on patrol. This shock, coupled with Nelson’s experience and his own fragile health, "caused a nervous breakdown on the part of Warden Davies." Nelson reported:

The animal chased him to the Cabin where he was able to shut the door in its face....He was in a terrible state of nervousness; alone in the shack with bears in the immediate vicinity making occasional tours


⁷¹ RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Chief Warden H.E. Sibbald, Banff, to Commissioner Harkin, February 9, 1918. The Pocahontas incident occurred in September 1917, when a group of miners took it upon themselves to rid the townsite of a yearling black bear. The bear was one of two, which while cubs, had been kept as novelties by a local restaurateur until ordered to free them by the resident warden. One bear apparently had developed too strong an attachment for things human. Jasper. Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, acc. 84.147.1, acting superintendent, JNP, to Harkin, September 18, 1917; WLNP, Schintz Package #3, WLNP Warden Office, Box 1, File 1917-18+, Harkin, to superintendent, WLNP, February 22, 1918; RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 2, Chief Fire and Game Warden Sibbald, to all Rocky Mountains Park wardens, March 19, 1918.

⁷² RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Warden Charles E. Nelson, JNP, to Superintendent Johnson, June 22, 1918. The original handwritten version of this letter is on file in the Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, acc. 84.147.1.
around the outside of the Cabin. I talked to him [on the field telephone], encouraging him, and told him I would send [sic] out a couple of men right away to relieve him, but that he must until they arrived keep talking to me on the 'phone and in that way ease his nerves as much as possible....Acting Chief Warden John James and Mr. K.S. Taylor...started out soon after 9 p.m. for the Falls arriving there at about 2 a.m. In the meantime I spoke to Davies at intervals of every 5 minutes until they arrived. They found the cabin barricaded up, inside, and signs of where the animals had been prowling around the building.\textsuperscript{73}

In the decade following the creation of the Warden Service in 1909, park policy for bear management moved from Sibbald’s tentative request in 1911 to kill an animal raiding provision stores to blanket permission to shoot any bear found in a park townsite. For the wardens themselves, it should be noted that they went to great lengths to justify killings outside the towns, usually maintaining that all other means had failed. Nevertheless, the response to increasing bear/people incidents—the inevitable result of the growing human presence in the parks—was to kill the bears.

\section*{Predator Control}

Perhaps the best means of understanding the evolving role and function of the early wardens is to examine the issue of predator control in the first years of the Warden Service. It was generally accepted that there were beneficial and harmful animals in the national parks—roughly divided into plant eaters and carnivores. The extent to which the latter were to be “controlled” by the game guardians to the benefit and proliferation of the former was initially unclear.

There was also a lively debate—one that would continue for decades—as to the proper tools for the job. While no one questioned the appropriateness of game guardians shooting such obvious predators as wolves and coyotes, there was debate over what other weapons should be in the game guardians’ arsenal. When the politically powerful ranchers east of Waterton Lakes National Park complained in 1911 of park wolves and cougars killing their colts and calves, Douglas suggested that poison be used in controlled circumstances, citing current usage in Glacier National Park just to the south in the United States. Faced with powerful lobbies in the cattle and farming communities, U.S. park authorities were more active in predator-control measures than their northern neighbours.\textsuperscript{74}

This was to be one of the first issues in which the newly appointed commissioner of Dominion Parks, James Harkin, would make an imprint. Harkin queried the acting superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, Lieutenant Colonel L.M. Brett of the 1st Cavalry, who concurred that poison was indeed employed to deal with predator animals in the Park.\textsuperscript{75} "Good shots" among the military and civilian population were also permitted to kill coyotes, but more were destroyed by poison, especially strychnine crystals, and steel traps, particularly number four “Newhouse” double-steel traps. For wolf...
control, Brett suggested a couple of expert wolf trappers were better than 50 amateurs. He also recommended that predator dens be located in the early summer and the young systematically killed, "or dynamite the holes."

Harkin chose not to follow the U.S. lead on predator control and, within a few months, Douglas had reversed himself and was warning "Kootenai" Brown at Waterton:

I note by your diaries...you are placing out poison for timber wolves and mountain lions. Is it not possible that other animals and birds that we are trying to protect, will get to this poison, and that it will do more injury than the animals you are trying to destroy. I am very opposed to [the] placing of poison at any time or place...you stated that you had no doubt the poison was having a good effect as you had found a number of dead birds in the vicinity. ...the destruction of noxious animals should only be made with dogs and guns, as the placing of poison or traps are equally dangerous to animals that we wish to protect. I would be glad to know what precautions you have taken to prevent other animals and birds from getting the poison.\(^76\)

Brown was not easily deterred from his reliance on poison, and his response indicates attitudes toward predator control at the working level:

The dead birds...were magpies and whiskey Jacks, which are very destructive to young grouse and will eat the eggs of those or any other birds.

I am quite sure that there is not the least fear of killing game birds as none of them will eat meat. Nor is there any danger to cows, horses or other domestic stock.

I have been using strychnine for the last forty years. I have never known an instance of its destroying any useful bird or animal, except dogs. I have never known anyone to use any precautions. I do not know of any that could be taken. Indeed they are not necessary. The destruction of wolves and coyotes is of great importance to the farmer, or stock man, as also to the game preserver. I see by the ‘Rod and Gun’ that poison is being used on a large scale in the Algonquin Park and here the Chief Game Guardian and all the ranchmen are using it. A few days ago a prominent stock man was urging me to use all the strychnine I could. Mr. Reynolds the U.S. Forest Ranger Mr. Cooper [park Superintendent] and myself have found quite lately altogether twenty-one (21) coyotes that got drifted over last winter, when a great number of deer were killed on the ice on the lakes. I know there are mountain lion round here and I believe one of them will kill at least three deer a month.

A few days ago I found a calf that had been bitten by wolves and several colts were killed between here and Pincher Creek along the base of the mountain last winter. Wolves and coyotes are seldom seen so that they can be shot. Most of their work is done at night.

If poison baits were placed in pens or in anyway marked no wolf would go near them. In conclusion I will say that of course if you object to the use of poison in the Park I will at once discontinue its use.\(^77\)

\(^{76}\) RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, chief superintendent of Dominion Parks [Edmonton], to John George Brown, superintendent, WLN, July 3, 1912.

\(^{77}\) RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Superintendent John George Brown, WLN, Waterton Mills, Alberta, to chief superintendent Dominion Parks, Edmonton, July 9, 1912.
Despite the apparent acquiescence with which he concluded his defence of poison, Brown was, within months, again using it and drawing the ire of Ottawa by noting it in his diary. Nor was Brown the only one to resist the new policy against poison. Through November 1912, Bill Peyto at Rocky Mountains Park itemized his use of traps and poison bait for coyotes. Peyto claimed seven dead coyotes in a two-day period and another ten baits taken a week later. Harkin remonstrated with Chief Game Guardian Sibbald and urged that guns alone be used. Harkin must have been frustrated, when Sibbald responded that Peyto was using cyanide, not strychnine, and had been doing so for the last three years. Sibbald concluded:

In November 29th Diary, 10 poisoned baits taken by coyotes, at least half the number of coyotes taking these baits would die, we do not trouble to track them, especially with Peyto as he never skins a coyote.

Had we to rely only on guns in a brushy country, it would be impossible to keep the coyote down.  

In the U.S. parks, poison continued to be used for predator control until finally being banned in 1931.

Thus, while the guardians fought predators with guns, traps and poison, Harkin battled his staff for a more restricted predator policy. It is important to note here that Harkin opposed the use of poison and traps, not the destruction of predatory animals itself. The question of how best to deal with such species as coyotes and wolves would be a source of strain in headquarters/park relations for decades to come. For reasons not readily apparent, Harkin’s initial ban on using poison for predator control was soon abandoned. In some instances, wardens also began using dogs against predators, and park policy was occasionally interpreted to permit non-wardens to hunt coyotes and wolves in the parks. It was the beginning of a policy that would, in time, put the Warden Service in the abattoir and slaughtering business.

The essence of park policy on predators by 1914 was that the only good wolf, or coyote, was a dead one. Park regulations sometimes seemed restrictive at the “working level” and were, on occasion, ignored in practice. When berated for allowing a nearby homesteader to carry a gun in Waterton Lakes Park and hunt wolves, Warden Ekelund countered:

...as regards to allowing Mr Cleaver to carry a Gun on the Park, I had followed two wolves the previous day and thought with assistance I could get them cornered in the horse shoe basin, so asked Mr Cleaver to assist me on the day mentioned but did not give him permission to carry a gun in the Park on any other occasion.

The Wolves had been after his Colts, and as he is a homesteader ajoining [sic] the Park I know he has not been on the Park since.

It reads in my Diary as though I had given him permission to carry a Gun at any time which I did not intend. I really thought it a benefit to the Park as well as to the settlement to get rid of these wolves.

I asked his assistance for that day only, I know this man has no gun as I borrowed one for him to use

79 Ise, Our National Park Policy, p. 592.
on that day which he returned with all the cartridges which I gave him.

I knew that I was exceeding my authority when I took this man with me.

Trusting this explanation is satisfactory.  

In Ekelund's mind, there were extenuating circumstances here and, after all, the homesteader shared the same objective as the park officials. Both wanted to be rid of the wolves. A few months later, there were clear indications at the same park that the superintendent had given permission to outsiders to trap wolves in the park. Waterton Lakes was, to some extent, a special case, as its staff were caught up in personal wrangling and strife during the war years, but the increasing tempo of action against predators was evident elsewhere as well.  

At Buffalo National Park in 1916, Superintendent Smith advised Harkin that the farm foreman, riders and caretaker at the home paddock all had guns, and that the Park was supplying them with cartridges for predator-control work. Smith was also contemplating bringing in dogs to hunt coyotes, a scheme that would shortly be taken up in other parks. In the six-month period ending in April 1917, Rocky Mountains Park wardens trapped, shot or poisoned 90 male coyotes, 62 females and four lynx. At Buffalo National Park, some 20 coyotes had been shot over the previous year, while Elk Island reported eight coyotes shot and one killed by dogs. When Superintendent Cooper reported from Waterton Lakes that only "a very few coyotes were shot by the wardens and a couple of dens dug up and the young ones killed," Harkin reacted with frustration. He had already warned Cooper:

You recently wrote me regarding the appearance of mountain lion and timber wolves in Waterton Lakes Park....I am sure you will recognize it is imperative that predatory animals of this kind should not be allowed to increase. I therefore want you to make it your first duty to organize your wardens staff with a view to efficiently dealing with this matter. One of the best means is to have your wardens take pains in the Spring to locate the dens of these animals and destroy the pups. If you want special equipment in the way of traps you are authorized to secure same without delay. If prompt action is not taken regarding these animals there is bound to be an agitation among the cattle owners in the vicinity of the park whose stock might suffer. I want you to distinctly understand that if trouble in this connection arises you will be held responsible because you have quite a stall of wardens and it is your duty to see that they carry out a prompt and efficient campaign to reduce the number of these predatory animals.

Now he added chemical warfare to Cooper's arsenal in an effort to goad him into action. He advised

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80 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Superintendent Robert Cooper, WLNP, to Harkin, February 22, 1915.

81 Superintendent Robert Cooper was accused in a sworn affidavit of stating that coyotes and lynx were not protected animals in the park and that anyone could trap them there, as indeed he was doing himself. The document was passed on to Commissioner Harkin by Waterton Lakes Warden Lougheed. See below Problems in Paradise for an account of the strife at Waterton Lakes National Park.

82 RG84, Vol. 55, BU262, Part 1, Superintendent Smith, BuNP, to Harkin, November 7, 1916. It is interesting to note that employees at Buffalo National Park, although not called wardens, are carrying out warden duties. The caretaker, Davison, was first referred to as a warden in 1918; ibid., Vol. 7, R300, Part 2, superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, May 14, 1917; ibid., Vol. 59, BU300, Part 1, Superintendent A.G. Smith, BuNP, to Harkin, May 15, 1917; ibid., Vol. 10, E300, Part 1, Superintendent Arcibald Coxford, EINP, to Harkin, May 20, 1917.

83 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Superintendent Cooper, WLNP, to Harkin, May 26, 1917.

84 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, WLNP, March 29, 1917.
Cooper:  

When it is impossible to dig, the following might be followed:

Place a shallow pan well inside entrance to den, containing a quarter to one-half pound of Chloride of Lime, then pour into pan warm water with about a tablespoonful of Acetic Acid. Care should be taken to have some old sacks and loose earth etc. wetted and ready to close up the den with at once in order that the resulting fumes of chlorine gas may be confined to the den.\(^{85}\)

Late in 1918, Harkin made official what might already have been de facto policy: wardens were to be permitted to retain for their own profit the pelts of any “noxious” animals they might kill in the line of duty.\(^{86}\) Bear skins were still to be turned in to the administration, but the pelts of coyotes, wolves and mountain lions now became the property of the wardens. This was a strong incentive, as a warden could supplement his salary substantially by trapping predator fur bearers in the park. The policy would stand for a decade and, when terminated in 1928, would foment a virtual revolt in the warden ranks.

The predator-control policy faced different circumstances in the national parks situated in British Columbia and Ontario. In the former jurisdiction in 1914, there was no federal policy, because the province controlled hunting and trapping legislation and, initially, showed no enthusiasm for turning its power over to the federal government in Yoho, Glacier and Revelstoke parks. When the temporary warden at Glacier requested cyanide for coyote control in 1915, Harkin demurred, citing the need to await settlement of the jurisdiction issue.\(^{87}\) When Harkin canvassed his superintendents in 1917 for statistics on predator control, Russell who was in charge of both Yoho and Glacier parks responded:

No record containing these particulars has ever been kept by this department in connection with these Parks as far as I know....at present we have no control over game or other wild animals here. The Province issuing licenses [sic] covering the killing of them, and in cases of pests, paying a bounty on their dead carcass. These particulars do not pass through this office.\(^{88}\)

In 1919, the federal and British Columbian governments reached an agreement concerning the national parks, which included the ceding of game laws to the federal level. The following letter from Superintendent Russell to Ottawa shows the confusion existing at this time and gives a glimpse at the practical accommodation that had been in force before 1919:

... Warden Moore of Revelstoke Park, ask[s] for authority to poison coyoties [sic], which are becoming quite numerous in the Park and are no doubt destroying considerable game in the way of grouse and other birds. On account of the mixed up situation regarding game in the British Columbia Parks, I am referring the matter to you for a decision, as to our authority to issue instructions to a Park warden in the B.C. Parks to kill coyoties [sic], or other animals, without securing a license [sic] from the Provincial authorities.

At present the Provincial authorities issue trappers licenses [sic], over the areas included within Park

\(^{85}\) RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, WLNP, July 7, 1917.

\(^{86}\) RG84, Vol. 59, BU300, Part 1, Superintendent A.G. Smith, BuNP, to Harkin, November 30, 1918.


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boundaries, which include the killing of coyote's; but it would seem only reasonable that this department should have jurisdiction over matters of this kind, without reference to the Province, however as I am uncertain; I would be glad if you would kindly give me a ruling on the matter at your earliest convenience.  

Months later, Harkin sent a long explanatory letter to Russell describing existing predator-control policy, as it had evolved in the Alberta parks. He outlined the role of the warden, indicated which animals were currently considered “noxious” and which were not, pointed out which animal pelts wardens could keep and, in general, introduced Russell and his wardens to the system as it existed in Rocky Mountains, Jasper and Waterton Lakes parks.

During these years, some effort was made to refine the use of dogs in predator-control work. Jasper Park Superintendent Maynard Rogers made the following observation to Harkin in 1917:

I think you will agree with me that Wardens, especially at outlying places, absolutely require a dog to assist them in their work as well as being company for them in the lonesome life they lead, far from any company whatever, and by careful training a good dog can be made very useful in Warden's work.

From the establishment of the Warden Service, dogs had served as companions on long patrols and as a form of early warning against bears. The photograph of Bill Peyto at Simpson Summit shows

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90 RG84, Vol. 176, Y300, Part 1, Harkin, to E.N. Russell, superintendent of Yoho and Glacier parks, June 25, 1920. The text of the letter is as follows:

"Since the Agreement between British Columbia and the Dominion Government has been signed, this Branch is fully responsible for the game in all Dominion Parks situated in British Columbia.

Under Section 20 of the revised Game Regulations (P.C. 2415) any game warden or forest officer acting under your park's administration may at any time or season as and when authorized capture or kill by any means that are authorized within your park, noxious, predatory or dangerous mammals and noxious birds.

Kindly note that by Ministerial ruling only the skins belonging to noxious animals become the property of your wardens as a further incentive to destroy noxious animals.

All skins, however, belonging to animals not from time to time classed as noxious are not to be retained by any warden who destroys such animals, such as in the case of bears you mention which are becoming a nuisance, or a menace to property, such skins must be turned in to your Head Quarters for safe keeping until final disposition is determined on.

Subject to revision, the following animals are classed as noxious, wolves, coyotes, mountain lions, wolverines, and lynx.

As to bears, these animals are not classified as noxious, but nevertheless when found destroying property, or encountered at large in a townsite may be destroyed.

The following, commonly considered noxious are to-day considered partly beneficial, owing to the number of meadow mice, gophers, etc, they destroy viz foxes, badgers, skunks and weasels.

However, the weasel if proved to be a destroyer of poultry and bird life within any townsite should certainly be destroyed within such areas.

Shrew mice not only destroy meadow mice but also largely subsist on injurious larvae and insects and hence should not be destroyed.

In regard to so called noxious birds, the practice some years ago has been to destroy all hawks, indiscriminately; as it is now known that these birds excepting when the country is well settled, are largely beneficial in keeping down small mammal pests they together with owls, shrikes, cranes, herons and bitterns, should not be destroyed, excepting the following, Cooper Hawk, Sparrow Hawk and Goshawk. The only other bird that should be ruthlessly destroyed at all seasons is the crow.

All non-poisonous snakes are directly beneficial and should not be destroyed.

There are of course other animals and birds as well as some of the above mentioned that under other conditions than those obtaining in and around your park, would be classed as noxious.

Kindly instruct your wardens on the lines indicated in this letter."

91 RG84, Vol. 81, U3, Part 5, superintendent, JNP, S. Maynard Rogers, Jasper, to Commissioner Harkin, March 21, 1918.
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his current canine companion. [See page 37.] First-hand accounts of close encounters with bears, such as that of Warden Nelson above, often include comments on the ability of pet dogs to sense trouble and give warning of danger. Sometimes, dogs protected their master by momentarily distracting the bear and permitting the warden to escape. On more than one occasion, however, a dog scurried back to his master with a bear in hot pursuit.

Using dogs in predator-control activities seemed, from a distance, to be a logical extension of their duties. In 1912, while admonishing "Kootenai" Brown against the use of poison or traps, Chief Superintendent Douglas urged him to stick with "dogs and guns." In reality, the dogs that made good companions on the trail were not necessarily the best animals to assist in predator control. Ultimately, the practice of using dogs to hunt predators became sufficiently complex that it was largely abandoned by the Warden Service, but the war years were a learning period. By the 1990s, the dog again had a role in the national parks, but it was a working role that emphasized saving life rather than taking it.

Superintendent Smith at Buffalo National Park seems to have been the first to suggest using dogs to hunt coyotes. Late in 1916, he informed Harkin that an individual living nearby in Wainwright had trained some dogs for coyote hunting, and he tentatively suggested that they be allowed to operate within the Park boundaries. The following winter, these dogs, great danes, were used and "a steady hunt was kept up." Smith reported: "The results were so satisfactory that the same method will probably be followed next year and it is hoped that eventually we shall be able to rid the park almost entirely of these pests." That year, dogs were used, at least on a limited basis, at Elk Island National Park. At the same time, Superintendent Rogers began, at his own initiative and expense, a program of breeding wolf hounds at Jasper specifically for his wardens "to try and mitigate the coyote nuisance." By 1919, Rogers had distributed wolfhound pups to the Jasper wardens with the understanding that:

These animals are properly a part of the proper equipment of our wardens, and like the pony of the Wardens should remain in the same area so as to become accustomed to the surroundings...please inform the Wardens that these young pups are to a certain extent Parks Branch property and not personally owned by them.

That year at Buffalo National Park, Superintendent Smith reported two coyotes being trapped by Warden Reeve and another 81 being killed through "a constant hunt with two packs of dogs." By way of comparison, the wardens at Rocky Mountains Park reported a total of 313 coyotes killed by various means in the last two years of the war. In the next decade, dogs would be used more intensively in the mountain parks, particularly in the concerted campaign against a perceived mountain-lion menace.
The problems of predator control, and their solutions, were quite different in the eastern parks. At St. Lawrence Islands, a decade old when war began, there was no perceived predator problem, no control program, and not even a warden presence. At Point Pelee, created to protect the wetlands and their migratory bird population, predator control soon developed unique characteristics. At times, it was impossible to distinguish between predator control and poaching. Local residents had traditionally hunted muskrats at the point and bridled against the restrictions imposed with the creation of a national park. Efforts were made to portray the muskrat as a threat to the maintenance of the wetlands. It was claimed, for example, that the muskrats weakened the earthen dyke surrounding the northern perimeter of the point, thereby endangering the very existence of the fragile sandy point. Park officials, including Warden Garth Finlayson, resisted these arguments, citing the monetary loss of muskrat pelt-trapping as the underlying issue.95

In the end, local interests and past precedents won out and, by 1920, limited trapping was permitted with 25 percent of the profits going to the federal government. Superintendent Conover was instructed to issue permits to local residents allowing them to trap an estimated 3,000 "surplus muskrats" during March. Skins were to be given to the warden, and the superintendent was instructed to sell them to fur buyers. Eleven trappers participated in this hunt and turned in 1,090 pelts that realized just over $5,000.00. The government cut was $1,300.00. The only other animals designated as predators at Point Pelee were house cats, squirrels and rabbits; the first two preyed on migratory birds and their eggs, while the third was a threat to the fruit orchards remaining within park boundaries. Warden Finlayson carried a shotgun to keep these species under control.96 In the coming decade, he would organize and lead large-scale hunts to eradicate the rabbits in the park.

Fire Suppression

Fire was an integral part of montane ecology on the alpine slopes—a natural occurrence triggered by lightning strikes and controlled by the vagaries of rainfall and wind patterns. The arrival of the railway, however, with its wood-burning, spark-spewing locomotives meant a fierce new fire source. By the late 1890s, much of the land along the railway's path through the mountains was a scene of black desolation, and the natural beauty that had so enchanted earlier travellers had become a fading memory. The danger posed by the railway was well-recognized at the time. In Ottawa, the Board of Railway Commissioners imposed regulations for spark arresters on locomotives and stressed the need for vigilance at all levels. Along the lines, train and maintenance crews were directed to be on guard and to respond to the first signs of fire.

At the same time, the policy of developing the national parks as tourist meccas led inevitably to an increasing human presence in the forests and a heightened threat of fire. Firefighting soon became a part-time occupation in the parks, and fire suppression developed, in due course, to a finely studied

95 RG84, Vol. 16, P300, Part 1, Conover, St. Petersburg, Florida, to Harkin, January 22, 1919; ibid., R.M. Anderson, to Harkin?, no date (hereafter n.d.), [March 19, 1919]. The second document is a detailed 14-page report on the issue by Anderson who was then a zoologist with the Biological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada.

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art. Certainly, the destruction and dangers of fire were compelling factors leading to the creation of the park fire and game guardians.

In the first years of Rocky Mountains Park, fire-prevention measures were limited to policies such as that inaugurated in 1898 requiring dead and fallen timber to be cleared away from roadsides. A single fire occurred in the Park in the spring of 1900, destroying about one square mile of forest just inside the boundary east of Banff. It was fought by members of the North West Mounted Police assisted by some casual workers from the Park, but actually extinguished by a timely rainfall. From its proximity to the Canadian Pacific Railway track, it was judged a probable train fire. In part because of this fire, Douglas advocated, in his *Annual Report*, the appointment of fire guardians who could concentrate on the fire danger in the Park.

In August 1907, another fire, also likely resulting from the spark of a passing train, destroyed a four- or five-mile stretch of forest near Lake Louise and prompted Douglas to establish a twice-daily patrol of the railway track between Laggan and Morley during the spring and summer dry period. When the first guardians were appointed in 1909, one of their chief powers was that of ordering citizens, with a few occupational exceptions, to fight sudden fires in the parks. A year later, Douglas declared the guardians an unqualified success in protecting the game and forests of the mountain parks. Again, in his *Annual Report*, he maintained:

Since we have inaugurated our new plan of fire and game guarding by the appointment of a competent staff of experienced men under the direction of a chief, the fires have been less frequent and have done less damage than ever before. These men have looked carefully after the piling of limbs and brush on areas granted to numerous parties for the cutting of cordwood, mine props and lumber, and if this system of protecting the forest from chance of fire is continued, it is only a question of a few years when we will have but one place where our men will have to exercise their constant vigilance, namely, the railway right-of-way.

The regulation governing the starting of camp fires, &c., is having the effect desired and...the residents in the park are commencing to take a keen interest in safeguarding the forests from fire....The staff of forest guardians is without doubt the most important we have, as so much depends on them to maintain and perpetuate the beauty of the park and protect the game.

Too much cannot be said in favour of a good and intelligent system of protection for our natural resources....

The fire and game guardians soon settled into a regular pattern of fire-suppression activities. They monitored areas where wood was being cut, insisting that brush be gathered up for controlled burns and, on occasion, doing the work themselves. While on patrol, they were at times able to extinguish small fires set by careless smokers, and they watched for abandoned or untended camp fires. To combat the danger of fires from locomotive sparks, guardians were directed to make two trips per day by velocipede between Banff and Laggan, and one eastward between Banff and Canmore, in all a

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distance of 60 miles. In 1910 alone, they claimed to have extinguished 15 train spark fires, before they could grow to unmanageable proportions.¹⁰⁰

In 1910, the Grand Trunk Pacific came to Jasper, which was still a virtually untouched wilderness of 5,000 square miles, and brought with it an increased danger of fire. Initially, the chief forest ranger from the contiguous Federal Forest Reserve was appointed acting superintendent and, along with two forest rangers and one permanent game and fire guardian, assumed the game and forest-protection duties in the park.¹⁰¹ In his first Annual Report, Harkin proclaimed:

Fire is, of course, the most serious menace. Very good results have been obtained from the system of fire patrol and protection in operation for several years. However, the practice of the branch is to keep in touch with the forestry branch experts for advice and suggestion, and also to co-operate with the forestry officials with a view to getting the best possible results. Plans in regard to fire protection are being developed not only on the lines of patrolling, but also in the matter of a comprehensive trail system, telephone lines, signal stations, depots with stores for emergencies, organization of men, pack horses and equipment available at all times for emergencies; construction of fire guards; [and] disposal and removal of dead timber.¹⁰²

At Yoho and Glacier in 1911, Superintendent Hunter described a system in which he received patrol assistance from federal forest rangers, stationed at Field and Leanchoil but under the supervision of the chief forest ranger, and from railway section crews who maintained a watch along the rail line. The ranger based at Field was there for the entire fire season, patrolled all the trails in the park, reported on their condition and posted warning notices for campers. For the fire season of 1912, a new superintendent hired a temporary fire guardian to work out of Field, but Dominion forest rangers remained responsible for part of the park and for all fire protection in Glacier.¹⁰³ As well, the superintendent continued to acknowledge the assistance of Canadian Pacific Railway workers. The territory of the new fire guardian extended along the Canadian Pacific Railway line from Leanchoil and the westerly boundary of the park, to Stephen, a distance of some 30 miles. He was also responsible for patrolling the roads north from Field to Emerald Lake, east to the Yoho River and south toward the Kootenay Valley. The ranger who patrolled the southwest portion of the park continued to forward a copy of his monthly diary to the superintendent as had been the arrangement the previous year.

In Rocky Mountains Park, officials were now beginning to put in place a strategic network of fire-equipment caches. These were deposited in newly built fire and game guardian stations and in old hunting cabins commandeered for park patrol. Park officials were also designing and building a system of trails to provide efficient emergency access to this equipment. To complement the physical

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¹⁰¹ Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1911, report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks Howard Douglas, pp. 3-14. The latter individual was L.J. Swift. Douglas describes him as a squatter who had lived in the territory for 15 years and made substantial improvements to his homestead. Swift was the only squatter who was not evicted from the park. Ibid., March 31, 1910, report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks Howard Douglas, Banff, Alberta, June 1, 1910, pp. 3-18.


¹⁰³ RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Superintendent George E. Hunter, YNP, to Harkin, November 30, 1911; ibid., Superintendent F.E. Maunder, YNP, to Harkin, June 14, 1912.
Figure 1-1. “Lathering up” - Chief Warden Howard Sibbald, Rocky Mountains Park, c. 1920. [Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta. V573 PD-1 284]
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infrastructure, Sibbald instituted a series of regular patrols by his guardian staff, which now numbered seven. The cabins, trails and patrols, and the new field-telephone communication systems, will be examined in more detail below.

The course of several park fires in 1913 indicates the current state of the firefighting art and its limitations. On June 10 that year, a fire broke out at mile 1038 on the Grand Trunk Pacific west of Jasper. Howard Douglas, although now stationed at Edmonton as chief superintendent of all the Dominion Parks, came west to take charge of its suppression. By 2 a.m. on June 12, the fire seemed to be out, and Douglas dismissed the firefighters, leaving one man on watch. When Fire and Game Guardian Alex McDougall was sent back by speeder later in the day, he discovered that a strong wind had come up, fanning deep smouldering moss into flame. McDougall and the rail crew that he supervised were forced to abandon their equipment and flee for their lives, as the fire renewed and spread. By June 19, it had jumped creeks, spread to mile 1043 and was held only by the mountain snow lines. The next day, rain appeared to check the fire, but, in late July, it burst forth once more and was, again, subdued only because of heavy rains. The report of Jasper Superintendent Rogers is worth quoting at length here, because it shows quite clearly the frustrations and difficulties of facing an established inferno with limited resources. Rogers explained:

I had already placed myself on record as being opposed to wasting money on trying to subdue the fire at Mile 1038 & which has since covered the Mountain side pretty thoroughly from 1037 to 1043; for the reason that with the weather conditions existing for the past month at Jasper it was money thrown away as there were not enough men available in the Park to cope with it, [sic] we had up to last night twelve days with the thermometer ranging from 80 to 90 in the shade accompanied by persistent West winds sometimes of great force [sic] the hillside was covered at great depth with moss & dead fallen timber mostly like tinder or punk; the Hillside was very steep with no water available for men to drink [or] for fire fighting purposes & the element of danger to the men so employed was very great [sic] in fact yesterday it was a question for a little while whether some of my men working about 1 & 1/2 miles up would be cut off or not.

I realize fully that it is our bounden duty to use every effort to stop such a fire but it was bound to be futile under the weather conditions as I on the ground knew full well [sic] the Chief Supt himself on the occasion of the first attempt at fighting this fire said it was impossible to do anything with it & conditions were very much worse afterwards.

It meant either a few days heavy rain or the drenching of a large area with water or chemicals suitable for fire extinguishing (of which I have asked if there is such a thing adopted for the purpose) as it was impossible to get at the moss & dead wood in the deep crevices of the rock on a very steep hillside.

At this time Monday I am happy to say we have had our first rain for a long while [sic] it started about 11 P.M. last night & now at 1-30 P.M. Monday it is still keeping up.

I have of course most of the time had [wardens] McDougall Bigley & Rootes daily working in and around the area & reporting to me, [sic] to-day I sent a small gang of my road men up with them to pick on another line of Fire Guard further West where in the course of a day or two we can hope finally to stay it if the weather keeps favorable; but it will take a lot of rain to get through the trees to the moss & dead wood.

105 RG84, Vol. 13, J185, Part 1, chief superintendent, Dominion Parks, to chief fire inspector, Board of Railway Commissioners, [Leavitt], June 19, 1913.
106 RG84, Vol. 13, J185, Part 1, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to commissioner, July 28, 1913.
Although he had easy access by rail to the fire and the full support of Grand Trunk Pacific manpower, Rogers was able to do nothing in the face of dry vegetation conditions, high winds and an absence of rain. As he pointed out, while the fire raged:

I sent the Chief Fire Ranger, with a small body of men to see if it was possible to hem the fire in on either side but they were unable to accomplish anything of value, [sic] since then it has spread with great rapidity ... & is also working, - today to the West, flammed [sic] by a fairly strong breeze, [sic]
I regret there is nothing we can do to stop this fire, & would ask you, if possible, to secure any chemical equipment, suitable for such steep side hill fire fighting where there is no water for fire or drinking purposes.

I regret to acknowledge defeat but One Thousand Men could not cope with this fire as at present, or, as you know, in the past.¹⁰⁷

Not all fire-suppression activities offered such forlorn hopes as the fires raging in Jasper in the summer of 1913. At the same time, a blaze in Rocky Mountains Park near Castle Mountain, again the apparent result of a passing train, was caught quickly by Fire and Game Guardian W. G. Fyfe and extinguished, before it could grow to unmanageable proportions. Initially discovered and subdued by Canadian Pacific Railway workers, the fire broke out a second time. Fyfe reported:

On Monday the Section foreman from Eldon came in & reported fire west of Castle, so I called out C.P.R. fire rangers & went with them on Speeder to fire. When we got to the fire we discovered it was the same that they reported out the previous night, only ten times worse, as there was an East wind blowing & fire was spreading rapidly. The fire had been burning in the soil & stumps & had got the grass & dead timber laying around & was igniting the under branches of some standing trees. I started dropping burning trees, & asked C.P.R. rangers to assist, but discovered that their axes were too dull to even cut off a limb. After dropping everything liable to catch fire, we trenched around the burning area, & with the C.P.R. canvas buckets, carried water from the nearest holes containing water & filled the trenches with water & douched every part that was alight, & did not leave till we were assured everything was out.¹⁰⁸

In viewing the excitement, danger and camaraderie of fighting serious fires, one should not forget that most of the fire-prevention work carried out in the parks was of a much more solitary nature. Fire and game guardians, throughout the fire season of late spring and summer, spent much of their time on solitary patrols. Those hired on a temporary basis, as was often the case, were supplied with pack and saddle horses, blanket and saddle. Temporaries were paid as daily labourers, but, by the month, "as they have to be on duty every day of the month." Where cabins had not yet been erected, as in Yoho in 1912, they travelled with tents.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 38, G-3-3, Fire and Game Guarding, 1913, W.G. Fyfe, Castle Mountain, to Sibbald, July 29, 1913.
¹⁰⁹ RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, chief superintendent of Dominion Parks, to Superintendent F. Maunders, YNP, June 7, 1912; FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 38, G-3-3, Fire and Game Guarding, 1913, Sibbald, to Superintendent Clarke, RMP, June 12, 1913.
Building the Initial Infrastructure

Prior to the appointment of fire and game guardians, there were cabins and trails in Rocky Mountains Park, the former often the work of hunters, the latter frequently cut by timber cutters or, in the case of recreational trails near the railway stations, by employees of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Indeed, the federal government had a tacit understanding with the Railway that it would maintain the Park's tiny road system, while the Canadian Pacific Railway would design and build trails for tourists. It was not until 1909 and the arrival of the guardians that park officials determined to create a network of trails to aid in the enforcement of park regulations. In announcing their formation, Douglas noted that the guardians would:

...patrol all portions of the parks and regular patrol trails and small cabins will be constructed in different portions of the parks where the men can remain over night and avoid the necessity of packing tents, etc., with them. Each will be furnished with a saddle pony and a pack pony carrying supplies, so that they can remain out for several days at a time or as long as their patrol duty in any locality may require. By this means it is hoped that the killing of game by the Indians and tourists, which in the past was not of uncommon occurrence in the outlying portions of the parks owing to insufficient patrol, may be checked if not altogether prevented.

Work began that summer with the cutting of a new trail westward from Banff to the summit of Simpson Pass, a distance of 19 miles. In the following year, tenders were called for the construction of 50 miles of new trails in the vicinity of Banff—trails that would benefit visitors but would also provide access for guardians on fire duty. These trails included one that was 14 miles long on the north side of Lake Minnewanka and another that connected Banff with the Spray Lakes, 24 miles to the southeast. The trails were made suitable for horse travel by being cut six feet across and having stumps cut low to the ground. It is worth noting that, from the beginning, trails were usually constructed by contractors working on routes previously scouted and blazed by the warden service.

By 1912, wardens were being directed not only to determine routes but also to go over the ground with prospective contractors and to add to the specifications, where corduroy and bridging would be required. Interestingly, Bill Peyto made an unsuccessful bid to build a trail from Simpson Pass up Brewster Creek in April 1911, while he was still a guide working out of Banff. The same month, he was hired as a seasonal warden. At least in the case of the Red Deer River trail, wardens continued their patrols even after the 1911 reduction left the area outside the park.


112 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31 1910, report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks Howard Douglas, Banff, Alberta, June 1, 1910, pp. 3-18. Originally, this trail was expected to link with a provincially constructed trail in British Columbia to become the basis for a future automobile route connecting Banff and Windemere. The actual Banff-Windemere highway would wind through the Vermilion Pass, 20 kilometres to the northwest; ibid., March 31, 1911, report of Commissioner of Dominion Parks Howard Douglas, pp. 3-14; ibid., March 31, 1911, report of Superintendent A.B. MacDonald, RMP, pp. 15-23.

Figure 1-2. Warden Bill Peyto at the summit of the Simpson Pass about 1913. The cabin was built by Peyto before he joined the Warden Service and is used here as a warden patrol cabin. [Whyte Museum, V497 PA201 NA66.262]
By 1912, Douglas could report the employment of five permanent wardens at Rocky Mountains Park "who patrol all portions of the park on regular trails ...." They were patrolling some 100 miles of new trails built in the previous year, again giving tourists and wardens access to more remote areas of the park. Douglas continued to argue for "a thorough network of these trails," which he estimated could be built for only $30 a mile—an amount he considered insignificant compared to the forest they could save from fire. One of Douglas' arguments against the 1911 plan to cut drastically the size of most of the mountain parks was that trails and cabins had been constructed in areas that were about to be excluded.

Rocky Mountains Park officials also adopted and revised detailed Canadian Pacific Railway contract specifications for trails about 1912. They set up three categories of trails: promenade trails that were to be four to six feet wide and were designed for "heavy traffic," bridle trails three to four feet wide "for light traffic" and foot trails two to three feet in width.

Guidelines were also provided to contractors as to economies of construction and future maintenance. Later the same year, more rigorous and detailed specifications for a single, standard, six-foot-wide trail were issued in Rocky Mountains Park.

Often, the trails built prior to the war were designed as connecting links within the existing system rather than extensions. In 1914, the new Chief Superintendent of Dominion Parks P.C. Bernard-Hervey, boasted that there were now 600 miles of trails in Rocky Mountains Park. This figure would have included major wagon roads, and even the recently completed automobile or coach road linking Banff and Calgary. The actual number was probably closer to the 255 miles that were reported the following year. Certainly, this latter figure would have included trails built specifically for fire

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114 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1912, report of Chief Superintendent of Dominion Parks Howard Douglas, April 1, 1912, p. 21. Douglas provided the following details on recent trail building in Rocky Mountains Park:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trail Description</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sundance Canyon to Brewster Creek</td>
<td>16 miles</td>
<td>$350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laggan to Bow Summit</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>$1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawback Lakes to Bankhead</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>$750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spray Lakes to Mt. Assiniboine</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>$450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson-Pipetone Trail</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>$200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,050</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


116 RG84, Vol. 1, B62[R62], Part 1, memo, unsigned and undated [perhaps January 1912], "Re. Contract Specifications for Cutting Trails"; ibid., specifications enclosed in Douglas, to Superintendent Macdonald, RMP, July 2, 1912:

Specifications.
All trails should be cut and cleared not less than six feet in width. The timber cut in construction should be piled at right angles along each side of the trail (where it might be burned at some suitable time later on by our fire wardens). No roots of trees cut should show above the surface of the ground. All side hill work should be built so as to have a level surface of at least four feet in width. Where bridges are built over streams they should be not less than six feet in width and the timber placed at right angles and not lengthwise as is often done. The same to apply to corduroy over muskeg, where it is necessary to ford streams. The approach to the ford should be defined on both sides so that strangers would experience no difficulty in locating same. The bridge or fording of the streams should be specified in the contract. All tenders should call for a deposit of ten percent and at no time should over seventy-five percent of the estimated work completed be paid to the contractor until the whole was completed and taken over.
suppression such as the 17-mile line connecting the Castle-Vermilion automobile road with the Banff-Simpson Pass trail. The purpose of this particular trail was to provide wardens access to any fire that might, as had occurred previously, start along the Bow River Canadian Pacific Railway line and jump the river in a westward movement.\textsuperscript{117} By the eve of the First World War, there were some 60 identified and separate trails in Rocky Mountains Park, all subject to regular patrol by members of the Warden Service.

The few trails that were reported being cut in other parks at this time were still seen primarily as the means of opening areas to tourists and campers. For example, in Yoho, where trails seemed to be largely the preserve of the Canadian Pacific Railway, some development had occurred prior to World War I. In 1912, Railway crews maintained 70 miles of trails at Lake Louise, 44 miles in Yoho Park and 19 miles in Glacier. In 1914, at Yoho, four temporary wardens patrolled 13 trails covering a total of 98 miles. Here, the value of such trails was acknowledged by Superintendent Maunder who in 1914 marked out for development three more routes totalling 15 miles.\textsuperscript{118}

Jasper, although not developed anywhere near the level of Rocky Mountains Park, did see over 40 miles of trail constructed or repaired in 1913, and, here, the wardens took a much more hands-on approach, building trails as well as blazing, patrolling and maintaining them. Warden J.A. Rootes, for example, cut and graded a trail from near Jasper townsite to Caledonia Lake for fishing access, and wardens Busby and McDonald, with one assistant, cut a 14-mile trail at the lower end of Jasper Lake.\textsuperscript{119}

The work of trail clearing and cabin building continued during the war, although perhaps at a somewhat diminished pace. By the spring of 1915, there were 17 recognized patrol trails in Rocky Mountains Park totalling 255 miles. Four more were planned for that season, to bring another 38 miles to the system. At Jasper National Park, which was much less developed, trail work and road building were concentrated near the town site. There was as yet no permanent bridge over the Athabasca River at Jasper, and the road between the town and Maligne Canyon, a major tourist site just a mile and a half away, was not yet completed in the spring of 1915. The Maligne Valley trail had recently been improved between Maligne and Medicine lakes, as had the trail linking Pocahontas to the east with the Miette Springs tourist spot. At Yoho, several new trails were cut out, including one some eight miles long giving access to Lake McArthur in the south and another along the Yoho River in the northern portion of the Park. Both were intended primarily to give access for fire-prevention and suppression patrols. At Mount Revelstoke National Park, the initial major thrust was


\textsuperscript{119} Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1914, report of the superintendent, JNP, Lieutenant Colonel S. Maynard Rogers, April 1, 1914, pp. 62.
to complete a motor road for tourist use to the Revelstoke summit, while, at Waterton Lakes, the prime concern was simply how to patrol a park that had just jumped from 13.5 to 423 square miles of territory. By 1920, the wardens were patrolling some 1,400 miles of trail in the mountain parks.\textsuperscript{120}

Trail work during the war was limited to repairs, extensions and additions, and a few special projects driven by specific needs. New trails were built on contract, with local entrepreneurs bidding on government tenders. For example, the following is a descriptive account of work done on a new trail in Yoho during the first year of the war:

\begin{quote}

Having been hired by you [Superintendent Maunder?] as foreman of the above gang I proceeded up the Ottertail river with a packer and three labourers, with the usual camp outfit, tools &c., and established a camp about 1 1/2 miles from the mouth of McArthur Creek where it enters the Ottertail river.

The first few days the gang was engaged on the Ottertrail trail cutting out fallen timber, putting in a culvert and clearing water courses crossing the trail.

I then made an inspection of the old McArthur Creek trail and I found a new trail had been commenced and built for a distance of about 1 1/2 miles. The new trail was continued on the high ground above McArthur Creek to evade swampy [sic] along the bottom land. The old trail was found to follow the creek practically from its mouth to the summit of the McArthur Pass. As the work proceeded the camp was moved so as to be as near the work as possible. The old trail has only been followed in a few places where the going was good and higher ground has been selected for the new trail.

There are many rock slides overgrown with thick brush and the trail has been cut through them. A last camp to complete the trail to the summit was made at the forks of McArthur Creek with an unnamed creek (or Owen Creek as suggested by you) a distance approximately from the mouth of McArthur Creek of 6 miles. About 1/4 mile from the forks the old trail passes through a swamp and here a new trail has been made along the mountain side to the summit connecting with the old trail probably 1/4 mile from the summit. The trail has been graded where necessary, brush cut out, and the large rocks removed. A bridge has been built just above the old ford adjacent to the forks. The creek here runs very rapidly and the creek bed is full of large boulders and in case of high water would not be fordable. Some corduroy work remains to be done and a cabin built about five miles from the mouth of McArthur Creek.

The distances I have given are only roughly estimated but if desired I can give you them more accurately.

I trust the work I have done had been satisfactory to you and if there are any alterations or improvements you wish me to make I will see that they are faithfully carried out. \textsuperscript{121}
\end{quote}

The wardens, though, were not completely excluded from the process. In 1915, Commissioner Harkin reiterated that new trails were to be blazed out by a competent warden who would also report


\textsuperscript{121} RG84, Vol. 44, Y62, Part 1, report of Foreman T.F. Vicary, June 1915, attached to letter, Chief Superintendent P.C. Bernard-Hervey, to Harkin, July 9, 1915. The following year, Vicary was hired as chief fire and game warden at Yoho.
on such details as the approximate length of the trail and any special features such as the need for bridges, culverts or corduroy. The district warden would inspect the work as it progressed, and, when completed, would inspect it again and report on it before payment was authorized. At Jasper, for example, some work continued on the Maligne-Medicine Lakes' trail in 1915, but it was seen at the time as being the route for the future motor road linking Jasper with Lake Louise. By the end of the season, Jasper had over 140 miles of patrol trails. Three new trails, totalling 26 miles, were cut in Rocky Mountains Park that year, again largely for fire patrols, giving the Park some 283 miles of trail. In 1916, just one new trail was built in Rocky Mountains Park. It was a short trail up the scenic Johnson Canyon providing access for tourists on the Banff-Castle motor road. Here, the wardens were engaged, building a number of foot bridges and, in places, blasting rock along the trail.\footnote{Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1916, report of Chief Superintendent of Dominion Parks P.C. Bernard-Hervey, for Jasper National Park, pp. 60-61; ibid., March 31, 1916, report of the superintendent, RMP, S. J. Clarke, pp. 15-35; ibid., March 31, 1917, report of Superintendent S. J. Clarke, RMP, pp. 16-27; RG84, Vol. 1, R62, Part 2, circular letter, Harkin to superintendents, RMP, YNP, GNP, JNP, WLNP and MRNP, May 27, 1915. RG84, Vol. 1, R62, Part 2, Sibbald to Clarke, 24 January 1917. C141090.}
By 1917, Superintendent Clarke listed 21 patrol trails in Rocky Mountains Park with a combined length of 337 miles:

No. 1 Bow Summit Trail, distance 28 miles, built in 1912, but last two seasons being wet have made parts of this trail impassable.

No. 2 Pipestone trail, distance 27 miles, cut in 1912.

No. 3 Little Pipestone, distance 4 1/2 miles 1913.

No. 4 Ptarmigan Trail, distance 18 miles 1914.

No. 5 Sawback and Mt. Edith, distance 24 miles 1912. (About 10 miles have to be rebuilt.)

No. 6 Cascade Mountain Trail, distance 6 1/2 miles 1914.

No. 7 Cascade and Cuthead trail distance 27 " 1912.

No. 8 Lake Minnewanka and Ghost River, 19 miles 1912.

No. 9 Carrot Creek trail, 12 miles 1913.

No. 10 Spray Lakes Trail, 30 miles 1910.

No. 11 Kananaskis Summit trail, 11 miles 1910.

No. 12 Bryant Creek trail 18 miles 1911.

No. 13 Brewster and Bryant trail, 19 1/2 miles 1914.

No. 14 Healy and Simpson Pass Trail, 18 miles 1910.

No. 15 Healy to Vermilion trail, 17 miles 1912.

No. 16 Red Earth and Simpson Summit, 17 miles 1913.

No. 17 Twin Lakes trail, 6 1/2 miles 1913.

No. 18 Boom Lake Trail, 2 1/2 miles 1916.

No. 19 Spray River trail, 18 miles 1919.

No. 20 Sawback to Cuthead, 10 miles 1912.

No. 21 Rundle Mountain Trail, 3 1/2 miles 1914.

Superintendent Russell in 1915 reported on 19 trails stretching 133 miles in Yoho and Glacier parks. His combined report for 1916 noted no new trails, but stressed that the existing 22 routes,

Establishment and Consolidation, 1885-1920

January 24, 1917.

123 RG84, Vol. 1, R62, Part 2, Clarke, to Harkin, April 12, 1917.

124 RG84, Vol. 44, Y62, Part 1, Superintendent E.N. Russell, Yoho and Glacier parks, July 10, 1915. Russell wrote in part:

I beg to append the following list of trails in parks which have mostly been cleaned out by the wardens:

Yoho Park:

Leanchoil to mouth of Ice river - 14 miles.
Trail up Ice river - 6 miles.
Leanchoil to Ottertail bridge - 12 miles.
Ottertail bridge to mouth of McArthur creek - 12 mile.
(now being cleared by trail gang.)
McArthur creek trail to Lake O'Hara - 10 miles.
Lake O'Hara to Hector - 9 miles.
Hector to Park boundary at Stephen - 3 miles.
Hector to Sherbrooke Lake - 4 miles.
Takakkaw falls to Twin falls - 7 miles.
Trail to Yoho Glacier - 4 miles.
Twin falls up upper trail back to Summit lake and down the east slope to Takakkaw 12 miles.
Fossil beds trail - 3 miles.
Burgess Pass trail - 7 miles.

Glacier Park:

Glacier to Nakimu caves, via Rogers Pass - 9 miles.
Trail to Great Glacier - 2 miles.
Trail to Assulkan Glacier - 6 miles.
Mount Abbott trail - 6 miles.
Flat creek trail - 3 miles.
Caribou creek to Illecillewaet - 4 miles.
166 miles in all, were being maintained and patrolled on a regular basis by the park wardens. With the exception of essential repair work, largely undertaken by the warden staff, this was the extent of trail construction, until the building of a new 20-mile trail between Athabaska Falls and the Sunwapta warden cabin in Jasper National Park in 1919. At Waterton Lakes, where much of the park territory had been but recently reacquired, some new trails were necessary. As well as repair work on the existing network, a trail was opened to the Belly River warden station and another to the Yarrow Creek cabin.

During the war, the Parks Branch had neither the financial resources nor the manpower required to build many trails by contract. The wardens did remain, however, and much of the trail work fell on them. Harkin, in 1917, stressed how little funding was available for fire and game protection, and urged "that as far as possible all necessary repairs to trails are done by the wardens themselves, and extra assistance allowed only when the work is such that it can not be undertaken by one man." There were, for example, nine Jasper wardens in 1915, 12 in 1918 and 14 in 1919. They were able not only to maintain existing trails while on patrol and effect minor repairs, but they also continued the work of building up a network of patrol cabins in the mountain parks, their efforts limited only by available resources and supplies. The wardens also concentrated, as much as possible during the war years, on the installation of forest-telephone systems.

Shelter was also an essential component of the warden-patrol network being established in the parks. By the spring of 1912, five warden cabins had been erected in Rocky Mountains Park, including one on the Kananaskis River east of Banff and another on Panther Creek 40 kilometres north of the town. A cabin had also been built on the Red Deer River, but it was, in 1912, excluded from the Park by the temporary reduction in the Park boundaries effected the previous year. In addition, firefighting equipment was kept at stations on the Clearwater River, the Pipestone and at Spray Lakes. The Panther Creek cabin was also used for this purpose. Unlike the trails that wardens designed and maintained but did not usually construct, the early cabins were built almost entirely by the wardens themselves. As Rocky Mountains Superintendent S. J. Clarke pointed out, "the cost is very low." The wardens also used old hunting cabins for patrol purposes, including one on Mud Lake near the source of the Spray River, south of Banff, another on Healy Creek near Simpson Pass and a third on the Cascade River, south of the Cuthead Pass.

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At first glance, the early warden cabins appear to be simple, rough-hewn, log structures such as one would expect to find in rugged, mountainous terrain. Given the difficulties of transporting materials, the wardens turned to available materials, whenever possible, the exceptions being glass panes for windows and, on occasion, roofing material. However, the warden cabins were also the product of a large bureaucracy, where a traditionally rustic architectural style influenced park-building efforts from the 1880s to the mid-twentieth century. Originally rustic for reasons of economy and expediency, the general design of warden cabins remained unchanged for decades.\textsuperscript{127}

The first specifications for a warden cabin came from the office of the park engineer in 1913. The modest building, intended to house the warden at Laggan [now Lake Louise] was a one-storey log structure with eight-inch-thick walls. Internally, it was divided into two central rooms for use as an office and a living room (each 10'9" by 14'), and two smaller rear spaces designed as a back kitchen and a room described as a cell, which was likely intended as a bedroom (each 5'9" by 11').\textsuperscript{128} In the fall of 1913, Deputy Warden Hill was erecting a cabin at the mouth of the Little Pipestone River, while deputies Wright and J. McKay were putting one up at Stoney Creek.\textsuperscript{129} Shortly after its construction, the former cabin was described in the following terms:

\textsuperscript{128} FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 38, G-3-3, Fire and Game Guarding, 1913, sketch and plan of warden house, April 14, 1913.
\textsuperscript{129} FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 38, G-3-3, Fire and Game Guarding, 1913, superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, September 17, 1913; ibid., Sibbald, to Superintendent Clarke, RMP, November 4, 1913.
The cabin is 14X16 inside measurement with wall 6 1/2 ft. high from the floor. It is built of large logs. The roof is of split logs covered with rubberoid and projects six feet in front of the cabin. There are two windows each with two panes 12X12 inches. The floor is of shiplap which was cut into short pieces for packing. The floor is made of shiplap laid double. It contains a collapsible stove and a table.\textsuperscript{130}

By 1914, an unspecified number of "shelter cabins" had also been erected for the wardens, and Clarke intended to continue this process, placing them in suitable locations throughout the Park as resources permitted. In the same report, Superintendent Clarke noted the recent construction of what he called houses for game wardens at Laggan, Minnewanka and Panther Creek, an indication that there was as yet no clear delineation, at least in the mind of the superintendent, between isolated and relatively

\textsuperscript{130} BNP, Banff Administration Building, Old File 1711, chief forester, to Harkin, June 29, 1914.
primitive patrol cabins, and permanent quarters for the park wardens. By the spring of 1914, there were nine warden cabins in Rocky Mountains Park, and another five were built in the coming year, each constructed by the wardens and "equipped for all emergency." In June 1914, for example, Warden W.G. Fyfe was erecting a warden cabin, stable and tool shed for fire equipment at Vermilion Summit.

The cabins were left unlocked for the use of travellers, the only stipulation being the following:

This cabin is for the use of the fire and game warden. In his absence it may be used by campers, but must be left clean. Any person who takes from this cabin any tool or utensil, except for the purpose of fighting a forest fire, is liable to a fine of $100.

Clarke reported no abuses of this privilege. It was his intention to add another six or eight such cabins in the coming year. He also noted, for the first time in this report, a plan to construct a telephone system for the fire and game wardens through their patrol areas. Already, a line connected Canmore and Banff, and another one nine miles long ran from Banff to the warden's cabin at the east end of Lake Minnewanka.

There is little indication of an established pattern of warden cabins in any of the other parks prior to 1914. For example, at Yoho in 1913, cabins existed at Summit Lake and on one of the trails near Leanchoi, but only the former was recognized as having any particular association with the Warden Service. That year, the superintendent did recommend the construction of two patrol cabins—a small summer cabin near Hector and a small log cabin near Takakkaw. Wardens on overnight patrols in Glacier Park carried tents with them, but there was at least one cabin in the park, and it was stocked with firefighting equipment.

The networks of patrol cabins varied from park to park at the onset of the war. By early 1915, Rocky

131 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, report of the superintendent. RMP, S.J. Clarke, Banff, March 31, 1915, pp. 16-27. BNP, Banff Administration Building, Old File 1711, Deputy Fire and Game Warden W.G. Fyfe, Vermilion Summit, to Sibbald, June 23, 1914. Fyfe wrote that he needed more wood for the floor, and that the glass had been poorly packed and arrived smashed. Presumably, finished materials such as wood for flooring and glass were packed in, while other needs were met with the surrounding forest wood.

132 BNP, Banff Administration Building, Old File 1711, Deputy Fire and Game Warden W.G. Fyfe, Vermilion Summit, to Sibbald, June 23, 1914.


134 RG84, Vol. 2124, U189, Part 1, scheme of fire protection for Glacier National Park, summer of 1914. The following equipment was either present at the cabin or being requested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sheet iron collapsible stove and pipes</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culinary utensils</td>
<td>$6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 axes with spike on one end</td>
<td>$6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 long handled shovels</td>
<td>$12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mattocks</td>
<td>$3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 crosscut saw</td>
<td>$5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 collapsible canvas pails</td>
<td>$12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 grindstone</td>
<td>$3.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total $57.50
Mountains Park had 14 cabins in use, some as permanent residences and others for patrol visits. Another six were constructed in 1916, and, in 1917, yet two more were added. At Jasper, temporary repairs were the order of the day during the war. In 1916, the acting superintendent wrote Harkin: "as to the condition of Warden W. E. Biggs Cabin at Pocahontas, this building has become so overrun with vermin as to make it unfit to live in that I have given Mr. Biggs permission to spray the walls and put on a new rubberoid roof and erect the necessary partitions of lumber and generally renovate the building." With the work done, Bigg's cabin at Pocahontas would become "one of the best Cabins (as far as comfort goes) in the Park." Circumstances at Yoho were even more stark. In 1915, Warden Moore complained that no provision had been made for the warden's accommodation and that he was even providing his own tent for the summer while on patrol. He recommended that two cabins be built for the fire wardens in the park, and the Annual Report for the following year indicates that this was done. No further cabin construction occurred until after the war. No work was done at Mount Revelstoke despite repeated pleas from the superintendent for at least one warden cabin at the summit, a popular tourist objective.

At Waterton Lakes, perhaps because of long-standing personnel problems, accommodations were particularly grim by the onset of war. A headquarters' blacksmith shop and one warden cabin at Waterton Bridge were built in 1916 and 1917 respectively, but most requirements were set aside, to be met in a flurry of construction following the war. Chief Fire and Game Warden George Allison pleaded in 1915 for permission to repair Cedar cabin, where he had established his headquarters. "I asked to have it repaired in July," he wrote:

....also in August and it was laid aside until your [Harkin's] arrival here for approval. Now the roof is in very bad shape and leaks badly. The heavy winds has [sic] torn the paper roofing in several places. And winter is nearly here. It is only two ply of lumber without paper between. I think if there was siding put on the outside the inside would do for the winter .... I have made a stable which will do for the winter and will do the labor on the cabin myself if the Department will allow me this amount [$58.50] for the material. Would like to get it repaired as soon as possible as the weather is getting cold here.... it will be impossible to live in it in the winter time. Have been staying at the hotel which has now closed.

Allison's request was approved.136

In 1916, Chief Superintendent Bernard-Hervey complained bitterly to Harkin of conditions at Waterton Lakes. "I consider it a positive disgrace," he wrote, "that our Wardens in this Park are compelled to live in 'shacks' which are both unsightly, of the crudest construction, with one, at most two, small windows, with no floors and are anything but conducive to the well being of the occupants." To bolster his argument, he enclosed a photograph of the existing stable, which Chief Warden George Allison had constructed himself at his headquarters' cabin. Bernard-Hervey claimed that Allison's stable was "considerably better accommodation than at any of the other Wardens'  

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136 Schintz Package # 8, PAA, acc. 70.190/299, Dominion Parks authorization file, September 30, 1916; ibid., acc. 70.190/335, Allison, to Harkin, September 20, 1915.
quarters," even though the roof consisted of poles covered with hay, and Allison had no corrals other than scraps of barbed wire and plain baling wire.\footnote{Schintz Package # 8, PAA, acc. 190/297, Chief Superintendent Bernard-Hervey, Edmonton, to Harkin, May 8, 1916.}

In the summer of 1918, Acting Superintendent F.E. Maunder gave a vivid account of conditions for Warden Marquis and his wife who were then living at the Yarrow Creek warden cabin. Although built only eight or ten years earlier, this cabin had not stood up well, in part because it was largely constructed of balsam fir logs, which had begun to rot in the absence of a proper foundation. Maunder found that one wall had settled so much that the front door could not be completely opened. Shaving the bottom of the door would simply leave a space through which mice and rats could enter. Of his own accommodations, Maunder wrote:

> The rain had come through the roof so badly that the bed assigned to me to sleep in was real wet, and the Warden had the other bed protected from the rain by a slicker hung up to catch the leakage from the roof. This slicker had a good pint of water in it which had gathered from the last rain.\footnote{Schintz Package # 8, PAA, acc. 70.190/336, Maunder, to Harkin, July 30, 1918. Enclosed is a sketch of the old cabin and its stables, and a statement of expenditure for a new cabin at Yarrow Creek, which was completed on September 30, 1919.}

The sketch above shows a modest log building measuring 14' by 16' with eight-foot-high walls and a single offset front door. The replacement cabin, constructed in the fall of 1919, was larger,
probably 20' by 24', and was intended for family use. Maunder pressed for larger cabins as a general recommendation. He argued that, with so many young men in uniform by the last years of the war, most of the new applicants for the Warden Service now were married men, often with dependent children, and needed more space.\textsuperscript{139}

Improvements came slowly at Waterton Lakes. Efforts to relocate Warden Andrew Bower within the park in 1918 came to a sudden head, when he was "frozen out" of his cabin at Kelly Oil Camp and forced to rent a house just outside the entrance to the park. The next spring, Bower was back in his former lodgings but overseeing the arrival of materials for his new cabin.\textsuperscript{140} Despite internal problems and the limits set by wartime stringencies, by 1920, Harkin could boast of having 66 warden cabins, which were either permanent homes or more modest patrol cabins.

At least one superintendent, Russell at Yoho, doubted the capabilities of the wardens to construct their own cabins. Russell suggested that a carpenter and two labourers be hired for cabin building. The warden, he argued, could not be expected to do the work alone and added: "I am afraid the results would be very poor were he to try it, and it would also take him away from his regular duties, and give him all kinds of excuse in case of fire etc." Russell suggested that wardens could assist in the work when not on patrol duties. Ottawa’s response was that all the cabins in Rocky Mountains Park were being built with warden labour and that the wartime need for economy precluded any other policy. If cabin work was conducted during the wet season, it would not interfere with fire patrols. Harkin also pointed out that one of the four temporary wardens just hired at Yoho, William Jackson, was a carpenter by trade and that he could be directed to work on cabin construction with assistance from the other wardens.\textsuperscript{141}

In the prewar period, steps had been taken to standardize both patrol-trail specifications and cabin dimensions. During the war, cabin standards evolved according to practical local needs, and in response to continued pressures from Ottawa for economy and uniformity. Superintendent Maunder at Revelstoke in 1915 cited local winter-snow conditions in support of design changes to the standard 14' by 16' cabin that he had been directed to erect. He wanted corrugated iron roofing rather than shingles as called for in the specifications. This would allow the average annual six-foot snowfall to melt and slide away in sunny weather. The alternative, shingles, would mean that the cabin roof would have to be cleared of snow several times a year. The metal roofing would initially be more expensive, but maintenance costs would be less.\textsuperscript{142} Maunder also wanted to build the walls up ten feet rather than the eight feet specified in the plans, again to facilitate the dispersal of snow.

At the same time, Superintendent Russell had a cabin built in Glacier Park, which fit the established

\textsuperscript{139} Schintz Package # 8, PAA, acc. 70.190/337, Maunder, to Harkin, October 2, 1918.

\textsuperscript{140} Schintz Package # 8, PAA, acc. 70.190/340, extract from letter, Maunder, to Harkin, November 26, 1918; ibid., acc. 70.190/343, extract of notation by Superintendent Maunder on monthly diary of Warden Andrew Bower, April 1919.

\textsuperscript{141} RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Superintendent Russell, Yoho and Glacier parks, to Harkin, May 4, 1915; ibid., Harkin, to superintendent, Yoho and Glacier parks, May 20, 1915. Despite this directive, Russell shortly informed the commissioner that the trail gang working along Lake McArthur Creek had just completed this task and were now "building a warden's cabin on this creek." Ibid., Vol. 9, GNP62, Part 1, Superintendent Russell, Yoho and Glacier parks, Field, British Columbia, to Harkin, July 10, 1915.

\textsuperscript{142} RG84, Vol. 1689, MR189, Part 1, Superintendent Maunder, MRNP, to Harkin, June 2, 1915.
standards quite closely. It was a 14' by 16' structure constructed of peeled 12" to 14" logs, notched and projecting 6" at the corners. The walls stood 7'6" high, and the roof was of cedar shingles stained dark red. The building had a centred front door, one double pane window on each side and a full-length front verandah with a railing of rustic poles.\textsuperscript{143}

In 1917, Rocky Mountains Park Superintendent Clarke reinforced the idea of maintaining two classes of warden cabins based on existing examples. Both would be log structures, but the first would be a larger building suitable for a district headquarters. It would be built on or near a motor road, where materials could easily be transported. Three such cabins already existed—at Massive, Canmore and Kananaskis. These designs were, in part, a response to Harkin's outrage at a recent cost overrun incurred in building the Kananaskis warden cabin. The Forestry Branch also supplied plans for a standard forest-ranger house, a one-and-one-half storey six-room structure—plans that, perhaps reflecting the cool relationship between the two branches, were never pursued. In mid-1919, Harkin approved standard plans for a stable for warden horses. The log building measured 14' by 18' and contained three stalls.\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{143} RG84, Vol. 2124, U189, Part 1, E.N. Russell, superintendent of Yoho and Glacier parks, to Harkin, November 2, 1915.

\textsuperscript{144} RG84, Vol. 2124, U189, Part 1, Superintendent Clarke, to Harkin, Banff, May 2, 1917; ibid., Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, February 27, 1917.
Along with a campaign to standardize construction practices, Harkin attempted to impose some order on the developing trail and cabin networks in the mountain parks. What he asked for initially was simply that cabins be named after a local landmark—a lake, or river—so that headquarters’ staff could better understand what developments were being planned and implemented in the parks. In 1916, Harkin made his second of many trips to the west. In Rocky Mountains Park, he noted that the warden cabins, although now known by name to park staff, had no signage to identify them for tourists. Harkin directed as well that they be numbered in chronological sequence, so that headquarters’ staff would at once recognize their relative ages. He also directed that trails be marked with identifying signs indicating patrol-cabin locations and distances. Such signs had been erected in the vicinity of Banff, but Harkin thought that the system should be extended throughout the Park. Clarke shortly returned the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Spray Lakes</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kananaskis Lake</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Windy</td>
<td>1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Clearwater</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pipestone</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Stoney Creek</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ghost</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Minnewanka</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Goathed</td>
<td>1913 L. Louise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cuthead</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Whiteman’s</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Healy</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bryant Creek</td>
<td>1915 incompl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Simpson Summit</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Red Earth</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Massive</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bankhead</td>
<td>1915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Red Deer</td>
<td>1915 G. pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Canmore</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kananaskis Entrance</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Elk Lodge (Built BC Constr)</td>
<td>Mt. Castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Vermilion</td>
<td>1917 Vermilion Summit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clarke supported the idea of placing signs on the cabins, suggested that "R.M.P." be added to the name and number to identify the park, and stated that, if the material was supplied, the wardens could make the boards and paint them prior to lettering.

The superintendent did not think as much of the idea of signage for the trails. "The guides," he noted, "object to our making the trails too easily followed, thus taking the wildness from the forest." They objected so much, in fact, that some trail signs put up the previous year near Banff had been destroyed. The nature of visitation in the park and the limited public-relations role of the warden at this time is evident in Clarke’s concluding argument: "No tourists go any distance from Banff without guides and I think they will be better satisfied if they do so without knowing the exact distances they travel." Harkin appears to have bowed to Clarke’s arguments against trail signs, but the campaign to

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The unexpected costs of building Kananaskis cabin in Rocky Mountains Park had resulted in a greater emphasis on standard building plans, while mismanagement and personality clashes at Waterton Lakes led to an effort to centralize cabin-location planning. In 1916, headquarters learned that Yarrow Creek cabin in Waterton Lakes Park had recently been built in an area that might not offer pasturage for the warden's horses. One of Harkin's staff suggested that a new system of approval for cabin locations be imposed on all the parks. The process would have required a report to Ottawa indicating that the spot chosen for a new warden cabin met certain set criteria such as the presence of sufficient feed for horses, suitable water supply and timber for building requirements. The process would logically also be extended to lookout sites and "other administrative sites." Harkin was apparently willing to trust his on-site park staff in this issue, and nothing more was heard of centralized planning for cabin locations.

Harkin's penchant for imposing order from a distance did, however, elicit frustrated responses on occasion. When he asked Superintendent Russell for a list of the lookout points referred to in his wardens' diaries, Russell exclaimed:

I would be glad if you would advise me just which particular look out points this information is required in connection with, as there are thousands of look out points in the Park, and it would hardly be feasible to describe them all.

The look out points which the wardens refer to in their diaries are simply any high hill or mountain from which a view of the surrounding country can be obtained. We have no regular constructed look out points, as on account of the many high peaks and hills these are not necessary; a warden therefore refers to any high hill from which a good view can be obtained as a look out point.

Russell's outburst was neither the first nor the last indication of the tensions between a central authority with its need for information and a field staff with its imperative "to get the job done" in a timely fashion.

The image of standard plans for warden cabins and wardens using government-supplied materials to

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147 In 1919, the commissioner sent the following to Waterton Lakes as an example of the signs that he wanted placed at each cabin: Waterton Lakes Park
BELLY RIVER CABIN
No. 1
WLNP, Schintz Package #3, WLNP Warden Office, Box 1, File Warden Cabins, 1919-21, Harkin, to F.E. Maunder, WLNP, January 17, 1919. The Waterton Lakes warden cabins at this time were:
No. 1 Belly River Cabin
- 2 Cedar Cabin
- 3 Forks Cabin, Blackiston Brook (aka Red Box Canyon Cabin)
- 4 Yarrow Creek Cabin
- 5 Waterton Lakes Bridge Cabin
- 6 Pass Creek Cabin
- 7 Boundary Creek.


fashion their workplaces and homes gives an impression of comfort, which was sometimes belied by the facts. Warden Staples, for example, was located at the newly erected "Arch" or entry point to Rocky Mountains Park on the Banff-Calgary road in 1916, where he was responsible for issuing licences to visitors entering the Park by automobile. He was also expected to maintain game patrols of the surrounding territory, and it fell to his wife to take care of the licences, whenever he was absent. By 1917, he and his family lived in a newly built four-room headquarters-size warden cabin. When he arrived at the Arch in 1916, however, there was but a small log cabin there—described by the superintendent as being suitable for a stable but not worth fixing up as living quarters. Staples, his wife and their young children initially lived in a tent, compliments of the Park.

In Waterton Lakes Park, where we have already seen accommodations’ problems, one warden in 1918 stayed in his cabin at Belly River just four or five days, and then quit in disgust. The cabin, he claimed, consisted of only a single room and was not large enough for him and his wife. Others thought differently and, although the larger district or headquarters’ cabins were more comfortable, wardens and their families would frequently manage with less space during the next half century, while the district system was in place.

Warden Patrols

By the eve of the First World War, a beginning had been made in creating a network of trails throughout the mountain parks. As well, a few cabins had been built, both as permanent warden residences and for overnight patrols. With some trails and cabins in place, wardens could concentrate on patrolling the back country—their main job, and the prime means of protecting the parks from fire and poachers.

Patrolling had been recognized as the fire and game guardian's primary function from the beginning, but it was also realized that one man—the extent of the pre-1909 Warden Service—could hardly provide effective coverage of such vast and impenetrable territories. The first regular patrols in Rocky Mountains Park were carried out in 1907, as fire-prevention measures by railway employees along the Canadian Pacific Railway track. When the Fire and Game Guardian Service was created in 1909, it was immediately charged with the duty of making regular patrols of all accessible parts of the park, using existing patrol trails and staying overnight at strategically located patrol cabins. It was also to be equipped with saddle ponies and pack ponies for carrying supplies.
By 1912, the permanent wardens working in Rocky Mountains Park were assigned to specific areas. One was stationed at a cabin at the Spray Lakes, which he protected from dynamiting and other illegal fishing methods, and from which he made weekly patrol trips to Mount Assiniboine. A second warden was stationed at the new cabin on the Kananaskis River, and two more continuously patrolled the park north of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the Panther Creek cabin to the Clearwater and Red Deer rivers. One more warden worked in Banff monitoring tourists' activities, and keeping an eye on hunting parties outfitted from the town and proceeding past the park boundaries. In addition, three more men were hired to make daily trips by velocipedes along the Canadian Pacific Railway track to watch for fires.\footnote{154}

Chief Fire and Game Warden Sibbald's plans for 1913 were even more ambitious. He wanted 12 men to patrol seven areas for a five-and-a-half-month period beginning mid-May. Sibbald knew that this was a substantial increase in manpower, but he argued that "if the Department wish to have the game and forest properly protected they must expect to spend some money."

The seven patrol areas set out by Sibbald and the associated manpower were as follows:

1. Two men stationed at Laggan for the Bow and Pipestone valleys, the Ptarmigon lakes and the valleys south [sic] the Bow. Patrols would be set up so that one man would be near Laggan to register parties leaving or returning while the other was away on patrol.

2. Two men for Baker and Johnston valleys, the head of the Red Deer River, Forty Mile Creek, Sawback and Mystic lakes to Mt. Edith Pass, along the Bow Valley to Baker Creek as well as all trails south of the Bow to Vermilion Summit.

3. One man at Banff to patrol to Bankhead, Mt. Edith Pass, Anthracite Loop, Sulphur Mountain, Stony Squaw and the lower portion on Forty Mile Creek below where the trail turns to go over Mt. Edith Pass.

4. Two men for the Spray Lakes District, Mt. Assiniboine and Simpson Summit, Brewster and Healey creeks, and the Spray valleys to Kananaskis and White Man's Summits.

5. Two men for the district between the Cascade and Panther rivers with camp to be located at east end of Lake Minnewanka where there is good grazing for horses. These men would patrol out to the Ghost River, up to its head and on down to the Cascade River, up to its headwater and out to Panther cabin, down the Panther to the mouth of the south fork, then up to the head and down into the Cascade Valley to Bankhead.

6. One man at Canmore to patrol both sides of the Bow Valley to the eastern boundary of the park, up Carrot Creek and down the south fork of the Ghost to the cabin at the mouth of Devil Lake canyon, back by the lower trail to cabin at Kananaskis.

7. Two men to patrol all that portion of the game preserve lying between the old and new park boundaries, within the mountains and south of Clear Water River.\footnote{155}

Sibbald also wanted to purchase at least 20 head of good saddle horses, recommending a better animal than those commonly used by hunters and guides for the strenuous patrols contemplated. He estimated the cost at $100.00 per head. While the men preferred to provide their own saddles, Sibbald did not want them using their own horses. He felt that they would be apt to shirk their work to save their own mounts.

\footnote{154}{Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1912, report of Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park A.B. Macdonald, Banff, April 1, 1912, pp. 19-25.}
\footnote{155}{RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 1, Sibbald, to Harkin, January 25, 1913.}
Of the twelve-man complement, Sibbald wanted half to be permanent or year-round employees. He also advised that salaries be increased. He had been informed that some of those now on staff would leave in the spring, if this was not done. He also asked "that these men be appointed irrespective of their politics, as I consider that our success so far has been because I have hired men on their qualifications and asked no questions." It would be some years before Sibbald got his wish in this regard. The superintendent routinely contacted R.B. Bennett, M.P. for Calgary, when vacancies occurred in the Warden Service. In 1914, one of Sibbald's choices was actually replaced by a political appointee, after he had begun his duties. Finally, Sibbald suggested an end to the existing policy of engaging game guardians who were paid by the pelts they took. Since wardens were required to investigate any gunshots, they could be detoured from their duties by such agents operating independently in the parks.  

Sibbald ended up with 11 men that summer, ten on patrols similar to those he had suggested, and one man erecting cabins and shelters in different parts of the park. He also had the assistance of Canadian Pacific Railway employees who patrolled portions of the track from Stephen to Kananaskis, sometimes four times a day. The latter travelled by velocipedes, and were supplied with canvas buckets, axes and shovels for their work.  

That fall, Sibbald again confronted a problem that would plague park authorities for years to come: convincing Ottawa of the benefits of permanent staff—of keeping deputy or temporary wardens over the winter. Sibbald's argument was straightforward: "In order to have efficient Game Wardens, it is necessary to keep the men on the year round, as temporary men do not care to make enemies when only hired for a few months." Whether Sibbald was successful here is not known, but all the current wardens continued to patrol the park in future years.

In Jasper, Yoho and Glacier in the early days, federal forest rangers often patrolled park land as well as the contiguous forest reserves. This seems to have been the case at Yoho, where the superintendent in 1911 reported on the patrol activities of federal forest rangers in his park, as though they were park wardens. At Jasper, the acting superintendent in 1910 was himself a forest ranger. In 1912 at Yoho, the single warden employed by the park, and called a fire ranger by the superintendent, had, as his headquarters, the town of Field but was responsible for an area from the western boundary of the park eastward along the Canadian Pacific Railway line to Stephen, some 30 miles. He also patrolled roads from Field to Emerald Lake, to the Yoho River and the district south toward the Kootenay Valley, for another 35 miles of trail. A federal forest ranger, stationed at Palliser, patrolled the park south of Leanchoil.

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156 BNP, Banff Administration Building, Old File 1711, superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, May 5, 1914; ibid., Sibbald, to S.J. Clarke, July 15, 1914.

157 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 38, G-3-3, Fire and Game Guarding, 1913, Sibbald, to Harkin, July 14, 1913.

158 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 38, G-3-3, Fire and Game Guarding, 1913, Sibbald, to Superintendent Clarke, RMP, October 14, 1913. He wanted to maintain J. Bevan and Andrew Wright on the Red Deer with their horses to patrol the north country. He also wanted to keep H. Caine at Laggan, William Fyfe at Castle Mountain, T. Staples at Exshaw, Bill Payto at Banff and on general patrol, and John McKay at Bankhead.

159 RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Superintendent George E. Hunter, YNP, to Harkin, November 30, 1911; ibid., Superintendent F.E. Maunder, YNP, to Harkin, June 14, 1912.
Two years later, Superintendent Maunder suggested that four men, whom he still called rangers, be hired to patrol Yoho’s growing trail network rather than the two employed in 1913. One warden, stationed at Hector, was to patrol from his headquarters to Lake O’Hara, to the park boundary at Stephen and to Sherbrooke Lake, for a total of 16 miles of trails. A second warden would be responsible for 33 miles in five trails leading out of Field toward Takakkaw Falls, Emerald Lake, the Burgess Pass, the Burgess Shale fossil beds and the Ottertail road. The third patrol route began at Takakkaw Falls and led to Twin Falls, Yoho Glacier, Summit Lake and back to Takakkaw Falls, 21 miles in all. The fourth warden would patrol from Ottertail Bridge to Lake McArthur and to Leanchoil, some 26 miles in all. Five men were assigned to patrol Yoho that summer: Hawkins, Coleman, Haygarth, Knoles and McDonald, and, although they followed the general pattern suggested by Maunder, they seem to have been under the immediate jurisdiction of federal Forest Officer A. Knechtel.

Maunder was also responsible for Glacier National Park, and here he recommended that three men be hired, each for a five-month period in the summer. One suggested that the patrol, 29 miles in extent, would go from Glacier to the Nakimu Caves via Rogers Pass, and would return by the carriage road with patrols of the trails to Asulkan Glacier and Great Glacier. The second patrol would cover the east slope of the Selkirks from Rogers Pass to the eastern park boundary at Griffin, with side trips to maintain the right of way at the Bear Creek portal of the Canadian Pacific Railway tunnel and eastward. The third patrol was directed to cover the western slope of the Selkirks to the western boundary at Illecillewaet, with responsibility for the western portal of the tunnel and right of way. Commissioner Harkin authorized the hiring of two wardens for the four-month period from June to September. One was responsible for the trails to the Great Glacier, then through the Asulkan Valley and the Mount Abbott trail, in all 28 miles. The second warden patrolled from Glacier to the Nakimu Caves via Rogers Pass and returned via the carriage road to Glacier, 15 miles. The pay for each was $80.00 per month, $10.00 less than Maunder had recommended.

Telephone Lines

Although transportation was primarily by horse, one new means of communication, the telephone—designed for fire protection in the various parks—was just being introduced prior to the First World War. The railway telegraph lines were, of course, available to park staff and were used on a routine basis, but they did not provide access to the back country. The possible use of telephones by the wardens was mentioned, when the service was established in 1909, but the feasibility of linking areas of the park by telephone lines was first suggested by James B. Harkin and "Kootenai" Brown in their respective 1912 annual reports.

Work began in Rocky Mountains Park in 1914 with a 28-mile line from Banff to Canmore and another from the warden’s cabin at the east end of Lake Minnewanka nine miles back to the west end of the lake. All that is known of the original installation is that it was a grounded or single-wire system erected by the wardens themselves, and that its primary purpose was to warn of forest fires.

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161 BNP, Banff Administration Building, Old File 1711, Harkin, to Knechtel, in care of superintendent, RMP, July 7, 1914.
Figure 1-8. Warden G. Ferris rests in his safety belt. Although taken in the 1950's, this picture shows a technology little changed from 1915. [Banff National Park]
The same year, Superintendent Maunder at Yoho recommended that telephone lines be built to all warden residences within the park, with the exception of Takakkaw Falls, which was close enough to the Canadian Pacific Railway line to telegraph messages to Field. Maunder did not think a telephone system was necessary in Glacier Park.\textsuperscript{162}

By the outbreak of war, little had been done to implement the forest-telephone systems. However, it remained a priority assigned to the wardens and, as such, would be pursued to the extent that material was available. Harkin sent some specialized hardware west in April 1914, along with several copies of a book on field telephones produced by the Northern Electric Company. The systems were to be grounded, single-wire networks, cheaper but less dependable than double-wire return systems, and the wire, No. 20 style C copper wire, was to be purchased locally.\textsuperscript{163}

The forest-telephone system did not change in its basic technology and techniques during the half century that it was employed in the parks, although, by the 1950s, a stronger, heavier No. 9 gauge wire had replaced Harkin’s initial suggestion. The line was suspended from trees by porcelain insulators or "split knobs" at a height of 15 feet. Wherever possible, lines were constructed along existing trails for easier installation and maintenance. The trees chosen as supports had to be large enough to support a warden’s weight, yet not so large in diameter that they could not be climbed with the aid of a safety belt. Straight, clean-limbed trees were preferred. In open areas, poles were cut locally, peeled and skidded to the site. In muskeg or marshy areas, the line was suspended from three light poles wired together to form a tripod.

The oval, sometimes hexagon-shaped, "split knobs" were insulators built in two halves and designed to fit loosely around the telephone line. They were bound together with a piece of light, flexible tie wire. The ends of the tie wire were used to secure the insulator, and line, to a large staple on the designated tree or pole. The line ran freely through these insulators but every mile or so was secured by a "solid tie," a heavy glass insulator screwed into a wooden bracket and fixed to the tree with two spikes. When a break occurred, the result perhaps of a storm, the line would not recoil endlessly through the running insulators and make rejoining and splicing an impossible task. Solid ties were also used on either side of a river crossing, or where the line crossed a roadway.

The standard forest-telephone was a rectangular wooden box, approximately 10" X 24" X 8" deep, usually mounted on the wall of the warden cabin. Special arrangements of long and short rings were used on forestry lines on the same basis as rural party lines. Thus, to raise the Jasper switchboard, one might use a single long ring (produced by four revolutions of the crank handle), while a call to Maligne Lake might be three short rings (about one crank of the handle each). Three cylindrical

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\textsuperscript{163} RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Harkin, to Superintendent Russell, Yoho and Glacier parks, April 15, 1915. In this directive, Harkin referred specifically to the wardens being the principal agents for extending telephone systems. BNP, Banff Administration Building, Old File 1711, Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, April 24, 1914.
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Figure 1-9. Acting Warden Gerry Campbell and a colleague practice hooking up a forestry telephone during Warden Training School. [Banff National Park]
batteries inside the telephone case magnified the speaker's voice signals for transmittal down the line.

In the case of very long telephone lines, Banff to Jasper for example, it was necessary to relay signals through booster stations such as Lake Louise and Saskatchewan River Crossing, which were equipped with switchboards. Not surprisingly, when the wardens at such stations were away on patrol, as they frequently were, it fell to their spouses to serve as switchboard operators. This was but one way in which wardens' wives found themselves co-opted as essential, but unpaid, workers in the parks' service.

The warden used a good deal of specialized equipment to maintain his telephone lines, all of which had to be brought along on most patrols. The warden had climbing spikes, consisting of knee-to-ankle heavy steel shanks secured by leather straps, and a climber's belt—a heavy leather belt with loops to accommodate tools and a large metal ring at each hip from which a second leather belt could be passed around the tree or pole and snapped in place, while the warden worked. From the warden's climber's belt dangled pliers, axe, staples and tie wire. His line-splicing tool, a Nicropress, was a specialized powerful set of pliers designed to crimp the two ends of a hollow sleeve or tube around the two ends of the parted line. The tubes were copper as was the line to maintain conductivity through the system. Telephone pliers were not unlike farmers' fencing pliers, and the axe, because it often had to be used with one hand, was designed to be light yet have an effective cutting edge. A canvas bucket, often one condemned from fire stores, was a useful container for insulators and tie wires, as the warden balanced above the ground.

Rocky Mountains Park, with a line connecting Banff to Canmore and another running from the Lake Minnewanka warden cabin to Banff, was furthest along by the spring of 1915. The superintendent there intended to link up every warden cabin in "the game warden's telephone system." By 1916, some progress had been made in extending the network in and around Banff, but only the four-mile line to the observatory on Sulphur Mountain, which acted as a fire lookout point in the dry season, was of special use to the wardens. A line connecting Banff and Kananaskis cabin via Canmore and Deadman's cabin was begun in 1918 and completed the following year.\[164\]

In 1916, Jasper had 80 miles of telephone line completed or under construction, most of it along the railway right-of-way. Jasper was connected with Yellowhead on the western border and Errington just outside the eastern limits of the park, a combined distance of 55 miles. A 25-mile line was being extended from Jasper to Medicine Lake, and a four-mile line ran from the town to the top of Fitzhugh Mountain. In his Annual Report the next year, Jasper's acting superintendent praised the park's telephone system, claiming that it now extended "in many directions; even to the 'lookouts' on mountain tops from which a fire can be seen from a great distance away in every direction." He also noted that it required constant patrol and repair, since, in many places, living trees were used as poles for the wire.\[165\] This was to be a problem for decades to come, particularly in the mountain parks and

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\[165\] Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1916, report of Chief Superintendent of Dominion Parks P.C. Bernard-Hervey, for Jasper National Park, pp. 60-61. The section along the railway between Errington and Jasper had been
wherever deadfall was severe.

At Waterton Lakes, construction of a field-telephone system would become one strand in the web of conflict that racked the park during the war years, but some work was accomplished nevertheless. By 1918, two branch lines had been completed, and two more were under construction, for a total of 24 miles. In the next year, a 35-mile connection was made between the Belly River cabin in the south to the Yarrow Creek cabin further north. Unlike the other mountain parks, where railways and telegraph lines formed connections with the outside world, Waterton Lakes was still isolated in 1919. The telephone system there was a strictly local service, although officials hoped that the Alberta government would soon extend its service from Pincher Creek to the park. By 1920, all of Waterton Lakes’ warden stations were connected by telephone to the central Administration Building, and the province had agreed to build a toll line to the park. Park officers there had set as their next goal the construction of lines to all the park patrol cabins, but no actual work had yet been done.  

In the remaining mountain parks, telephone construction was sporadic and piecemeal during the war years. At Yoho in 1915, the superintendent suggested several possible systems. The superintendent argued against Ottawa’s proposal to run telephone wires on trees due to strong winds in the park valleys. His preferred solution was to use the same insulated cable currently in military service and to bury it in a shallow trench rather than expose it to aerial damage. Military hardware was, of course, available only to the military, and, when a telephone line was run from the superintendent’s office in Field to the Takakkaw Falls warden cabin, some 11 miles, in 1916, it was not by underground cable. It was regarded then as the beginning of a park-wide network, which would greatly facilitate firefighting efforts. In 1918, there was a line connecting the warden cabin at Leanchoil with Field. By 1919, lines also connected Field with the Ottertail district to the south and the Leanchoil-Deer Lodge area to the west.  

At Mount Revelstoke, a telephone line ran in 1918 from the town to the one existing warden cabin. The cabin planned for the summit was also to be connected to the park office at Revelstoke. This latter warden cabin was built in 1919 but, as of 1920, still had no telephone.

It was not until the 1919-20 season that the first telephone line was run in Glacier Park. It connected the warden’s cabin at Glacier with the cabin of the caretaker at the Nakimu Caves, a distance of six miles. This line is of special interest because of the technical difficulties it posed. The caves were a significant tourist attraction, and, thus, telephone communication was considered a high priority.
However, the last one-and-a half miles of the route crossed a barren, wind-swept area, where it was not feasible to run a permanent line on poles. Instead, insulated military wire, the same wire Russell had recommended for Yoho Park, was simply laid along the ground to make the connection. This wire would be taken up each fall and relaid in the spring by a warden working perhaps half a day each season. Russell also suggested, early in 1920, that the Parks Branch investigate the new "wireless telephones" for use by the wardens in their fire-patrol work. In this, he was some decades ahead of events.168

The only telephone work completed outside the mountain parks during the war was at Buffalo Park. Here, in 1915 or 1916, "an up-to-date telephone system was installed to replace the old one."169 Harkin was also advised that the network should be extended from Alexander's Gate to Rocky Ford by way of the wardens' cabins proposed for construction at the north and west fence gates. There is no indication that any of this work was done during the war years.

Looking over the 256 miles of line in place at the end of the war, it appeared that a start had been made on the original telephone-system plan that accompanied the creation of the fire and game guardians in 1909.170 Much of the mileage, though, ran along railway lines, duplicating existing communications, and, until more extensions were made into the back country, the telephone would be of limited use to the warden on patrol. These extensions became part of the regular work of the 1920s.

Warden Duties, Work Conditions and Equipment

The fire and game guardians (or wardens hired prior to the First World War) were expected, as their name suggests, to fight fires and to protect the big-game animals in the parks from poachers. To do this, they established patrol trails and a network of cabins, which permitted them to spend extended periods in the back country and made them a physical presence throughout the parks. There was more to their work than continuous patrolling, however, and, from the beginning, they gathered an interesting array of equipment, some of which they designed themselves, to assist in their various functions. As well, they worked in a wide variety of circumstances, at times in the villages now growing up in the parks, often in distant mountain valleys. Sometimes, they worked in pairs, as when building patrol cabins, but, frequently, they were on solitary patrols, accompanied only by their dog, and their saddle and pack ponies.

The first wardens worked with a sketchy set of regulations and directives. Their basic fire and hunting duties were to be carried out through regular patrols of the parks. They were to have all the


powers of a justice of the peace for making arrests and seizing evidence. As noted above, they were to be "sober, industrious and orderly," and were to have no other employment than as wardens.\textsuperscript{171} They were also explicitly directed to provide the chief warden or superintendent with a monthly report of their activities.

The wardens soon developed a seasonal pattern of work activities. Sibbald resisted Ottawa's penchant for short-term employment, and, within a few years, was keeping a core of experienced wardens on staff over the winter. These men, half a dozen at first, were stationed in small communities such as Laggan and Bankhead but spent much of the winter months on patrol against hunters and trappers. In the spring, more men were hired to build cabins, clear trails and watch for fires. Patrols continued through the summer fire danger and on into the fall hunting season. As winter approached, all but a handful of the warden staff would be laid off, perhaps to trap outside the parks. Soon, the same men tended to return each spring for five to seven month's work, probably with the hope that eventually they would be kept on year round. In this manner, the Warden Service gradually built up, in the mountain parks, a pool of trained and experienced employees.

In October 1912, the wardens received more detailed directions from Sibbald and Harkin. They were ordered to become familiar with park regulations, especially those dealing with fire and game protection, to patrol their assigned districts "faithfully" and to keep their diaries "conscientiously." They were directed to confiscate all unsealed firearms encountered in the park, and to arrest anyone found hunting or in possession of game or fish in the park. They were exhorted to use discretion in searching and examining outfits "so as not to cause any unnecessary discomfort to Tourists." They were specifically ordered to enforce all fire regulations and to apprehend for prosecution anyone causing forest fires. Wardens were to display their badges whenever acting in an official capacity. As Sibbald put it: "without it [badge] you have no authority to make an arrest." Harkin reminded wardens to use their authority in such a manner as to win public respect and support. They were also admonished in these directives to take proper care of the public property entrusted to them. Finally, they were warned that "any guardian found intoxicated will be dismissed."\textsuperscript{172} Since wardens were considered to be on duty or on call 24 hours a day, the last directive, had it been rigidly enforced, would have shortened many a warden career over the years.

It was also determined that, as soon as the district system was established, wardens must live in their work area. For example, the superintendent of Yoho was reminded in 1912 "that it is absolutely necessary that all fire rangers reside permanently on the portion of the Park they are responsible for and if Mr. Burwell is kept on temporarily he must either make Field or one of the cabins in that locality of his patrol his permanent abode."\textsuperscript{173} The loneliness of solitary patrol work and the isolation associated with living in one's district, either alone or with a family—a recurring theme in the 1920s and thereafter—was not a common problem initially. In the first few years, most wardens were not retained on staff over the winter period, when isolation was at its height, and those who were, as we

\textsuperscript{171} RG84, Vol. 93, U3-15, Part 1, Minister of the Interior, to Governor-General, May 1, 1915.

\textsuperscript{172} RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 1, A.B. Macdonald, superintendent, RMP, Banff, to J.B. Harkin, commissioner, Dominion Parks, Ottawa, October 4, 1912; ibid., Harkin, to Superintendent Macdonald, RMP, Ottawa, October 15, 1912.

\textsuperscript{173} RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, chief superintendent of Dominion Parks, to Superintendent F. Maunders, YNP, June 7, 1912.
have seen, were usually stationed at small communities such as Bankhead and Exshaw. From these locations, they set out on periodic forays into their surrounding districts.

Park officials also tried to take family circumstances into consideration. Thus, in the fall of 1913, Deputy Warden William Noble, a bachelor stationed at Banff, was directed to exchange places with the married warden, L. S. Mumford, then responsible for the district surrounding Canmore. As the position of warden became a more secure form of employment and as its prestige grew, more married men were attracted to the jobs, and park officers found it impossible to shield their families from the isolation of warden life.

The initial salary of $75.00 per month was soon raised to $80.00 and, at Sibbald's urging, to $90.00 by 1914. For this, the park wardens not only patrolled, cleared trails, built cabins and enforced park regulations, but they also monitored grazing operations in the eastern valleys of Rocky Mountains, Jasper and Waterton Lakes parks, and enforced timber regulations in the existing commercial timber berths within the parks. They acted as dog catchers—a duty they thoroughly disliked—and, on occasion, collected various licence fees within towns such as Banff. At Jasper Park in 1913, Superintendent Rogers directed his wardens to assess sanitary conditions in the construction camps along the railway line. Working with the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, the Jasper wardens laid several charges that resulted in improved camp conditions and, in Roger's view, forestalled a possible typhoid epidemic. Wardens were often called on to catch specimens for Banff's animal paddock and, occasionally, they found themselves with such dangerous duties as attempting to separate bulls in the small Banff buffalo enclosure. A local journalist who witnessed this last scene wrote:

For the last ten days in July, Ben Woodworth and game guardian Sibbald, with several other riders have been kept busy trying to separate the Buffalo Bulls from the rest of the herd and it was no small picnic for these men, good horsemen as they are, for a mad buffalo bull charge is as hard to stop as a cyclone, and if the above named gentlemen were not as modest as young ladies, they could tell a good story of the last few days in the corrals.

Personal injury was a constant danger for those engaged in such varied and constant physical activities. Over the years, a few wardens would die violently while on duty, but, even for those who lived to retirement, the work took its toll. Bill Peyto, for example, was badly crippled from years of minor injuries and hard usage, when he retired in 1936. Perhaps the first such injury occurred in 1913, when Deputy Thomas Staples suffered a broken pelvis in a horse-related incident while clearing trail with Deputy Bevan on the Upper Spray River. Staples' painful injury occurred three miles from

174 FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 38, G3-3, Wardens - General, Volume 1, 1913-14, superintendent, RMP, to William Noble, November 26, 1913.


176 RG84, Vol. 69, R[BNP]230, Part 1, clipping, Crag and Canyon, August 9, 1913.
the nearest warden cabin to which he then had to be transported. It was at least a day before a physician reached him and several more before he could be made comfortable in a plaster body cast.\(^{177}\) Such were the consequences of being injured in the back country—if one was not alone. As we shall see, being alone could lead to even greater peril.

Probably the first specialized equipment used by the wardens were their badges of office and the lead seals with which they sealed firearms in the park. Superintendent Douglas had first asked for the power to seal weapons in the park in 1906, following the U.S. examples at Yellowstone and Yosemite, and requested 1,000 lead seals and a dozen presses the next year. Initially, it was thought that seals and sealers should also be provided to licensed guides, when they were leading hunting parties out of and back into a park, but this option was dismissed as unworkable. Physically, the seals consisted of a 30" length of wire, which was inserted in the rifle barrel, and a tapered lead plug, or seal, with the park initials on the side of the plug near its narrow end. The plug was placed in the rifle chamber, narrow end first, with a portion of the wider butt being cut off to enable the weapon to close. Wardens carried seals and a hand press while on patrol to service the weapons of those entering or passing through the parks. The weapons-sealing program was rigorously enforced. When the Brewster Trading Company put five unsealed rifles in their Banff display window in 1914, Superintendent Clarke had them sealed at once despite the company's objections. Clarke argued, quite logically, that if unsealed firearms were prohibited in the park, they should not be sold there either.\(^{178}\)

It was not until January 1912 that Ottawa sought to purchase rifles and ammunition for the wardens' use in predator control. Sibbald had recommended Winchester carbines, self-loading model 1910 pattern, and $15.00 field glasses. The following year, he asked for two dozen military haversacks for the wardens' use and three tepee-style tents to replace those that had worn out. Sibbald also requested a single Lee Enfield 303 rifle, complete with military sight, specifically for "Deputy Peyto."\(^{179}\) This may have been an attempt to provide an especially accurate weapon for predator control, as Commissioner Harkin was, at this time, actively discouraging the use of poisons against coyotes and wolves.

In 1916, Harkin examined the issue of an appropriate weapon for the Warden Service, a topic that has not lost interest over time. A Smith and Wesson Company salesman visited the commissioner and tried to convince him that the wardens should exchange their present carbines, which were mostly Lee

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\(^{177}\) FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 39, G-3-11, Game Warden Staples, August 1913-December 1919 [d. 15?-12-1919], August 11, 1913 to August 17, 1913.

\(^{178}\) RG84, Vol. 80, U3, Part 1, Superintendent Howard Douglas, to secretary, Department of the Interior, Banff, April 5, 1906; ibid., Douglas, to Deputy Minister of the Interior W.W. Cory, March 16, 1907; ibid., Vol. 7, R300, Part 1, A.B. Macdonald, superintendent, RMP, to secretary, Department of the Interior, March 31, 1911. The 30" length of wire was used, because most contemporary rifle barrels were 26" long; ibid., Vol. 83, U3-1, Part 1, Superintendent S.J. Clarke, RMP, to Commissioner Harkin, November 25, 1914. Clarke wanted the sale of firearms, sealed or unsealed, banned in the park. The Exshaw Trading Company was also selling rifles within the park, but they had always complied with the park's sealing regulations.

\(^{179}\) RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 1, J.B. Harkin, commissioner, Dominion Parks Branch, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, to Mr. Cory [Deputy Minister of the Interior], January 15, 1912. FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 38, G-3-3, Fire and Game Guarding, 1913, Sibbald, to Bernard-Hervey, June 10, 1913; ibid., Sibbald, to Superintendent Clarke, RMP, June 12, 1913. Despite their descriptive name, these were manufactured products that Sibbald estimated to cost about $16.00 each; ibid., Sibbald, to Superintendent Clarke, RMP, July 30, 1913.
Enfield 303s, for Smith and Wesson military revolvers. The argument was that the revolvers would serve the wardens as well as the rifles and, of course, were less heavy on the trail. Harkin was not convinced, but, since he was "anxious to make things as comfortable and attractive as possible for the wardens' service," he asked the superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park for his view. Chief Warden Sibbald responded that, since all the wardens' shooting was at coyotes, usually at long range, revolvers would be "useless." He also noted as well, though, that "the wardens in most cases have supplied their own revolvers and carry them when not on horse back, the rifle being no inconvenience when carried under the stirrup." A photograph taken of Sibbald clearing trail on a patrol in October 1917 distinctly shows a reverse-holstered handgun on his left hip [figure 1-9]. When the Jasper wardens in 1919 asked that they be issued with Colt .45 army revolvers with belts and holsters, in addition to their carbines, Ottawa queried the superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park for his recommendation. The argument advanced in favour of revolvers was "that when dismounted or cutting out trails etc., a revolver would be more handy in an emergency than a carbine, which should be left slung on the saddle." Harkin wanted Superintendent Wardle's view before proceeding to discuss procurement with the Department of the Militia, the source of warden carbines. Chief Warden Sibbald, whom Wardle, in turn, asked for advice, gave an interesting and revealing commentary on arms for the Warden Service:

Our Wardens in the Rocky Mountains Park have their own revolvers, mostly 38 Colt. The only use we have found for these so far is for killing porcupines. The carrying of these revolvers depends greatly on the disposition of the man.

A man cannot cut much trail if he has a 45 revolver on his hip, and I think you will find that he will take it off before very long.

However if these revolvers can be secured cheaply, I would suggest supplying the Jasper Park wardens, but our men would prefer the lighter gun, which most of them already have. If it is decided to purchase a supply it might be well to have a few in stock for future issue when required by other Parks.

It is not known just how this specific issue was resolved, but clearly, for a time during their early years, the wardens of the mountain parks routinely carried handguns on their patrols.

Where possible, wardens made use of the railway lines in their travels through the parks. They were issued seasonal railway passes for the regularly scheduled trains and often used velocipedes, or speeders, to get from point to point in their districts. The railways, however, gave access to but a small portion of the mountain parks. From the beginning, the warden's main means of transportation, in keeping with everyone else who travelled the mountains, was the horse.

The first wardens were supplied with two horses each, one for riding and a second pack animal to

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181 FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 38, G-3-3, Game Wardens and Instructions to Wardens, 1915-18, June 2, 1915 to October 4, 1920, Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, March 27, 1919.
182 FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 38, G-3-3, Game Wardens and Instructions to Wardens, 1915-18, June 2, 1915 to October 4, 1920, Sibbald, to Wardle, April 15, 1919.
Figure 1-10. Chief Warden Howard Sibbald cutting deadfall on inspection tour, Rocky Mountains Park, October 1917. [Whyte Museum, V573, NA66-2173]
carry their gear on patrol. The trails too from the start were designed wide and level enough for horse travel. In 1913, Sibbald purchased 11 head for his fire and game guardians. The photograph of Bill Peyto taken that year near Simpson Summit shows both a saddle and a pack horse. [See figure 1-1] Peyto’s pack horse is set with a diamond hitch to maintain weight balance, and his carbine is in a forward-facing saddle boot for fast and easy access. With a rustic cabin in the background and his faithful canine companion at his side, Peyto projects here—as no doubt he intended—the image of the solitary guardian on duty at his station.

Horses were purchased for Yoho National Park warden use, as well in 1913, and were wintered with the Banff animals. By the summer of 1914, there were 19 horses in the Warden Service in Rocky Mountains Park, and six more were requested, at an estimated cost of $75.00 each. Four were subsequently purchased from the Exshaw Trading Company: an eight-year-old black gelding, a seven-year-old sorrel gelding, and six- and seven-year-old roan geldings. Prior to the establishment of the Ya-Ha-Tinda ranch late in the war, and the creation in the 1960s of a breeding program for the Warden Service, horses were obtained from local sources. Here, Harkin’s determination to impose eastern procurement standards ran into the reality of the frontier. In 1915, an exasperated superintendent explained that horses purchased by public tender from among veterinary-certified stock would require park staff to travel with a veterinarian on their purchasing rounds, and would increase the cost of their horses by half. On the other hand, Harkin did help to standardize horse-maintenance procedures, when he decided that park horses should carry their own unique brand. In 1915, the Rocky Mountain Big Horn sheep’s head, registered by the park in Alberta, in October 1913, became the brand for warden horses in all the mountain parks.

Harkin also tried to have the tepees that wardens used on some of their patrols purchased through public tenders, only to learn that they were available through only one trader on the Stony Reserve, east of Banff. When an incident at Waterton Lakes underlined the need for wardens to be equipped with binoculars, Harkin responded by furnishing them to all the wardens and later replacing the original equipment with stronger glasses.

FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 38, G-3-3, Fire and Game Guarding, 1913, Sibbald, to Superintendent Clarke, RMP, June 6, 1913.

BNP, Banff Administration Building, Old File 1711, superintendent, Yoho and Glacier parks, to Superintendent S.J. Clarke, RMP, April 27, 1914; ibid., A. Knechtel, Banff, to Harkin, July 2, 1914; ibid., Exshaw Trading Co. Ltd., certificate, July 14, 1914. The full description of the animals is as follows:

- One black gelding with white face branded on left shoulder, 8 years old.
- One sorrel gelding with white face branded ES on right hip, 7 years old.
- One roan gelding with white face branded D on left hip, 6 years old.
- One roan gelding branded T on left shoulder, 7 years old also [branded] AE on left shoulder....

FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 38, G-3-3, Game Wardens and Instructions to Wardens, 1915-18, June 2, 1915 to October 4, 1920, superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, June 2, 1915; ibid., Chief Superintendent Bernard-Hervey, to Sibbald, May 18, 1915; ibid., superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, June 2, 1915. RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, chief superintendent, to Superintendent Robert Cooper, WLNP, February 12, 1915; in his diary entry for January 30, Warden J. Ekelund wrote of his recent effort to apprehend two suspected poachers: "Attended court before Supt. Cooper against Ross & Allen, on charge of carrying unsealed guns in Park. Case dismissed. Poachers have great advantage over Wardens, who have no glasses." FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 38, G-3-3, Game Wardens and Instructions to Wardens, 1915-18, June 2, 1915 to October 4, 1920, Sibbald, to superintendent, RMP, November 3, 1919.
Because it enabled wardens to respond quickly before small blazes could grow into conflagrations, the telephone was to be a primary weapon in the war against fire in the parks. Many other, more mundane, tools were also used against this foe. Wardens routinely carried axes for cutting fire breaks and trail clearing, and packed collapsible canvas water bags. By 1912, firefighting tools were being stored at various warden stations in Rocky Mountains Park, including Banff, the Kananaskis and Spray Lakes cabins, and the cabins on the Panther, Pipestone and Clearwater rivers.185 No inventory remains of these tools, but a request from Glacier Park in 1914 for a similar fire-equipment cache included the following items:

- 6 axes with spike on one end
- 12 long handled shovels
- 3 mattocks
- 1 crosscut saw
- 12 collapsible canvas pails
- 1 grindstone.186

186 RG84, Vol. 2124, U189, Part 1, scheme of fire protection for Glacier National Park, summer of 1914.
The primary means of fighting fires was by the creation of fire breaks, open areas devoid of combustible vegetation, which would force a fire to burn out. The axes and saws were for clearing brush, the shovels for turning soil, and the grindstone, of course, for keeping all the tools sharp and efficient. With only hand tools such as these and canvas pails for water carriage, the wardens could do little against an established fire or one fanned by high winds. Still, they worked methodically to even the odds. In 1914, they asked for a boat to be stationed on the Bow River at Sawback, several miles west and upstream from Banff. Its purpose was to give them ready access to the forests west of the Bow, where there was, as yet, an incomplete trail network.\textsuperscript{187}

The most significant firefighting tool introduced before the war was the gasoline-powered water pump. The mountainous terrain, in which fires often had to be fought, made transporting water by hand an arduous, often impossible, task. The coupling of a mobile gasoline-powered motor with a water pump gave the wardens a powerful new tool in their battle against fire. Sibbald first recommended such a pump in February 1914. He argued that it would be useful both in Banff and for forest protection along the roads radiating out from the town. He felt that there was sufficient water in local ravine creeks that, with a pump and a thousand feet of hose, his men could handle any of the fires that they had recently faced. He stressed the need not only to stop surface fires but to get the fire out of the ground, once it had started up. Only a pump could provide the necessary volume and pressure of water. As he pointed out:

\begin{quote}
We usually have to keep men on with pails for a week or ten days after the fire is under control, to thoroughly soak the ground around the edges and also to put out fire in rotten timber.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
During the dry weather the ground will burn clean to the rock, and unless the whole edge is thoroughly soaked the fire will follow the roots through the ground for some distance and then break out.\textsuperscript{188}
\end{quote}

Such a pump, powered by a two-horsepower gasoline engine and capable of being transported by velocipede, was on order for the wardens in 1914, when a fire broke out at Lake Minnewanka. Those who fought this particular blaze estimated that the pump could have saved the labour of 20 men, since most of their effort consisted of getting water uphill. Harkin described the pump as having a capacity of 700 gallons per minute. Thus, he calculated, it would require a reservoir of at least 21,000 gallons to operate for half an hour and could not be deployed far from an abundant water supply. Harkin’s figures were grossly exaggerated. The first units could pump just 20 gallons per minute. As well, the pump was normally towed on two wheels and could only be moved on the larger wagon roads within the parks. It could not navigate the patrol trails. To improve the pump’s mobility, Sibbald suggested a second set of wheels for rail transit and the acquisition of a scow on Lake Minnewanka to give access to any point along the shore.\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{187} BNP, Banff Administration Building, Old File 1711, superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, May 18, 1914.
\textsuperscript{188} FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 38, G3-3, Wardens - General, Volume 1, 1913-14, Sibbald, to Harkin, February 18, 1914.
\textsuperscript{189} BNP, Banff Admin. Bldg., Old File 1711, Harkin to Superintendent, RMP, 8 April 1914; ibid., chief forester [?] to Harkin, 21 June 1914; ibid., Harkin to Superintendent, RMP, 14 April 1914; ibid., Superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, 20 April 1914.
Figure 1-12. Two wardens in Rocky Mountains Park fire truck, c. 1917. [Whyte Museum, Banff, V573, NA66-2178.]
Better pumps—more powerful, lighter and more mobile—would appear in rapid succession over the next decade, as the Warden Service developed a formidable expertise in forest fire-suppression. Usually, equipment came first to Rocky Mountains Park and shortly thereafter began to appear at the other mountain parks. The first gasoline-powered pump arrived at Banff in 1914 and, although described as portable, it was restricted to use from wagon roads and the rail line. In 1915, Chief Warden Sibbald received what was described as:

...a complete fire-fighting outfit, consisting of a Ford automobile with a suitable box body, a marine gas engine connected to a rotary pump capable of delivering a 40-foot stream through 300 to 1,000 feet of 1 1/2-inch hose, and a portable gasoline engine, together with the necessary accessories.\(^{190}\)

Harkin described the pump as weighing 118 pounds stripped and 143 pounds when mounted on its oak base. It was rated at six horsepower and could deliver 20 gallons of water per minute through 1,500 feet of hose. Harkin estimated that the pump could do the work of 80 men and described it as "being so far as can be ascertained the first practical and successful step ever taken to utilize power pumps for forest protection."\(^{191}\) Chief Fire and Game Warden Sibbald gave the following assessment of field tests of the new equipment:

The engine enabled us to burn the brush in large piles within a clearing of 40 feet in very dry weather without scorching the standing trees; also enabled us to keep the fire from spreading along the ground and entirely extinguishing fires before leaving in the evening. Not one fire started up after being put out. We carried the water in one instance over a steep hill, 200 feet high, and along clearing for 600 feet, the gauge showing a pressure of from 85 to 90 pounds. This enabled us, by holding the nozzle close to the edge of the fire, to make a ditch from 4 to 6 inches deep all around the fire from the force of the water. This will relieve us of digging a trench round a fire, as it is through the hidden roots that the fires always get away.

Fire Warden Charles Phillips added to the record:

The whole apparatus was given a very fair four day-test [sic] at the Alien Detention Camp at Castle Mountain last month, while the aliens were burning large piles of brush and small timber, and the pump undoubtedly kept the fire within the required area.

Water was taken from the river and pumped through 800 feet of hose to points where required, varying from 50 to 150 feet above the water level. A pressure of 90 pounds was obtained at the outlet of the pump, and a stream of water was thrown about 40 feet at the nozzle.\(^{192}\)

Early reviews stressed the portable nature of the new pump and the fact that it could be taken anywhere in the mountains, "by manpower if necessary." Plans were made, once sufficient equipment was available, to use the pumps in sequence with one moving water to the next through 1,500-foot lengths of hose and utilizing collapsible canvas bags as water reservoirs or relay tanks. This technique would greatly extend the effectiveness of firefighting away from the immediate


vicinity of a natural water supply. At least one gasoline-powered fire pump was shipped to Jasper
townsite in 1915, but its inaugural performance was less than encouraging. In reporting the total
destruction of a local building by fire the superintendent noted that:

....the Chemical Engine was used, but was not as effective as might otherwise have been, owing to
over-enthusiasm of some of the Volunteers [who], in the first place dragged the Hose from the Engine,
causing some delay by breaking the Coupling. In the second place the supply of water was inadequate,
there being no water service near, from which a good supply could be obtained. 193

At Banff, the Warden Service procured more pumps and lengths of hose in 1916. In the next several
years, pumps with their associated hoses and couplings were purchased for the remaining mountain
parks, and the wardens were trained to use them. Mount Revelstoke received its first pump in 1920,
and, that year, two units were shipped to Waterton Lakes, although the latter arrived too late for the
fire season. Also, in 1920, Rocky Mountains Park, which already had five water-pumping units and
the Ford vehicle, received a Reo three-quarter-ton chassis firefighting truck "complete with pump and
3,000 feet of 2 1/2 inch hose." The new pump, which was of a heavier and larger design than the
initial model, could deliver 130 gallons per minute at 120 pounds pressure.

In 1920, there were 25 gasoline-powered water pumps and 36,800 feet of hose available in the various
mountain parks. 194 About this time, Wajax pumps became a park standard and remain a favourite
brand today, although Johnson Tremblay and Paramount Cub pumps have been used over the years.
There is no reference in existing records to firefighting equipment at Elk Island or Buffalo national
parks at this time and, given the state of their development by 1920, it is highly unlikely that anything
but rudimentary hand tools were available at St. Lawrence Islands or Point Pelee national parks.

Throughout the war years, Harkin closely monitored the activities of the wardens and tried to provide
them not only with a common direction but also with standard tools and equipment for their work.
Sometimes, the distance between Ottawa and the Rockies was painfully obvious from the
misunderstandings that developed between headquarters and the parks. Harkin's penchant for wanting
goods and services put to public tender caused much frustration for park officials working amid
primitive economic conditions. On balance, however, his efforts resulted in a Warden Service, which
was, considering wartime shortages, relatively well-equipped for its varied duties. When the war
ended, Harkin was able to call on the expertise and the assets of other departments to provide better
equipment for the wardens.

Harkin also created, with the assistance of Sibbald and the wardens, a list of standard equipment for
issue to all wardens. The list itself has been lost, but existing documentation indicates that it

193 RG84, Vol. 13, J185, Part 1, superintendent, JNP, to Harkin, January 19, 1915. Although called a chemical engine
by the superintendent, the description of its use shows quite clearly that this was a gasoline-powered water pump and not a smaller,
chemical-discharging, hand-held fire extinguisher.

ibid., March 31, 1921, report of Superintendent George A. Bevan, WLNP, pp. 30-31; ibid., report of Superintendent F.E. Maunder,
MRNP, pp. 40-41; ibid., March 31, 1921, report of Superintendent R.S. Stronach, RMP, pp. 25-36; ibid., report of Deputy Minister
also noted in this report that there were 100 smaller, chemical fire extinguishers at the parks.
represented a thoughtful effort to provide wardens with all the equipment considered essential to carrying out their varied tasks, including such diverse items as a horseshoeing kit, a first aid kit for animals, and saddle blankets and bags. The list also included the elements of a military-style uniform for the wardens—khaki army shirts with collars, khaki ties, puttees, leggings and boots. Sibbald was "not very much in favor of a uniform because if we make our Wardens conspicuous we may not get results." He argued that "puttees do not last very long in the bush" and added: "when out after poachers they would be able to spot them at once and often information is secured by people not knowing who they are talking to." Our only other impression of the proposed uniform comes from Sibbald’s last comment that "the uniform suggested is so similar to that used by most tourists there may not be so much objection."

In the end, and perhaps because of Sibbald’s negative response, headquarters did not impose a standard uniform on the Warden Service. It would be almost two decades before a common uniform was devised for wardens in all the parks. It should be noted, however, that photographs indicate that, in practice in the mountain parks, a more or less standardized uniform did come into vogue for the wardens in the 1920s.

There is a story still told among Banff’s wardens that suggests that the stress of adapting to new technology is not a recent phenomenon. The first generation of wardens were at home in the saddle, but many lacked even rudimentary driving skills and so were at a loss when Banff received its first automobile-mounted fire pump in 1915. Legend has it that the superintendent employed the following procedure to train new drivers, using the "Indian Days" fairgrounds east of the town. There, the apprentice driver was given basic instructions and turned loose to hone his skills. This process came to be considered a source of local entertainment and invariably drew a crowd of avid spectators who could watch the proceedings from the comfort of the makeshift grandstand. The superintendent returned to his office in town and kept open his east-facing office window. When the cheering from the grandstand died down, the superintendent knew that the crowd had lost interest and that yet another warden had mastered the mysteries of operating a motor vehicle.

Sibbald and his guardians, whether working together building cabins or simply swapping anecdotes on the solitary rigours of back-country patrols, were developing an esprit de corps and a sense of tradition that would strengthen and grow over the coming decades. Their shared adventures and experiences such as those of Bevan and Staples on the Spray Lakes trail would create bonds that stretched eventually across the federal park system and the nation. In 1914, their tools were primitive, and, in their enthusiasm to protect big game, they killed predators as a matter of course, but their central focus was, from the beginning, the protection of the national parks. They were in the process of becoming guardians of the wild.

[^195]: FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 38, G-3-3, Game Wardens and Instructions to Wardens, 1915-18, June 2, 1915 to October 4, 1920, Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, December 10, 1918; ibid., December 13, 1918; ibid., Chief Warden Sibbald, to Wardle, December 20, 1918; ibid., Sibbald, to Wardle, December 20, 1918.
Figure 1-13. Unidentified warden with teepee, Waterton Lakes National Park. [Howard Sibbald Collection Whyte Museum, Banff, V573, PD49(1)-205.]
Problems at Waterton Lakes National Park

The difficulties at Waterton Lakes National Park during the war years have been touched on above in several different contexts. The conflicts there led to charges and countercharges, and finally resulted in a series of inquiries, which lasted from 1916 to 1919. Ultimately, the superintendent and the chief warden were dismissed, and order returned to the park. It is not possible, given the passage of time and the conflicting nature of the remaining evidence, to determine just what were the rights and wrongs of the various controversies. However, the extent of the information that was generated and passed on to Ottawa because of these difficulties now provides a wealth of knowledge of everyday life and work at a national park—knowledge that would not otherwise be available. The problems at Waterton Lakes are worth examining, then, not so much for an understanding of the controversies themselves, as for the light that they shed on the rhythm of daily life for those who worked and lived there.

Waterton Lakes had been the virtual fiefdom of John George "Kootenai" Brown from its creation in 1895. By 1914, however, Brown was in his 70s, a little too comfortable with alcohol, and was finding it increasingly difficult to keep up his role as park manager. "Kootenai" Brown stayed on as a game guardian until his death in 1916, but was replaced as superintendent by Robert Cooper. The latter seems to have had previous connections with the Forestry Branch of the Department of the Interior. It was to prove an unfortunate choice. About the same time, a new chief warden, George Allison, was brought on staff. Almost immediately, there were indications that all was not well.

In September 1914, Harkin received a telegram from a U.S. conservationist at Glacier National Park, just below the international border from Waterton Lakes, claiming that:

.....several parties are hunting openly in Waterton Lakes Park numerous sheep killed including Ewes and Lambs residents appear to misunderstand regulations believing themselves at liberty to kill game in enlarged park and killing recklessly in view of expected future restrictions this information derived from two independent sources."¹⁶

Cooper assured Harkin that the problem was in hand, but soon there were other indications of internal difficulties. In January 1915, when a park warden brought two poaching suspects before Cooper in his capacity as local magistrate, Cooper dismissed the charges on a technicality—much to the chagrin of the warden and the indignation of Chief Superintendent Bernard-Hervey in Edmonton. That spring another warden, Isaac Lougheed, came across a line of traps while on patrol and confiscated them. Over the next few months, Superintendent Cooper pressured Lougheed to give them up. Lougheed suspected that his boss had given a friend permission to trap in the park and was now attempting to cover his tracks. Lougheed, in time, confided these suspicions to his diary, and eventually they came to Harkin's attention.¹⁷

In the fall of 1915, Cooper suddenly accused Chief Warden Allison of neglecting his duties. Allison replied, "[I will] endeavor to answer charges made against me and also state a few instances in which,

¹⁷ RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, chief superintendent, to Superintendent Robert Cooper, WLNP, February 12, 1915; ibid., Chief Superintendent P.C. Bernard-Hervey, Edmonton, to Harkin, March 9, 1915; ibid., extract from diary of Warden Isaac Lougheed, WLNP, September 1915.
in my opinion, the superintendent was lax in the fulfilling of his duties, all of which I am prepared to affirm by affidavit and witnesses." In Cooper's view, Allison had neglected his duties by not visiting his wardens on a regular basis and failing to supervise their road-construction work and haying duties. Periodic inspections of warden cabins and trail conditions were a chief warden's prime means of assessing competence and diligence, so this charge by Cooper was a serious one. Allison, in turn, claimed that Cooper was not following up on poaching prosecutions and was failing to provide park wardens with supplies essential to their duties. By this time, Harkin had heard of enough irregularities at Waterton Lakes, and the first of several inquiries was called to investigate the various charges and countercharges. Commissioner of Police Silas Carpenter, who conducted the inquiry in January 1916 determined that some fault lay on both sides and suggested that Cooper and Allison be admonished to co-operate and to understand that they were both being placed on probation for the next half year.

This ultimatum seems to have brought a superficial peace to Waterton Lakes for a time. Soon, however, there were further signs of laxity and indifferent execution of park regulations. In the fall of 1916, Alberta Game Officer Henry Riviere, who, by now, was a personal friend of Commissioner Harkin, wrote Ottawa complaining that big-game poaching was a regular occurrence at the park and that neither Cooper nor Allison were doing anything to stop it. Harkin was losing patience with his staff at Waterton Lakes. When Cooper reported an increase in predators in the park, the commissioner bluntly told him:

I want you to distinctly understand that if trouble in this connection arises you will be held responsible because you have quite a stall of wardens and it is your duty to see that they carry out a prompt and efficient campaign to reduce the number of these predatory animals.

Early in 1917, allegations of irregularities and incompetence in the construction of a warden cabin were made against Cooper. Again, the chief superintendent at Edmonton conducted an inquiry at the park. Although it seemed clear from the testimony that Cooper had failed to supply sufficient materials to permit the completion of a warden cabin, before the onset of winter halted construction, the issue was apparently not pursued.

A year later, amid a rising torrent of complaints, Chief Warden Sibbald was again sent to the park to carry out an informal investigation. Sibbald was dismayed by what he found and called for "a change in the administration." "It appears to me," he wrote, "that it has been the custom to find out which was the wrong way to do a thing and then do it that way." Sibbald felt that Allison had tried to get along with Cooper after the previous trouble, but that Cooper had not mended his ways. According

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201 WLNP, Schintz Package #2, WLNP Administration Building, Cooper/Allison file, transcript of investigation into alleged irregularities at Waterton Lakes National Park, February 22-23, 1917.
202 WLNP, Schintz Package #2, WLNP Administration Building, Cooper/Allison file, Sibbald, to Bernard-Hervey, March 9, 1918.
to Sibbald, Cooper ignored Allison and dealt directly with the wardens. Allison did not even have access to the correspondence files dealing with the Warden Service. "How can the Chief [Warden] be expected to carry out his part of the work if not taken into the confidence of his superior officers?" Sibbald asked. Sibbald found problems in the supervision of grazing permits in the park. It was the superintendent's responsibility to monitor the grazing of private livestock herds, using the services of the wardens, but Cooper had no idea of the numbers of animals in the park, did not maintain accurate permit records or collect correct dues from ranchers, and kept Allison and the wardens ignorant of grazing matters. Sibbald also found that the telephone lines recently installed in the park by contract and under Cooper's supervision did not meet specifications. At the request of Sibbald and Bernard-Hervey, Harkin set in motion what would be the final inquiry into affairs at Waterton Lakes. In June, he sent F.E. Maunder, who had been superintendent at Mount Revelstoke Park, to Waterton Lakes to take charge of its administration and to recommend a means to end the turmoil there.

Maunder soon called for the dismissal of both Cooper and Allison. The latter on several occasions simply ignored Maunder's work orders, while the former proved himself to be, in Harkin's words, "without executive ability and [he] apparently will neither exact obedience from the officers under him nor bring the facts to the attention of Head Office." Maunder discovered, to his amazement, that Cooper did not keep proper records for the park's routine administration, not even organized correspondence files, and that he had no specific area set up as his park office. Maunder also found out that at least one warden was in the habit of issuing firearm permits to local residents allowing them to hunt predators in the park. Maunder proceeded to confiscate these weapons, and Cooper, on one occasion, returned a seized weapon to its owner, a personal friend, in direct defiance of Maunder's instructions. This was the last straw for Harkin. Cooper was dismissed in January 1919, and Maunder remained in charge until the arrival of a new superintendent, George A. Bevan, in August of that year.

As Rocky Mountains Park Chief Warden Howard Sibbald had so adroitly noted earlier in this drama, the administration of Waterton Lakes National Park from 1914 to 1919 was almost a mirror image of what was considered good park management. Predator control and the protection of big-game animals was not pursued in any methodical manner. Nearby residents, mostly ranchers with herds to defend, were permitted to hunt and trap in the Park, almost at will. Grazing rights, then seen as a major source of revenue for the parks, were not managed with proper attention and diligence. The wardens themselves received little supervision or direction. They were not supported in their enforcement of Park regulations and, through negligence and lack of interest on the part of the superintendent and the chief warden, they were often denied equipment and materials essential to their duties. Their living conditions, prior to 1920, were often less than was considered acceptable, even by the meagre standards of the western frontier. Work that was traditionally done by the wardens such as the laying of telephone lines was contracted out, poorly monitored and inadequately executed at Waterton Lakes.

Circumstances at Waterton Lakes give us a fresh perspective on the Warden Service and the general administration at the other national parks during the war years. Despite shortages of materials and

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203 RG84, Vol. 2216, W179, Part 1b, Harkin, to Cory, August 13, 1918, enclosing part of Maunder's first report on conditions at the park; ibid., Maunder, to Harkin, September 24, 1918; ibid., Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, F.E. Maunder, to Harkin, October 2, 1918; ibid., memo, Maxwell Graham, chief of animal division, to Harkin, January 30, 1919.
funding, there were perceptible improvements elsewhere—cabins built, trails extended and patrols maintained. By 1920, park officials were confident in their abilities to contain forest fires and curtail poaching. They basked in self-praise over the increases apparent in big-game animal populations in virtually every western park. Confident of their ability to protect their charges, park officials began to introduce small herds of elk into Rocky Mountains Park, the actual work being done, of course, by members of the Warden Service under the direction of Howard Sibbald. As had been the case with the buffalo of Elk Island and Buffalo national parks a decade and a half before, the animals came from U.S. herds.

In January 1920, 200 animals were shipped by rail from Yellowstone National Park to Banff under Sibbald’s supervision. The wardens drove them from the cars to release points at Massive and Duthill, west of Banff. A few animals died, but most survived and flourished. Within a month, plans were afoot to release a second shipment of elk in the Athabaska Valley of Jasper Park. In March, Banff and Jasper wardens worked together to detrain 100 elk at Jasper townsite. The initiative for the elk transfer rested with officials in Ottawa, but the work was done, with enthusiasm, by the local wardens. In less than two decades, the wardens, again responding to eastern directives, would be systematically slaughtering oversized herds of elk in the mountain parks. As would be evident in more than one instance in the future, goodwill, confidence and enthusiasm were not by themselves to be the keys to successful park management.

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204 RG84, Vol. 69, B234, Part 2, Chief Warden Sibbald, to Mr. Wardle, January 28, 1920.

Canada's national parks underwent dramatic change in the 1920s, largely in response to the automobile's increasing role in North American society. The mobility that the car conferred on middle-class Canadians led to a substantial increase in visitors to national parks. Park officials welcomed the influx as an affirmation of their mandate to preserve the country's scenic and natural beauty, and its endangered wildlife. They built new roads, such as the Banff-Windemere highway and the Kicking Horse trail, to make more of the parks accessible. They encouraged the construction of new hotels, such as the Prince of Wales at Waterton Lakes, and the enlargement of existing ones at Banff and Jasper. Public campgrounds grew up to accommodate motoring tourists, and scenic trails were cut for the enjoyment of such new devotees as the Trail Riders of the Canadian Rockies.

Under the benevolent eye of park officials, wildlife populations increased at satisfying rates in most parks. Forest fires were attacked tenaciously, especially if they threatened scenic vistas near new highways. Even predators obtained some respite by mid-decade, as park officials responded to conservationists' warnings of imminent extinctions, and to a growing popular desire to see a wide range of wild creatures. There seems to have been initially no sense that popular interests and park objectives might be less than entirely compatible. The pace of recreational development reached in the 1920s lessened in the coming two decades, only because of the twin impacts of the Great Depression and another world war.

At first glance, the role and routines of the Warden Service seemed largely undisturbed by the influx of tourists and the new tempo of economic development. Patrols continued, trails and cabins were constructed as required for fire prevention and game protection, and the yearly rhythm of warden duties proceeded as before. Indeed, the 1920s and the 1930s, perhaps even the war years, would be viewed in retrospect as the "golden age" of the Warden Service, the time when legendary figures such as Bill Peyto and Bill Potts made their solitary patrols, and helped to establish an ethos and an esprit de corps that remain today.

In truth, even as the legends were forming, conditions and circumstances were changing in the national parks. By 1930, several new parks existed, each with a somewhat unique mandate, and each with a warden component dedicated to its fulfilment. With little interaction between the older mountain parks and the new additions, the Warden Service began to develop differing characteristics that, to some degree, remain distinct today. At the same time, the stringent protection of game animals, even from their natural enemies, was beginning to result in imbalances, which would necessitate organized slaughters. It was an interesting time to be a national park warden.

**Changing Circumstances**

In 1925, when only Glacier and Jasper among all the national parks remained inaccessible to motor traffic, Commissioner Harkin wrote in the introduction to his *Annual Report* on the national parks: "The automobile has brought about a wider and more democratic use of the parks." The previous year he had mused:
Time was when visitors consisted almost wholly of wealthy tourists who made the parks a stopping place for a few days on a transcontinental tour. The coming of the motor and the establishment of motor camp sites and small bungalow hotels in practically every one of the parks has brought the national playgrounds within reach of thousands.

These few words from the architect of the federal park system do much to explain what was happening in this tumultuous decade. Visitor statistics tell more of the story. In 1921, a total of 166,000 people came to the national parks. Almost half of these, 71,500, visited Rocky Mountains Park, the original park and still the jewel of the system. An estimated 20,000 went to Waterton Lakes, while the other mountain parks recorded between 3,000 and 7,000 visitors apiece. Estimated figures for St. Lawrence Islands and Point Pelee national parks were, respectively, 30,000 and 7,000.

By mid-decade, total visitation had doubled to 334,000, and, in 1929, it topped half a million. More interesting and reflective of internal change were some of the individual park-visitor statistics. Kootenay National Park, which was not established until 1923, had over 46,000 visitors in 1925 compared with Jasper's 15,700 tourists that year. The figures reflect the completion of the Banff-Windemere Highway through Kootenay National Park in 1923 and the fact that Jasper was not yet connected by road to the outside world. Similarly, when Yoho was opened to through motor traffic with the completion of the Kicking Horse trail in 1926, its visitation jumped dramatically, from 6,245 in 1925 to 35,000 the following year.

The message was clear. Road access was the key to bringing more people to the parks. By 1929, Jasper remained isolated, but a motor road had been built from the townsite to the park's eastern boundary in anticipation of a provincial road to be constructed westward from Edmonton.

Other parks such as Waterton Lakes National Park and Buffalo National Park also benefited from road construction designed specifically to give them improved motor access. In 1929, 217,000 tourists visited Rocky Mountains Park. Approximately 50,000 visited each of Kootenay and Waterton Lakes parks that year, while 26,000 passed through Yoho. Parks more isolated from motor traffic such as Glacier and Mount Revelstoke had much lower numbers, 1,000 and 8,000 respectively. Further east, Buffalo and Elk Island parks registered 18,000 and 22,000 tourists, all interested in seeing the buffalo herds being maintained in these two "animal parks." Even the new Prince Albert National Park in central Saskatchewan, although only in its second year of operation, boasted 10,000 visitors. In Ontario, St. Lawrence Islands had an estimated 20,000 visitors. Point

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2 Ibid., March 31, 1922, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, p. 95.
3 Ibid., March 31, 1926, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, p. 91; ibid., March 31, 1930, p. 99. The actual total for 1929, based now largely on numbers of registered visitors, was 559,329.
4 Ibid., March 31, 1927, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, p. 89. The provincial portion of the route was delayed by the onset of the depression. Through traffic by road between Jasper and Edmonton was not possible until 1934.
5 Ibid., March 31, 1930, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, p. 114. The statistics for 1929 also come from this report, p. 99. The term is Harkin's. By 1929, he had begun to divide his domain, for the purposes of the annual reports, into "scenic parks" such as Banff and the other mountain parks, and "animal parks" such as Buffalo, Elk Island and Nemiskam parks.
Pelee, considering its tiny size and particularly fragile ecology, was swamped by 83,000 visitors, second in numbers only to Banff itself.

Roads would get tourists to the parks, but much in the way of internal development was required to keep them comfortable and occupied while there. The first necessity was accommodation. New hotels and lodging houses were built during the 1920s, the most spectacular being the railroad hotels—Prince of Wales, which opened in 1928 at Waterton Lakes, and Jasper Park Lodge, established five years earlier. Chateau Lake Louise and Banff Springs suffered fire damage in 1924 and 1926 respectively, but both were immediately rebuilt and expanded. Beginning with the Canadian Pacific Railway's Wapta Lake bungalow camp in 1921, private interests also started building more modest cabin accommodations for tourists, particularly those coming through the parks in cars.6

The Parks Branch, for its part, concentrated on providing more camping grounds with better amenities for motoring tourists. The campgrounds, which had been built in Banff at the confluence of the Bow and Spray rivers during the war, were improved with the addition of cooking stoves, a telephone connection and the services of a caretaker in 1922. The same year, campgrounds with stoves were set up at Waterton Lakes and on a scale large enough to accommodate one group of 100 Boy Scouts from Cardston. In 1923, a townsite was established near Lake Louise to meet the needs of motoring tourists, and the enlarged Banff campgrounds, now complete with a caretaker's cottage, service buildings and 19 shelters, issued 1,693 camping permits, triple the previous year's total and far beyond the 73 of its inaugural year, 1917.7 In 1924, almost 2,400 permits were issued here. In the next few years, campgrounds were built and enlarged at Radium Hot Springs in Kootenay Park, near Field and near the Kicking Horse River in Yoho Park.

Trail building in the 1920s focussed on scenic vistas for the tourist as often as on fire-protection considerations. As well, tennis courts were constructed at Banff and Waterton Lakes, a swimming pool installed at Radium Hot Springs and, in 1927, an international class, 18-hole golf course at Jasper Park Lodge. Even at Elk Island National Park, efforts were made in 1928 to improve the local beach as a swimming facility. It is not surprising then that Prince Albert National Park from its initial design stage had a beach, camping areas and a townsite for tourist accommodations and amenities, or that it soon became known as "Saskatchewan's Playground."8

Initially, the Warden Service seemed little affected by the changing emphasis within the parks. The eastern entrance to Rocky Mountains Park remained a warden station, until the death of its incumbent, Tom Staples, in 1917. Thereafter, his wife continued to issue motor-vehicle permits, and, by the mid-1920s, had become somewhat of a famous fixture in the Park.9 When the Banff-

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6 Ibid., March 31, 1922, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, p. 100.
7 Ibid., March 31, 1923, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, pp. 73 and 82; ibid., March 31, 1924, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, pp. 66 and 75.
8 William Waiser, Saskatchewan's Playground: A History of Prince Albert National Park (Fifth House, Saskatoon: 1989). This is the title of the best history that has ever been written of an individual park.
9 His wife, Annie continued to staff the park entrance until retiring in 1948, see Ann Dixon, Silent Partners: Wives of National Park Wardens (their lives and history) (hereafter Dixon, Silent Partners), Dixon and Dixon, Pincher Creek, Alberta, 1985, pp. 37-41.
Windemere highway created a western entrance to the parks in 1923, a similar warden station and visitors' rest room was built just west of Hot Springs. However, when another western entrance, necessitated by the completion of the Kicking Horse trail, was built in Yoho later in the decade, it was staffed by a caretaker, not a warden. Thus, the original plans to have arriving motor traffic come in contact with the Warden Service were not carried through, as the mountain parks developed. Given the tremendous increase in visitation, the original intention to have wardens keep an eye on the activities of visitors, as they moved into and through the parks, was bound to collapse. While it would have been impossible for warden staff to maintain the watch over visitors originally contemplated in 1909, their movement away from the heavily used entrances meant that many tourists met wardens, only if they contravened regulations or, in later years, if they encountered problems in the parks. In other ways, the work and the lives of the wardens were profoundly affected by the dramatic changes sweeping through the parks in the 1920s.

The 1930s were years of fiscal restraint, modest development and making do for the Parks Branch. The decade began with a new National Parks Act, which dedicated the parks "to the people of Canada, for their benefit, education and enjoyment" and ordered that "such parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." It was to prove a tall order open to profoundly differing interpretations.

These years also witnessed profound alterations in the philosophy of conservation motivating those who managed the parks and those who patrolled them. On the one hand, there were efforts, prompted by the fiscal constraints of the time, to turn excess wildlife populations into commercial meat profits. On the other hand, there was a growing reluctance to "adjust" the natural balance in the parks by stringent predator-control programs. Many wardens, it must be said, strenuously resisted this last development, believing that, unless controlled, predators would decimate other wildlife populations.

The first efforts to gather comprehensive wildlife-census data occurred in these years, and park officers gradually adopted a more sympathetic stance toward nuisance animals, such as bears, while continuing a rigorous policy against poaching. They fostered new techniques and developed improved equipment in their relentless campaign against fire in the parks. Wardens maintained the park infrastructure—its trails, telephone systems and warden cabins—as best they could, given existing financial conditions, but new development work, even when aided with funds from the 1934 Public Works Construction Act, was limited to necessities.

The 1930s saw the passing of a generation, personified in the retirements, in 1936, of both Warden Bill Peyto in Banff and Commissioner James Harkin in Ottawa. That same year, the old Department of the Interior was dissolved, and the renamed National Parks Bureau, with its mandate focussed on recreation and protection, became one of the assets of the new Department of Mines and Resources. In 1936 and 1937, two more parks, Cape Breton Highlands and Prince Edward Island respectively, were added to the system. By the end of the decade, park wardens patrolled and protected a natural

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11 Ibid., March 31, 1931, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, p. 92.
treasure from the Rockies to the Atlantic coast.

In the summer of 1939, Canadians focussed their attention on the drama unfolding in Europe. In the national parks, the war meant more of the shortages and deferments that had been common in the Depression. The need to meet the requirements of war did not, however, mean that operations in the parks remained static. Warden routines and practices evolved to match changes in the philosophy of conservation that motivated park activities.

These years saw the park wardens begin working closely with biologists of the Wildlife Protection Branch, the precursor of the Canadian Wildlife Service, which would appear in 1947. The wardens helped to gather data for scientific studies designed to aid in developing wildlife-management strategies and practices, and assisted specialists, while they worked in the parks. There also appeared, during these years, initially in the system's smallest park, a wider view of wildlife preservation, i.e. "habitat protection." Bear policy continued to evolve, largely in favour of the bear.

The annual animal slaughters, which began in the 1920s, spread to other parks and increased in tempo, as park officials sought to regain and maintain a "natural balance" in the parks. Predator control remained an ongoing issue, and a continual source of friction between headquarters' staff and the wardens who ultimately executed policy. It was during these years that the first questions were raised about the appropriateness of resource utilization, grazing and timber culling in the parks, and the long-term effects of fish stocking—a process in which the wardens had participated for a quarter of a century. Firefighting techniques continued to be refined, particularly in the prairie parks, where a series of dry years led to massive conflagrations and widespread damage. Warden life and work in the districts evolved too as technological innovations such as the automobile, the Caterpillar tractor, the airplane and the radio came into more regular use.\[12\]

Poaching

The pressure of increasing visitation was felt in every aspect of park management and presented new problems to those responsible for the preservation of the parks' natural inhabitants. Incidents of poaching declined in the mountain parks, but the pressure of human predators was unrelenting in the new prairie parks and, where targets existed, in the east. Animal/man encounters, which had been limited to a "bear problem" in the previous decade widened to encompass other species, as park populations grew. In this regard, park managers, including the Warden Service, exhibited an ambivalent attitude, on the one hand discouraging a wariness of man and on the other lamenting the results of undue familiarity. On a more positive note, the wardens continued as keen participants in their wilderness domains, providing Ottawa with a rich although unfocussed stream of wildlife observations.

While the mountain-park wardens maintained their patrols and their vigilance against poachers,

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12 The next wave of technological change, based on the widespread use of electricity in rural as well as urban homes, would be a factor leading to the demise of the warden district system. The time would come, when wardens and their families would refuse to continue living in the "primitive" conditions that had been the norm in back-country cabins. Park authorities, faced with prohibitive modernization costs, would opt instead to bring the wardens out of their districts to communities near or even in the parks, where modern conveniences were already established.
prosecutions tended to be for unpremeditated infractions. Such was the case against an Alberta rancher who wounded a deer just outside Waterton Lakes in 1923 and was charged, when he tracked the animal into the park to finish it off. The hunter, in his own defence, explained that he had "followed the wounded animal across the line where it fell, and bled the animal and took the carcass home, not observing any harm in this procedure." Interestingly, the hunter was acquitted but warned against violating park boundaries in the future.

In the next decade and in the prairie parks, the pressure of hunters would become so great on the borders that special patrols would be required to curtail "hot pursuits" into park territories. Individual hunters and their associations would protest such strict maintenance of the boundaries, arguing, in part, the inhumanity of permitting injured animals to expire slowly and in pain.

Further east, the tempo of poaching activities in the new prairie parks increased. Wood Buffalo National Park straddled the sixtieth parallel, lying partly in Alberta and partly in the Northwest Territories. The First Nations people who had traditionally occupied this land, designated as a park in 1921, retained their rights to trap and hunt, although the buffalo, for whom the Park had been created, were not to be killed. White trappers were excluded from hunting in the Park. The Native population generally kept to the bargain that was struck when the Park was created, but they resented the presence of the wardens, and passively resisted their authority to oversee Native trapping and hunting. There was much dissatisfaction, for example, over warden efforts to supervise beaver trapping in the late 1920s. On one occasion, when a warden cabin was located, so that the occupant could utilize intersecting Native game trails on his patrols, the Indians promptly moved their routes, effectively isolating the warden.

The wardens of Wood Buffalo endured not only the quiet hostility of the Native population but also worked in a harsh environment. From mid-June to mid-August, black flies kept them out of the bush, while, in one winter report, their superintendent casually noted that he was briefly suspending patrols, as the temperature was consistently hitting 60 below. At the same time, Ottawa officials made it quite clear to the wardens that their chief duty was to protect the buffalo herd. Enforcement of Alberta or territorial trapping regulations took second priority. Two Aboriginals who were apprehended killing buffalo in the park in 1930 were sentenced, as an example, to three months' hard labour at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police barracks at Fort Chipewyan.

Of more immediate danger to the wildlife of Wood Buffalo, in its first years of existence, were white trappers, some of whom had also been excluded from their established hunting territories. Pressure was particularly great on the eastern and southern boundaries of the park, which were formed by the Peace and Slave rivers. In a 1924 incident, three white hunters were arrested by wardens Arden and Klukas for trapping in the park and intimidating Native hunters. The three were summarily tried by
Park Superintendent John A. McDougal, acting as a territorial justice of the peace, at Arden's cabin, and they were evicted from the park.16

Ironically, the pressure came, at times, from the wardens themselves. In an especially notorious incident in 1923, a warden, one of the park's original appointees along with Arden and Klukas, resigned after Indians reported finding a butchered buffalo carcass near his cabin. The Ottawa official responsible for Wood Buffalo, O.S. Finnie, summed up the departmental attitude, when he wrote to Maxwell Graham "it is a most deplorable condition of affairs when the men whom we employ to guard and protect the buffalo, themselves, go out and kill them."17

Later the same year, a former warden, Jay Fowler, was caught with a string of traps set just inside the park boundary. In the ensuing trial, again presided over by McDougal, Fowler claimed that he had been coyote hunting, although he was using mink traps. He lost his traps and a 30.30 rifle. McDougal summed up the case in the following words: "I tried the case today confirmed the seizure of the rifle and traps, gave Fowler a lecture and as it is the Christmas Season did not fine him as possibly I should have done owing to [the] fact he knew better being an ex Warden."18

In the prairie parks established in the late 1920s, Prince Albert National Park in Saskatchewan and Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba, physical circumstances for the wardens were quite different, but the close proximity of settled agricultural communities greatly intensified the pace of poaching incidents. Among his first directives to the new wardens, Prince Albert Superintendent James A. Wood, former assistant superintendent at Rocky Mountains Park, spelled out in detail their responsibility for curbing poaching and the system that he wanted put in place. As the provincial hunting season was about to commence in 1927, Wood directed the wardens to patrol in pairs and outlined the procedure to be followed in poaching incidents, from discovery and apprehension to trial and conviction. Wood identified what he considered the most likely areas for incursions and directed specific wardens to each of these. He concluded with the following admonition:

The next month will mean constant patrol for the Wardens and I expect that every warden will do his utmost to maintain the regulations. If your work is to be done properly there will be very little sleep during the daylight no matter what the weather is. Always remember that the best warden is one who can enforce the regulations and still remain a gentleman. Give the public the benefit of the doubt but do not under any circumstances be lenient where there has been an obvious infraction under the regulations.

In the case of an unsealed rifle warn the person the first time and seal the rifle. If the same person is caught the second time action is to be taken. In the case of a party passing through the Park, seal the rifles, [sic] the seals can be broken by the party themselves after they have left the Park but if the seals are broken before they leave the Park action is to be taken.

Destroy this communication as soon as you have read it. We are not anxious for the public to know

17 RG85, Vol. 151, 420-2, Part 1, Director of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch Department of the Interior Finnie, to Maxwell Graham, June 19, 1923.
An incident the next year was indicative of the pattern of poaching that would prevail, for decades to come, in both prairie parks. In December 1928, Warden H.D. Merrill, who occupied the Meridian cabin near the south boundary of Prince Albert National Park, investigated a report of gunshots heard near the Park border. He found a group of hunters had entered the Park by automobile on one of the many access roads, and had shot and dressed a buck deer. After ascertaining the exact location of the kill, Merrill escorted the shooter to Prince Albert, where he charged him before the local magistrate. At the trial next day, the hunter was convicted, fined $100.00 and costs, and had his rifle confiscated. Near the end of the next decade, Warden W.H. Genge was attacked and beaten by three men that he had arrested for poaching. Similar incidents would form depressing patterns for the wardens of Riding Mountain National Park in the coming years, as it went on to gain the unenviable but well-earned reputation as the most heavily poached park in the federal system.

Riding Mountain had been a federal forest reserve prior to 1929. It was surrounded by agricultural land and easily accessible by road along much of its boundary. Its neighbours, like those of Gros Morne National Park in the 1960s, had been accustomed to hunt in its territories prior to park establishment and were not much inclined to alter their habits. The tendency of game animals to wander in and out of the park with the changing seasons also served as a lure, drawing hunters in across the boundary. At the same time, the economic hardships of the Depression tempted many to venture into the park in search of free meat for hungry families.

Late in 1931, Warden Lawrence Lees of Russell District asked his superintendent, J. Smart, to clarify the law-enforcement powers of park patrolmen, one of whom had just been assaulted while investigating a park infraction. Lees also asked, rather prophetically, "if these men for their own protection are allowed to wear side arms." Within the year, Lees himself was murdered, shot while sitting at his kitchen table. Evidence at the time pointed to a poacher covering his tracks. The violence of this episode was not repeated, but the incidents of poaching continued for decades.

In the two years following Lees' death, there were 32 convictions for poaching in Riding Mountain. By 1934, its reputation as a centre of poaching had reached Winnipeg, where a newspaper discussed the issue under the headline: "RIDING MOUNTAIN GAME KILLED FOR FOOD AND BARTER":

Game guardians of the Riding Mountain park report the growth to alarming proportions of the illicit killing of game in that preserve. Part of the slaughter is attributed to the depression, which forces poachers to kill for food and barter rather than butcher domestic stock, but the authorities are of the opinion that such killing is not confined to sufferers from the depression. The traffic, it is said, is rapidly reducing the remnant of a former large game population to the verge of extinction.

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21 Prairie and Northern Regional Office (hereafter PNRO), Winnipeg, Riding Mountain National Park (hereafter RMNP), File 6815/R1, Infractions: Timber Regulations, Fishing, General, Grazing. Volumes 1 and 2, March 6, 1931 to January 14, 1970, Warden Lawrence Lees, Russell District, RMNP, to superintendent, December 22, 1931.
To what extremes the purveyor of wild meat will go to attain his end was well exemplifies [sic] a few years ago when 11 dressed carcasses of elk and moose, including 2 moose calves, were found carefully piled on the snow in the hills near Dauphin, awaiting removal to an unknown destination. At the moment even school children speak of a boastful individual who lays claim to 17 small deer.22

For the rest of the decade, the park wardens did what they could to control poaching, but their districts were large and their adversaries many. Real control could only be imposed by the public at large, acting in a more responsible and disciplined manner.

At the other parks, poaching continued but on a less widespread basis. In 1934, Jasper's Superintendent Rogers reported the conviction of two individuals caught with "sixteen marten skins and one fairly young cross fox, two pairs of snow shoes and one small calibre automatic pistol together with a number of traps." The same year, two hunters were caught in Georgian Bay Islands National Park, probably on Beausoleil Island, and their weapons were seized. George Lynn, who was Georgian Bay Island's sole warden throughout these years, devoted part of each fall to patrolling for those hunting and trapping on park lands. His territory, though, was really beyond the capacity of one man to cover adequately, and there is little indication of successful prosecutions during these years.23

In Yoho National Park, there were reports, in the mid-1930s, of poaching, but investigations uncovered no tracks, traps or other indications of illegal activities. A local trapper and resort owner claimed that Park wardens were the culprits, but the evidence for his charge was based on an incident in 1929, when a warden took out a provincial trapping permit for work outside the Park. The warden, J. Tocher, ceased trapping that year, when he was informed that it was incompatible with his federal park duties.24 There is also an indication in existing records for 1938 that headquarters' staff suspected some Banff wardens of "illegal taking of furs in [the] park," and that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were requested to have a plain-clothes officer investigate. No results or further detail have been uncovered on this issue. With or without the active participation of any wardens, poaching was not an uncommon pursuit in the national parks during the Depression.

**Evolving Policing Techniques**

Poaching continued into the 1940s, but was concentrated in parks such as Riding Mountain and Prince Albert, which were virtually surrounded by human settlement and could be entered by hunters from many different directions. Riding Mountain's Superintendent Heaslip reported, in January...
1940, that the absence of snow meant "poachers were able to enter the park at any point with almost any type of vehicle...."

Later that year in Prince Albert National Park, Warden E.L. Millard came across evidence of poaching coupled with arson. He had gone to do some repair work to the stable at Fox Creek only to find the building burned down and a note left behind referring to an earlier incident in which he and Chief Warden Davies had found and confiscated a poacher's snares.25

Nor were other parks immune. Although it had become a military reserve, Buffalo National Park remained a game sanctuary, and Warden Bud Cotton found "constant patrol has had to be kept up to keep these hunters [muskat poachers] out of the park despite constant warnings and 'No shooting' signs." At times, Cotton patrolled with the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police corporal. In 1941 and further north in Wood Buffalo National Park, Warden Routh uncovered evidence implicating up to 17 individuals in "wholesale poaching" of beaver in the Park. Some of the suspects had apparently been flown into the Park that spring. Suspicious local Aboriginals, who were themselves permitted to hunt and trap in the Park, informed the Warden Service of their presence. In the easternmost park of the system, Cape Breton Highlands, the superintendent reported that:

...trappers have to be watched very closely as the prevalence of Red Fox is a temptation. Snares and one No. 3 trap were found and destroyed by the Wardens. An unsealed gun was seized in the Cap Rouge area and 2 guns were sealed on entering the park area.26

In St. Lawrence Islands National Park, there were instances of duck hunting on Park territory by military personnel stationed at nearby Kingston. Even in tiny Prince Edward Island National Park, it was deemed advisable, in 1942, to advertise in the Charlottetown newspapers and post notices in the Park "to the effect that the Park is a game sanctuary and out of bounds for hunters." At Jasper that same year, the Warden Service teamed up with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to track down and arrest several individuals for the trophy killing of a ram. A Californian was convicted as were two local residents who had acted as guides in the incident.27

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25 RG84, Vol. 25, RM300, Part 1, extract from superintendent's monthly report, RMNP, January 1940; ibid., Vol. 20, PA185, Part 5, Warden E.L. Millard, PANP, to Supervising Warden George Davies, Rabbit Cabin, October 16, 1940; ibid., Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, October 24, 1940. In place of the snares, the wardens left a note thanking the poacher for "the silver fox," which they pretended to have found and confiscated. The irate poacher apparently did not forget the insult, and, in retaliation, burned down the park stable. With no snow on the ground for tracking and no other clues at the scene, the arsonist remained unknown.


27 RG84, Vol. 25, SL300, Part 1, Harrison F. Lewis, chief federal migratory bird officer, Ontario and Quebec, to controller, National Park Branch (hereafter NPB), June 19, 1942. A warrant officer in the Veteran's Guard stationed at Fort Henry made the mistake of regaling Lewis with his duck-hunting exploits on a train ride to Montreal. RG84, Vol. 23, PEI300, Part 1, controller, to superintendent, Prince Edward Island National Park (hereafter PEINP), September 10, 1942. FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/138, JNP, Box 1, Ja4-1-1, Infractions - Game and Fishing Regulations, 1934-50, Supervising Warden Phillips, JNP, to ?, June 1, 1942. The U.S. trophy hunter, after being apprehended in possession of the ram's head and having the case remanded without bail being assessed, attempted to flee eastward. An arrest warrant was issued, and the suspect was again stopped by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. On this second occasion, two unregistered firearms were found in his possession, netting him a further fine, when his case came to trial.
There is no indication, despite the range of poaching incidents described above, that the overall problem was increasing during the war years. If anything, poaching for sustenance probably declined with the relative prosperity that accompanied the war-driven economic revival. If the "silver fox" incident at Prince Albert is any indication, the wardens, if not the poachers, occasionally treated the issue in an almost playful manner.

One change that can be perceived in most of the parks is a growing tendency to seek co-operation with other police and conservation agencies. For example, the wardens at Jasper, Buffalo, Wood Buffalo, Prince Albert and Riding Mountain worked closely with local Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachments in combating poachers, sometimes to the extent, as at Buffalo military reserve and game sanctuary, of mounting joint patrols.

There was similar co-operation with provincial agencies. In 1940, Warden Millard at Prince Albert and a Saskatchewan Natural Resources field officer conducted a joint patrol along the outside southwestern boundaries of the park. In 1941, the Saskatchewan government agreed to have its field officers designated as honorary park wardens. When the Alberta government contemplated opening the territory adjacent to the Ya-Ha-Tinda Ranch to hunting in 1942, hunting near the Ranch was prohibited by provincial law, although the enforcement patrols were made by the Warden Service. At almost the same time at Point Pelee, arrangements with the Ontario government led to the exchange of game-protection powers between federal and provincial officers at the park and in the surrounding area. Perhaps the existence of a common external foe made it easier for the two levels of government to embark on such co-operative ventures.

An Evolving Bear Policy

While guarding big-game animals against poachers was a major and highly visible facet of game-preservation activities in the national parks, the wardens were also engaged in other activities, which, while less dramatic than fending off armed intruders, would have equally profound influences for the future development of the parks. One was the changing treatment meted out to park bears in the face of growing visitor numbers and the consequently increasing occurrence of people/bear incidents. Superintendent Rogers of Jasper National Park warned Ottawa in the summer of 1921:

I cannot help but feel that we shall be obliged to shoot a number of Bear this season as they are increasing out of all proportion and entail so much loss to the Park by reason of the amount of warden and trail and other gangs stores and equipment they destroy, apparently more in a spirit of mischief and wanton destruction, than for any other cause. I trust that the Berry season will lessen the trouble which at present is so very prevalent.

It is likely, however, that incidents were multiplying, not so much because the bears were increasing in numbers or being deprived of their usual food sources, but rather because there were more people

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28 RG84, Vol. 4, PA300, Part 7, District Superintendent E.C. Coursier, Department of Natural Resources, Province of Saskatchewan, to Superintendent Knight, PANP, November 14, 1940; ibid., Vol. 21, PA300, Part 1, Superintendent Knight, PANP, to acting controller, November 24, 1941; ibid., Vol. 8, B300, Part 6, Jennings, to J. Smart, controller, NPB, June 9, 1942; ibid., Vol. 17, P300, Part 5, Controller Smart, to Deputy Minister of Game and Fisheries D.J. Taylor, Toronto, May 23, 1942.

29 RG84, Vol. 529, Part 1, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to commissioner, July 11, 1921.
with whom to make contact. The same week the following article appeared in an Edmonton paper under the heading: "FEEDING BEARS POPULAR PASTIME AT JASPER PARK":

Daily the bears are becoming more numerous and more audacious. As already mentioned, the dump ground about half a mile from the town is a favourite rendezvous. Here, last evening, no less than eight were gathered at one time, and a constant stream of people is to be seen making their way in that direction.

One, a big cinnamon bear, a powerful looking beast with tremendous forearms had become so tame that he allows himself to be fed by hand; but it is well to beat a hasty retreat when the stock of food runs out. One gentleman who had this big brute standing on his hind legs while he fed him, suddenly, as the food gave out, had his pipe snatched out of his mouth, but bruin quickly dropped it again, the hot bowl not being greatly appreciated.

"Last evening the Journal correspondent was feeding this big fellow with dry bread dipped in corn syrup. He would even lick the syrup from off one's fingers."

Between the cinnamon bear and a huge black bear that also frequents this vicinity is considerable rivalry, but the cinnamon fellow holds the field.

Endeavouring to become friendly with the large black bear that kept some twenty yards away all the time, we cautiously approached and tried to entice him closer with some of the syrupy bread.

But his highness would have none of us; he turned to run, then wheeling suddenly, came at us with a rush and a snort, stopping dead about twelve feet away. We decided to go while the going was good!

Unfortunately, Jasper's private zoo has not the choicest situation, although it seems to suit the bears admirably.

Come along Edmontonians! Catch the midnight train, arrive in Jasper in the morning, feed the bears that are not in a cage, visit some of the beauty spots around Jasper and catch the evening train back to Edmonton.30

By the mid-1920s, black bears were beginning to lose their fear of the automobile, which had recently intruded into their domain, and soon stories of roadside contacts were circulating. In the summer of 1927, several stories appeared under headings such as "Bears Stage Hold-Ups on Banff-Louise Road" and "Bears Hold Up Cars." The Banff Crag and Canyon reported of one encounter:

"Two small Black bears on Duthill auto road are the cause of much merryment [sic] among the autoists. After an appeal or two to passing cars, the bear appeals, by standing as close to the passing car as possible, the car stops. It is not very long when a line of a dozen or more cars are parked along the road, as each new car come [sic] up the bear is there to meet it, front paws through the window, hind paws standing on the running board he is a sight to see and never does a fresh car arrive that the bear is not there to receive it and beg for something to eat. It is to be hoped that these bears be left in peace by government officials."

"Many hundreds of people, daily get a great deal of pleasure out of these two highway hold ups."31

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The same year, Warden Arthur Allison recorded the following “bear” incidents in his diary:

- 5 August 1927: Saw two black bears at Hillsdale stopping all cars for food.
- 14 August 1927: Patrolling to Canyon to see if bears were doing any damage. One bear was at parking stand. The tourists were feeding bear. I told them he was a wild bear and that he was not to be trusted. They stopped feeding him. He went to the tea room so I shot him with a load of salt to drive him away.32

Park officials were not adverse to the idea of captive bears being used as an attraction to bolster tourism. The Banff animal compound or Zoo contained a polar bear in the 1920s, and, in 1923, both Superintendent Rogers at Jasper and Harkin himself approved a local outfitter's request to keep several black bear cubs for exhibition purposes.33

Early in the decade, bears were viewed largely as an attractive nuisance or, as at Waterton Lakes, where the chief warden weighed heavily the interests of adjacent ranchers, as "pests" to be grouped with wolves and treated accordingly. Near the end of the decade, a conference of mountain-park superintendents made the following recommendation regarding bear management:

...bears should be killed only after they have become a nuisance; the decision on that point to rest, as at present, with the Superintendent. It is understood that the Superintendent will at all times exercise the best judgement with a view to protecting the public and at the same time see that there will be enough of non-dangerous bears to provide the thrill that the tourists get from seeing live bears in the open... It is deemed good policy to endeavour to educate the public through Parks literature and especially through the chauffeurs operating in the Parks as to the danger of bears and other wild animals. It is specially important that the number of bears frequenting outlying camp grounds should be kept down because the danger there is much more serious than in the larger camp grounds. It is not deemed worth while yet to develop a policy of killing bears in the fall or other suitable time in order that a revenue may be derived from their skins. It is considered that warning posters should be erected, especially with a view to protecting the Department against claims for damages.

The general view of the Conference is that wild bears are quite numerous along the highways and in the vicinity of camps and towns but they are not very numerous in the outlying areas. It would appear that a more consistent food supply along the highways, etc., has been responsible for this. Under the circumstances it is obvious that the bear problem is not as serious as one might conclude from seeing the ones along the highways.34

Soon, a "Black Maria" for bears, a wheeled steel cage, would be introduced to the parks, based on U.S. precedents, in an effort to provide wardens with an alternative to shooting "problem bears." It would be mid-century, however, before any concerted effort was made to eradicate the garbage nuisance, which was the usual lure that brought bears into contact with humans. Still, there was growing aversion to the wanton destruction of bears. In 1929, when Rocky Mountains Park

33 RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, commissioner, to superintendent, JNP, April 26, 1923.
34 RG84, Vol. 173, W212, Part 1, Supervising Warden Herbert Knight, WLNP, to Harkin, March 27, 1922. Knight is reporting that five neighbouring ranchers have been made honorary wardens to assist the two permanent wardens in riddling the park of its bear and wolf problem; ibid., Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, extract from minutes or recommendations of superintendents' meeting, undated but filed in mid-March 1928.
Superintendent Stronach suggested that the visiting Duke of Gloucester be permitted to hunt a grizzly for its hide, Harkin telegraphed in response:

First principle of National Parks is that they are sanctuaries for wild life and Canadian Parks widely known as such Stop If question of hunting in Park is raised by visitor would explain this and likelihood public reaction against any violation of sanctuary Therefore any hunting in Park cannot be permitted.35

In the same manner that a society's moral values can be gauged by its prisons and the treatment of felons, so too can the tenor of its conservationist values be assessed by its handling of potentially troublesome, even dangerous, wildlife. Park officials were aware of some of the factors causing bear problems, but still tended to put the onus for change on the bear. In August 1931, for example, former Warden Herb Knight, now Jasper superintendent and acting superintendent at Waterton Lakes, wrote to Harkin noting his troubles with bears in the latter park:

Unfortunately some people will feed bear, which as you know makes them less timid, and in time they become a nuisance by helping themselves when the campers are absent.36

Two days later, Knight informed the commissioner that Warden McAllister had shot a bear that had been bothering campers, and, that fall, Warden J.M. Giddie shot two grizzlies that had been molesting cattle just outside Waterton Lakes' boundaries.

Also in August, Warden George Busby of Jasper had a close encounter of the furry kind, when he and his dog came across a grizzly bear and cub near Miette Hot Springs. Having become separated from her cub and fearing for its safety, the bear lunged at Busby who fired at her to no effect. The bear was distracted by the warden's dog, however, and Busby was able to make his escape. Busby reported the incident and noted that grizzlies had become common in the area. The end result was Ottawa's authorization for two or more wardens to be sent there to kill up to six grizzly bears.37

Bear problems were not confined to the mountain parks. Prince Albert's superintendent reported in the fall of 1931:

We have been having a considerable amount of trouble due to the number of bears in Prince Albert Park, and each summer the number of these bears is increasing....

The bears not only do damage to tents but they have actually been known to enter buildings in the business sub-division.

Every effort has been made to scare these animals away but we have not been very successful.

36 Ibid., Vol. 173, W212, Part 1, Acting Superintendent Knight, WLNP, to Harkin, August 10, 1931.
37 Ibid., Acting Superintendent Knight, WLNP, to Harkin, August 12, 1931; ibid., extract, diary of Warden J.M. Giddie, WLNP, September 22, 1931; ibid., Superintendent Knight, JNP, to Harkin, August 6, 1931; ibid., Harkin, to superintendent, JNP, September 1, 1931. Knight had also suggested: "As the hunting of these bears would entail considerable hard work as well as a certain amount of danger, I would further recommend that some bonus be allowed the wardens detailed to this work. Half the value of the hides might be a suitable consideration." This suggestion was not followed.
Personally I can see no other way of overcoming this difficulty except by destroying those bears which become a nuisance.28

Wherever bears came in contact with people in the parks, the problems were similar and so too were the solutions.

In the 1930s, some new ideas were put forward to solve the dilemma of errant bears. Jasper Superintendent Rogers offered the services of his warden in destroying nuisance bears at the new relief camps being set up there in 1932, but, at the same time, he praised the efforts being made in the camps to discourage bears by burning the refuse that attracted them.39

In contrast, in the United States, Superintendent Roger W. Toll of Yellowstone National Park had turned the bears' propensity for garbage into a popular attraction and entertainment. Yellowstone bears were fed, once a day, on hotel scraps at Old Faithful and at another location in the Park. Visitors could watch the fun from seating areas protected by trenches and barbed wire. These displays were part of a comprehensive program designed by U. S. National Parks Service Director Stephen Mather, to encourage visitors to the national parks. A popular parks service was less vulnerable to the vagaries of congressional politics. Such spectacles were not officially sanctioned in Canadian parks, but the dumps of Banff and Jasper were well-known as bear-observation points. As well, the zoo at Banff, which housed five bears, including even a polar bear, and the concretelined pit enclosure created for two bear cubs at Riding Mountain in 1932 indicated that park officers recognized and appreciated the lure that bears had on the visiting public.40

Another U.S. concept for dealing with bears, the "Black Maria" or live trap, initially elicited mixed reviews in the parks. The idea was that troublesome bears should be caught in a large metal trap set on wheels. The bear would then be marked with paint for future identification, transported to a remote area in the park and set free. Superintendent Rogers at Jasper felt that there were simply too many bears in his park for any program that involved the capture and relocation of problem bears. It was "much better," he felt, "when they become a nuisance to get rid of them." Superintendent Jennings at Banff was similarly unimpressed, while Herb Knight at Waterton Lakes noted that his park was too small to provide much initiative for moving bears. Chief Park Warden C.V. Phillips who was responsible for Yoho, Glacier and Mount Revelstoke parks echoed these views and added:

Personally, I believe that by destroying each season, the few bears which develop bad habits, the natural increase is taken care of and we are not over run with them. Bears which develop the garbage habit, soon degenerate into poor specimens and become troublesome. Viewing the bear situation from this angle, I think probably the annual 'crime wave' could be more effectively controlled by installing incinerators in all road camps and positively destroying all garbage. The building of cement meat houses in all permanent road camps would be profitable to the department and would discourage

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the activities of the bears. These improvements, I believe would do more to reduce the 'Crime wave'
among bears than deporting them.  

Again, burning garbage seemed the preferred non-violent means of dealing with problem bears. Interestingly, Riding Mountain's Superintendent J. Smart, informed Harkin that his park already had a portable bear trap for use on animals that entered the Wasagaming townsite. As of late in 1933, the wardens there had made no captures.  

Despite the largely negative initial response to the live trapping of problem bears and their relocation to remote areas, the idea did catch on and, in time, became a major tool for bear control. By 1936 Chief Warden J.C. Holroyd at Waterton Lakes was reporting some successes with the new process. The following year, Holroyd continued what he described as "the policy adopted with such marked success last year" by capturing a bear that had been roaming in the townsite and releasing it near the Cardston entrance gate. In 1939, Prince Albert's wardens built a bear trap and used it with some success. That year, Warden Roy Hubel caught 23 bears and transported them up to 40 miles into the park, but "those that showed signs of fight when attempts were made to chase them away were killed." Superintendent Herb Knight also described experiments with electrified wire fencing to discourage bears from raiding provisions being stored for outlying work gangs. Similar tests were carried out that year, with good results at Banff, according to Supervising Warden Bill Potts. The trapping process itself would remain relatively unchanged, until the addition of tranquillizer guns to the wardens' arsenal in the early 1960s.

Along with live-trapping came a gradually developing new attitude toward bears and their place in the park—a sense that more could be done to accommodate the bear and its needs without exposing visitors to undue danger. When Superintendent Jennings, for example, received a complaint from a Banff resident in 1936 that a bear was trying to get at his chickens, Jennings' response was that the resident should bear-proof his property. Just a few years earlier, "Iron Man" Jennings would have sent his wardens to destroy the offending animal. In 1938, National Parks Bureau Controller F.H.H. Williamson reminded park superintendents of their responsibility to post signs warning the public not to feed bears. Williamson also pointed out that in U.S. parks "hundreds of cases of human injuries" had resulted from such contact and that, there, officials had found it necessary to pass a regulation forbidding bear feeding by visitors. In Canada's parks, in the absence of an outright ban, the feeding of bears continued but on a lesser scale, once the warning signs were posted. Yoho's superintendent reported:

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41 RG84, Vol. 4, PA300, Part 4, Superintendent Wood, PANP, to Supervising Warden George Davies, November 20, 1934. Harkin's original letter has not been found, but this is one of several later responses and references to his initial survey of opinions in October 1933; ibid., Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Superintendent Rogers, NNP, to Harkin, October 10, 1933; ibid., Vol. 137, B212, Part 1, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, October 20, 1933; ibid., Vol. 173, W212, Part 1, Superintendent Knight, WLNP, to Harkin, October 20, 1933; ibid., Vol. 176, Y212, Part 1, Superintendent Russell, YNP, to Harkin, October 17, 1933, enclosing C.V. Phillips, to Russell, October 17, 1933.

42 PNRO, Winnipeg, RMNP, File 9810-101/R1, Bear, Vol.1, J. Smart, superintendent, RMNP, to Harkin, October 21, 1933.

43 RG84, Vol. 173, W212, Part 1, Superintendent Knight, WLNP, to Harkin, October 17, 1936. In a two-week period in September 1936, Holroyd and his wardens caught nine bears in a box trap set up in the townsite. Two escaped, but the rest were transported and released in other parts of the park; ibid., Vol. 43, W300, Part 2, Superintendent Knight, Waterton, to controller, NPB, August 3, 1937; ibid., Vol. 3, PA300, Part 3, extract from superintendent's monthly report, PANP, July 1939; ibid., Vol. 137, B212, Part 1, Supervising Warden W.J. Potts, BNP, to superintendent?, November 4, 1939.
I... would advise you that we have posters posted at all public camping grounds, and privately
operated camps etc throughout the parks warning the public not to feed these animals. In spite of
these notices however, the tourists still feed these animals to a certain extent, although I am glad to
say that the managers of the camps now discourage this feeding, as I think they now all realize the
inadvisability of so doing.44

In the latter 1930s, the Canadian National Parks Bureau's apparent success in dealing with the bear
problem elicited the following plea from a frustrated, and perhaps sceptical, U.S. parks official
seeking enlightenment:

A number of persons having first-hand acquaintance with several of the Canadian national parks have
informed us that matters are very different across the line; in short, that bears are bears and the public
knows enough to appreciate them as such and miraculously refrains from trying to make them into
household pets. The problem has assumed such proportions in our Yellowstone National Park that
it is proving very difficult to educate the public sufficiently to insure that the bears will be allowed
to return to a natural mode of living.

Mr. Hoyes Lloyd had informed me that the National Parks Bureau has no regulations prohibiting the
feeding of bears but that warning signs (copy of which he sent me) are posted at suitable places in the
parks warning the public against feeding, molesting, or teasing any wild animals. Considering this
simple form of warning, it seems (to us) somewhat unusual that little or no infringement occurs. If,
by your convenience, you care to describe the background explaining the non-existence of a bear
problem in the national parks of Canada, it would be most interesting to us and might provide helpful
suggestions for use in our own parks to alleviate the situation. Because some persons have feared that
if feeding of bears along the roadside were to be completely stopped, all bears would disappear from
view, except perhaps at rare and fleeting intervals, it would be interesting to learn from you if this is
the case in your park. Any observations bearing on this subject or suggestions you might feel like
making would be gratefully received.45

One suspects in retrospect that there was no magic formula that could be revealed to the U.S.
citizens. Bear/people incidents were likely less common in Canadian parks simply because there
were not as many visitors per square mile of park and hence fewer opportunities for disasters to
occur. Certainly nothing in the official record can account for more favourable circumstances in
Canadian parks. Available statistics show that bears continued to be live trapped, and shot, while
visitors continued to feed them despite the official disapproval of park officers. The very real danger
posed by bears, particularly grizzly bears, had not gone unnoticed by the Warden Service itself. As
we shall see, a grizzly was responsible for Warden Percy Goodair's death in Jasper's Tonquin Valley,
and at least one other Jasper warden, Ed McDonald, was seriously injured in 1937 in a harrowing
episode, which has entered the folklore of the parks.

Wartime conditions had no direct impact on official park policy for the treatment of bears, although,
in practice, the resulting manpower shortage may have meant that more bears were shot, because
fewer wardens were available to trap and transport them to outlying areas. In October 1940, Banff's
Superintendent Jennings was able to report that no bears had been killed in the park yet that year,

44 RG84, Vol. 137, B212, Part 1, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, May 14, 1936; ibid., Vol. 176, Y212, Part
1, Controller F.H.H. Williamson, to superintendent, Yoho and Kootenay parks, August 24, 1938; ibid., Vol. 176, Y212, Part 1,
Superintendent Russell, Yoho and Kootenay parks, to Controller F.H.H. Williamson, August 24, 1938.
45 RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, H.C. Bryant, supervisor of research and education, National Park Service (hereafter NPS),
Department of the Interior, to superintendent, JNP, September 16, 1938.
despite some "local agitation" to do so.\textsuperscript{46} At this time, the electrified wire fencing, which had offered such promise of bear control late in the 1930s, had proven to be less effective than hoped for. The installation of an incinerator at the Banff "nuisance grounds" had eased the garbage problem there, although bears still prowled townsites garbage, when it was placed out for disposal. Jennings could see little hope for improvement here, other than having residents put their garbage cans inside garages or outbuildings at night. The Banff wardens as yet had no bear trap, but Acting Supervising Warden Mitchell was "seriously considering the construction of a trap so that the bears may be transported away from the townsites." They had written to Prince Albert's superintendent asking for a plan of their trap that they could duplicate "if the nuisance continues." At this time, the wardens of Banff still used shotguns and buckshot alone to discourage bears from loitering about the townsites.

The "nuisance" did, of course, continue and, by mid-1941, Banff's wardens too had a bear trap at their disposal. As well as implementing their own relocation program, Jennings attempted to have other park residents adopt more enlightened bear policies. For example, he wrote to the manager of the Chateau Lake Louise in May 1941 asking that bears no longer be fed, a form of tourist entertainment that had appeared at the hotel despite the installation there of a garbage incinerator. Jennings stressed that feeding "wild animals is contrary to Park regulations," and pointed out that bears that had been made dependent on handouts became nuisance animals and often had to be killed, when the hotel closed in the fall, and the free food disappeared.\textsuperscript{47} Two decades later, the same basic arguments were being made to corporate citizens in Jasper park.

Despite these efforts, the "bear problem" continued, particularly in the mountain parks, where the animals were numerous. While black bears caused problems in townsites garbage dumps, the back country was the domain of the grizzly, which occasionally investigated isolated warden-patrol cabins, particularly those with a winter stock of food. A spate of such visits occurred in Banff, in the summer and fall of 1942. Scotch cabin, east of Banff townsite and on the route to the Ya-Ha-Tinda Ranch, was broken into by a grizzly that "destroyed some food and did considerable damage to furniture, stove pipes and completely wrecked the door." Jennings had ordered the cabin repaired "and a new heavy door substituted." Earlier in the year, a grizzly had broken into the cabin at Indian Head and "a good supply of food was completely destroyed." Jennings described one such incursion:

Last week a Grizzly broke into the cabin at the head of the Red Deer [River]. This is a newly reconstructed cabin and was well protected both by heavy wire netting over the windows and a stoutly constructed door. However, a bear broke through the lower section of the door and also damaged the heavy wire netting over the windows. This cabin had been completely stocked for winter use by Warden Woodworth a few days before. He has therefore lost all his winter supplies with the exception of two cans of soup and one bar of soap.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{46} RG84, Vol. 137, B212, Part 1, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Controller Williamson, October 9, 1940.

\textsuperscript{47} RG84, Vol. 137, B212, Part 1, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Acting Controller Smart, July 9, 1941; ibid., to J.J. Meredith, manager, Chateau Lake Louise, May 20, 1941.

\textsuperscript{48} RG84, Vol. 137, B212, Part 1, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to controller, October 17, 1942; ibid. Jennings sent this description of grizzly damage to Ottawa, because Warden Woodworth could not afford the expense of restocking all his winter supplies. Jennings suggested that the Department split the costs with him, and Controller Smart agreed, ibid., Smart, to superintendent, BNP, October 23, 1942.
Not everyone was satisfied with Banff's bear policy, as it had evolved by the early 1940s. While local residents pressured the administration to destroy or remove bears from the townsite, there was a sense, in some quarters, that warden actions were too harsh. Hubert Green, who would soon part company with the Warden Service largely over conservation issues and who wrote under the pseudonym Tony Lascelles, directed a personal letter to Controller Smart, with whom he had worked in Riding Mountain, decrying current practice. In Green's view, the town warden was "only to[o] pleased to comply" with local requests to destroy bears in the townsite. In Green's opinion, "99% of the bears destroyed in Banff during the past several years was [sic] quite unnecessary from any sane viewpoint." Green felt that the majority of bears visiting the town were transients and would soon leave; "the reception they usually receive from town dogs, small boys and the like is sufficient discouragement to neither [sic] linger or return again."

Park policy was again tested in mid-1943, when a group of Banff residents signed a petition asking that bears frequenting the townsite be either removed or destroyed. Jennings' advice to Ottawa was that the wardens did not think it feasible to trap the female and two cubs that had led to the petition and that "the only method [of complying with the petition] is destruction by shooting." Jennings warned though that:

....if a policy is approved whereby all visiting bears to Banff are to be destroyed, then I can foresee the end of the black bear in Banff National Park, because the bears naturally gravitate to settlements where food is easily available.

Jennings suggested that Dr. Ian McTaggart Cowan of the University of British Columbia's Zoology Department might be asked to study the question and "in the meantime we might put on a patrol and furnish the warden or acting warden with a shot gun, using light shot or rock salt, with a view to keeping the bears out of the townsite." This was, in essence, a continuation of the bear policy that had been in place for much of the previous decade. Each of these suggestions was accepted in Ottawa and passed on to the local Member of Parliament as the park's response to the Banff citizens' petition.

This same year, in fact just days after Ottawa's response to the above petition, a "bear incident" occurred in Yoho, which sharply focussed policy in all the mountain parks. Yoho's Superintendent George Frederick Horsey startled a female grizzly and her cub while on a park hike with his young son. The grizzly attacked, and Horsey feinted death to enable his son to escape. Horsey survived but suffered lacerations and puncture wounds to his right leg. In the following months, he directed the wardens of Yoho and Glacier, which were also under his jurisdiction, "to destroy all grizzlies they see on sight" in areas frequented by the public. Horsey maintained:

It is not my intention to attempt to exterminate the grizzly bears throughout the Parks but only in districts where they are liable to be a menace to tourists. I might mention that I am sure public opinion is very much against our former policy of making no effort to destroy these animals.

49 RG84, Vol. 137, B212, Part 1, Tony [H.U. Green], to Mr. Smart, personal, July 17, 1942.
52 RG84, Vol. 176, Y212, Part 1, extract from Y13-1943, employers' report of accident, July 9, 1943; ibid., Acting Superintendent G.F. Horsey, to controller, October 18, 1943; ibid., November 9, 1943.
Despite the superintendent's comments, one cannot help but feel that the grizzlies had bitten the wrong leg. Shortly after this incident, the *Crag and Canyon* reported that Banff "Park Wardens have been instructed to shoot on sight grizzly bears approaching too close to Banff." The paper itself linked this directive with the recent attack on Horsey. In Ottawa, Dr. Clarke of the Wildlife Protection Branch wrote yet another memorandum stressing the need for a less than lethal policy of bear management.\(^{53}\) To Clarke, it was imperative that park officials make every effort to ensure that wild animals were not made dependent by the provision of food. Ultimately, enforcing such a policy rigorously would, in Clarke's view, be of greater benefit than the current program of moving black bears that had become accustomed to human food. Clarke believed that these reclusive animals posed little threat to careful visitors, but agreed that grizzlies that had proven dangerous should be destroyed. In summation, he wrote:

> Grizzlies are not common anywhere and are seldom seen by tourists. They require wilderness conditions. They have every right to be considered as a fundamental element of the wilderness of our national parks, and as such entitled to our protection. They also merit from human wanderers into their domain the observance of simple cautions that will avoid trouble with them. The question of relations between grizzlies and men is only a part of the general question of relations between animals and men in national parks, with which I have attempted to deal.

It was a philosophy not always accepted by those officials in the parks who were responsible for the day-to-day safety of visitors.

Superintendent Knight at Prince Albert suggested that the problems resulting from bear/people encounters could be, in part, relieved, if the National Parks Bureau were "to give a lot of publicity to any injury caused by bears to persons...." Such advice, while it might have eased one problem, would, of course, have flown in the face of other efforts to encourage park visitation and would most certainly have been opposed by commercial interests dependent on park tourism. Ottawa later refused to provide details on Horsey's grizzly encounter to a wildlife writer for publication, arguing that "it would be detrimental to tourist activities."\(^{54}\)

On the other hand, there was no attempt to minimize the potential dangers to those who were actually travelling through the mountain parks. In the summer of 1944, copies of illustrated fliers arrived from Ottawa warning "Keep Away from Bears" and "Bears are Dangerous."\(^{55}\) The issue of bears and how to deal with them in the parks has remained one of the most complex and intractable problems that the Warden Service has faced over the years.

**Wildlife Policies**

While they gradually mellowed in their views toward bears, park officials sometimes exhibited an almost sentimental regard for their other charges. Just after the First World War, several hundred


\(^{54}\) RG84. Vol. 21, PA300, Part 2, Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, December 7, 1943; ibid., Vol. 176, Y212, Part 1, Controller Smart, to R.W. Tufts, chief federal migratory birds officer, Maritime provinces, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, November 13, 1944.

\(^{55}\) PNRO, Winnipeg, RMNP, File 9810-101/R1, Bear, Vol.1, Robert J.C. Stead, superintendent, Publicity and Information, to superintendent, RMNP, July 18, 1944.
head of elk had been brought into Rocky Mountains and Jasper parks from the United States in an
deavour not unlike the earlier reintroduction of the buffalo. By 1921, Superintendent Rogers at
Jasper was working hard to accustom them to the presence of man, in the hope that they would
become a drawing card for tourists. Rogers’ staff fed them over the winter and reported to Harkin:

These animals are absolutely fearless as far as we are concerned when driving in a rig with horses,
but usually on Mondays there are very few on the old feeding ground during the early part of the day.
This is entirely attributable to their being disturbed by people on foot who walk out on Saturday and
Sunday. They will not stand anybody getting anywhere near them save on horseback or in a rig. I
have posted notices some time ago prohibiting dogs, even on leash, being taken up Pyramid Lake
Road, so as to give these interesting animals every opportunity of becoming tame and accustomed to
mankind, which has had an excellent effect.\textsuperscript{56}

Harkin too encouraged efforts to embellish the tourist's wilderness experience. In a visit to Banff
in 1922, he directed that salt licks be established along the new Banff-Windemere road, so that big-
game animals would be drawn there prior to the opening of the road to touring motorists. With the
increase in traffic, this policy became a means of luring animals into danger. As well, years later,
it was found that artificial salt licks facilitated the transmission of such communicable diseases as
lungworm among ungulates. In 1924, Harkin described the successful taming of a buffalo,
"Granny", and an elk, "Maude," at Buffalo National Park and encouraged the superintendent of Elk
Island National Park to emulate this example. "These animals," he wrote, "have proven of
considerable interest to sightseers visiting the park who are enabled to get a 'close-up' of these
interesting specimens."\textsuperscript{57}

It should be noted that not all officials espoused such treatment of big-game animals. Howard
Sibbald, who became responsible in 1921 for the Warden Service in all the mountain parks, argued
against feeding the elk near Banff and advised his superintendent:

There is no doubt that it is a mistake to feed these animals as they will come back every winter, and
in time would be so numerous that we could not supply feed.\textsuperscript{58}

The elk at Jasper, protected from man and other predators, flourished. By the calving season of
1923, Supervising Warden Langford estimated that the original herd of 100 had grown to about 300
head.\textsuperscript{59} They would continue to multiply, until the wardens realized, belatedly, that there were too
many elk for the park to sustain. It was a process that would unfold time and again at various locales
and with different species.

In the 1920s, the townsite of Banff began to experience some of the less pleasant effects of the
growing wildlife populations. There were reports, late in 1923, of deer roaming the town and acting
aggressively. As the \textit{Crag and Canyon} dutifully warned, "if a child is killed and all the deer in the
Park were slaughtered as a safety measure, it would not make up for the loss of one life." Ironically,

\begin{itemize}
  \item [56] RG84, Vol. 529, J234, Part 1, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, February 7, 1921.
  \item [57] RG84, Vol. 477, KNP210, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, December 12, 1922; ibid., Vol. 10, E300, Part 1,
Harkin, to superintendent, EINP, September 19, 1924. The Elk Island superintendent was not opposed to the suggestion but doubted
that the feat of taming buffalo could be repeated.
  \item [58] RG84, Vol. 69, B234, Part 2, Sibbald, to Superintendent Stronach, RMP, March 4, 1921.
  \item [59] RG84, Vol. 529, J234, Part 1, Supervising Warden Langford, to superintendent, JNP, April 14, 1923.
\end{itemize}
it was a warden's child who was struck by a deer during this episode.\textsuperscript{60}

By the following spring, the agitation over aggressive deer had died down, but interest now was focussed on a herd of elk that was taking up residence on the Banff golf course. Assistant Superintendent Wood complained to Harkin:

\begin{quote}
This herd is increasing in numbers very rapidly and they are doing a tremendous amount of damage to the greens and fairways...During the rutting season these animals are dangerous and do not fear human beings at all, as last Fall on one or two occasions extreme difficulty was experienced in chasing them off greens to which golfers were approaching.\textsuperscript{61}
\end{quote}

Wood thought a strategically located fence might deter the animals and recommended shooting the herd only as a last resort, "as the killing of these animals would more than likely be severely criticized by certain sections of the press and public." The policy of unqualified protection of herbivores was exacting its price.

On occasion, wardens intervened in the natural order in ways which, like their automatic efforts to destroy predators, can be understood from the perspective of sentiment rather than policy. In the winter of 1927, for example, Warden "Bo" Holroyd, while on patrol in Waterton Lakes, came across a young deer that had been injured by coyotes. Holroyd caught the deer, had it transported to the headquarters' stables where he cleaned its wounds and then took it to his cabin to recuperate before being released again into the park.\textsuperscript{62}

\section*{A Written Record}

From shortly after their organization in 1909, wardens were directed to keep daily diaries, copies of which were reviewed by supervising or chief wardens, and then sent on to Ottawa. This process permitted headquarters to focus and direct the attentions and activities of the wardens to specific goals, and provided officials in Ottawa with a wealth of detailed information on conditions in the parks. During the 1920s, the diary system became a vehicle for gathering a wide range of wildlife data. As population imbalances appeared, park officials began to use this information in their efforts to maintain what they saw as a natural equilibrium.

Early wildlife observations noted in warden diaries were often cursory in nature, perhaps giving just the number of big-game animals noted on a day's patrol without any reference to locale, activities, gender, age or physical condition. Sometimes, routine circumstances were ignored in favour of unusual occurrences, as in Chief Warden Herbert Knight's description of an eagle attacking a coyote, unsuccessfully, in Waterton Lakes. Wardens Harold Fuller and Andrew Wright at Rocky Mountains Park, for example, carefully noted numbers and general locations of elk, deer, sheep and goats, along with references to predator tracks that they came across. Warden Brown at Yoho even compared

\textsuperscript{60} RG84, Vol. 7, R300, Part 2, extract from Crag and Canyon, Banff, December 28, 1923; ibid., Warden Walter H. Peyto, to chief warden?, RMP, Banff, December 31, 1923.

\textsuperscript{61} RG84, Vol. 69, B234, Part 2, Assistant Superintendent Wood, RMP, to Harkin, April 30, 1924.

\textsuperscript{62} WLNP, Schintz Package #4, WLNP Warden Office, Box 2, File N16, Wildlife, 1924-27, acting superintendent, WLNP, to Harkin, January 6, 1927.
animal populations with previous seasons' numbers, but such observations were the exception. The
diaries of wardens stationed at "animal parks" such as Buffalo and Elk Island tended to focus more
on wildlife but usually on the animals such as the buffalo, which were their main concerns. Here
too, remarks were often perfunctory.63

In the mid-1920s, Harkin and his staff became more interested in a wider range of park wildlife, a
direction driven in part by the public's desire for a deeper wilderness experience and, in part, by a
wider view of conservation evolving in the United States. Headquarters' concern was soon reflected
by the wardens in their diaries and patrol reports. In February 1924, the superintendents of all the
western parks were directed to "instruct all wardens to report most carefully on the kind and number
of fur-bearing mammals that they note in the course of their travels." This was soon followed by a
directive to obtain "an approximate census ... of the more important wild animals in the Parks." The
wardens were to note the range of species and their numbers while on regular duties. Their
observations were to be formed into a yearly summary to be prepared in conjunction with the park's
Annual Report.64

Following this directive, wardens began to focus more in their diaries on the wildlife that they
observed while on patrol, giving greater attention to sightings, descriptions of wildlife conditions,
and the ebb and flow of their numbers. While most attention remained focused on big-game
animals, observations such as that from Waterton Lakes on fluctuations in the meadow-mouse
population were beginning to arrive in Ottawa by the end of the decade.65 This may have been a
tongue-in-cheek response to new pressures from Ottawa to supply yet more information on park
wildlife. A similar dedication to duty was later evinced by two Jasper wardens who submitted a
wildlife-observation card describing the attempted seduction of a housefly by a horsefly, as they
observed it one sleepy summer afternoon at Cairn Pass cabin. The widening interest in wildlife
coincided with a changing attitude toward predators in the parks and the role of the warden in
controlling them. It was a change that many wardens would resent, and resist, for decades to come;
ironically, it is now one of their main responsibilities.

Wildlife Protection

There were indications during the 1930s that park officials were modifying long-held views on the
natural order in the parks and man's role in maintaining it. With the exception of Wood Buffalo,
hunting remained anathema in the parks, and poachers were vigorously pursued and prosecuted. By
the end of the decade, though, it was clear that the parks were no longer considered simply as

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63 RG84, Vol. 43, W300, Part 1, extracts from warden diaries, WLNP, August 1921, diary of Chief Warden Knight, July
15, 1921; ibid., Vol. 176, Y300, Part 1, extracts from warden diaries, RMP, August-October 1921; ibid., Maxwell Graham, director
of park animals to Harkin, October 17, 1921, enclosing extract of Warden Brown's diary, YNP, July 1921; ibid., Vol. 59, BU300,
Part 1, extracts from warden diaries, BuNP, January-April and August-September 1921; ibid., Vol. 10, E300, Part 1, extracts of
warden diaries, EINP, October 1919 to November 1921.

64 RG84, Vol. 176, Y293-1, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendents, BNP, BuNP, EINP, MRNP, YNP, GNP, JNP and WLNP,
February 25, 1924. WLNP, Schintz Package #4, WLNP Warden Office, Box 2, File N16, Wildlife, 1924-27, Harkin, to Acting
Superintendent Knight, WLNP, April 25, 1924.

65 WLNP, Schintz Package #4, WLNP Warden Office, Box 2, File Wildlife, 1927-30, acting superintendent, WLNP, to
Harkin, December 28, 1928. Meadow mice were reported to have been more abundant in the summer of 1928 than in the previous
year.
The former developed a special technique. This is well known to sportsmen in the Detroit area. Actually, however, the Kellogg who developed the trapping technique in question is no longer employed by the Kellogg Sanctuary. The Sanctuary has abandoned and repudiated this practice along with other activities of a similar sort, and Mr. George H. Corsan, on turtle trapping resulted from the activities of the Kellogg Bird Sanctuary at Battle Creek, Michigan, and also Mr. Jack Milner.

Abundant but there is no reason whatever for permitting the destruction of turtles in a National Park. A few years ago much publicity to define it, would have included many non-predators and few predators—a balance maintained by the rifles of the Warden Service.

By 1938, Prince Albert's supervising park warden, George Davies, was giving his wardens pamphlets explaining how hawks controlled rodents and urging that they not be shot indiscriminately. At the same time, Prince Albert's superintendent was being warned against the "introduction of exotic plants into the National Parks of Canada," in this particular case, the seeding of several lakes with wild rice to improve wildfowl habitation. By the end of the decade, headquarters' officials were even reconsidering the impact of their widespread fish-stocking programs. They were also advising against such disruptive practices as a request to trap snapping turtles at Point Pelee.

At the same time, Aldo Leopold, one-time employee of the U.S. Forest Service, was expounding the importance of predators to a balance in nature, particularly in his 1933 study, *Game Management*. The seeds of change that had been planted in the 1920s were beginning to bear philosophical fruit. These changes, and their limitations, can be seen particularly well in the treatment accorded bears and coyotes, and in the response to the increasing big-game populations of some parks. Also indicative of changing attitudes was the disappearance from the parks of zoos, where animals were kept in close confinement for the entertainment and edification of park visitors.

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*66* PNRO, Winnipeg, RMNP, File 9810-101/R2, Beaver, Vol.1, J. Smart, acting superintendent, RMNP, to Charles T. Thomas, barrister solicitor, Glenella, Manitoba, April 24, 1931; ibid., J. Smart, acting superintendent, RMNP, to J.B. Harkin, commissioner, May 7, 1931. Here, Smart recounts how Warden Binkley thwarted poachers and suggests that, with the aid of Grey Owl, the threatened beaver could be captured and moved deeper into the park. RG84, Vol. 168, RM272, Part 1, excerpts, Park Warden Binkley's diary, RMNP, October 10, 1931, showing his efforts to get beaver from different areas of the park and to bring them to Grey Owl's cabin on Lake Audy. This was the beginning of the conservation efforts of Grey Owl [Archibald Belaney] with the National Parks Branch, first at Riding Mountain and then at Prince Albert. Grey Owl was a conservation publicist whose strength lay in his influence on the many who read his books and heard his lectures. In the parks, he established himself in rustic settings amid semitamed beaver colonies, which he used in his publicity work. He was not highly regarded by the wardens who witnessed his increasing abuse of alcohol and resented his disinclination to assist in the day-to-day physical work required to maintain his show in the wilderness. One suspects that the wardens saw Grey Owl as another lazy and drunken Indian—a racially motivated perspective commonly associated with the Native peoples whom Archie, ironically, was impersonating. For a meticulously researched and well-written study of Grey Owl's life and work, see Donald B. Smith, *From the Land of Shadows: The Making of Grey Owl* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1990) (hereafter Smith, *From the Land of Shadows*). Department of the Interior, *Annual Report*, March 31, 1934, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J.B. Harkin, p. 79. Harkin's "natural balance," had he cared to define it, would have included many non-predators and few predators—a balance maintained by the rifles of the Warden Service.

*67* RG84, Vol. 4, PA300, Part 6, Supervising Warden George Davies, PANP, to all wardens, October 24, 1938. The pamphlets, still on file, were entitled: "What about Hawks," "Enter Hawk - Exit Mouse," "Western Hawks," ibid., Part 5, J. Smart for controller F.H.H. Williamson, to superintendent, PANP, January 20, 1938, ibid., Vol. 1772, PA296, Part 4, C.H.W. Clarke, to Mr. Lloyd, May 30, 1938; ibid., Professor of Biology D.S. Rawson, Waskesiu Lake, PANP, to Controller Williamson, June 6, 1938; ibid., Vol. 17, P300, Part 5, Hayes Lloyd, superintendent, Wildlife Protection, to Mr. Spero, September 6, 1939. Lloyd wrote, in part: "I think the Superintendent should be asked the source of his enquiries to trap turtles. Snapping turtles are undoubtedly abundant but there is no reason whatever for permitting the destruction of turtles in a National Park. A few years ago much publicity on turtle trapping resulted from the activities of the Kellogg Bird Sanctuary at Battle Creek, Michigan, and also Mr. Jack Milner. The former developed a special technique. This is well known to sportsmen in the Detroit area. Actually, however, the Kellogg Sanctuary has abandoned and repudiated this practise [sic] along with other activities of a similar sort, and Mr. George H. Corsan, who developed the trapping technique in question is no longer employed by the Kellogg Sanctuary."
National park wardens in their periodic patrols had always been encouraged to observe wilderness creatures closely, to be aware of their habits and their numbers, and to report changes, as they occurred. Initially though, little use was made of such information, and the initiative to gather it rested with the individual warden. Some, like Bill Peyto, were particularly observant and took a keen interest in all aspects of their districts. Peyto often noted species types, habitats and population variations, and passed on this information in his diary.\(^68\) Most wardens gave at least some attention to the large ungulates and predators in their districts, recording seasonal movements, and signs of illness or kills. A few wardens seemed, from the extent of their reports, to be virtually oblivious to the wildlife around them. Change came in the late 1930s, as wardens in all the parks were called on to play a more active role in efforts generated by headquarters to manage and maintain the natural assets of the parks. Initially, the question posed was whether or not a healthy balance existed between game animals and predator species.

When Supervising Warden Bill Potts reviewed his Banff wardens' diaries for December 1938, he found reported observations of moose, deer, wolverine, sheep, goats, elk, marten, weasels, coyotes and cougars. He was pleased at the low number of predators sighted and noted that four of the seven coyotes seen had been destroyed. While these observations were made on patrols in the main valleys of the park, Potts felt that they indicated "that our game is at least holding its own." While officials at Jasper generally shared Potts' views on the appropriate balance of species to be maintained in the parks, they were not so sure that optimum balance existed. This issue of balance led to the first scientific studies of fauna in Banff and Jasper parks in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Investigators such as Dr. R.M. Anderson of the National Museum and Dr. C.H.D. Clarke of the National Parks Bureau concluded from their initial studies that predators were not overrepresented among park wildlife, findings that often put them at odds with on-site park staff.\(^69\)

Clark's 1939 Banff survey indicated that mountain sheep were at least as prevalent as their estimates a decade earlier and that their range conditions now seemed better. He also found goats, moose, mule deer, elk and black bears to be "abundant." Predators ranged from non-existent in the case of wolves, to scarce for cougars and abundant for coyotes in some locales. To obtain these findings, Clarke spent three summer months travelling through Banff with various wardens. The numbers he gave were from his own observations and did not include sightings by his guides, although as he explained: "because of the writer's position at the tail of the [pack] train there were many such

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\(^{68}\) Bill Peyto is often remembered today as one of the colourful early characters in the warden saga, a taciturn loner whose romantic image has been enhanced by a series of professional-quality photographs showing him in rustic garb and surroundings. A trapper and prospector before joining the Warden Service, Bill Peyto was also an instinctively curious individual whose interests ranged from geology and archaeology to anthropology and wildlife-resource utilization. Although portrayed as a figure from the past and a vestige of the frontier, Peyto was, in many ways, ahead of his time. In the 1920s, he was gathering and reporting the kind of detailed wildlife information that would not be systematically exploited by park managers until the decade after his retirement in 1936.

\(^{69}\) RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, supervising warden, BNP, W. J. Potts, to Superintendent Jennings, January 13, 1939. The actual numbers reported were as follows: Moose, 201; Deer, 341; Wolverine, 4; Sheep, 358; Goat, 76; Elk, 564; Marten, 4; Weasel, 3; Coyotes, 7; Lions, 0; ibid., Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, Superintendent Wood, JNP, to Controller Williamson, January 20, 1939. encloses comments of Supervising Warden Phillips on Dr. Anderson's 1938 report on game conditions in Jasper National Park. Phillips was quite adamant in his rejection of Anderson's conclusion that predators were not overabundant in Jasper. He argued for the use of traps and poison, as well as firearms, against coyotes and wolves "when the occasion demands."
observations he did not share.\textsuperscript{70}

One concrete result of these studies at Banff and Jasper was the distribution of specific "instructions" from headquarters to the wardens to guide them in their wildlife-management duties. This directive, issued in Controller Williamson's name, would form the basis of wildlife-management policy for the Warden Service into the postwar years:

Each member of the Warden Service should use every opportunity to familiarize himself with the numbers and habits of mammals and birds in his district. A summary of conditions should be made for each month and all unusual or interesting observations should be reported. The accuracy of the information which a Warden is able to furnish about wild life conditions in his district and the judgements which he makes on wild life problems are always to be considered as important measures of his efficiency.

Under normal conditions the territory comprised in each Warden's district is capable of sustaining a certain population of native animals without depleting the forest cover or the range. If left alone, nature will keep the animal population at this level. However, we are interfering with nature to some extent in the development of park areas and so we must develop carefully considered policies of wild life administration, based on the constant watchfulness of the Warden Service, assisted by scientific investigation as need arises.

Each Warden is provided with a rifle and ammunition and is authorized to destroy any animal if necessary. In the case of rodents (rats, mice, etc.) under the size of a porcupine, it is not necessary to report the action taken, but the destruction of any bird, or any fur-bearing animal, porcupine, or other animal above the size of a porcupine should be reported, together with the reason for such action. The killing of herbivorous animals by any predator in a National Park does not under normal conditions constitute in itself sufficient reason for the destruction of the predator. It is here that the judgement of the Warden must be displayed. Hides of fur-bearing animals and meat of game animals destroyed should be preserved wherever possible and turned in to the Superintendent. Organized hunts for any animals shall only be carried out if authorized by the Superintendent.

The use of steel traps by Wardens is forbidden except within cabins or other buildings, unless by special authority of Head Office. Where such authority is given, the traps and snares used shall be only those authorized or provided by Head Office.

It should be realized by all Wardens that laxity in the enforcement of regulations protecting wild life in the National Parks will not be tolerated.\textsuperscript{71}

While much of the above was simply a reiteration of existing policy, it is clear that the onus was now on the Warden Service to interpret both predator control and general wildlife-management policy from the perspective that had been fashioned by headquarters' staff over the preceding two decades. As we shall see below, this directive did not immediately settle the issue.


\textsuperscript{71} JNP, Warden Office, File J300-23 Wildlife Investigations, 1940-46, Box 3 return to Box 24, [WRO 6394], [August 23, 1939 to March 8, 1945]. These instructions were issued by Controller Williamson and are appended to Jasper's copy of Clarke's 1939 Banff report.
At the same time that wardens were assisting scientific studies in Banff and Jasper parks, similar investigations were going on at Elk Island and Buffalo parks. Here, the issues were the optimum size of buffalo herd that could be sustained in a healthy condition within each park and the extent of the slaughtering programs required to maintain such optimum figures. The investigations were conducted by Dr. Seymour Hadwen of the Ontario Research Foundation with the assistance of the park superintendents and wardens. At Buffalo National Park, E. J. "Bud" Cotton and other wardens led Hadwen to the various component herds and assisted him in conducting post mortems on the handful of animals killed for his inspection. Hadwen was pleased with the good health of the animals at Elk Island, but also supported an effort then under way to enlarge the park and thereby improve its habitat value. He found tuberculosis still prevalent among the buffalo of Buffalo National Park and suspected that it had spread to the Park deer population as well. Here, he recommended the complete destruction not only of the buffalo but of all elk, deer and moose in the Park.

In keeping with this recommendation, and responding to wartime needs, Buffalo National Park would be turned over to the military, and Bud Cotton would continue as the last representative of the Park, his main job in the 1940s being a lonely attempt to eradicate the remaining elk and deer. During discussions of Hadwen's recommendations at headquarters, James Smart recommended that the moose of Buffalo National Park be transferred to Cape Breton National Park. This was the first reference to a project that would be carried out in the early postwar era through the co-operative efforts of wardens in several parks.

Another investigator active in the national parks during the early war years was Biologist Dewey Soper who had conducted several studies in Wood Buffalo the previous decade. Now chief federal migratory bird officer with the Lands, Parks and Forests Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources, Soper worked with the wardens of Prince Albert, Nemiskam and Elk Island parks in the early 1940s. His main focus too was to assess predator balance, as in his study of timber wolves in Prince Albert National Park. Unlike Clarke, who made a point of relying only on his own observations, Soper was willing to use the expertise and knowledge of local wardens in building up his studies. He also relied on the wardens to direct him to locations where he could obtain sample animals—he travelled with a .410 shotgun and "a variety of small mammal traps"—and sought out remote warden cabins for his operations. As he told Superintendent Knight at Prince Albert:

> It is advisable to obtain the required specimens for accurate scientific determinations without this activity coming to the attention of tourists, etc. Such work is usually misunderstood by the general public.

The active co-operation of the wardens was essential to the success of such semiclandestine research activities in the parks. These studies were extended eastward in 1941, when Dr. Clarke visited Cape...
Breton Highlands to conduct the first systematic evaluation of the park's flora and fauna. His report was circulated the following year.\textsuperscript{74}

By 1943, the wardens at Banff had taken on a more active role in monitoring park wildlife, under the direction of Acting Supervising Warden Bruce Mitchell. Mitchell had joined the Warden Service in 1931 and would be a driving force in widening the responsibilities of the wardens over the next 30 years. In February 1943, Mitchell sent a detailed report to headquarters on the current status of predator and game animals in the park. His report, based on the detailed observations of the park's wardens over a three-month period, dealt specifically with cougar, lynx, wolves, coyotes, wolverines, martens, rabbits, deer, moose, elk, sheep, goats, black and grizzly bears, and beaver. His conclusion was that "all species of wildlife in this Park are in fair numbers and are not being molested to any great extent by predators." He did, however, warn that the elk population seemed to be growing at too fast a rate and noted signs that they were damaging their habitat through sheer numbers. Mitchell also reported the park's bird populations as "normal" but added that "of course the majority of Wardens are not familiar with the birds, other than a few common ones."\textsuperscript{75}

That same year, Dr. Ian McTaggart Cowan was brought in to assess the wildlife populations in the mountain parks. Part of his mandate was to examine the monthly and annual wildlife forms completed by the wardens and to compare them with his own findings. Also in 1943, the forest-insect survey that had been conducted annually at Jasper for several years was extended to Kootenay National Park, again with the active assistance of the local wardens who gathered specimens as directed.\textsuperscript{76}

In 1944, Acting Supervising Warden Mitchell at Banff repeated his earlier review, stressing indications of rising or declining populations. Again, Mitchell concluded that only the elk showed signs of having outgrown the park's carrying capacity. That summer, and likely at Mitchell's direction, Banff's wardens began a collection of representative grasses and browse shrubs as part of a larger study of range conditions, particularly in the Bow Valley. In August, Warden Herbert U. Green prepared a nine-page report detailing forest types, browse conditions and game in each section of the Bow Valley from the East Gate to Lake Louise.\textsuperscript{77} The wardens in Banff National Park were beginning to develop the capability to gather, and to assess, park wildlife data.

Early in 1945, Mitchell penned the following summary of the strides recently made by the Warden Service in the area of wildlife management:

\textsuperscript{74} RG84, ibid., Vol. 1002, CBH300, Part 1, "Investigation of Cape Breton Highlands National Park" by C.H.D. Clarke, March 23, 1942.

\textsuperscript{75} RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 6, Acting Supervising Warden K.B. Mitchell, to superintendent, BNP, February 10, 1943.

\textsuperscript{76} RG84, Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, Controller J. Smart, to Dr. Ian McTaggart Cowan, Department of Zoology, University of British Columbia, April 9, 1943. Kootenay National Park (hereafter KNP), Schintz Package #4, KNP Administration Building, Box 1, File 300, Game, 1937-63, Acting Superintendent G.F. Horsey, KNP, to Supervising Park Warden J.J. Meredith, May 17, 1943. Arrangements were made to send collection boxes each summer month to wardens W.B. Rutherford and R. Thompson, and to the temporary warden to be located in the Marble Canyon district.

\textsuperscript{77} RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 6, Acting Supervising Warden K.B. Mitchell, to superintendent, BNP, January 11, 1944; ibid., superintendent, BNP, to Controller J. Smart?, July 4, 1944; ibid., report on range conditions, Bow Valley, BNP, by Acting? Warden H. U. Green, August 25, 1944.
I have had the Park Wardens in the key districts of the Park submit reports at various times throughout the year covering Wildlife conditions and trends. These reports, together with the personal observations and information secured from other reliable sources, allows this office to keep posted with the ever changing conditions as they develop from month to month and year to year. The making up of these reports also tends to instill a greater interest in the minds of the Wardens regarding the wildlife of the Park, especially during the winter months when they have more time to carry out such work.  

Mitchell also suggested that the wardens needed a reference library for their continuing game-management work, and drew up a list of essential works. By the end of the war, the Warden Service, at least in some of the mountain parks, had emerged as a force in efforts to understand, and control, the balance of animal populations within the national parks.

**Habitat Protection**

Given its fragile physical nature as a tiny spit of sand thrust out into turbulent Lake Erie, coupled with the pressure of large numbers of visitors virtually from its establishment as a park, it is perhaps not surprising that the wider issues of ecological integrity and recreational use first emerged at Point Pelee National Park. The issue of use versus preservation crystallized in the late 1930s, when headquarters' staff began to receive reports from groups such as the Ontario Federation of Naturalists that visitor-oriented developments were threatening the very flora and fauna of the Park. The problems were made worse by the temporary absence of a warden in the Park, following the departure of Warden Finlayson in the mid-1930s. For the summer season of 1939, the number of fresh-water wells available to visitors was cut from 36 to 11 in the hope that fewer amenities would discourage at least some of those now converging on the Park’s beaches. At the same time, the superintendent was instructed to cease cutting back vines and other vegetation for the convenience of tourists. Following a visit to the Park that spring, Dr. H.F. Lewis of the Parks Bureau and two other specialists recommended restricting Park developments, including roads that encouraged tourists, and the hiring of a nature guide to provide information and educate visitors as to the original purpose of the Park. To this list, headquarters' personnel added one more recommendation: the presence, full-time, of a uniformed Park officer with constabulary powers to deal with the large numbers of visitors.

By 1940, a number of initiatives were under way to lessen the impact of visitors on the fragile ecosystem of the Park, including the designation of separate recreational and sanctuary areas, the active prohibition of wild-flower picking or the killing of animal life, and the hiring of a nature guide to provide information to park visitors. That spring, Superintendent Grant was directed to erect three of the following signs at strategic locations within the Park:

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78 RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 6, Mitchell, to superintendent, BNP, January 12, 1945.
79 RG84, Vol. 17, P300, Part 5, Williamson, to Director R.A. Gibson, April 3, 1939; ibid., [Sinclair], to Williamson, March 4, 1939; ibid., Vol. 17, P300, Part 5, Sinclair, to Williamson, August 1, 1939. The other investigators were Dr. H.A. Senn of the Department of Agriculture's Botany Division and W.E.B. Halliday of the Federal Forestry Service.
THIS NATIONAL PARK IS THE SOUTHERNMOST
MAINLAND OF CANADA. IT CONTAINS PLANT
AND ANIMAL LIFE FOUND NOWHERE ELSE IN
THE DOMINION. MOREOVER, IT IS ONE OF
THE PRINCIPAL ROUTES BY WHICH MIGRATORY
BIRDS ENTER AND LEAVE CANADA. PLEASE
PROTECT ALL TREES, PLANTS AND WILD
CREATURES SO THAT YOU AND FUTURE VISITORS
TO THE PARK MAY CONTINUE TO ENJOY THEM.

There is no indication that a warden was hired for Point Pelee through the remainder of the war years, despite the continuing presence of large numbers of summer visitors.  

The new emphasis on preservation was perhaps most noticeable at Point Pelee, but it was present elsewhere as well. One manifestation was the renewed determination, emanating largely from Ottawa, to provide more protection to carnivores and predators in all the parks. The discovery of pelican rookeries in the Lavallee Lake district of Prince Albert National Park in the late 1930s evoked a good deal of excitement and pride, and also resulted in immediate plans to set them aside as restricted-access territories from which visitors were virtually excluded. In a similar vein, headquarters reprimanded Georgian Bay Islands’ superintendent when he reported killing a hog-nosed snake in the mistaken belief that it, like the Eastern Massasauga rattler, was poisonous. He was further directed that even rattlesnakes, when found on the outlying islands, should not be disturbed. This growing tendency to encourage a more natural balance of wildlife within the national parks would evolve in the postwar years into efforts to restock original species that had disappeared over time. The Warden Service would play a central role in such efforts.

Taming the Wild

The tendency to ascribe human characteristics to other species, to personalize nature, and to impose "good" and "bad" labels on other creatures, is perhaps a facet of the human condition. Such projections coloured much of the early twentieth-century debate over the respective merits of "good" game animals and "bad" predators. For example, predators were frequently characterized as "cowardly" for the manner in which they maintained their existence. Those who lived close to nature, the wardens of the national parks for example, usually recognized the ultimate futility of these personalizations, even if such thinking did in fact fuel much of the innate antipathy to predator species. There were occasional reproofs from headquarters to wardens who appeared to be harbouring wilderness creatures as pets, but these were the exception. By and large, though, wardens were too close to the realities of nature to romanticize it.

RG84, Vol. 17, P300, Part 5, Controller Williamson, to President W.E. Saunders, Federation of Ontario Naturalists, Toronto, January 23, 1940; ibid., Controller Williamson, to superintendent, PPNP, April 20, 1940. For example, when Dr. Clarke investigated the decrease in the park’s muskrat population in 1942, he acknowledged the assistance of the superintendent and the aid of a local resident who guided him through the park marches. Clarke makes no mention of a warden at the park. RG84, Vol. 17, P300, Part 5, Clarke, to Lloyd, June 4, 1942.

RG84, Vol. 4, PA300, Part 7, Dr. W.G.N. Van Der Sleen, Haarlem, Holland, report, June 25, [1939]; ibid., Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, July 22, 1939; ibid., Vol. 11, GB300, Part 1, Controller Williamson, to Park Officer R.H. Candy, Beausoleil Island, GBINP, June 10, 1940.

A Waterton Lakes’ warden was criticized in the 1920s for keeping a tame deer, but the charge appears to have been based on misunderstanding.
There was a period early in the war, however, when such personalizations did become popular, particularly at Prince Albert National Park. They were even encouraged, for a time, by parks’ publicists in Ottawa. Perhaps, they provided a respite from the gloomy news coming out of war-torn Europe. It may also be that these examples of the "taming of the wild" were in part sympathetic responses to the animated Hollywood films of the period—films in which animals were endowed with human characteristics, speech and even clothing. At any rate, it was a short-lived phenomenon in the national parks, and, by the mid-1950s, the romantic characterizations of the early 1940s were again officially frowned on and even suppressed, when they did appear.

Animals in their wilderness setting were recognized as one of the major attractions bringing tourists to the national parks. One of the strongest arguments against dissolving Buffalo National Park in the late 1930s was the perception that it was the only easily accessible locale, in which large numbers of people could hope to see the buffalo in their natural surroundings. This desire to provide visual spectacle also underlay much of the reluctance to close down the park garbage dumps, which drew bears into proximity with tourists. The strategic locating of salt licks was also a time-honored means of influencing animal behaviour for the benefit of park visitors. There were limits to such lines of thought, and, in retrospect, park officials considered that Grey Owl, for example, had crossed that line into unacceptably manipulative actions, when he made his "beaver people" dependent on humans for food. It had also gradually become part of parks policy during the 1930s that zoos were not compatible with the bureau's mandate, and those that existed were quietly closed down.83

In the summer of 1941, the Montreal Gazette published a photograph of popular actress Myrna Loy cuddling a deer fawn during her stay at Jasper Park Lodge.84 The caption to this publicity photo, supplied by the Canadian National Railway, which owned the lodge, described Miss Loy as having adopted "Peter the Deer" during her holiday stay in the park. A copy of the story was sent to parks' headquarters and filed without comment as a publicity piece. While this small feature story was outside the control of those who guided park policy, they were probably not disturbed by it. Similar stories were being generated by park personnel and publicized by headquarters' staff.

The first such instance came from Prince Albert in 1940, with the news that a park warden had captured a wolf and trained it to accept being harnessed to his dogsled. At first, the park superintendent simply informed Ottawa that H.E. "Harry" Harrison had caught two wolves in snares, one of which he "put to use ... in his dog team." Later, Supervising Warden Davies explained that the park wardens had, for some time, been discussing the possibilities and practicality of using a wolf on a dog team. Thus, when Harrison found a she wolf in a warden-set snare while on patrol, he decided to try the experiment. Harrison fashioned a muzzle using hay wire and boot lace, and hitched the wolf to his team. The combination worked, although not as smoothly as an all-dog team. Harrison kept the wolf chained near his cabin to prevent its escape and used it for several months with his team. Ultimately, Superintendent Knight, fearing that the wolf, which Harrison no longer

83 RG84, Vol. 4, PA300, Part 6, Warden Fred N. Russell, Crean Lake, District #2, to Strong, January 30, 1939; ibid., Part 7, Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, July 22, 1939. Part of the animosity against Grey Owl may be ascribed to his personality and his inability to work smoothly within the bureaucracy, but there was also a recognition that his techniques were intrusive. In Superintendent Knight's words: "The matter of having within a National Park men devoting the whole of their time to training or taming and care of wild animals for publicity or show purposes, is one that I am not in favour of...." Ibid., Vol. 4, PA300, Part 7, Superintendent Knight, PANP, to Mr. J.B. Kernaghan, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, May 8, 1939.

muzzled, would turn on him, ordered it destroyed and its pelt sent to Ottawa. In the interim, the story of the "tame" wolf had reached a nature writer in England; at his request, the National Parks Bureau's Superintendent of Publicity Robert Stead, wrote Prince Albert soliciting more detailed information.\(^{85}\)

By the fall of 1940, Harrison's "feat" had entered the realm of local folklore. Superintendent Knight provided headquarters with the following assessment: "For one man, alone in the wilds, to press into dog-team service an untamed wolf is something which has hardly been outdone even by the characters in Jack London's novels." Although park officials seemed unconcerned with the philosophical questions raised by efforts to tame wild animals, Publicity Superintendent Stead did realize that there was a strand of deceit in the Department's handling of the episode. When soliciting more information from Prince Albert's superintendent for the interested English writer, Stead agreed that the story "will make good publicity for the national parks" but added "I think it unnecessary to disclose the fact that the 'Daughter of White Fang' has come to such an untimely end."\(^{86}\)

Another similar tale emanating from the same park told of a young mule deer, "Harry," that had been shipped there after becoming domesticated and making a nuisance of itself in a nearby community. The deer immediately became the responsibility of several members of the park Warden Service and, following desultory efforts to reintroduce it to the wild, it became the companion of the same Warden Harrison of wolf fame. Soon, Harry was following the warden on his patrols, and, in this manner, came to the attention of headquarters' staff. Having cultivated a taste for chewing tobacco and tending to follow freight wagons, as they moved north through the park to logging operations, Harry was equipped with a bell and collar which, it was hoped, would give him some protection against predators. One day, Harry wandered off as was his habit, but never returned. Months later, Harrison found Harry's horns, head, and his bell and collar, not far from the Kingsmere district cabin.\(^{87}\)

Again, Harry's antics were celebrated widely through the park system, but his ultimate end received little publicity, and, again, no one questioned the propriety of using a wild creature as a virtual mascot in a national park. There were few precedents for such treatment as was accorded Prince Albert park's "tame" wolf and deer in the early 1940s, and no further such incidents were recorded. Similar circumstances at a mountain park in the 1950s were quickly discouraged by headquarters' staff.\(^{88}\) These incidents at Prince Albert National Park, and the manner in which they were treated

\(^{85}\) RG84, Vol. 3, PA300, Part 3, extract from superintendent's monthly report, PANP, February 1940. Harrison did the work of a warden but was officially employed as a labourer and an assistant to the wardens; ibid., Vol. 4, PA300, Part 7, Supervising Warden Davies, PANP, to Superintendent Knight, March 6, 1940; ibid., superintendent, publicity and information, Department of Mines and Resources, Robert J.C. Stead, to superintendent, PANP, June 26, 1940.

\(^{86}\) RG84, Vol. 1770, PA217, Part 1, Superintendent Herbert Knight, PANP, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, to controller, Ottawa, October 30, 1940; ibid., Vol. 4, PA300, Part 7, Stead, to superintendent, PANP, June 26, 1940. By this time, the wolf had been dead for several months.

\(^{87}\) RG84, Vol. 18, PA109, Part 3, Superintendent Herbert Knight, to controller, NPB, March 8, 1940; ibid., Vol. 1770, PA217, Part 1, Superintendent Herbert Knight, PANP, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, to controller, Ottawa, October 30, 1940.

\(^{88}\) These examples of wild animals being tamed or domesticated by park wardens do bring to mind the case of "Granny," the buffalo that was raised by hand at Buffalo National Park in the 1920s, when its mother died. Granny was a fixture at the park for many years and exhibited little shyness of man, unlike her siblings. Granny, however, remained part of the buffalo herd and never was put to domestic work or encouraged to follow the mounted wardens on their patrols. She remained simply an oddity that was usually around to impress visiting tourists.
in Ottawa, point to the ambivalence among park staff as to their role in maintaining the "natural order" in their domains.

In the early 1920s, a good predator was a dead predator, and the term "predator" was applied to a wide range of species. By the end of the decade, the list of predators had been drastically curtailed, and limits were set to the role of the wardens in their control.

Contemporary attitudes toward predator control are well-depicted in the efforts of Waterton Lakes officials to rid their park of wolves in the early 1920s. Pressured by local ranchers and their stock associations to destroy the estimated 20 wolves believed to be living in the park and preying on nearby domestic stock, Supervising Park Warden Herb Knight in 1921 recommended that Stoney Indians be permitted to track wolves in the park, as had been done the previous year. The ranchers objected to this arrangement and asked instead that provincial Game Guardian Henry Riviere be permitted to hunt in the park. Riviere, now a friend of Harkin and, since 1918, an honorary warden, explained that he would use his own husky sled-dogs for transportation, and kill and poison as bait several buck deer in the park. Knight, with the support of Howard Sibbald, objected to an outsider being allowed to hunt in the park, but they were overruled, and Riviere proceeded with his plans. The results were disappointing. Riviere managed to surprise and shoot two wolves early in March, but all his efforts with poison failed, and the disappearance of snow in May ended his attempts to track them. At no point during this episode, which involved headquarters' officials, park staff and nearby residents, was any question raised about the appropriateness of ridding the park of its wolf population. The following year, Ottawa authorized ten local residents to hunt wolves in the park, and they were duly appointed honorary game wardens for a three-month period.

While Waterton's wolves were being pursued, the wardens of all the western parks were directed "to keep a sharp look out for any puma [mountain lion or cougar] signs or tracks, and to shoot or otherwise destroy in whatever manner our regulations permit, pumas when encountered at large, and at any time of year." They were also under standing orders to destroy coyotes, whenever possible. In the east, at Point Pelee, Warden Garfield Finlayson was leading local residents on organized rabbit drives in the park.

The first indication of changing attitudes toward predators and their place in the parks appeared early in 1924, following a conference of federal and provincial game officials at Ottawa. Harkin asked each superintendent for a list of the species of animals and birds being destroyed as predators in his park. Harkin's interest reflected a viewpoint, best voiced by Also Leopold in his 1933 work, Game Management, that predators fulfilled a useful role and that their eradication would have negative effects. Active predator-control ceased in the U. S. Parks Service in 1935. The responses proved somewhat of a shock to the commissioner. Rocky Mountains Park Superintendent R. S. Stronach replied that his wardens were in the habit of killing the following mammals: coyotes, mountain lions,

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89 RG84, Vol. 16, W266, Part 1, Supervising Park Warden Knight, WLNP, to Harkin, February 8, 1921; ibid., Director of Park Animals Maxwell Graham, to Harkin, February 15, 1921; ibid., Dominion Parks Inspector Sibbald, to Harkin, March 5, 1921; Riviere, to Harkin, June 1, 1921; ibid., Vol. 162, W266, Part 1, Harkin, to Deputy Minister Cory, January 11, 1922. The individuals are listed by name in this document. Nine were local ranchers, and one was an experienced trapper.

90 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 38, G-3, Game, General Correspondence, 1918-21, Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, March 1, 1921. RG84, Vol. 16, P300, Part 2, Honorary Superintendent Conover, PPNP, to Harkin, January 17 and February 7, 1921. The first drive netted 122 rabbits; the second netted only ten.
lynx, wolverines, weasels, porcupines, pack rats, and, in some circumstances, squirrels and mink. Birds being eradicated included magpies, crows, ravens, eagles and five types of hawk. From Buffalo National Park, Harkin learned that coyotes, gophers and porcupines were being killed, as well as crows, magpies and, in one instance, blue herons. Harkin immediately informed the superintendent that blue herons were protected under the Canada-U.S. Migratory Birds Convention, but the range of species being killed troubled him too. In June, he began to narrow that range with the argument:

...that so many people are interested in seeing various forms of wild bird and mammal life, even though these be partially injurious, that only the kinds of mammals and birds, against which there is the strongest possible case, should be killed.\(^91\)

That fall, Harkin reiterated his determination "that there should be a strict tightening up in the matter of killing birds and mammals because these are alleged to be predatory." He directed that only wolves, wolverines and coyotes were to be trapped by the wardens in future. The skins of these animals were to be turned over to the superintendent who would sell them and pass the proceeds back to the wardens who had trapped them. The skins of other fur bearers, killed in error or, in the case of bears, as nuisances, were also to be turned over to the superintendent as property of the Department. The proceeds from these sales would remain with the government. In his Annual Report, Harkin explained:

...to make the National parks continue to represent... normal wild life conditions..., the Superintendents in charge have been instructed to proceed with caution in controlling various forms of wild life usually considered destructive. The Superintendents have full authority to control predatory animals that are damaging property, but no wholesale campaign against any mammal merely because it has utilized some other wild life in maintaining itself has been undertaken. This is regarded as important as tending to conserve fur bearers. For example the marten has been seriously reduced in numbers outside the park areas. One of the functions of the parks should be to serve as a reservoir for maintaining such important species.\(^92\)

This marked not only the beginnings of a tighter rein on predator control in the parks, but also the initial separation of the park warden from a traditional source of added income—trapping for the pelts of fur-bearing animals.

The wardens of the western parks in the 1920s had been selected largely for their practical skills, including the ability to hunt and trap predators. Many wardens had indeed been trappers before joining Her Majesty's service. Their salaries in the postwar, inflationary 1920s rose from a range of $960 to $1,320 up to $1,200 to $1,620. While this represented a modest income, trapping provided a substantial additional source of money—a source recognized and valued by the wardens.

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\(^91\) Dunlap, *Saving America's Wildlife*, pp. 69-74 and 89-92. FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 37, G3, Game Wardens and Game, 1923-26, superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, April 2, 1924. RG84, Vol. 59, BU300, Part I, Warden D.W. Davison, to Superintendent A.G. Smith, BuNP, January 28, 1924. Davison explained: "The Blue Heron has been seen in Buffalo Park to rob and eat the Wild Geese eggs, therefore, I have shot them." FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 37, G3, Game Wardens and Game, 1923-26, Harkin, to Superintendent Stronach, RMP, June 2, 1924.

Rosabelle Peyto, daughter of Warden Walter Peyto, recalled in reminiscences: "I can remember Mother having to put up 25 or 26 coyote hides at a time on the kitchen floor." Warden H.E. Walker of Buffalo National Park, for example, received $556 for the 46 coyote pelts he turned in during fiscal year 1926-27. His fellow wardens benefited to a lesser degree that year; D.W. Davison received $140, H.F. Dunning, $100 and E.J. "Bud" Cotton, $99. Income from trapping, based on these few figures, could range from ten percent to 50 percent of a warden's annual salary, depending on his skills and effort, and the availability of predators.  

All this was about to come to an end. In December 1927, Bill Peyto tested the restrictions on trapping income by keeping the pelt of a mountain lion that he had killed near his cabin on Healy Creek. After some discussion, and pressure from Ottawa, Peyto relented and turned in what he had characterized as "his property." The following spring, Harkin announced that, as of April 1, 1928, wardens would no longer be permitted to keep the fur of any animal, predator or not, trapped or killed in the parks.  

This directive also added cougars or mountain lions to the 1924 list of fur bearers (wolves, wolverines and coyotes) "that may be killed on sight." From now on, any killing of an animal other than the four listed species would require an explanation. There is little indication of how the wardens responded to this curtailment to their incomes, but the effective date was postponed to October 15, 1928. As well, the superintendent of Buffalo National Park was sufficiently apprehensive that he asked Ottawa for some official notification that he could show his wardens. He also pointed out that his wardens had kept dogs for the purpose of hunting coyotes and that they were not likely to be willing to continue incurring such an expense, if they could realize no profit from it.  

The ban against keeping predator hides was soon followed by a prohibition of trapping in the parks. In November, Harkin announced: "In future the use or possession of traps by park wardens is prohibited. Please notify all wardens accordingly, allowing them a limited period in which to dispose of any which are now in their possession." The wardens did react to this directive, so obviously intended to protect fur-bearing non-predators. Howard Sibbald, now superintendent of Kootenay National Park, summed up the arguments against a ban on trapping:

...is [it] the intention of the Department to discontinue the destruction of predatory animals within the Park? The trap is the only known means by which these animals may be kept down, for in a timbered district such as we have here, the chances of killing any of the animals listed with a rifle are very small and it will not be long before a howl will go up that we are protecting such animals to the(...)

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93 RG84, Vol. 613, C-2000-1, Part 10, Clerk of Privy Council Rodolphe Boudreau, Privy Council, 1126, April 12, 1921. Dixon, Silent Partners, p. 43. RG84, Vol. 55, BU262, Part 1, Superintendent Smith, BuNP, to Harkin, April 25, 1927. Two years earlier, Walker had received $576.00 for 52 coyote skins, ibid., April 11, 1925. Few references have been found to document the value of trapping to the wardens at this time, but the existing figures and the stubbornness with which they resisted change suggest that it was substantial.


95 RG84, Vol. 176, Y300, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, Yoho and Glacier parks, October 3, 1928; ibid., Vol. 55, BU262, Part 1, Superintendent Smith, BuNP, to Harkin, September 19, 1928; ibid., Vol. 59, BU300, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, BuNP, October 8, 1928.
Well aware that he was facing increasing resistance to the trapping ban from mountain park officials, Harkin laid the foundations of what would become a quota system to ensure that the wardens continued to pursue the now-limited list of park predators, in February 1929. Superintendents were asked to provide quarterly reports of each warden's wolf and coyote kills. Harkin also discovered that, while Rocky Mountain Park wardens had destroyed 54 coyotes in the year leading up to the twin ban on keeping pelts and using traps, their total in the subsequent year had been 17. Rather than the support he had come to expect for his policies in the mountain parks, Harkin met only sullen acquiescence. It was perhaps not surprising that Harkin penned the following lament concerning the Warden Service:

I write to especially impress on you the desirability and necessity of active steps on your part to increase the efficiency of the Wardens Service. As I pointed out when I was in the West, I believe our wardens are being exceedingly well treated. They not only have permanency of occupation but I believe the salaries now paid are as high or higher than salaries paid by private employers for similar work. In addition, our wardens are provided with cabins and equipment and receive holidays and sick leave. Finally, they enjoy the privileges of superannuation. In recent years, speaking generally, the impression has been growing with me that our wardens are not only not doing as much work as wardens did in the earlier days but that some of them at least are failing to realize just what their responsibilities are.... there is no portion of the Parks Service so vital to the welfare of the Parks as the Wardens Service....our wardens are being very well treated by the Department. Therefore, it is felt that the wardens, without exception, should play the game by the Department and give it the very best that is in them....I do not feel at all satisfied with the Warden Service. I am writing this to urge that you give your most earnest attention to this Service with a view to making it thoroughly efficient. To secure such an efficiency it may be necessary to dispense with the services of some individuals. It will, of course, be unfortunate for the individuals but they will in reality have nobody to blame but themselves.

As the decade of the 1930s unfolded, Harkin had predator-kill quotas imposed at each park to force compliance with his trapping ban. When he retired in 1936, park officials redoubled their campaign to reinstate trapping as a control measure. By the end of the decade, wardens at Prince Albert, Banff and Jasper had permission to use snares to catch coyotes, while, at Wood Buffalo, which had never been under Harkin's jurisdiction, wardens were using both traps and poison to keep down the wolf population. It is important to note, in following the evolving controversies, that no one advocated an end to the predator-destruction program. They simply disagreed on how it should be implemented. Although extermination of species was seldom openly advocated, in practice, a good wolf was still a dead wolf.

George Davies, supervising warden at Prince Albert, was perhaps the most determined voice against predators in the parks during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1931, he put the issue to his superintendent in the following terms:

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...the destruction of coyotes by firearms is extremely difficult, and about the only way that this problem can be dealt with is by trapping. I know that you are very much opposed to any trapping being allowed, but I am drawing the present situation to your attention as I feel that the situation is becoming serious.

Davies' boss, Superintendent Wood, added:

...G.L. Holden, Warden in District #3...informs me that in a recent patrol, he found evidence where five deer had been killed by coyotes. I am convinced that we cannot expect to keep these animals down by shooting. The Wardens have been carrying rifles all winter and the only animal that has been shot is one timber wolf. Very few coyotes have been seen.98

The response from Harkin's deputy, W.H.H. Williamson, was clearly a step toward wildlife management:

It is the desire to make the Parks true preserves for all wild things, not only for a few selected species...if the Parks are to be made true preserves for all wild life as is the recent effort they will become far more interesting than if they were used to protect a few species such as deer, etc....if the predators that are natural enemies, let us say, of deer, are killed, something must be done with the increasing deer population.

It is noted that following Canada's example of banning the use of traps in the parks, the Superintendents and officers of the U.S. National parks passed a resolution forbidding the use of steel traps in the U.S. Parks....Please impress...strongly on the warden staff ...the necessity...to keep the Park predators under proper control without the use of traps.99

In the following year, Prince Albert's Warden Service reported an actual attack by wolves, an extraordinary occurrence. Supervising Warden Davies wrote of the incident:

Warden Schermerhorn...saw six timber wolves coming toward him. He loaded his rifle and placed extra shells so they would be handy in case of emergency.

The wolves came on toward him in a crouching position. When in close rifle range warden Schermerhorn fired at the leading wolf. Four of the wolves ran a short distance away, the other two were very bold and although he fired a number of shots at the remaining two they did not show any sign of being scared. Owing to the toboggan horse being very nervous Schermerhorn was unable to take accurate aim. The weather was very cold 50 below zero, so he was unable to operate his rifle any longer bare handed [sic], he was compelled to drive away leaving the wolves standing. I might mention that he froze his fingers in the affray.100

The wolves in Wood Buffalo exhibited perhaps the most aggression. Wardens there frequently noted being stalked on their winter sled patrols. Occasionally, sled dogs were actually attacked, and, in more than one incident, a warden used his carbine to discourage possible attack.

Attitudes in the other parks mirrored those expressed by Prince Albert's staff. At Jasper in the fall of 1932, an exasperated Superintendent Rogers fumed to Harkin:

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...I am more impressed every day that Ecologists and other ‘gists’ to the contrary; the policy of preventing Wardens from trapping coyote is causing a most serious, and in my opinion, shameful waste of our wild life. I appreciate the difficulty of keeping down predatory animals by rifle fire. Very few of the Wardens are what I call good shots, and most good shots in the ordinary sense can do very little good with a rifle at running animals, and I would recommend most strongly that you reconsider the late instructions preventing the Warden Services [from] trapping predatory animals, ‘such as are permitted to be destroyed.’ We are being criticized every day for the failure to keep coyote under reasonable control.

A week later, Rogers wrote Ottawa again, arguing:

We shall of course carry on as per your ruling contained in this letter, but I am compelled to place myself on record as completely disagreeing with your finding. You seemingly do not appreciate that my request is governed by not only a very large number of coyote this Winter but the absolute fact that next winter and for many following ones the almost undisturbed breeding of these predatory animals is going to result in tremendous decimation of our game animals.

In December 1932, the Banff Crag and Canyon decried the current policy against pursuing coyotes or mountain lions, unless they were active near Banff or the motor roads. The editor wrote in part:

A few years ago wardens were permitted to trap and hunt predatory animals and during the years when they had this privilege such animals were kept in check. All of a sudden orders were issued that there was to be no further trapping of animals within the confines of the park, and since that time these animals have steadily increased until they threaten to exterminate sheep, goat and deer.

It is quite true that the wardens are supposed to kill coyotes whenever the opportunity occurs, which is not often, as these animals stay away from the beaten paths of travel. Insofar as lions are concerned, the wardens are not supposed to molest them unless they catch them in the act of killing other animals, and how often in a lifetime would this occur?

Two weeks later, the Crag and Canyon again took up the cause of trapping predators and, at the same time, provided more insight as to what individual wardens stood to lose or gain in the controversy. The editor argued:

When wardens were allowed to use traps, coyotes were kept down to a minimum, as the wardens had an incentive to make it their business to catch every coyote possible and in doing so patrolled their territory thoroughly. Quite true, the wardens made good money, but they were doing their work, and predatory animals were held in check.

The trapping privileges of the wardens, so it has been said, led to jealousy on the part of a Superintendent in one of the western parks. His chief guardian was making more money than he was and he concocted the scheme of taking the trapping privilege from the wardens by advocating the policy of ‘letting nature take its course.’ This policy was adopted by the department at Ottawa and...what a sorry mess this policy is making of our game.
Harkin’s stand had been formed in dialogues with conservationists and game managers in the 1920s and was based, in large part, on the need to preserve the country’s dwindling stock of fur-bearing animals—animals that could be too easily taken, in any unrestricted trapping campaign against park predators. His views were also mirrored in the official instructions, under which rangers worked in the U.S. national parks.\(^{104}\) His response to this growing opposition was the "Policy Governing Predatory Animal Control in the National Parks of Canada":

The following predatory animals should be shot on sight: Wolf, Coyote, Wolverine and Cougar.

Dogs, the property of the wardens, may be used in the hunting of Cougars.

If at any time the number of predators should appear to the Superintendent from the reports of his Warden Service to have increased to an extent which threatens to seriously upset the balance of wild life within his Park, he shall report the matter to Head Office in order that such extraordinary measures as seem advisable may be taken.

No animal, other than wolf, coyote, wolverine and cougar, shall be killed unless it is a menace to human life or is causing serious damage to property. Whenever any animal, other than those mentioned above, is killed, a full report should be submitted to Head Office.

The use of traps for the capture of predatory animals is prohibited....

The hide or pelt of any park animal trapped or killed or taken by accident shall be turned in to the Superintendent, who shall dispose of the same to the best advantage, and the proceeds from the sale of such hide or pelt shall be credited to the Department. A report of the hides or pelts so procured, showing the number on hand, by whom procured, the number disposed of and the price received therefore should be submitted quarterly.

The Superintendent should impress on his Warden Service the importance of keeping a full and careful record of animals seen by the Wardens in their respective districts in order that the annual lists of 'Number of predatory animals seen and number killed by Warden Service' and 'Estimated number of wild animals in any given Park' may be as accurate as possible.

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\(^{104}\) RG84, Vol. 14, J300, Part 5, Acting Director Arno B. Cammerer, NPS, Washington, to all superintendents and custodians, September 10, 1931, encloses the following rules about predatory animal control in U.S. national parks published in *Journal of Mammalogy*, Vol. 12, #2, May 1931, pp. 185-86:

"The National Park Service believes that predatory animals have a real place in nature, and that all animal life should be kept inviolate within the parks. As a consequence, the general policies relative to predatory animals are as follows:

1. Predatory animals are to be considered an integral part of the wildlife protected with national parks and no widespread campaigns of destruction are to be countenanced. The only control practised is that of shooting coyotes or other predators when they are actually found making serious inroads on herds of game or other mammals needing special protection.

2. No permits for trapping within the borders of a park are allowed. A resolution opposing the use of steel traps within a park was passed several years ago by the superintendents at their annual meeting.

3. Poison is believed to be a non-selective form of control and is banned from the national parks except where used by park Service officials in warfare against rodents in settled portions of a park or in case of emergency.

Although provision is made for the handling of special problems which may arise, it is the intention of the Service to hold definitely to these general policies. It can be seen, therefore, that within the national park system definite attention is given to that group of animals which elsewhere are not tolerated. It is the duty of the National Park Service to maintain examples of the various interesting North American mammals under natural conditions for the pleasure and education of the visitors and for the purpose of scientific study, and to this task it pledges itself."
The following species of birds may be killed:—Goshawk, Cooper's Hawk, Great Horned Owl, Crow and Magpie. Great care should be taken that no useful species of Hawk is killed. Very often beneficial species are mistaken for injurious ones. If there be any doubt as to the recognition of the species, the benefit should be given to the bird. In the mountain areas no special effort need be given to kill the magpie, especially so in the vicinity of the camps, as these birds afford a great interest and attraction to tourists.\(^{105}\)

As can be imagined, Ottawa's instructions were not well-received. Kootenay's Acting Superintendent J.W. Rutledge, immediately responded with a request that his wardens be permitted to use snares against predators. When outside interests, acting as advocates for the wardens and representing local hunting interests continued to press the case for trapping, an internal memorandum advised the Minister of the Interior:

We...believe...the agitation is instigated by our own wardens. The remedy lies in insisting that our wardens perform the duties for which they are amply remunerated. It should not be necessary to bonus our wardens to induce them to perform their duties and, if necessary, there should be a change in personnel and supervision....There never was a time when we could get better men for the remuneration which we are paying the wardens.\(^{106}\)

Finally, in October 1933, Harkin issued an ultimatum to his troops in the field and laid down the basis for a quota system for predators to be established and followed in each park. Harkin's determination, and his exasperation, are evident in the following directive:

You will recall that when in the West I discussed with you the question of the reduction of predatory animals to reasonable numbers. You will also recall that it was distinctly understood that this reduction must be brought about, not through the use of traps but through the use of fire arms.

This is to advise you that it is imperative that you forthwith proceed with the organization and development of plans for effecting this purpose. It is first your duty and then the duty of the Chief Warden to see that intelligent and adequate plans are prepared. It is then your duty and the duty of the Chief Warden to see that these plans are efficiently carried out.

You are aware that the first essential in this connection is the fixing of a monthly quota of predators for each warden which you consider a reasonable quota of such a warden. Such quota, of course, has to be fixed in the light of conditions in the area covered by the warden. Naturally, wardens who are working in large valleys will find many more opportunities for killing coyotes than officers who may be located in remote, high areas. Not only are you to fix a quota for each warden but you are to thoroughly plan the work with regard to each warden so that he will have no excuses whatever at the end of the month if he fails to get his quota. I want to stress two things in this connection. In the first place, a warden if he were using traps would have to use bait. There is no objection whatever to his using bait, in fact there is every need that he should use bait, in connection with his duties of killing with fire arms. I cannot see why, if a coyote can be attracted to a trap by bait, it cannot be attracted to a suitably located hide in which the warden is located. The second point I want to stress is that a warden's activities are not to be confined simply to a set period of time, say from seven or eight in the morning until five o'clock at night. He is to work in connection with the reduction of predators such hours and at such times as will best serve the purpose in view. In this connection I want to point out

\(^{105}\) RG84, Vol. 176, Y300, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendents, YNP, GNP, MRP, WLN, PANP, RMNP, KNP, EINP and BuNP, March 30, 1933.

that if the wardens were not government employees but were endeavouring to earn their living by killing coyotes and other predators, they would not restrict themselves to any particular hours or times but would carry on their work at such times and under such conditions as were most favourable for success.

It is necessary that you immediately send to Ottawa full details of the plans and the instructions, including the quota for each warden, which you have decided on. It is necessary that, in advance, you send here each month the quota you have decided on for each warden for each month, also that at the end of each month you send a report showing the number of predators killed by each warden in relation to his quota. I may say in this connection that the minister has given instructions that these returns are to be submitted to him personally. You will therefore recognize the necessity of prompt action.

You will recall that during the past winter there was a great deal of criticism of the Parks Service in connection with the destruction of big game by coyotes and other predators. It is up to you and your staff to see that this coming winter there will be no legitimate ground for complaint in this connection.

It is important that you impress on each warden the necessity of his making a success of this predator work. His efficiency in the Service will be judged by what he accomplishes this winter. If there are wardens who are not reasonably good shots, it is the duty of the Chief Warden to see that these men receive proper instruction in that connection. Plans and methods to be formulated by you and the Chief Warden for carrying out the hunting will, of course, be explained to each warden. At the same time the wardens must be impressed with the idea that they have a personal responsibility for planning the work so as to get the ultimate in efficiency.

Steps will be taken to furnish you with such a number of shotguns as you may require, if you consider that more satisfactory results can be obtained from the use of shot guns than from the use of rifles. You should indicate the number of shot guns you require.\footnote{107}

Harkin's stratagem was a clever one, which evaded the basic contradictions implicit in his predator policy and placed the onus for success entirely on the wardens. It was also a warning that the wardens could hardly ignore. While Banff Warden Bill Neish pointed out that coyotes and wolves could not be lured into ambush with baits, quotas were soon being set in each park.\footnote{108} These quotas, usually the responsibility of the supervising warden, were based on patrol districts and took into account the nature of the terrain, the prevalence of predators and the marksmanship skills of the incumbent warden. The results, almost universally, were disappointing. Firstly, the original quotas, established late in 1933 and early the next year, were never met, and, secondly, the numbers of predators destroyed under the new system lagged far behind the figures of the 1920s, when wardens could trap and had the incentive of profiting from the pelts. The wardens had, collectively and with the tacit support of their immediate superiors, dug in their heels.

When he initially reviewed the results of his directive in February 1934, Harkin was disappointed to find that the wardens had averaged just one coyote kill each over the three-month period. At Banff, Superintendent Jennings set individual quotas for November 1933, but none of the wardens were successful in meeting these. At the end of the month, LaCasse had killed four coyotes, Gladstone two and Murphy one. Jasper's Superintendent Rogers blamed heavy snow and bad

\footnote{107} RG84, Vol. 7, B300, Part 3, Harkin, to [superintendents, mountain parks], October 17, 1933.

\footnote{108} RG84, Vol. 7, B300, Part 3, wardens Robert D. Barnewst and W.D. Neish, to superintendent, BNP, November 19, 1933.
weather for the single coyote taken in December 1933 and set his quotas lower, while indicating in his reports that observing and killing predators were two quite separate processes. At the end of 1934, the superintendents at Banff, Prince Albert and Riding Mountain remained on record as advocating the renewed use of traps in their parks.

In his last two years as Commissioner of the National Parks, Harkin continued to maintain his course. He reaffirmed his weapons policy in the spring of 1935. In the same year, writing to Jennings at Banff, he underlined his refusal to reconsider the pelt question:

...the control of predatory animals in a National Park is one of the main duties of the Warden Service and this function would not be lost sight of. If you are aware of a warden who does not wish to follow your instructions to undertake work of this nature please advise me fully. Harkin also took special aim at the wardens of Banff for their poor performance:

During the last fiscal year only thirty-five coyotes and one cougar were taken by the Banff Wardens and of these thirty-five predators, twenty were taken by the Peytos. This is indeed a very poor showing on the part of the other wardens, and compares very poorly with the results in the other parks. In Jasper Park seventy-six predators were taken during the period referred to; in Kootenay Park the number was twenty-two; and Waterton Lakes Park, twenty four.

I am quite aware that it is difficult to kill coyotes with rifles in forest country, but from a comparison of the number of predators taken in Banff with the number taken under similar conditions in other Parks, it is evident that the Banff Wardens are either inefficient or are indifferent in actively carrying on this branch of their work.

A report comes from Kootenay Park that Warden Brewer accounted for two coyotes in Banff Park while journeying to Banff, but it appears that his action has been frowned down on by some of the Banff Wardens, and on that account Warden Brewer desisted from further activity while within Banff Park. Please make enquiry and let me have a report on this point.

Warden Brewer or any other Park Warden, under similar circumstances, would be justified, in fact it would be his duty, to shoot coyotes in Banff Park whenever the opportunity to do so occurred.

The dispute continued to spill outside the park administration with conservationists lining up against hunting interests and the occasional outspoken warden. In December 1935, Dan McCowan, "Banff's naturalist," wrote to the Crag and Canyon objecting to a new park campaign against cougar and deploring the recent killing of a black bear that had destroyed some tourist's equipment. This opinion elicited a response from none other than Bill Peyto who wrote:

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After reading the article of Mr. Dan McCowan on the animal life of the Park, I became interested, as I have studied animal life in all its phases for quite a number of years. I have collected fossils of several periods; the skulls of most all of our animal life and have studied the animals in life in all seasons and occasionally have kept some animals alive in order to study. Have done likewise with our birds. I have also collected specimens from ancient Indian camps; have collected the minerals in the mountains and have studied the rock formations, etc. The genial Dan must have been suffering under a greater strain than he realized, due to his arduous lecture tour, or he would not have given out any such interview.

I'm quite sure that he would not be looking for such a low controversy as is sometimes indulged in by some naturalists, and the people of Banff should persuade him to take a long holiday during the coming summer.

‘BILL PEYTO’ 113

Cowan's arguments also attracted attention in the Calgary Herald, where a Lake Louise resident, identified only as "T.H.W." wrote in rebuttal:

I was pleased to read your editorial with reference to Dan McCowan's ballyhoo over the killing of cougar in the park. I think the park authorities can be depended on to preserve this 'balance of life' as he calls it, without letting the country be overrun with an animal which, while generally more or less cowardly, still, in the final analysis is slumbering dynamite. The same applies to the bears, which are a confounded nuisance to campers and no novelty, as the whole North American continent is dotted with zoos where one may with safety view practically, every variety of animal life existing. Of course you can easily understand Dan's interest in the matter. The driving out of these animals would deprive him of material for his lectures about the animal life in the National Park. I would suggest we keep the park for the people instead of a lot of damned wild animals.114

Not everyone appreciated either Dan's arguments or the subtleties of Commissioner Harkin's views on predator control in the national parks.

Harkin did not meet universal opposition to his predator-control policies within the parks themselves. In one celebrated incident just after the quota system was imposed, Waterton Lakes' Acting Chief Warden John C. Holroyd Sr., managed to kill five coyotes in one day. Holroyd had taken advantage of a recent heavy snowfall to achieve his feat. Harkin sent a copy of his account to every park superintendent in the system for circulation among the wardens as an example of what could be done with the proper attitude.115 Holroyd, no doubt, became, for a time, the wardens' least popular warden.

Harkin's policies also received a boost from a conference of federal and provincial game officials held in Ottawa just after his retirement. The conference adopted a number of resolutions regarding wildlife conservation in Canada, including recommendations against the use of poison or snares in hunting fur-bearing animals and another calling for humane methods of trapping.116

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114 RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, clipping, Calgary Herald, January 6, 1936.
115 RG84, Vol. 7, B300, Part 3, Acting Chief Warden J. C. Holroyd, WLPN, to Superintendent H. Knight, November 13, 1933.
retirement, however, the way was open for his opponents to press again for change in the conservation and wildlife-management policies of the federal parks.

Superintendent Wood of Prince Albert National Park quickly took up the issue of predator control with Controller Williamson. Referring first to his past efforts, Wood argued:

Further unnecessary delay will merely result in a great deal of unfavourable publicity for Prince Albert National Park. I believe that so much has appeared in the newspapers in this Province with regard to the situation that many people must believe that a large proportion of the wolves in Northern Saskatchewan breed in the National Park....I believe that, if the present 'do nothing' policy is continued, it may result in decreased tourist attendance due to the fear of predatory animals.

Any policy of action, even though not successful perhaps in ridding the Park of the wolves to any extent, if publicized, so as to convince people that some action is being taken, might be well worth the trouble.\(^\text{117}\)

Soon Wood was writing of the number of wolves in the northern portion of the Park as being "considerably above normal" and recommending that:

...I be granted the authority to purchase a small quantity of poison, and that this poison be handed to Warden Hubel, who is an old trapper and has had considerable experience in poisoning wolves. This action would, if properly supervised, silence all criticism of the Parks' administration, and at the same time would not endanger the animal and bird life in the Park, and would provide a suitable control measure without any possibility of exterminating the wolves.\(^\text{118}\)

Williamson rejected Wood's suggestion, pointing out:

If poison were used there is the danger of criticism being levelled at the Department for several reasons:

1. No matter how careful poison is handled it is always a menace to other fur-bearers and to bird life.
2. The proximity of Indian Reserves and consequent dangers to Indian dogs [must be considered].
3. Most of the Park area is almost entirely surrounded by country where trappers are active and these trappers would soon become familiar with the fact that poison is being used and would blame the officials of this Bureau for any scarcity of fur in the vicinity of the Park.
4. There is, as you are aware, very strong sentiment against the use of poison. Recently on [sic] the western press there has been a number of articles condemning trappers who use poison.

For these and other reasons the use of poison in the National Parks, even under the most careful supervision, cannot be permitted.

The cycle of predator abundance has now reached its maximum and, therefore, it is only to be expected that there will be more wolves now than for a number of years in the future. Were we to permit poisoning in any of the National Parks at this peak of abundance, even though the poisoning campaign was practically ineffective, it would undoubtedly be represented that the natural decline in

\(^{117}\) RG84, Vol. 1770, PA266, Part I, Superintendent Wood per Philip Shaw, to controller, February 26, 1937.
\(^{118}\) Ibid., Superintendent Wood, PANP, to controller, NPB, March 15, 1937.
the number of wolves in the area so treated would be attributable to the poisoning campaign against
the predators, which would, of course, be absolutely contrary to fact since nature would be applying
her own remedy in decreasing the numbers. 119

At Banff and Jasper, controversy continued unabated on park predator-control policy, with special
emphasis on the issue of cougar roaming the park. In 1935, Harkin had permitted the introduction
of hunting dogs into the parks under the control of a professional hunter in Banff, and wardens
Wells, Nelles and Bryant at Jasper. The latter destroyed seven cougar over the winter of 1935-36.
By mid-1938, however, pressure was again building among interest groups in the park for another
effort against the cougar. The vice president of the Alberta Fish and Game Association lobbied
Williamson for a more active response to the cougar problem in Banff and argued in part that: "a
great many of the game wardens are too old." What was needed, he claimed, was the reintroduction
of trapping and the hiring of some younger men who would be permitted to keep the pelts of animals
they hunted down. Williamson came to the defence of Banff’s wardens claiming:

As regards the age of the Wardens I may say that we have several men in the prime of life and the
only man to handle the lion dogs last winter is young and one of the best men on skiis, snoeshoes
[sic], or on foot in the Park. 120

Pressure for change continued to emanate as well from within the parks. In September 1938,
Superintendent Wright of Jasper complained that: "the use of the shotgun or rifle as the only method
permitted in destroying these predators does not give the Wardens a fair chance as these animals are
hard to approach and do most of their killing at night." He suggested "that trapping be permitted by
Wardens at the superintendent's discretion and under the direction of the Supervising Warden." 121
Back at Prince Albert, Supervising Warden George Davies confided to his superintendent his view
that:

....wolves are very leery animals, and it is impossible to control their numbers by shooting. I
personally think that some drastic means should be taken to exterminate them, or to keep them down
to a point where they would not destroy the game in such numbers as they are now doing. 122

These persistent calls for change brought some results early in 1939. Dr. C.W. Clarke of the
Wildlife Protection Branch suggested in February of that year that the staff at Prince Albert be
provided with 200 wire snares for taking wolves. Clarke acknowledged that there was no need for
such action from a game-preservation perspective, because wolves in the park did not seem overly
numerous. The recommendation was made "to please public opinion" and to defuse the growing
popular view that wolves were multiplying in the park, and causing damage both in and outside its

119 Ibid., Controller Williamson, to superintendent, PANP, May 1, 1937.
120 RG84, Vol. 7, B300, Part 4, clipping, Crag and Canyon, Banff, November 15, 1935; ibid., Vol. 14, J300, Part 5,
Superintendent Wright, JNP, to Harkin, November 22, 1935; ibid., Vol. 14, J300, Part 5, Superintendent Wright, JNP, to Harkin,
December 12, 1935; ibid., Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, W.C. Fisher, vice-president, Alberta Fish and Game Association, Calgary, to
Williamson, July 6, 1938; ibid., Jennings, to Williamson, July 21, 1938.
121 RG84, Vol. 14, J300, Part 5, Superintendent Wright, JNP, to Director R.A. Gibson, Lands, Parks and Forests Branch,
Department of Mines and Resources, September 8, 1938.
122 RG84, Vol. 1770, PA266, Part 1, Supervising Warden George Davies, headquarters' cabin, PANP, to superintendent,
PANP, December 5, 1938.
boundaries. The suggestion was accepted, reluctantly, by Director Gibson.

Gibson had a low opinion of the abilities, and the initiative, of the current Warden Service. In fact, he placed much of the blame for existing predator-control problems squarely in the laps of the wardens themselves. In November 1939, he gave his views of the wardens in a remarkable memorandum to his deputy, Controller Williamson. Gibson wrote:

No doubt a great deal of our difficulty about predators has arisen from the fact that a certain type of warden never abandons the idea that in addition to his quite adequate salary and perquisites he should also be given the right to hunt and trap in the park for his own profit. Moreover, there are certain wardens that are too lazy to try and kill predators which are usually wary. This same type of warden is usually quite loquacious and will attempt to convince anyone who will listen to him that traps or poison should be permitted. I don't think Dr. Clarke, nor anyone else, needs to worry much over any warden staff that we can hire under present conditions being sufficiently active to reduce the number of predators unduly.

What we really need is a better type of warden who can study the situation so that he can note quickly any tendency that is likely to impair the wild life situation in the park. These men should have sufficient background to enable them to recognize conditions and to recommend a remedy. I doubt whether many of the present staff could actually identify all the animals, birds and fish, and it might be a good idea to furnish those who have insufficient information with data on the subject and compel them to pass certain tests when they are called up for the wardens' school each year.124

Williamson, who had no alternative but to work with the current staff, then turned to Banff and Jasper's superintendents, asking them if the existing warden rifles were adequate and if they thought one or two "thoroughly reliable Wardens" should be chosen from each park to experiment with snares for predators. Not surprisingly, Jasper's new superintendent, James Wood, who had just come from the superintendency at Prince Albert, wanted new rifles—with more firepower—and authorization to have his wardens "experiment" with snares. Wood explained that the wardens had good weapons, but that these were personal equipment, and he wanted them using government-issued arms. He wrote of his preferences:

There is little doubt but what the 6.5 Mannlicher Schoenaur are the most suitable rifles for issue to the Service, but I understand that there is little possibility of obtaining these rifles. My next choice would be the 270 Winchester. It is a fairly light rifle, short, hard hitting with a flat trajectory and heavy enough even for grizzlies. If it is impossible to purchase this type of rifle my next choice would be the 250-3000 Savage.125

123 Ibid., Part 1, C.W. Clarke, to Hoyes Lloyd, February 8, 1939.
124 RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, Director Gibson, to Williamson, November 21, 1939.
125 RG84, Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, Controller Williamson, to superintendent, JNP, March 1, 1939; ibid., Superintendent Wood, JNP, to Controller Williamson, March 11, 1939. Wood gave the following list of weapons in use by the Warden Service at Jasper:

3 30-30 Winchester carbine (government issue)
2 250-3000 Savage (government issue)
2 6.5 Mannlicher Schoenaur carbines (privately owned)
1 30-06 Springfield (privately owned)
1 30-06 Winchester (privately owned)
1 32 Winchester Special (privately owned)
1 30 Remington (privately owned)
At Banff, Jennings described the warden weapons as "1896-1898 Lee Enfields that were issued to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and condemned before being issued to Banff National Park." He suggested that they be replaced with late-model army issues but stressed that the weapons should be lightweight. The wardens, travelling as they did by skis and snowshoes in winter, favoured a lighter weapon. Jennings too was interested in using snares in his park and suggested that wardens W.H. Peyto, E. Stenton and W. Child be authorized to try them out.

In March 1939, Williamson forwarded 200 wire snares to Prince Albert National Park. He gave but a brief description of the snaring process, adding drolly: "It is presumed that the technique of snaring is familiar to some at least of the wardens." Williamson also argued "that the policy of the Bureau regarding predatory animals has not been changed in any way." He acknowledged that "it is inevitable that other animals, particularly deer, will be caught at times, until experience is gained in avoiding them." Finally, he warned the superintendent: "It is considered undesirable that snaring operations should be brought to the attention of the public, and therefore there should be no newspaper publicity." Despite Williamson's denial, the fact was that policy had changed. By the eve of the Second World War, predator control in the national parks was again wholesale and indiscriminate. The pressures from within and without the parks system that Harkin had resisted for over a decade had proven too much for his successors. They too, in time, would be drawn back to a narrower policy of destruction.

Questions of predator control unfolded differently in Wood Buffalo National Park, in part, because of its unique mandate permitting limited hunting and trapping, and, in part, because it was administered by a different agency of the federal government. Staff at Wood Buffalo were not much concerned with wolves in the decade after park establishment in 1922. Their primary conservation responsibility was the buffalo, which hardly seemed in danger from wolf predation. In 1933, however, Warden Robert J. Allan uncovered evidence that indicated that wolves could indeed destroy buffalo in some circumstances. In 1935, a limited poisoning program was initiated against the wolves in "a very small portion of the Park," using strychnine procured from the U.S. Bureau of Biological Survey. The wardens reported nine kills in the first year, ten in 1936 and two up to the date of their report in March 1937. The poison was dipped in fish or seal oil, and placed in horse or buffalo carcasses. The program, it was noted, had claimed two foxes and five ravens as well as the wolves. In its defence, the wardens pointed out that both wolves had buffalo meat in their stomach contents. The report also admitted that the wardens had little success in shooting wolves prior to the experiments with poison. Following a patrol in January 1939, Warden Allan estimated that there were perhaps 2,000 wolves in the park, a situation that he felt was getting out of hand. Soon, the wardens were directed to set

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1  303 Lee Enfield (government issue)
2  303 Lee Enfield (government issue - old model)

126  RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, Jennings, to Williamson, March 13, 1939.
traps and poison bait for wolves, as well as carry rifles on their patrols. By the end of the decade, then, the predator-control policy for this northernmost park had escalated beyond anything attempted in the system of parks run by the National Parks Bureau. It would not be too long, however, before notices warning of poisoned bait would be posted in southern parks as well.

The debate on predator species and their place in the parks continued on through the war years. Increasingly, officials at headquarters, and in the individual parks, came to agree that carnivores did indeed occupy a legitimate niche in the hierarchy of wildlife in the parks. During the war, and in the ensuing decade, controversy centred on the nature of that role and the numbers of predators to be maintained. With the ever-growing need for annual elk slaughters in the mountain parks, it was becoming more difficult to justify a predator policy aimed at eradicating wolves and cougars. These carnivores could not destroy healthy adult elk, but they were a threat to young, old and sickly animals. As well, by harrying the herds, they could have broken up the elk concentrations that led to localized overfeeding and food-source depletion. Ironically, the wardens now fulfilled the function of the predators that they had helped to suppress. There were not many who recognized or appreciated that irony at the time.

Early in 1940, Jasper's wardens were specifically directed to cease hunting predators in the park. Controller Williamson wrote to the superintendent:

...tell the wardens that under existing policy there was to be no extermination of any predatory animals, which are conceded to have a natural role to fill in any National Park. In consequence the spending of many hours in hunting without results is in itself evidence that the predators are not abundant enough to justify the time spend [sic] on them.

In April 1940, Ottawa issued another directive restricting the killing of predators. These headquarters' initiatives were based on studies done by biologists such as R.M. Anderson, and Drs. Clarke and McTaggart-Cowan. By this time, park reports of predator problems were largely being discounted in Ottawa. As Controller Williamson confided to Dr. Clarke in March 1941: "...some of the [Jasper] Wardens, in view of their enthusiasm for the killing of predators, are apt to exaggerate as to the number of predators within their district." Later in the same year, Clarke was called on to refute charges by local residents that predators were rampant in Banff and Jasper parks, and that game animals were consequently being decimated. One such claim, that a cougar kill had occurred just 100 yards from the Banff hospital, was actually, Clarke discovered on investigation, a kill "made by a predator of the species Homo sapiens...."

It should not be thought that the wardens were being directed to put away their firearms; their role remained one of active intervention in the maintenance of a balance of species in the parks. For example, when de facto Warden Peter Tonch at Georgian Bay Islands reported, in the winter of 1943, having found the carcasses of several deer killed by wolves in deep snow, he was reminded

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129 Ibid., Part 3, agent and superintendent, WBNP, M. Meikle, to Director R.A. Gibson, Lands, Parks and Forests Branch, Department of Lands and Resources, January 3, 1939; ibid., Gibson, to Meikle, January 12, 1939.
130 RG84, Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, extract from superintendent's monthly report, JNP, January 1940; ibid., Controller Williamson, to superintendent, February 12, 1940.
131 RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, Clarke's wildlife report as released April 22, 1940; ibid., Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, Controller F.H.H. Williamson, to Dr. C.H.D. Clarke, March 17, 1941; ibid., memo, Clarke, to Lloyd, September 25, 1941.
"while on patrol duty you should carry a rifle on the chance of being able to destroy one or more of
the wolves." At the same time, the wardens of Prince Albert were setting snares for wolves, a
program that had been started just before the outbreak of war and continued now, despite the
opinion, expressed by Dewey Soper, that there were not many wolves left in the park.132

Reports continued to issue from Jasper warning of growing numbers of predators, but Clarke, who
had studied and monitored wildlife populations at both Jasper and Banff parks for several years,
dismissed them as reflecting local prejudices. He wrote Hoyes Lloyd following a monthly report
from Jasper early in 1943:

The Supervising Warden [Phillips] dislikes cougars and other predators and when I was there wanted
to start a Spitfire fund with the park marten. This is not to be taken as meaning that he is a poor
supervising warden, but I do think that one is justified in making allowances for the coloured
magnifying glasses in reading his statements on predators. If this is done, it is seen that the cougar
situation in Jasper is quite comparable with Banff. So is the wolf and coyote situation.133

Dr. McTaggart-Cowan, who was already scheduled to conduct studies in Banff and Jasper parks that
summer, was asked to report specifically on the increased predator observations of Jasper's wardens.
McTaggart-Cowan recommended, after extensive travel with the wardens in their respective districts,
"that we destroy as many [wolves] as we can north of the Athabaska River." Nevertheless, in his
final report, available by the end of 1943, McTaggart-Cowan overemphasized overcrowding as more of a hazard
to the park wildlife populations than predators. In a summary of his views on predator-control
problems in the national parks, penned early in 1945, Dr. McTaggart-Cowan painted a stark picture
of the wardens' antipathy to carnivores. He wrote in part to Controller Smart:

It is most unfortunate that it seems to be so difficult to get the warden service, and in some cases the
higher local administrative staff, to realize that they are not running a game reserve but supervising
a national park. The gamekeeper attitude of immediate antipathy toward any carnivore will keep
cropping up. Perhaps however we can legitimately hope that the time will arise when the reaction to
situations such as this will be 'Here is something that needs study' rather than the current reaction of
jumping to immediate conclusions and going for a gun.134

McTaggart-Cowan also recognized the pivotal role of the Warden Service and requested that they
be asked to take special note of wolf behaviour in their districts, and to record game kills and
circumstances when possible; in short, to help to provide the basic data required to determine the
actual effects that such carnivores were having on the balance of species in the parks. In time, this
would become one of the major contributions of the Warden Service in their larger role as "guardians
of the wild."

Probably the most vocal advocate of a strenuously enforced predator-control policy in the national
parks was George Davies, the supervising warden of Prince Albert National Park. Davies believed

132 RG84, Vol. 11, GB300, Part 1, Controller Smart, to Peter Tonch, GBINP, February 6, 1943; ibid., Vol. 1770, PA266,
Part 1, Controller J. Smart, to superintendent, PANP, February 16, 1943; ibid., Chief Federal Migratory Bird Officer for Prairie
provinces J. Dewey Soper, to Controller J. Smart, NPB, March 19, 1943.

133 RG84, Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, Clarke, to Lloyd, March 22, 1943.

134 Ibid., Controller J. Smart, to Dr. Ian McTaggart-Cowan, Department of Zoology, University of British Columbia, April
9, 1943; ibid., Controller J. Smart, to Director Gibson, October 18, 1943; ibid., Clarke, to Lloyd, December 17, 1943; ibid., Vol. 137,
B266, Part 1, McTaggart-Cowan, to Smart, January 13, 1945.
that the philosophy espoused by headquarters’ officials, particularly those in the Wildlife Protection Branch, was based on erroneous assumptions and would only lead to a decline of game animals in the parks. On one occasion in 1943, Davies wrote a long memorandum in exasperation to his Superintendent Herb Knight:

...for a number of years I have reported on wolves in Prince Albert National Park, and the only results [sic] has been criticism, with Head Office’s opinion that nature be allowed to take its course. As you know snares were furnished as an experiment only, and in no case have they been reported as a very successful method of destroying wolves....I have pointed out that wolves are very shy animals, seldom coming in range for accurate shooting, and side-stepping snares quite often.

There is no doubt but that we have too many wolves roaming in the Park for the good of our game animals. Caribou have practically disappeared from their regular haunts of a few years ago, with moose and deer having quite a time to hold their own as to numbers. Elk are increasing in the south portion of the Park, and I don’t think that the wolves frequent this area as often as the north portion. During two days of snowshoeing last week in a remote area, between the Heart Lakes, Crean Lake and Kingsmere I was very surprised at the absence of game animals, and saw one deer killed by wolves on Kingsmere Lake. It was an appalling sight, with blood scattered over an area of one third of a mile from shore, with signs of a terrible struggle no weakling could make. Another instance I could relate of a male elk which was dragged down by wolves near the Heart Lake portage. This must have been a fine specimen judging [by] its antlers. Warden [Roy] Hubel told me after investigating that the elk had been down numerous times before it was killed. Animals have been found alive partly eaten by wolves, and it is time that some drastic means be taken to destroy these marauders, both in the National Park and the Province. The idea of nature keeping a balance may apply in small areas where game increase to a point where disease may set in and food gets scarce, but surely with an area of this National Park, there is lots of room for game expansion.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 21, PA300, Part 2, Supervising Warden George Davies, PANP, to Superintendent Knight, headquarters’ cabin, PANP, February 1, 1943.}

Supervising Warden Davies may have been one of the more vehement critics of carnivore protection in the national parks, but he was not alone in his views. Just as specialists such as Anderson, Clarke and McTaggart-Cowan supported their calls for a cessation to predator killing by stressing the balance of interaction among species, so too did their opponents suggest that such a balance required active intervention on behalf of non-aggressive species.

Predators were seen as a threat not only to the natural balance in the parks but, on occasion, to the visiting public as well. There had been reports in the 1930s of wardens being menaced by wolves in Prince Albert National Park, and actually attacked on rare occasions in the winter wilderness of Wood Buffalo. In 1941, Jasper’s superintendent advised Ottawa of a reported coyote attack on a tourist party that had been sleeping in the open near Athabaska Falls. One visitor suffered cuts to his head and had his hand "severely bitten when trying to push the animal away. "His injuries apparently required hospital treatment. Warden Frank Wells, who had hunted cougars with his trained dogs in Jasper park in the 1930s, was instructed to get the offending animal, if he could.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, extract from superintendent’s monthly report, JNP, July 1941.}

Several years later, a somewhat indignant park official at Georgian Bay Islands reported an incident in which wolves stalked grazing horses on Beausoleil Island and pursued them right into the headquarters’ area. In 1944, a Prince Albert newspaper reported a band of wolves, "a pack of
voracious timber wolves" in the paper's words, raiding a fishing camp and making off with much of the anglers' haul. Acting Warden Schermerhorn accompanied the fishermen on their next trip out on the ice of Crean Lake and shot two wolves that ventured too near. Several days later, the fishermen again encountered a band of wolves and, this time, ran one down with their truck. Knight concluded:

The Supervising Warden informs me that the wolves now keep closer to shore and beat it as soon as they see a truck approaching [sic], also he says the fishermen now haul their catch of fish to camp each day, so the matter of wolves destroying fish caught has been overdone.

There were times when Ottawa's increasingly restrictive predator policy was not much in evidence in the parks themselves.

Animal Slaughters

If the wardens' experiences with bears in the 1930s gave some hint of a more balanced approach to wildlife conservation, the handling of other animals was less successful. Earlier attempts to save endangered species had led to the establishment of several herds of buffalo, antelope and elk in various western parks and reserves. The buffalo, running in open areas and in highly visible herds, seemed to encourage semidomestic handling and treatment. The elk, particularly those reintroduced into the mountain parks, existed in more clearly wilderness circumstances. The success of their preservation efforts was such that parks officials were soon faced with problems of overpopulation at several animal parks. Overgrazing at Buffalo National Park led to a weakening of the herd, and the introduction of diseases such as tuberculosis and brucellosis—problems exacerbated by the decision, in the 1920s, to move some of the herd to other parks, thus spreading illness and extending the original difficulties.

The answer devised in the 1920s, and institutionalized in the 1930s, was an annual slaughtering program in which the Warden Service participated. By the end of the decade, the National Parks Bureau provided meat on a regular basis to relief camps and to Native groups, and had entered into agreements with commercial packers to dispose of the annual surplus. The elk populations of the prairie parks showed some signs too of outgrowing their habitats, particularly through their intrusion into townsite areas, but, with the exception of Elk Island, the problem would not reach crisis proportions for another decade. In the U.S. national parks, similar population pressures in the 1930s led to culling exercises that provided meat for Native peoples and, unlike the Canadian experience, opportunities for sport hunting.

The slaughtering process begun at Buffalo National Park in 1922 continued on a regular basis in the 1930s. Corrals, holding pens, rail sidings and a commercial abattoir had been built there, and mounted wardens conducted the annual fall roundups. This was a demanding task requiring steady nerves and good riding skills, as buffalo were much less tractable than domestic cattle. One

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137 RG84, Vol. 11, GB300, Part 1, Park Administrator J.C. Browne, GBINP, to Controller Smart, June 7, 1943, Honey Harbour, Ontario, June 7, 1943; ibid., Vol. 1770, PA266, Part 1, clipping, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, Daily Herald, January 24, 1944.

138 Wright, Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks, pp. 69-77.
individual, Sam Purshell, did most of the killing at Buffalo National Park using a high-powered repeating rifle. In park records, his position is listed as "gunman." A contemporary account noted:

At Buffalo National Park the Department has a modern fully equipped abattoir. The animals to be slaughtered are placed in corrals near the slaughter house. They are then shot as required by an expert gunman and after being bled are transported immediately to the abattoir where they are dressed according to approved abattoir methods. The men and teams necessary for transporting the dead animals to the abattoir are provided by the Department. All slaughtering operations are under the direct supervision of a Veterinary Inspector of the Health of Animals Branch, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, and all meat passed by the Inspector is officially stamped. 139

In 1931, some 1,500 buffalo were killed, leaving a herd estimated to number about 6,000 animals. Similar numbers were butchered annually throughout the decade, except for a short respite in 1935, when the slaughter house was destroyed by fire. As well as providing meat to relief camps in various national parks, and meat and raw hides to both Indian and Inuit groups through Interior and Indian Affairs programs, buffalo hides were turned into winter coats for Royal Canadian Mounted Police personnel and were suggested for the wardens themselves, when they obtained uniforms in the late 1930s. As early as 1932, substantial portions of the meat obtained, in this year from 1,221 animals, were sold to commercial packers. In 1937, 2,000 of the 2,020 carcasses produced went to packing houses. 140

Through these efforts, and the transfer of small numbers of buffalo to Prince Albert and Riding Mountain parks, the natural increase of the Buffalo National Park herd was offset, declining from about 6,200 head in 1930 to perhaps half that number by 1938. Despite these efforts, a study prepared in 1939 recommended that, because of endemic disease—the results of years of overcrowded conditions—the herds of buffalo, elk and moose in Buffalo National Park should be slaughtered, with a small number of uninfected animals saved to form the nuclei of new herds elsewhere. 141 With the coming pressure of wartime needs, the territory of the Park would be turned over to the military, where it remains today. As we have seen, the last warden left Buffalo National Park in the mid-1940s. It was a sad end to a well-intentioned, and partially successful, experiment.

The process at Elk Island in the 1930s was on a lesser scale, given its smaller buffalo herd, but elk and moose were slaughtered there as well, and the park's reputation was sullied by one incident of loss from negligence. Killing operations began in the late 1920s following the construction of an on-site slaughter house, modelled after the operation at Buffalo National Park. In 1933, headquarters recommended that 400 of the estimated 1,540 buffalo be butchered to keep the herd to a size that the Park could support. In the fall of 1935, some ten riders, four of them regular park staff, worked for

139 PNRO, Winnipeg, RMNP, File 9810-103/R1-2, Slaughter, Volume 1, Controller Williamson, to superintendent, RMNP, August 19, 1937.
two weeks to round up 500 buffalo. The animals were herded into a large corral where, one by one, they were "brought low by a bullet fired by a sharpshooter at the edge of the enclosure." Canada Packers Limited had the contract for dressing and marketing the meat.

The scope of Elk Island's slaughtering operations was extended in 1937, presumably because of continuing concerns of overcrowding. That December, 300 elk and 100 moose were killed at the rate of 20 head per day. The new superintendent, B.I. Love, explained that: "the actual killing of animals is being handled by our two Wardens, both of whom are very good rifle-men." Park officers were well aware that the wholesale slaughter of wilderness animals such as elk and moose would be perceived by the public differently from previous commercial cullings of the buffalo herds, and they tried to limit publicity. One individual involved in the program wrote:

...Mr. Gibson, Director of Parks...pointed out that he did not wish to have any moving cameras or reporters around where the killing was carried on.\(^{142}\)

Park officials had embarked on a long and slippery road, which, in coming decades, would see wardens, "the guardians of the wild," shooting big-game animals in the scenic parks in a desperate effort to control their numbers.

In the late winter of 1936, stories began to filter out from Elk Island of an unusually large number of deaths that winter among the park animals, particularly the buffalo. A Department of Agriculture inspector reported in March that about 10 percent of the buffalo herd, perhaps 200 animals, had perished from malnutrition and exhaustion during the especially severe winter just ending. The park itself reported that 106 animals, mostly yearlings or old buffalo, perished at the feeding grounds. Subsequent inquiries indicated that the herd had received just four pounds of hay per day per animal from park personnel during what were described as the worst weather conditions since record keeping began in 1883. The Agriculture inspector suggested that the minimum sustenance, given existing conditions, should have been 25 pounds per beast. Long-time Elk Island Superintendent Archibald Coxford wrote in his own defence:

I feel that we did all that could be done. The younger stock died of exposure and ninety per cent of the dead animals was calves while the remaining percentage was very old stock. There was more hay fed than of former years and we had less animals. But the snow was very deep and the winter extremely cold and long.\(^{143}\)

In Ottawa, blame was placed on Coxford's shoulders for not increasing feed, when the winter proved to be so severe. There were also claims that "conditions at the park have not been satisfactory for some time" and allegations of "incompetence or carelessness on the part of the park staff" by a retired warden, Horace J. Jones. The only superintendent that Elk Island had known since its


inception in 1908 quietly retired in the fall of 1936.\textsuperscript{144}

Even the small herds established as tourist attractions at Riding Mountain and Prince Albert parks were cut back by slaughtering during these years. In mid-1937, Ottawa officials determined that the 81 buffalo maintained at Riding Mountain should be reduced to 50 animals. The slaughtering and dressing processes would be done in the open—no abattoir here—but, as in the other slaughtering operations, the meat would be offered to commercial packers and the hides as well. Two years later, a similar scene was enacted for the first time at Prince Albert National Park. Seven buffalo from the small herd there were killed by the wardens, with the meat going to the nearby Montreal Lake Indian Reserve.\textsuperscript{145}

\textbf{Figure 2-4.} A buffalo slaughter at Prince Albert National Park, 1939; an animal being winched up ramp onto stake truck. [NA, RG84, Vol. 3, PA299, Superintendent Herbert Knight, PANP, to Controller Williamson, 27 Nov. 1939. C141088]

Organized slaughters of elk and moose occurred only at Elk Island National Park during these years, but there were ominous indications in several of the mountain parks of the dilemma that would soon face staff there. In 1931, Jasper's superintendent wrote of the local elk situation, a decade after their reintroduction:

These animals are driving other game from ranges in the Athabaska Valley where previously deer and moose ranged. They all appear to be in splendid condition and are becoming a menace to other game animals by driving them off the range. A herd of fifty to eighty may be seen at night on the golf course of Jasper Park Lodge, and another large number may be seen in the vicinity of Cabin Creek and Pyramid Lake Road.

\textsuperscript{144} RG84, Vol. 9, E299, Part 3, memo to Deputy Minister Wardle, July 10, 1936; ibid., Vol. 481, E232, Part 1, National Parks Engineer C.M. Walker's report, April 24, 1936.

\textsuperscript{145} PNRO, Winnipeg, RMNP, File 9810-103/R1-2, Slaughter, Volume 1, Controller Williamson, to superintendent, RMNP, August 19, 1937. RG84, Vol. 3, PA299, Superintendent Herbert Knight, PANP, to Controller Williamson, November 27, 1939.
All wardens have reported elk on [sic] their areas this fall. On my inspection trip of the Southern Boundary this fall, elk were seen every day in herds from six to fifteen, and from fifty to seventy five at Sulphur flats, between Brazeau Lake and Isaac Creek.\(^{146}\)

A few months later, Banff Warden Walter Peyto wrote in his diary: "Chasing ELK out of town from BEAVER & Muskrat Streets. Animals damaging garden and lawns and are getting hard to scare away."\(^{147}\)

By 1934, Banff wardens were firing shotguns loaded with salt at elk in the town with but temporary results. At the end of the year, a Calgary newspaper was proclaiming success, prematurely, in the campaign against the elk. "Occasionally," the article read, "at evening a lone animal will venture to the outskirts, but the patrolling warden's car arrives on the scene, the lights go out, a rifle or gun report shatters the silence and the frightened elk can be heard travelling at top speed through the bush. Many residents are expressing their appreciation of the good work being done in this regard by the efficient wardens." The same system was used the next year during the fall mating season, when the elk were particularly aggressive.\(^{148}\)

Two years later, an Edmonton newspaper described wildlife incursions into the Jasper townsite:

> During the winter, visitors to Jasper marvel at the herds of deer that roam the townsite daily. Even the most stately bucks, with immense spread of antlers, will take food from one's hand. Making their rounds of the homes where they are sure of a welcome and a choice tidbit, they are one of the delights of the winter season here.

> This year the elk, which have increased in numbers, are seen more frequently in the town. They are becoming as fearless as the deer, who are accustomed to civilized sights and sounds, hardly moving from the path of autos on the streets. Six great elk were seen recently in the light of an early morning moon, proudly wending their way down one of the main streets.\(^{149}\)

The newspaper account characterized the deer and elk forays as a "Winter Attraction" in which the animals "Stroll Town Streets in Friendly Fashion." The park's Annual Report, however, noted the "considerable damage to young poplar trees and shrubs in the vicinity of the townsite and Jasper Park Lodge."\(^{150}\) Wildlife numbers were growing, too, in and near Banff townsite, with the superintendent there noting increases in deer, Rocky Mountain sheep, elk and beaver.

In the 1940s, these problems led to the inauguration of annual slaughters in Banff and Jasper parks in which the Warden Service took charge of everything but dressing the meat and arranging for its marketing. The first organized slaughter in a scenic park occurred just as the war began, with the decision to reduce the small buffalo herd at Prince Albert from 81 to 50 animals. The initial process was rather primitive compared to the factory system that had evolved at Buffalo and Elk Island parks. Late in 1940, the ongoing question of appropriate predator numbers at Banff was

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\(^{146}\) RG84, Vol. 529, J234, Part 1, extract from Annual Report, JNP, January 20, 1931.

\(^{147}\) RG84, Vol. 69, B234, Part 2, extract, diary of Warden W.H. Peyto, BNP, June 28, 1931.

\(^{148}\) RG84, Vol. 69, B234, Part 2, clipping, Calgary Alberian, November 3, 1934; ibid., Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, October 18, 1935.


overshadowed by Supervising Warden Mitchell's warning that there were now too many elk. Mitchell, who always brought a fine analytical eye to problems, suggested that the animals be killed and the meat be given to local Indians or perhaps to the army troops now stationed at Calgary.

He also pointed immediately to one way in which mountain-park slaughtering programs would differ from the processes already set up in the prairie parks and designed for semidomesticated herd animals. In Banff, Mitchell explained, it would not be feasible to corral the elk. "It would be necessary to shoot the animals where they stand...." Mitchell recommended that a sharpshooter be hired as at Wainwright. "The Wardens could of course assist in this work, but to appease public opinion I believe that hiring a special man for the work would be a distinct advantage."

At Wainwright, buffalo could be brought to the shooter, but, in Banff, he had to go where the elk were. As a result, the wardens would soon take over the task of reducing the elk herds; Mitchell himself, despite his initial misgivings, became, at a later point in the process, one of two principal shooters, using Winchester .270 rifles. Mitchell's recommendation was shortly followed up by Dr. Clarke who visited the park and came to the same conclusion as had the supervising warden. A year later, the deputy minister approved Banff's first elk slaughter.

At the same time, operations were winding down in Buffalo park. Warden Bud Cotton, who had received a rifle late in 1940, acknowledged his directions to:

"...shoot down the Elk and Deer remaining on the Buffalo park range as I encounter them during Patrol work. Range covered with crusted snow this year so it will be impossible to use light truck for pick-up and as the animals are very wild and are ranging in the big sand hills and muskegs in the centre of the Main Park I will have to leave the carcasses wherever shot, however, the Coyotes will clean up everything in a week or so and the hides of these animals are of very little value. I will report to your office of progress made in this work."

At Banff, the first elk slaughter was carried out in January 1942, with about 85 animals being taken. Five or six were killed at a time, loaded on a park truck and transported to the nearby Morley Indian reserve. The work was done without any overt publicity, although, of course, it was common knowledge to Banff residents. Most applauded the initiative, having suffered increasing inconvenience from the growing herds. In February, more elk were slaughtered, bringing the total killed to 120. The elk taken in this first drive were distributed to five local Indian reserves and three Alternate Service Work camps in or near the mountain parks. The "shooting was done very carefully and no animals were wounded and got away. There has been no publicity regarding the operations, the majority of the residents being highly in favour of the work."

152 Ibid., Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Controller Smart, March 3, 1943; ibid., Vol. 69, B234, Part 2, Clarke, to Lloyd, November 6, 1941.
154 RG84, Vol. 6, B299, Part 1, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Acting Controller Smart, December 12, 1941; ibid., Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, extract from Banff National Park, superintendent's monthly report, January 1942; ibid., Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, extract from Banff National Park superintendent's monthly report, February 1942; ibid., Vol. 6, B299, Part 1, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Controller Smart, March 5, 1942.
This account of a smooth operation was questioned by other participants and observers. Two federal Indian agents who were responsible for receiving and distributing meat from the slaughter, complained of unsanitary butchering processes and of some meat spoiling from being kept overnight in a heated garage. The wardens involved were accused of having inadequately bled some of the animals before "piling them pel-mell in a truck" and then leaving them in the garage to spoil. Jennings responded that the Warden Service had been caught by unusually warm weather and that this, after all, was a new endeavour in which problems could be expected. As a result of the spoilage, Jennings decided: "Our warden service now merely kill, bleed and deliver the carcasses to the Indians and they in turn immediately prepare them for shipment by truck to Morley."155 The first elk slaughter in Banff National Park had a tentative, almost experimental, nature.

Later the same year, similar overcrowding conditions at Jasper resulted in the wardens there being directed to slaughter 200 elk, again with the meat and hides going to local Indian bands. Jasper's Superintendent J.A. Wood, had spent some time at a prairie park and was familiar with the killing processes that had evolved there. He immediately responded, pointing out that Jasper had no freezing facilities and would be dependent on natural cold. He was likely thinking of Banff's recent experience and did not wish to see it repeated. He also noted:

...[a] second problem... the question of the butchering. It would be quite impossible for the wardens to do the slaughtering and the butchering, in view of the fact that our Warden Service is now a skeleton service only.156

Despite Wood's objections, the slaughter went ahead early in 1943 with the chief warden, two park wardens and three assistant wardens (on the payroll as labourers) devoting about two and a half weeks to the exercise. The following year, Jasper's wardens were ordered to kill another 300 elk to ease the continuing problems of overpopulation, crowding and range deterioration.157

While these new incentives were being taken in the mountain parks, the slaughtering business continued more or less as usual in the remaining animal parks. At Elk Island, for example, just over 500 of the park's 1,700 buffalo were killed late in 1941. At the same time that Banff officials were considering their first slaughter and the need to maintain a low profile, the process at Elk Island was being subjected to close, even lurid, public scrutiny. The Edmonton Journal wrote up the saga under the heading "500 Buffalo Are Selected For Death at Elk Island Park."158 The story also included several photographs, one showing mounted "buffalomem" driving part of the herd, a second of Warden Ray Sharp, formerly of Buffalo park, leading his horse and dressed in chaps with a handgun in an open holster on his hip. The newspaper description read: "Carelessly slung on a belt at his waist is a big .45 Colt revolver. It's not just for show, either. More than once he has had to use it, usually to save another man from being charged or gored to death by one of the rampaging beasts."

155 RG84, Vol. 6, B299, Part 1, inspector of Indian agencies, Alberta inspectorate, Calgary, to secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, January 9, 1942; ibid., Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Controller Smart, January 16, 1942.
157 Ibid., invoice, March 10, 1943. No record was found of the actual number of animals culled in this first effort at Jasper National Park; ibid., 9, J234, Part 1, assistant controller, to superintendent, JNP, October 28, 1944.
158 RG84, Vol. 10, E300, Part 1, extract from superintendent's monthly report, EINP, December 1941; ibid., E299, Part 4, clipping, Edmonton Journal, December 2, 1941. The photographs were not of a suitable quality for reproduction in this study. Research copies were retained.
This was not quite the picture that headquarters wished to have portrayed to Canadians. Dr. Clarke, in a memorandum to Hoyes Lloyd, stressed the necessity of conducting slaughters at parks such as Elk Island, but noted it was an "aspect of maintaining a buffalo herd which we do not like to stress in our public relations." He also underlined "the natural dislike of a good many people to have slaughter houses brought too forcibly to their attention, in itself a reason for not wanting publicity about one in a park." In Wood Buffalo, wardens were killing buffalo on an annual basis, but as a source of meat for treaty Indians rather than as a means of controlling population. Wood Buffalo was considered sufficiently large to sustain natural increases for the foreseeable future.\textsuperscript{159}

The issue of animal slaughters in the national parks would remain a delicate topic, even as it became prevalent practice in more and more parks. Riding Mountain's Superintendent Heaslip found himself in hot water, when a story appeared describing how a local oldtimer had been permitted to kill a buffalo during one of the park's culling operations. An embarrassed Heaslip admitted giving in to the importunities of a local park supporter but explained the incident:

> While I was quite aware of my instruction regarding the shooting, I allowed him to go out with us with a gun. However, he did not kill the animal he claims. Tom Arkison was the rifleman at that time with Warden [Dave] Binkley covering with a second rifle. Douglas fired a shot at the same time and he was apparently unaware that Arkison had shot. The animal fell in its tracks. As far as I was concerned, Douglas did not do the shooting. With this exception, no one but the hired gunman has ever fired a shot in our buffalo slaughter, nor will anyone else ever be allowed.\textsuperscript{160}

As well as exposing the sensitivity of parks' staff, this incident throws some light on the actual slaughtering process, as it was carried out in a prairie scenic park.

The year 1943 witnessed the first elk slaughter in Kootenay, and, again, it was a learning process for the wardens there. When repeated the following year at the recommendation of Supervising Warden J.J. Meredith, it elicited a series of detailed instructions from Controller Smart in Ottawa. The superintendent was advised that the killings should proceed "under strict supervision" with "only experienced wardens being authorized to shoot elk." Smart wanted every shot to be accounted for, and directed that the ratio of males to females killed be such as to maintain the breeding potential of the remaining animals. Smart also cautioned, thinking no doubt of the earlier Banff incident, against loss of meat due to spoilage in moderate weather conditions.\textsuperscript{161}

In 1944, Chief Warden Mitchell at Banff, perhaps realizing animal slaughters were likely to remain annual events for the foreseeable future, gave an interview to the local paper explaining the need for, and the purpose of, the cyclical cullings now going on in many parks. He was quick to point out that the drastic action of killing off surplus elk had been taken only after careful studies by park and university scientists, and following detailed spring and fall counts by the wardens to build up an

\textsuperscript{159} RG84, Vol. 9, E299, Part 4, Clarke, to Lloyd, December 31, 1941. RG85, Vol. 153, 420-2, Part 3, Meikle, to Urquhart, June 24, 1941.

\textsuperscript{160} RG84, Vol. 24, RM299, Part 1, Director Gibson, to Controller Smart, January 5, 1944; ibid., Superintendent Heaslip, to Controller Smart, January 13, 1944.

\textsuperscript{161} RG84, Vol. 477, KNP299, Part 1, Supervising Warden J.J. Meredith, KNP, Radium Hot Springs, British Columbia, to Acting Superintendent G.F. Horsey, Field, British Columbia, July 29, 1944; ibid., Controller Smart, to superintendent, KNP, August 8, 1944. No reference was found in the records to the number of animals killed in these first two slaughters.
accurate census of herd sizes and locations. He also stressed that the elk both browsed and grazed, and so competed for food with other species such as sheep, deer and moose. Overuse of range resources by the elk, coupled with a severe winter, could put many of the large-game species of the park in danger of starvation. It was this catastrophe that the wardens sought to avoid through systematic cullings of the elk herds in the Bow Valley, where they were most numerous.\textsuperscript{162}

At about the same time, Mitchell, in an effort to explain why his wardens did not follow the detailed Department of Agriculture regulations for killing meat for human consumption, provided a clear thumbnail sketch of the actual killing process as carried out in Banff in the mid-1940s. Mitchell's problem with adhering to the regulations that were designed for commercial slaughtering operations was that his wardens could not kill a specified number of animals per day. They had to hunt as well as shoot their quarry. Some days, they might take 20 or 25 elk; other days, they could be reduced to five, or even none for a day or two. Mitchell described the process as follows:

1. Two men with rifles go out at daybreak and shoot any number of animals up to 25.
2. A truck with a high crane built on the back follows behind the hunters. In the meantime if they are lucky the hunters have shot and bled two or three elk and have left suitable signs on the highway indicating the location of the animals. When the crane truck reaches the first dead elk the animal is partly raised up on the crane and eviscerated. The eviscera is dragged off into the bush where the birds and coyotes make short work of it.
3. The eviscerated Elk is then loaded on to another truck and after four animals are loaded in this way the truck returns to Banff to the temporary abattoir which we fixed up for this work. This building consists of a large room with overhead trackage. There is a wooden platform immediately underneath the track, the balance of the floor being covered with sawdust. There is a stove in this room for heating purposes and also for heating water. The eviscerated elk are hoisted up on to the track and swung to one side to make room for the next load.
4. After killing is finished for the day all men return to Banff and commence skinning the carcasses. If the weather is cold, after skinning and splitting, the carcasses are moved back to hanging racks in the same room for precooling and setting. After the meat is set the half carcasses are moved onto another large room and hung on frames for storage and freezing. If more elk are brought in than can be skinned that day they are skinned the next day or the next depending on how many elk are secured the following days.
5. When the animals are being eviscerated Acting Warden [Hubert U.] Green and whoever of the other Wardens are interested fill out a post mortem sheet which I had made up. The animals are examined for the following:

A. General appearance, age, sex, etc.
B. Presence or otherwise of parasites.
C. Mouth condition.
D. Lungs are carefully examined for lungworm.
E. Uterus is examined for notes on fertility.
F. If embryos are present they are preserved and checked as to sex.\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{162} RG84, Vol. 69, B234, Part 2, clipping, Banff Crag and Canyon, December 22, 1944.
\textsuperscript{163} RG84, Vol. 6, B299, Part 1, Acting Supervising Warden K.B. Mitchell, BNP, to superintendent, November 29, 1944.

It is interesting to note that, while the documentary record indicates quite clearly that Bruce Mitchell played a pivotal role in the development of the Warden Service, and its place in the national parks, from about 1940 until his retirement in the 1960s, Mitchell, when interviewed in 1983, spoke of his own role in the more modest terms of an observer of change. Warden History, interview # 8, November 28, 1983.
In a subsequent description of the year's slaughter, Mitchell explained that wardens Stenton and Young had done most of the shooting of the 200 elk killed that season, using as before, Winchester .270 rifles. Stenton was in charge of the field work, and it was his responsibility to select the animals to be shot and to arrange for them to be loaded on trucks. Warden Child was in charge of the abattoir, and the proper dressing and storage of the meat. All the animals were shot in the head or neck, and bled immediately. There was some concern that shooting the elk near the highway, so that they could be transported efficiently, might cause the survivors to shun the vicinity of the road, thereby depriving park visitors of glimpses of wilderness life. Mitchell assured headquarters that this was not the case and that, in fact, the elk seemed largely undisturbed by the whole exercise:

I have noticed that when shooting into a group after one drops the others simply stand around or move off a short distance. It is not unusual to be able to shoot all the animals in a group of six to ten without moving from one position. On a patrol west the other morning I passed numerous elk along the side of the highway which simply stood and looked at me when I stopped.  

Anyone concerned that the wardens were somehow depriving hunters of their sport could have benefited from reading the above passage.

At the time Mitchell penned these descriptions, temporary warden, Hubert Green, who had served at Riding Mountain and would attain a wide reputation as a biologist and nature writer, was also preparing detailed wildlife reports on portions of the park. "Timberline" Jim Deegan, then a recently appointed young warden who would become one of the better-known members of the Banff service in the decades ahead, participated in these early slaughters and helped with Green's post-mortem examinations.

At the end of the war, plans were in motion to have the wardens of Banff and Jasper parks kill 400 and 250 elk respectively, again with most of the meat going to local Aboriginals. A temporary abattoir was in operation in the Banff townsite and, in addition to the members of the Warden Service at Jasper, the culling operation there employed two butchers to process the meat. Before the end of the year, Dr. McTaggart-Cowan, who had investigated elk conditions at Banff earlier in the decade, issued a report of his studies at Waterton Lakes. Here, the problem was compounded by the presence of commercial ranching operations just east of the park. McTaggart-Cowan found that there were large numbers of elk in Waterton Lakes National Park, not too large to be sustained by the Park, but large enough that they caused damage to the ranches, when they migrated out in the winter. He considered a slaughter program but recommended instead a 30-mile-long fence to keep the park elk out of the ranch ranges. Such a venture would, of course, have entailed substantial

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165 RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 6, H. U. Green, wildlife report on Banff warden district, summer and fall 1944, December 27, 1944. Deegan comments on his work with Green in his unpublished reminiscences. Schintz Package #17, "Notes from Jim Deegan's Diary."
Battling the Beaver

Beaver also caused park staff in Jasper a good deal of anguish in the 1930s and beyond. Their handling of these difficulties gives a clear indication of the problems encountered in trying to "manage" wildlife, and the inherent conflict of development in a wilderness area. For Jasper officials, the "beaver problem" began in 1929, shortly after the townsite began taking its water from nearby Cabin Lake. Because it was felt that the beaver colony there posed a potential health hazard to the citizens of Jasper, wardens Bryant, Wells and Davis were ordered to live trap and move them to another location. The command was easier given than executed. The wardens dynamited the beaver dams to lower the water level prior to breaking into the lodges and removing the beaver. The water, however, did not fall sufficiently, and the beaver escaped, before they could be taken. Subsequent inspections showed no sign of the animals, and Supervising Warden Dick Langford reported that the beaver appeared to have left the area as a result of the wardens' efforts.\(^\text{167}\)

The beaver, of course, were soon back, and park staff found themselves under increasing pressure from Ottawa to clear them out again. Superintendent Rogers pleaded in vain against the directive, arguing in part:

\begin{quote}
I am sorry you do not appreciate the arguments I have put up in the past re beaver in Cabin Lake. I have not the slightest doubt that if we destroy all the beaver in Cabin Lake, a most difficult task, and one that in my opinion will properly lay us open to a certain amount of censure from the public, it will only be a very short time before other colonies will establish themselves, and will likely be a never ending destruction of beaver, especially as there are a number of colonies in the five miles of inlet stream which in the end will have to be cleared out also.

I am sorry to disagree so forcibly with Head Office convictions and rulings, but I feel that the purity of Cabin Lake water is not impaired in the slightest manner [by the presence of the beaver]....\(^\text{168}\)
\end{quote}

Rogers also argued that live trapping a whole colony of beaver was a difficult and time-consuming job to attempt in the fire season. Harkin was not convinced. In response to a renewed order, Rogers responded:

\begin{quote}
We will do everything in reason to carry out your wishes, but as stated before it is virtually impossible to clear beaver out of Cabin Lake, as there are a number of beaver lodges up the 5-mile stretch of the creek running into the Lake, and they will naturally, either re-establish themselves in a new lodge or repair the old. I cannot conceive that you wish us to destroy by dynamite or other means the beaver lodge near Cabin Lake Inlet or to slaughter the animals, which would appear only a temporary means of getting rid of them. This would be open to very serious objections, naturally. We have been in the hopes that there would be demands for live beaver, by which we could get rid of a certain number of this colony.\(^\text{169}\)
\end{quote}


\(^{168}\) Ibid., Superintendent S. Maynard Rogers, Jasper, to Harkin, May 23, 1932.

\(^{169}\) Ibid., June 13, 1932.
Rogers found that his wardens simply had too much else to do that summer to deal with the Cabin Lake beaver, and so, in the fall, he reported:

...we have not been able to comply with your instructions to endeavour to get rid of the beaver in Cabin Lake, and it is altogether too late to attempt it this fall as the beaver would not have sufficient time to construct a new beaver lodge, which would be needless cruelty. All services of this Park have had an exceptionally busy Summer as you no doubt have gathered from the different reports sent in, and I trust you will not feel that I have deliberately disobeyed your definite instructions. I dread naturally the serious criticism in carrying out this work as such things cannot be kept from the public knowledge. I have endeavoured to impress on you my ideas in the past in this connection, but apparently without avail. Subject to your approval we will carry out this work before the beaver are heavy with young and give them an opportunity of accommodating themselves elsewhere if possible, which I very much doubt.  

John Wardle, the chief engineer at Banff and a future deputy minister, recommended that the beavers' food supply, the deciduous trees at the upper end of the lake, be destroyed to encourage them to move on from Cabin Lake. Wardle too was concerned that the beaver would contaminate Jasper's water supply. In May 1933, Rogers had this work started, but heavy snow halted his efforts, leaving him no alternative but to attack the lodges, while the beaver could still relocate. That fall, Rogers provided the following evocative portrayal of the wardens' summer battles with the beaver:

As was to be expected we have been having endless trouble with this colony of beaver. The Lodge was on two occasions burned and is still smouldering amongst the old timber, etc. In spite of that we found yesterday that they had started to build an extension to the old lodge on the Westward side. This morning the Wardens Service have again gone out with the view of using dynamite to see if we can put a stop to their operations. In view of the fact that little or no natural food supply [exists] in that vicinity I was in hopes that they would leave altogether, such is not the case. Warden Curren, a trained powderman will use the dynamite and it is altogether likely in day time that a certain amount of casualty may occur to some of this beaver colony.

In November, Rogers wrote again outlining the further efforts made and added "I...think you will agree that any attempt to destroy the newly built small lodge by dynamite after the ice forms would be very brutal, and might cause a lot of criticism. We have pretty well reduced the beaver menace and subject to your approval I will leave the complete destruction of the new house until next Spring when the beaver will have a chance to live."

It is not clear what actions were taken against the beaver over the next two years, but, in 1936, the new Superintendent A.C. Wright, reported:

...there are no beaver in Cabin Lake at this date. Warden Bryant was instructed to dynamite the beaver lodge again this spring as soon as the ice went out. Several charges were placed in the lodge.

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171 Ibid., Chief Engineer J.W. Wardle, Banff, to Harkin, February 16, 1933; ibid., Superintendent S. Maynard Rogers, Jasper, to Harkin, May 15 and 22, 1933; ibid., September 21, 1933.
172 Ibid., Superintendent S. Maynard Rogers, Jasper, to Harkin, November 7, 1933.
and considerable damage was done. No effort has been made by the beaver to repair this damage and they have now gone to the dams higher up the creek.

Close watch is now being kept on the situation so that they may be discouraged from returning. 173

The war against the beaver of Cabin Lake ended in the 1950s, when Jasper townsite obtained a new water source and chlorination treatment. Although a well-intended effort to protect the town's residents from disease, the saga of the Jasper Warden Service's battles against the beaver is not its finest hour.

Timber, Grazing and Fishing Regulations

Timber culling and grazing rights were traditionally viewed as the utilization of renewable resources in many of the national parks and, as such, were open to exploitation by local residents under the watchful eyes of the Warden Service. The granting of yearly permits for cattle grazing probably had its longest history at Waterton Lakes National Park, where it actually predated the official establishment of the Park itself. As well, horses grazed at Jasper, and cattle grazed at Riding Mountain. At Buffalo National Park, and in the subsequent military reserve, both grazing and haying privileges were permitted, again by annual permit. In the United States, the 1916 legislation creating the National Park Service specifically permitted cattle grazing in all but Yellowstone. Timber culling too was as old as Rocky Mountains Park itself, having originally been a privilege open to industrial concerns within the park such as the mines of Bankhead, which required wooden beams for shaft stabilization. Timber rights were of interest to nearby residents of Riding Mountain as a form of inexpensive fuel, and, as early as 1939, dead and fallen timber was removed by permit in the new Prince Edward Island Park. At Cape Breton Highlands too, shortly after its creation, woodlots were set aside for the use of local residents under the administration of the new Warden Service there. 174

Unlike the debates that had continued since the 1920s over predator control and the natural balance of species in the parks, there was virtually no questioning of the propriety of grazing domestic stock in, or culling timber from, wilderness areas prior to the war period. In his remarkable critique of the Warden Service early in 1944, Bruce Mitchell supported the continued selective harvesting of timber in national parks as essential to the preservation of the forests themselves. In 1944, however, Dr. McTaggart-Cowan, then engaged in a further study of the ever-growing elk population at Jasper, noted that, in at least one area of the park, damage from overgrazing was caused by domestic horses rather than elk. 175 He made no overt recommendation at this time, but it is clear from his comments

173 Ibid., Superintendent A.C. Wright, Jasper, to Harkin, June 11, 1936.
175 Schintz Package #17, K.B. Mitchell, “Suggested Improvements in Warden Service Organization, Banff National Park,” January 15, 1944, pp. 32-33. Mitchell wanted a larger, better funded and more knowledgeable Warden Service, and many of his suggestions would become park policy in the postwar years. However, he also supported the rebuilding of the Banff zoo, a stance that was at odds with the coming tenor of conservation philosophy. His 55-page critique is probably the most perceptive and detailed examination of the Warden Service prepared by a single individual. RG84, Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, McTaggart-Cowan, Jasper, to Clarke, May 8, 1944.
that the days in which the parks’ resources would seem limitless were quickly coming to an end. Over the next two decades, such resource-utilization activities as grazing and timber culling would be phased out, and the wardens would turn to other regulatory activities in the parks.

Fishing was in some ways a unique activity in the parks. All other life forms, with the exception of certain predators, were protected by the philosophy that underlay the parks’ system. While hunting was expressly forbidden in the parks, and elaborate efforts were taken to enforce such regulations, fish, it seemed, were made to be killed. Fishing was encouraged in the parks, and was, in fact, a prime attraction for tourists and was advertised as such. The first fish-hatchery was established in 1913 at Banff to ensure that anglers never eradicated the fish in their favourite fishing lakes. In the next three decades, hatcheries were built at Waterton Lakes and Jasper parks; and their harvests, not always species indigenous to the parks, were delivered to many mountain lakes.

Although not in charge of the hatcheries, the wardens carried out most of the work that assured continued success for park anglers. Wardens transported the young fry from hatchery to park lakes and streams, monitored the catch of fishermen and the quantity of fish in the lakes, policed catch limits, and monitored open and closed seasons. Wardens packed young fry in to back-country lakes in especially designed tin containers, two per pack horse. The containers were one-third filled with water and had chimneys at the top filled with ice cubes to keep the water cool. The tanks sloshed and shifted weight, as the pack horse moved, making the animal uneasy and hard to handle. It was said among the wardens that many a young trout learned to fly, before he learned to swim.

Fishing was never an open and unrestricted activity in the parks. The strength of the fishing lobby in the parks, and in society generally, may perhaps best be appreciated from the fact that an Order in Council, introducing fishing licences to the national parks in 1939, had to be delayed for a year due to the furor of indignation that it evoked.176

The fish hatcheries of Jasper, Banff and Waterton Lakes are now abandoned and in decay. During the war period, however, there was little indication that any change in parks’ fishing policy was likely or appropriate. If anything, utilization seemed to be intensifying. As the war began, local Aboriginals were granted permission to take 2,000 pounds of whitefish from Bittern Lake in Prince Albert National Park, under the careful supervision of the district warden. At the same time, park wardens routinely fished Waskesiu Lake with nets to secure whitefish for dog feed for their teams. Warden Roy Hubel was considered the local expert on fish levels in Prince Albert’s lakes. One of his duties was to monitor the effects of a small commercial fishing venture set up in the park to provide fish to park visitors.177 It would be the better part of a decade before such activities were called into question, and longer still, before fishing ceased to be actively encouraged in the national parks.

176 RG84, Vol. 84, U3-1-1, Part 3, reference to and draft of Privy Council 1134, May 13, 1939. Because of the ensuing uproar, implementation of the regulation was postponed for one year in mid-June; the file contains large amount of adverse correspondence on this subject.

177 RG84, Vol. 1773, PA296, Part 6, Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, November 18, 1939; ibid., extract, superintendent's monthly report, PANP, October 1940. The same process occurred at Wood Buffalo National Park, where dog teams were the accepted means of winter travel; ibid., Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, March 8, 1941.
Grey Owl and the Wardens

In the 1930s, two national parks, first Riding Mountain and then Prince Albert, were home to one of the most eccentric and famous wildlife conservationists in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century. The story of Grey Owl, born Archibald Belaney in England, is well-told elsewhere.\(^{178}\) His interaction with members of the Warden Service is worth reviewing here for what it tells us about the wardens, their roles in the national parks and their concepts of wildlife management in the 1930s.

Archie Belaney, or Grey Owl as he styled himself in the 1930s, was a British immigrant to Canada who adopted a Native North American pedigree and pursued a career as an exponent of nature conservation, with special emphasis on the beaver. He wrote several nature books and embarked on a series of lecture tours, further advancing his fame. Within the parks, he established and nurtured small, dependent beaver colonies that he used to demonstrate his conservationist ideals. It was in this latter role that he came in contact with the Warden Service. Grey Owl also developed a dependency on alcohol, which coloured his relationship with park officials and precipitated his premature death in 1938.

Grey Owl's growing reputation earned him an invitation to work for the conservation of beaver at Riding Mountain National Park. He arrived there in the spring of 1931, settling with his beaver at Clear Lake. There, Warden Dave Binkley worked with him collecting endangered beaver from other areas of the park. The acting superintendent tried to broaden Grey Owl's activities by having the wardens catch and "tame" several young moose and elk, which would be kept near the beaver lodge. The idea faded away: "Archie Grey Owl did not take interest in these animals that I had expected he would."

Soon, it was evident too that water levels were not high enough to maintain the beaver over the winter. That fall, after Binkley live-trapped the animals for shipment, Grey Owl, with his wife and his beaver, moved on to Prince Albert National Park. Riding Mountain's superintendent wrote of the departure:

> The Beaver and Grey Owl are being shipped to Prince Albert Park in the near future. I hate to see the beaver moved from here, but...[there are]. plans now of re-placing this little side show with something more substantial in the way of having other native beaver domesticated and also other game located in a remote part of the Park, where they could run at large and at the same time be always there to be seen by the public.\(^{179}\)

By early November, Grey Owl and his entourage were settled on Ajawaan Lake, some 25 miles by water from Waskesiu Townsite in Prince Albert National Park. "We went to a considerable amount of trouble," wrote Superintendent Wood, "in preparing the quarters for Grey Owl and he apparently

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\(^{178}\) See Smith, *From the Land of Shadows.*

is quite pleased with our efforts as he has written me a profusif [sic] letter." Roy Hubel, who would become a park warden at mid-decade, recorded:

I went up to Little Trout last week and saw Grey Owl and his beaver. In fact I spent most of a day with him. Those pets of his are almost human.

He was having quite a time keeping them contented. You see this is the time of year 'just before freeze up', when they lay in their food supply, and fix up their house for winter.

No matter if they have been tamed, they cannot understand that a human being will make all provisions for the winter to come.

When the ice forms and he can let them into the lake and he puts in their food supply they will know everything is alright [sic] and they will be contented.

I have always said beaver were the finest fire fighters there are. They keep the water in the woods. The ground is kept damp and fire will not run.\(^{180}\)

Within a year, however, problems had begun to appear. Wood wrote that May to the park director of publicity in Ottawa:

...Grey Owl is again away on a bender. Last Friday I left the Park for Saskatoon to meet Jimmie Wardle and Grey Owl arrived at Waskesiu that evening. If I had been here I would not have allowed him to go to town, but he took advantage of my absence and went to Prince Albert.

Since that date I have unsuccessfully attempted to locate him and send him back to the Park, as I did on two former occasions. This time, however, he has hidden himself so completely that I cannot find him. Last night Mrs. Grey Owl went to town to look for him, leaving the beaver without any care.

I am flying to Kingsmere today to see if everything is alright [sic] and I will take the necessary steps to ensure that they are at least being fed.

I do not know if anything that can be done in this matter except to dock Grey Owl for the time that he is away.\(^{181}\)

It was a tale that would be repeated all too frequently in the future. As well, tensions soon developed between Grey Owl and the park wardens over work responsibilities. Archie apparently felt that the wardens should perform any physical labour necessary for his project, while the wardens thought that Grey Owl should put down his pen and pitch in as required. The wardens also resented the special treatment accorded this one park employee. By the mid-1930s, the wardens were accustomed to making periodic forays into Prince Albert to rescue Grey Owl, now publicly identified as "a Temporary Game Warden," from the clutches of local bootleggers who preyed on his advancing illness.\(^{182}\) No doubt their resentment was further fuelled by their understanding that Grey Owl was

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\(^{180}\) PANP, PA61, superintendent, PANP, to J.C. Campbell, director of publicity, NPB, November 2, 1931; ibid., Roy F. Hubel, to Superintendent Wood, PANP, November 12, 1931.

\(^{181}\) Ibid., Administration Building Drawer 2, Wood Confidential file, superintendent, to J.C. Campbell, director of publicity, May 28, 1932.

\(^{182}\) Ibid., PA61, superintendent, PANP, to A. Grey Owl, August 5, 1932. Wardens who indulged in alcohol on the job, as openly and enthusiastically as did Grey Owl, would have faced dismissal; ibid., Administration Building, Drawer 2, Wood Confidential file, superintendent, to J.C. Campbell, director of publicity, June 18, 1935; ibid., director of publicity, to E. Lavoie,
an Indian. In their eyes, he must have taken on the stereotypical traits of both laziness and drunkenness, not uncommon twentieth-century perceptions of whites toward Native Americans.

In turn, as Grey Owl gained fame, he seemed to become less tolerant of them. He once wrote privately to his wife of the wardens:

I can just feel the well of exclusion & hate that rises between those fellows & me when I am alone with two or three of them. No companionship at all, typical farmers of the peasant type, dull, unsociable, & silly about women, hating the bush & everything in it. This is the only country I was ever in where you can walk into a man's place & him not speak to you or stand outside his place & he not ask you in.  

The comment that they hated the bush seems a strong indictment of men who had chosen outdoor careers and may represent more a response to their declining interest in what Grey Owl was doing in the park. The end result was a poisoned atmosphere stemming from personality clashes rather than opposing views of man's relationship with nature.

On more than one occasion, Grey Owl determined to mend his ways. He was particularly remorseful after Harkin threatened his dismissal, following one especially long bout of incapacitation. Grey Owl did provide assistance and expertise within the park system, as well as being a useful, though volatile, publicity agent. This last factor was a cause of Grey Owl's undoing, in the mind of one park official. In late 1937, Superintendent Wood, who was also Grey Owl's direct supervisor at Prince Albert, wrote to Ottawa that "a definite change ... is taking place in his character, due to the publicity that he is obtaining from his lectures and writing tours." Wood complained that "the recognition of his ability has made him rather more intolerant and he is beginning to have an extremely high opinion of himself." Wood was angered at having read a London interview in which Archie described himself as being "directly responsible for forest and game preservation throughout the Dominion of Canada." Back in Ottawa, officials came to resent the need to employ a replacement, when Grey Owl was on tour and unable to care for his beaver.

When Grey Owl died suddenly just after returning from a gruelling lecture tour of the United Kingdom in April 1938, officials of the National Parks Bureau were quick to end his beaver-maintenance program, and even eased his wife out of the park that fall. They argued, quite reasonably, that it should not be part of park policy to employ someone to tame and care for park wildlife.

Canadian Beaver Restoration Colony, Montreal, November 8, 1935.

183 Quoted in Smith, From the Land of Shadows, p. 154.

184 PANP, PA61, Grey Owl, Beaver Lodge, PANP, to Superintendent J.A. Wood, August 21, 1936; ibid., Harkin, to Grey Owl, June 24, 1936. PNRO, Winnipeg, RMNP, File 9810-101/R2, Beaver, Vol.1, F.H.H. Williamson, to Otto Headly, superintendent, RMNP, June 1, 1937. In this instance, he provided suggestions for the safe transportation of excess beaver from Banff to Riding Mountain parks. Ibid., superintendent, PANP, to Harkin, October 19, 1937. RG84, Vol. 1771, PA272, Part 1, Superintendent Wood, PANP, to controller, November 2, 1937.

185 RG84, Vol. 1771, PA272, Part 1, Mrs. Grey Owl (Silver Moon), to Minister of Natural Resources Crerar, May 19, 1938. She indicated that she wished to stay on at the cabin and continue her husband's work. She complained that, to visit Grey Owl's grave, she had to go into the park as the guest of Kingsmere District Warden Roy Hubel and his wife. The Hubels lived in the district warden cabin, about a mile away from Beaver Lodge, Grey Owl's home on Lake Ajawaan. RG84, Vol. 4, PA300, Part 7, Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, July 22, 1939.
Grey Owl's passing. Their resentment of Grey Owl and his intrusion into their world has faded only with the passing of the wardens who knew and worked with him over half a century ago.

Clearly, the so-called “golden age” of the Warden Service was golden only in retrospect. True, during these years, heroic figures, such as Bill Peyto, strode the landscape and the National Parks Bureau enjoyed the leadership of dedicated conservationist James B. Harkin. However, in these same years, the wardens lost their right to trap in the parks, a significant source of income for most. They resisted the imposition of more stringent rules for predator control, seemingly unconvinced by the new ideas of conservationists such as Aldo Leopold in the United States. Still, from the perspective of the 1960s, with its massive increase in tourism and the phasing out of the district system, the interwar years held a nostalgia that was difficult to resist.
CHAPTER 3

Maintaining the Infrastructure, 1921-45

Game protection and predator control were the main concerns of the national park wardens in the years after the First World War. The essential purposes of the parks as refuges for wildlife and breeding grounds for game animals encouraged the wardens to eliminate predators and discourage poachers as much as possible. The wardens also had more mundane but equally essential duties during these years. Maintaining and protecting their charges and their habitat required a range of vigorous activities from trail and telephone-line maintenance to cabin building, fire suppression and visitor protection.

Blazing and Maintaining Trails

The trail systems grew modestly during the 1920s, from a total of just under 1,900 miles in 1922 to almost 2,100 in 1930. However, many existing trails were upgraded and improved during these years, and a good deal of effort, much of it provided by the Warden Service, was devoted to trail maintenance in the face of natural erosion and windfall blockages. Trail work in its various guises was both a major preoccupation of the wardens and a means by which they fulfilled their protective mandate. As trail-building technology became more sophisticated and as the trails themselves became more substantial, the wardens tended to take on a supervisory role. While this was probably an inevitable development considering the increasing work required, Commissioner Harkin resented it and looked back to the days when wardens were not only in charge, but did the work themselves. Such days existed largely in Harkin's imagination, for even in the period between 1911 and 1919, major trail construction was done by park trail gangs or contracted out. Unfortunately, this disagreement, along with the dispute over predator control, would do much to sour Harkin's view of the worth and the reliability of the current Warden Service staff.

At mid-decade, Supervising Warden Richard W. "Dick" Langford of Jasper National Park provided headquarters with his thoughts on the duties of wardens. The very first responsibility that he noted was "to keep all trails open by clearing out deadfalls and other obstructions, and, in case of extensive damage by storms or erosion by directing the operations of the section-men, two or three in number, who are assigned to the principal areas during the working months."

Ottawa resisted the use of work gangs on established trails, arguing that it was the responsibility of the wardens to maintain the trails in their districts. Superintendent Rogers tried to defend his Warden Service by pointing out that much of the work being done in the early 1920s on existing trails was so substantial as to be tantamount to new work, and far beyond the capabilities of one or two wardens. He assured Harkin:

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2. RG84, Vol. 34, U194-2, Part 1, Supervising Warden R.W. Langford, JNP, to superintendent of Jasper, March 6, 1925.
Despite such testimonies, Harkin continued to believe that the wardens were capable of more trail work than they were doing.

The supervisory role of the wardens in the building of new trails is evident in the construction, in 1921 and 1922, of the Southesk-Sunwapta trail in Jasper National Park. [Figure 3-2.] This trail ran some 53 miles between the warden cabin on the Sunwapta branch of the Athabaska River to the junction of the Southesk and Brazeau rivers. It followed the Sunwapta southward, crossed the Poboktan Pass and continued down to Brazeau Lake and along the Brazeau River. The terrain included dense forest, bogs, steep hills and rocky stretches. Two trail gangs worked on the trail, one from Sunwapta under Warden J.M. Christie, the other from Southesk led by Warden E.J.H. McDonald. In addition, wardens Sivik, James and Knight packed in supplies for the endeavour, all of which was overseen by Superintendent Rogers at headquarters in Jasper. Wardens Christie and McDonald recorded the progress of these gangs, at times painstakingly slow, in weekly reports, until snow fell in October 1921, effectively ending all activity. One week in August, Christie's crew completed one half mile of trail. He described the work in the following terms:

This portion of trail is cut through growth of young jack pine averaging 2 inches in diameter and very thickly strewn with dry large windfalls, and follows a steep slope which had to be graded practically all the way. From here on the country is more open for some distance and better time will be made.

Two bridges, 19 and 16 feet, were built.  

The next week, Christie and his men completed one and a half miles of trail. The work included six corduroy crossings, 600 yards of graded hillside trail, a detour around muskeg and a route through young jack pine and heavy windfall. And so it went, until the snow fell. Jasper's resident engineer considered that "Warden Christie's gang have made comparatively good progress," while the other crew "has been disappointingly slow," primarily because much of the timber they were moving through was 12 to 15 inches thick at the stump, and they had few skilled wood cutters. The resident engineer described another, smaller trail project going on at the same time:

Warden Sivik had four men from the 15th. to the 30th. September at a cost of $312.50 and a satisfactory amount of work was accomplished. Commencing from a point near the Athabaska Falls Bridge some 3 1/2 miles of trail towards Jasper was improved.

The trail was cut out to a width of ten feet or so, diverted in places to avoid extremely rocky spots, grading done where required and stones and roots removed from the trail. There is of course very

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4 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1922, appendix no. 4, report of Superintendent of Jasper National Park S. M. Rogers, p. 126. RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 3, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Warden E.J.H. McDonald, Southesk, August 18, 1921; includes an earlier outline of various warden duties for this trail gang; ibid., Resident Engineer John B. Snape, JNP, to superintendent, September 10, 1921, enclosing four brief reports from Acting Trail Foreman J.M. Christie on weekly work done on Poboktan-Sunwapta trail.
Figure 3-1. Photo of the Southesk-Sunwapta Trail work completed in Jasper National Park, 1921. [NA, RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 3, Snape to Superintendent JNP, 7 Jan. 1922. C141086]
much more work to do yet on the trail, but it is pleasing to note a satisfactory start of improvement has been made.\(^5\)

The wardens were busy, as well, before such trail gangs appeared on the scene. It was their responsibility to scout out new routes as needed for fire and poaching prevention, or tourism purposes, and to blaze or mark them for the work crews who would follow. As Superintendent Rogers described the process to Harkin:

The warden service invariably lay out the general line of trail construction, co-operating with the Resident Engineer, and with competent foremen...we have found that with supervision at times by the Resident Engineer, Mr. Langford and myself as the time allows, we have been able to carry out trail construction with economy, speed and permanence of character, and have always found that the matter of one or even a hundred or more feet in the actual location of the final trail must be left to a great extent to the judgement of our sub-foreman on the job, who always travels well ahead of construction spotting out the best and final location of the work.\(^6\)

Supervising Warden Dick Langford of Jasper, for example, located two new trails on one inspection trip along the eastern boundary of the park in 1923. He wrote to Ottawa:

...the boundary here runs only a few miles west of the mining towns of Lascar, Cadomin and Mountain Park which proximity has been the cause of a lot of trouble owing to the miners and prospectors shooting along the boundary. The trails I have located run just inside the boundary from a mile to a mile and a half in places. No. 1 trail runs due south from West Forks Cabin No. 4 up Grizzly Creek and over an unnamed pass to the Rocky River. I only marked out this trail as far as the pass, approximately 10 miles, with instructions to the local warden to continue locating to the Rocky River. Trail No. 2 is from the boundary of the Park on the tote road following just inside the boundary to the present trail which connects at Mile 10. This new trail will cut out a lot of muskeg which is very bad on this end of the present West Forks trail. Trail No. 3 is from 7 miles up Grizzly Creek over pass to Miette Hot Springs. I have not located it past the pass, but from observation it will be no trouble to get through, and the local warden will report when he has been through.\(^7\)

The trails themselves, once brought up to standard, were ten feet wide except on hillside cuts "with the centre 2-ft. grubbed and evened up for the pack horses to walk on." Two years later, a number of trails at Waterton Lakes were described as being just six feet wide but with a graded four foot centre.\(^8\) Almost half of the new trail work in the 1920s occurred at Jasper National Park, but maintenance and upgrading took place in all the mountain parks.

Circumstances in other parks varied. Buffalo National Park, because it was largely open prairie land, reported no maintained trails in 1930. In Wood Buffalo, the wardens did not construct many trails but depended on a combination of river transport, and the existing Native and buffalo trail systems. Senior Warden Fred C. Bennett described transportation within the Park in 1925:


\(^6\) RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 3, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, June 6, 1924.

\(^7\) RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 3, Supervising Warden Langford, to superintendent, JNP, June 20, 1923.

\(^8\) RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 4, Resident Engineer Snape, JNP, to superintendent, January 5, 1925. WLNP, Schintz Package #3, WLNP Warden Office, Box 1, File Fences and Hiking Trails, 1927-28, report, November 28, 1927. Reports exist for five trails, one of which was completed at this time.
Patrols into the interior of the preserve are made by the rangers from cabins located along the principal waterways, at Jackfish river, Point Providence on the Peace river, and at LaButte on the Slave, the rangers keeping in touch with each other by occasional patrols from cabin to cabin. There are a few pack trails through the interior, and, of course, buffalo trails which have been used by the animals for many years.9

Even road access into the park left much to be desired. In 1930, Warden M.J. Dempsey described an automobile trip from Fitzgerald to the Hay Camp in which his vehicle became so mired in mud it had to be pried out with poles. It also suffered a broken gas line from the pounding it took.10

At the new Prince Albert National Park, circumstances again differed. Here, according to Acting Superintendent Wood:

The majority of the trails are in good shape except that they are not cut out around the lakes. This is due to the fact that they are winter trails and they use the ice as much as possible. Arrangements have been made to start a man cutting these trails out....11

By 1930, the wardens had an established series of trails that they maintained in much the same manner as their colleagues in the mountain parks. Although they had few slopes to contend with, there were many wet areas to traverse and much windfall to clear. Warden E.L. Millard's lament could have been penned in any western park:

Trail from the Indian reserve along the east shore of Montreal Lake has not been used for several years. There are so many trees in it that it is difficult to tell where the trail used to be. It crosses so many sloughs that it was always difficult to travel.12

Not surprisingly, given the reduced appropriations of the Depression era, the pace of warden-related development in the parks—trail, forest-telephone line and cabin construction—fell off during the 1930s. The wardens did some work themselves, mostly short extensions to existing trails, and some funding for capital projects came from the Public Works Construction Act, 1934. The trail network registered a net gain of just 300 miles during the decade, with some parks showing a significant decline in mileage. Jasper, for example, reported 624 miles of trails in 1939, compared to 754 in 1931. Here the drop, 130 miles of trail, may have resulted from a decision to remove what had been described as "Indian trails" from the totals reported. Similarly, the decline reported in Riding Mountain from 200 miles in 1931 to 113 in 1939 may have reflected the exclusion of old logging and trapping routes that the wardens did not attempt to maintain. Banff's trail system did expand by almost 300 miles, from 620 to 900 miles, but most parks showed very modest, five- to ten-percent growth over the decade. Toward the end of the decade, the general consensus of the wardens, expressed in the minutes of a 1937 Banff wardens' school, was that the trails were deteriorating. The record read:

Owing to the lack of funds in recent years the general trend of trails within the Park was deterioration. The Wardens can usually keep pace with keeping the trails free of fallen trees, etc., but as far as regrading improvement, relocating and rock work goes, very little can be done without a trail crew.\textsuperscript{13}

It should be noted here that a good deal of development work was done in the parks during the Depression by single and married men working for subsistence under the federal \textit{Relief Act}. Under the direction and supervision of park engineers, they cleared and graded roads, developed campgrounds and constructed some park buildings. In most parks, they did not become much involved in the construction of trails or warden cabins and, except perhaps in Prince Albert National Park, there is little to indicate that they had any direct association with the park wardens, or their development and maintenance activities. Like the Alien Detention and Alternate Service camps located in various parks during the two world wars, the relief camps of the Depression provided labour for park development but never came under the jurisdiction of the Warden Service. The war-related camps and even some of the relief efforts of the Depression were administered by military personnel. As a result, the wardens had little formal interaction with any of these groups.

Perhaps the most significant facet of the trail-building saga during the 1930s was the controversy over extending the network of park roads, particularly in the mountain parks. The decade saw the introduction and widespread use of Caterpillar tractors in the creation of "trails," which more and more had the capacity to carry automobiles. From a fire-suppression perspective, this development had much to recommend it, but there were concerns about opening more and more wilderness areas to touring motorists. Conflicting views on the appropriateness of a road to Maligne Lake in Jasper National Park provide a microcosm of this issue. For the time being, the arguments of those who would limit access to the wilderness, while themselves living and working there, were brushed aside. It would be some decades before advocates of conservation would marshal a convincing argument that society could "enjoy," as well as preserve, natural habitats while enforcing rigorous restrictions on recreational access.

As the decade opened, trail work, both maintenance and new construction, continued, much as it had in the 1920s, with wardens keeping established routes open by clearing brush and windfall, or supervising small gangs of labourers on new work. In 1930 at Yoho, for example, three men were hired to help the wardens with heavier trail repairs such as the realignment of four miles of the Beaver River trail to avoid swampy, low-lying land. Also at Yoho that year, a small trail gang improved the Ottertail trail, diverting its route at one awkward point and constructing a wooden cantilever bridge on concrete piers over the Yoho River at the foot of Takakkaw Falls. In a similar manner at Mount Revelstoke, a small trail crew was employed to assist the wardens in improving Lindmark trail and extending two other fire trails into densely timbered areas. Work done in Glacier National Park in 1932 followed a similar pattern, with a warden-directed trail gang repairing the

\textsuperscript{13} These trail-mileage statistics come from the annual reports of the Parks Branch/Bureau during the 1930s. On occasion, in its annual reports, Jasper National Park divided its trail mileage into "standard," "pack train or secondary," and "Indian" trails, with the latter category representing undeveloped routes established by Native hunters and trappers prior to park establishment. The reported figures for each category varied from year to year. Because they were usually well-located in relation to the terrain, "Indian" trails frequently became the basis for warden patrol trails. It would seem that, around 1936 or 1937, park officials decided not to continue recording those "Indian" trails that they had not developed and did not intend to maintain. RG84, Vol. 2, B62, Part 4, excerpts from report of warden school held at Banff, May 26-29, 1937, B.K. Mitchell, June 19, 1937.
Figure 3-2. The image of one such tractor, the "Bristol" distributed by fire pump manufacturers Watson Jack and Company, appears in a brochure on file, 1934. [NA, FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, Box 8, E2-4, Equipment, Forest Fire, Vol. 4, February 1936-Mar. 1938, Watson Jack & Co. Ltd., Mtl., to Superintendent BNP, 25 September 1934. C 141121.]
flood-damaged Illecillewaet trail and replacing a bridge on the Asulkan Valley trail.\textsuperscript{14}

Trail work entered a new phase in 1932 in Yoho National Park with the experimental introduction of a Caterpillar tractor to clear and level the route, pull up stumps and haul a wagon-sized road grader. The tractor was used to create a realignment of part of the Beaverfoot Valley trail and a new section of trail to connect the Amiskwi River and the Otterhead Valley. The end result was a fire trail that looked suspiciously like a secondary forest road. Indeed, Supervising Park Warden C.V. Phillips described the trails in his report as being "wide enough for the passage of a car" and noted "cars will be prevented from trying to get through by a hinged post which will be locked." The trails were graded nine feet wide, as opposed to the existing standard of six feet, and stumps were removed for a width of 14 feet. Harkin criticized the new trails as having exceeded his instructions, and admonished the superintendent that future work would have to be on a smaller scale and less finished. He concluded: “If your Warden's staff find this impossible, or if it is impracticable, then the use of the tractor will have to be abandoned for further trail building.”\textsuperscript{15}

As with the introduction of so many "labour-saving" devices in the twentieth century, it was difficult to go back to old technology, even when the new tool did not function quite as intended. By 1934, the Watson Jack Company of Montreal, which had supplied the mountain parks with forest-fire water pumps—the Wajax pumps—for almost two decades and had built up a sterling reputation with park officials, was sending out brochures on the latest in tractor design.\textsuperscript{16} [see figure2]

By 1935, Harkin had softened in his opposition to tractor-made trails, giving Banff's Superintendent Jennings the go ahead to improve some fire trails, pending the availability of funds from the Public Works Construction Act. The improved trails would be suitable for a small, number 15 tractor and trailer, which could, in times of fire emergency, quickly and effortlessly transport men and equipment to trouble spots. Jennings was ready to start immediately and sent Harkin a detailed list of routes to be improved. He and his chief warden prepared a map showing the locations of the routes to be improved and sent the following, ranked listing of priorities:

1. From the recently constructed Cascade bridge northerly to the wardens' cabin at Flint's Park in tp. 28, rge. 13, a distance of some 18 miles.
2. Widening and re-location of the existing trail from Massive on the Bow river in a southwesterly direction, up Red Earth Creek to the head of Pharaoh Creek, a distance of 12 miles. The lakes in this area are all stocked with fish and there is a great increase in tourist travel in this direction. Furthermore, there is a large area of green timber which this road will serve to protect.
3. From Lake Louise in a northerly direction up the Pipestone River to a point some 8 miles from the starting point. This will traverse heavily timbered second growth lodgepole pine.


\textsuperscript{15} RG84, Vol. 11, GNP62, Part 1, Supervising Park Warden Phillips, Yoho and Glacier parks, to Captain E.N. Russell, superintendent, Yoho and Glacier parks, December 12, 1932; ibid., Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, GNP, February 2, 1933.

4. To continue the Spray river trail from the warden's cabin at the 16-mile post, southerly to the cabin on Bryant Creek in the vicinity of Marvel lake, a distance of some 16 miles. This trail will serve to protect heavily timbered country, as Marvel lake has now become a favourite fishing resort, being one of the best fish lakes in the Park, it is an important piece of trail construction. This trail will necessitate the construction of two bridges across the Spray river; one near the cabin at the starting point and one across the canyon, near the Park boundary.

5. To continue the trail from the mouth of Cuthead creek to the Red Deer river via Cuthead creek, Wigmore creek, Snow creek to Snow Pass, a distance of some 22 miles. This trail will be of considerable value in opening up the somewhat inaccessible northerly section of the Park.

6. From the Stoney Squaw road, now under construction, up Forty-mile creek to the mouth of Mystic creek, a distance of eight miles. This will tend to protect a well wooded area on the top of Stoney Squaw mountain and in the vicinity of Mystic lake, a very popular fishing resort for local residents and tourists.

The above work is estimated to cost approximately $500 per mile and would give us a very good tote road to take in our Wardens' truck. I would suggest that we consider a 10-foot roadway.

7. From the mouth of Alexandra river to the head of Castleguard river, through heavily timbered country a distance of 20 miles, at an estimated cost of $100.00 per mile.°

Jennings reiterated his original suggestion that some culverts be left out along the routes with temporary bridging material hidden nearby to discourage tourist usage and accommodate emergency crews.

At Jasper, Superintendent Wright, responding to the same offer from Harkin, suggested five areas of the park, where wider "motor roads" would aid fire-suppression efforts. They included work in the following areas: 12 miles of road to connect Medicine and Maligne lakes, eight miles of the Buffalo Prairie trail, 12 miles in the Tonquin Valley, 28 miles in the Snake Indian Valley from Devona to Willow Creek, and 30 miles along the Brazeau Lake trail from Poboktan Creek cabin to Brazeau Lake. At $500.00 per mile, the 90 miles of fire road was estimated at $45,000.00.

At Kootenay, Superintendent Rutledge too was eager to make use of the funds and the technology to improve five fire trails in his park. The routes Rutledge suggested for improvement were: 12 miles of the trail up Floe Lake, five miles on the Hawk Creek trail, six miles up the Kootenay River, four miles up Dolly Varden Creek, and six miles down the Settlers Road toward the southern boundary of the park.° Rutledge also pointed out that, even with a tractor available, pack horses would still be required to transport men and material to fire sites away from the trails. As well, the superintendent argued in favour of having a tractor stationed in the park on a permanent basis, rather than depending on a machine from Banff or Yoho, as Harkin apparently intended.

Harkin continued to resist the notion that the improved fire routes should open the park interiors to automobile traffic. In September 1935, he wrote to Banff's superintendent:

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It is noted that the Wardens are referring to the new trail improvements up the Cascade River as an auto road. You will remember that the Branch has continuously discouraged any idea of improving the trails to such an extent that they can be used either by trucks or cars....To improve a trail to this extent is a very different matter from making it so it can be used by car or truck and you will please see that these instructions are carefully adhered to.

The trail can be so improved that a tractor can get over it quite easily and still be of no use to a truck.\textsuperscript{19}

Harkin was not alone in his opposition to further penetration of the back-country mountain parks by visitors in automobiles. In 1933, Superintendent Rogers at Jasper had reported a suggestion by the general manager of Canadian National's hotels to have a secondary or "tote" road opened around Maligne Lake for tourism. Rogers' response was: "I can only say that I have always strongly felt it would be a mistake to make easy complete motor communication to Maligne Lake as it is likely to result adversely in one sense to the fishing attraction of that lake." The following year, the railway increased the pressure for a road to Maligne Lake, sending the president and general manager of the company to lobby the minister for approval. Again, park staff opposed the venture, arguing that:

...if such a road was constructed, there would be requests in the very near future not only for the completion of the section of road between Medicine Lake and Maligne Lake to a standard highway, but that there would also be an agitation for the construction of a road around Medicine Lake in order that motor cars might proceed from Jasper clear through to Maligne Lake without the interruption of a boat trip.\textsuperscript{20}

Harkin and Jennings won this round, but the railway continued its pressure on behalf of guests at Jasper Park Lodge. After the war, new attitudes toward development prevailed, and the road went through. As the commissioner had feared, the improved fire roads begun in the 1930s resulted, particularly after the World War II boom, in irresistible pressures for wider access. For fire-suppression purposes, the wardens depended on the growing network of fire roads, until the tentative introduction of helicopter transportation in the late 1950s. Only then could the widespread fire-road network be gradually allowed to return to natural habitat. This process continues today.

At Wood Buffalo, the wardens routinely travelled 900 to 1,700 miles by dog sled on their winter patrols, breaking their own trails through the snow, guided by compass and natural features. As a final comment on trails during this period, it should be noted that the experience of the mountain trails, although a guide for future development in prairie and eastern parks, was not exactly duplicated elsewhere. The trails in the new Cape Breton Highlands National Park, for example, tended to be designed as much for visitor usage as for fire-suppression purposes. This is particularly evident in the case of the Middlehead trail work done in 1939, which included a rustic log footbridge, a length of picturesque stone wall and log benches along the path.\textsuperscript{21} [Figure 4-10] While park records are sparse for the early years, one gains the impression that officials saw the Cape Breton Trail, designed from the start as a motor highway, as the main transportation route for fire-suppression crews and their equipment.

\textsuperscript{19} RG84, Vol. 2, B62, Part 4, Harkin, to superintendent, Banff, September 13, 1935.

\textsuperscript{20} RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 6. Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, April 19, 1933; ibid., memo to Assistant Deputy Minister R.A. Gibson, September 19, 1934.

\textsuperscript{21} RG84, Vol. 8, CBH62, Part 1, photos and negatives by Mr. Sinclair, September 1939.
The limits imposed by wartime conditions are perhaps most dramatically illustrated by the degree to which physical development in the parks was curtailed. An overview of the limited changes in this period provides some impression of the constraints felt by the Warden Service and gives a glimpse of the physical infrastructure within which they carried out their duties. A comparison of the cumulative totals of maintained roads and trails in the parks at the beginning and end of the war, for example, indicates, although complicated by a change in definitions, a marginal decline of 4 percent over the period. The network of forest-telephone lines grew during the war, but at a modest rate of less than ten percent. There are no comparable figures for work on warden cabins, but anecdotal information suggests that here, too, expansion was minimal.

Just prior to the war, the National Parks Bureau reported some 2,810 miles of trails in all the parks (with the exception of Wood Buffalo, which remained under a separate jurisdiction until 1965) and a total of 893 miles of roads. The latter category consisted of 627 miles of motor roads and 266 miles of secondary roads. In 1943, another subdivision, "fire roads," was added to the equation. By the end of the war, reported trail mileage had declined to 2,348 miles, but the road system had grown by 317 miles from the figure provided in 1939, and there were now 359 miles of fire roads. These statistics indicate that the fire "trails" first urged by the Warden Service in the early 1930s, and originally built to permit the movement of firefighting equipment and supplies by Caterpillar tractor, had been officially upgraded on paper to the status of roads. As well, almost half of the secondary roads reported in 1939 had disappeared from the statistics, and were now likely designated as fire or motor roads. In practice, fire roads now provided access by truck, as well as tread vehicles, to large portions of Banff, Jasper, Yoho, Glacier and Prince Albert parks, and were also present in Waterton Lakes and Kootenay. Motor roads, open to the public, had grown by ten percent.

By 1945, roads represented fully one third of the transportation network in the national parks. In 1939, roads had formed less than one quarter of this network. In practice, for the Warden Service,

22 Department of Mines and Resources, Annual Report, March 31, 1939, report of the National Parks Bureau, p. 93; ibid., report of the National Parks Bureau, March 31, 1943, p. 81. The report listed 692 miles of motor roads, 145 miles of secondary roads and 330 miles of "fire roads," for a total of 1,167 miles of park roads. March 31, 1945, report of the National Parks Bureau, p. 104.
this meant that more and more patrols were being made in cars and trucks rather than by foot or on horseback. This was particularly true in newer parks such as Prince Albert and Riding Mountain, where roads now equalled or exceeded trail mileage, and in Cape Breton Highlands, where, in 1945, there were 51 miles of motor road and just 21 miles of trails. Nor were the mountain parks immune to this phenomenon, although here the reality of patrols is difficult to discern from statistics alone.

Trails and trail maintenance were still important facets of the wardens' duties, despite the growing reliance on roads and motor cars. In 1939, Banff Warden Bill Neish was reprimanded for the slackness of his trail work. In 1940, Banff's Superintendent Jennings gave his supervising warden, Bill Potts, detailed instructions for overseeing the wardens' trail work, and suggested he allot two weeks of each month to spend with the wardens in their districts. Jennings himself intended "to come on one or two of these trips," given the importance he attached to the task. Even at Cape Breton Highlands with only about ten miles of trails, the wardens, in their first recorded work, noted how carefully they cleared them of winter debris and obstructions. Work of this nature continued in all the parks despite the increasing reliance on roads.

Perhaps the best-known motor road completed during the war was the Banff-Jasper highway, which opened for tourist traffic in June 1940. Visitor access to the fire roads was to prove a thorny issue for the wardens for some time to come. Initially, provisions were made to place chains or other barriers at fire-trail entrances to discourage casual usage. In response to pressure from commercial interests in the park, Banff Superintendent Jennings agreed, in April 1941, to allow limited access to some fire trails. At the same time, he warned Acting Controller Smart in Ottawa:

At the Warden conference yesterday afternoon and during a discussion of fire fighting methods, avenues of approach to fires, etc. I brought up the question of the use of our fire trails by other than our Warden Service, and without a single exception the Wardens were greatly opposed to any such suggestion. These trails are very narrow and it is quite impossible to pass an approaching car as there is danger to both parties in having to back up on a mountain trail."

Jennings did his best to restrict the use of these roads to park employees. This issue of access was a symptom of the growing pressures being asserted on the parks and the Warden Service, as the numbers of park visitors gradually increased. Park managers wanted to keep such roads closed, but they would face a good deal of pressure over the next quarter of a century, as visitor numbers multiplied at a dizzying rate.

### Cabin Construction

In the 1920s, more than 40 new warden cabins were built in the various parks, while repairs and additions were made to many existing structures. Some of the new structures enabled the wardens

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23 RG84, Vol. 2, B62, Part 4, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Supervising Warden W. Potts, August 4, 1939. Jennings had received a complaint about the state of Brewster Creek trail and, on examining Neish's recent monthly diaries, concluded "that far too much time has been spent on the trail between his cabin and Sunshine Lodge—this to the prejudice of other trails in his district;" ibid., May 2, 1940; ibid., Vol. 8, CBH62, Part 1, extract from superintendent's monthly report, May 1940.


to extend their patrol routes. Others were replacements for old buildings that often predated the parks and were no longer considered habitable. Warden cabins were now roughly arranged into three general categories based on size and purpose. Number one cabins, such as that at Canmore, had several bedrooms and were large enough to provide comfortably for a warden and his family. These cabins were invariably district headquarters and were usually close to road transportation. Number two cabins were two-bedroom, three-room structures located deep in a district and often in a major river valley. These too were headquarters and permanent residences for the district warden and his family, and provided a base from which he would mount his regular district patrols. A variation of the number two structure was the headquarters cabin of back-country districts. These were single-room structures but larger than patrol cabins and designed for permanent occupancy. Number three patrol cabins were smaller still, usually a single room, and intended primarily as overnight accommodation for the warden while on patrol. Windy cabin, one of the first purpose-built, one-room patrol cabins in Rocky Mountains Park, has been moved to Banff, and sits restored and furnished on the grounds of the Whyte Museum.

Despite the official recognition of three types of warden cabins in the 1920s, there were, in reality, many variations in size and amenities in different parks. Jasper Superintendent R.H. Knight, for example, complained in 1930:

> The warden on the Whirlpool area has for the past five or six years been occupying a log building 12' X 12'...This was built for the warden by the logging company and has been considered as only a make-shift. It is not large enough, neither is it at the proper location. It is considered that a cabin for this area should be farther up stream and located near the west fork which is a large stream almost equal to one half of the main stream.

Following an inspection trip in October 1924, Jasper's Supervising Warden Dick Langford, described two recently built number two cabins in these terms:

> The new cabins...at the North Fork and Hoodoo Creek are the best built cabins in the Park to date [sic] as well as being large and commodious they are splendidly built and during the heavy snow storms we have in this area were well heated by one small cooking stove.

Two years later, he wrote of the Sunwapta cabin, also a newly built number two structure:

> The new cabin at the junction of Poboktan and Sunwapta Rivers is splendidly built and will make a first class Head Quarters cabin for the warden in this area, as it is large enough to divide into rooms for a married man with a family. The weather was very cold while we were there, but we had no trouble in keeping the place warm with a cook stove alone.

The Rocky River cabin, completed in Jasper National Park in 1929, was also a "state of the art" structure. It measured 16 by 20 feet inside and boasted the usual overhanging roof and verandah on its front elevation. The resident engineer described it as "well built" and "very presentable" and

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26 The figure comes from a survey of departmental annual reports for the 1920s.

27 RG84, Vol. 147, J186, Part 2, Superintendent R.H. Knight, JNP, to Harkin, September 13, 1930.

28 RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 4, Supervising Warden Langford, JNP, to superintendent, October 22, 1924; ibid., October 26, 1926.
noted that its location was chosen to enable the resident warden to intercept parties coming into the Park, that it was well-sited for fire-control purposes and that it had natural pasture nearby for horse feed. Rocky River cabin, like most of those built in the 1920s and thereafter, was erected by a small gang of men using logs from the nearby forests. Glass and hardware were packed in by the Warden Service.

Warden cabins were stocked with a wide range of tools and utensils for which the resident warden was responsible. Equipment in one warden district of Waterton Lakes National Park included beds, stoves, telephones, cooking utensils and pots, shovels and tools, and saddles and riding accoutrements—in all, more than 60 categories of items, excluding firefighting equipment, were listed:

adzes, axes, nose bags, single folding beds, lineman belts, bridle bits, bed blankets, saddle blankets, flagpole blocks, safe boxes, carpenter braces, bridles, brush hooks, canvas fire buckets, five gallon cans, sleeve clamps, telephone pole climbers, fur coat, curry combs, compasses, saddle covers, axe and pack covers, crowbars, fire extinguishers, first aid kits, flags, manure forks, field glasses, grindstones, hobbles, halters, claw hammers, grub hoes, clasp knives, lanterns, riding lines, overalls, military packs, gallon iron pails, picks, pliers, stanley planes, gunseal punches, garden rakes, pack saddles, riding saddles, crosscut saws, one man saws, hand saws, rifle scabbards, scythes, short handled shovels, long handled shovels, snow shovels, stove shovels, wood raps, chisels, bells, files, slickers, snow shoes, spades, cook stoves, box heater stoves, wall telephones, telephone testers, steel traps, small tepees, wheelbarrows, sweat pads, brace bits, military pack saddles, enamel sink, force pump, piping, .303 Lee Enfield rifle, 30.30 Winchester rifle, logging chain.

Under "Culinary Utensils" the following were listed:

turner cake, enamel cups, vegetable dishes, table forks, syrup jugs, tea kettles, nest of kettles, butcher knives, soup ladles, roast pans, dish pans, fry pans, dinner plates, granite pots, tea pots, saucers, salt and pepper shakers, tea spoons, steel knife, baking pans.

Probably because of the growing accumulation of materiel stored even in patrol cabins, these were declared closed to public use in 1929, and arrangements were made to fit all of them with locks. The accommodation provided to wardens, while often modest, was free. Supervising wardens, by the 1920s, were required to pay a subsidy for their quarters.

Shortly after its creation in 1922, Wood Buffalo's new Warden Service began to create a series of cabins strategically located on the park's river systems. Park Officer Cumming described, in 1923, the care with which one warden cabin on the Peace River was located both from the perspective of water access and for patrol purposes. Here too, wardens used old trapping cabins, until better accommodations could be built. By 1925, cabins had been constructed at Hay Camp, Peace Point, Pine Lake and the Little Buffalo River, and existing cabins at La Butte and Point Providence had been enlarged. One report the following year described the Peace Point cabin of Warden Milne as

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29 RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 4, Resident Engineer J. B. Snape, to Superintendent Knight, JNP, October 26, 1929.
30 WLNP, Schinz Package #3, WLNP Warden Office, Box 2, File #6, list of cabin equipment, May 16, 1928.
FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/148, YNP, Box 2, YP198, Chief Warden Correspondence (S1-2), 1930-40, superintendent, YNP, to Harkin, October 23, 1930.
Figure 3-4. Proposed two-bedroom warden's cabin, Prince Albert National Park, 1938. [NA, RG84, Vol. 1768, PA189, Part 1, plans for warden cabin, PANP, 12 August 1938. C141094]

Figure 3-5. Proposed Game Warden's Cabin, Prince Albert National Park, 1937. [NA, RG84, Vol. 1768, PA189, Part 1, plans for warden cabin, PANP, 6 May 1937. C141093]
"very fine" and suggested it "as a model for future cabins that may be built through out [sic] the park." The same commentator added: "Warden D'Aoust has also made some improvements to his cabin which includes [sic] a bedroom and kitchen."31

Cabin accommodation for his wardens was one of Superintendent Wood's first concerns, when he toured the territory of Prince Albert National Park in the summer of 1927. The Park had previously been part of a federal forest reserve, and, one of their cabins, which Wood described as being "similar to our Number 2 Cabin," was to be used as quarters for a park warden. Another old forestry branch cabin containing little more than a wood stove was used on overnight patrols by Warden Walrod, until it burned in a forest fire in 1929. At least one new cabin was built, at Crean Lake, in 1929, and another cabin received plastering repairs and whitewashing the following year.32

Annual reports for all the parks, except Wood Buffalo, indicate that some 28 warden cabins were built during the 1930s. At least a third of these were simple, single-room structures designed to provide overnight shelter for patrolling wardens. Still, the extent of new construction during these lean years shows the impact of funding from the Public Works Construction Act. As more buildings were constructed in the prairie and eastern parks, officials introduced new design details to the simple log-cabin motif established in the mountain parks. As part of the administrative changes introduced in 1936, responsibility for new construction moved from the Warden Service to a new Engineering and Survey Branch. The wardens, however, remained in charge of maintenance of their structures, and all but the most major repairs.

The Devona cabin east of Jasper, photographed in 1934 to document local flooding conditions, illustrates a typical western warden district cabin of the period. Further east at Prince Albert, plans were drawn up in 1937 for a one-bedroom log cabin with separate living room and kitchen. This district warden cabin had a stone chimney and a cedar shingle roof. [see figure 3-5] A warden cabin of unspecified dimensions was erected on Beausoleil Island in Georgian Bay Islands National Park in 1931 for the use of the sole warden there, George Lyn.33

In 1938, Superintendent Wood sent Ottawa plans and elevations of a two-bedroom "standard cabin," apparently modelled on the existing structure serving the Rabbit District. He suggested that it be made the park standard "as it serves its purpose better than any other cabin we have in the Park." [see figure 3-4.] Following his promotion to the superintendency of Jasper National Park in 1938, Wood made a revealing comment to "Bim" Strong, his replacement at Prince Albert:

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I have inspected quite a number of Warden cabins [in Jasper National Park] and the Wardens in Prince Albert have no idea how lucky they are. There isn't one cabin in Jasper that could be compared favourably with the worst cabin in Prince Albert. Some of the cabins here are in terrible shape.\textsuperscript{34}

At this time, none of the purpose-built warden cabins at Prince Albert were more than ten years old.

Circumstances at Riding Mountain seem to have mirrored those at Prince Albert, at least in comparison with the older warden structures in the mountain parks. For example, the three patrol cabins built in Riding Mountain during 1938 were described as three-room structures costing $1,000.00 to $1,200.00 each, rather than the one-room shelters found further west. There were, however, limits to the largesse in the prairie parks. When Riding Mountain's Superintendent Heaslip requested warden accommodations sufficient for Acting Warden McKinnon, his wife and nine children, Ottawa replied that he should continue to reside outside the park.\textsuperscript{35}

Planning for Cape Breton Highlands' first warden housing began in 1937, but no structures were completed before the war. Initially, Ottawa officials and the first superintendent, J.P. MacMillan, chose two general locations—at Cheticamp on the west side of the park and near Pleasant Bay at the northwest boundary—with the understanding that exact locations would be determined on the basis of where the Cape Breton Trail would run and with an eye to proper pasture land for the wardens' horses. The latter requirement never became an active consideration, as the wardens of Cape Breton Highlands would patrol by automobile and, occasionally, on foot. These district headquarters for the wardens were originally designed to be of stone-wall construction, but the cost, estimated at $3,000.00 in 1937, was considered too great, and building was halted that fall with just the foundations laid and a rough flooring in place.\textsuperscript{36} Work remained at this stage on into the war, with the wardens occupying rented and appropriated properties.

Circumstances at Wood Buffalo differed from those of the southern parks, in part, because it was under a different administration and partly because hardware for building purposes had to bear high transportation costs. The result was a generally more primitive standard than that attained in the south. Park officials decided in 1932 that cabin #15 at Sucker Creek, built in 1921, was no longer habitable and should be replaced. Three wardens worked that summer to put up a log cabin measuring 12' by 14 1/2', inside dimensions, using logs cut by another warden the previous year. The walls were six feet high and chinked with mud, and the one-room structure had a peaked roof covered with "siselfibre paper" and five inches of earth. It also boasted two six-paned windows, which had been salvaged from the old cabin, along with the door and fittings. A report noted that a stove and cooking equipment had been installed, and that the wardens planned to haul in milled floor boards by horse after the fall freeze-up.\textsuperscript{37} The wardens and Superintendent McDougal seemed quite pleased with their handiwork, which would be the district headquarters for one warden.

\textsuperscript{34} RG84, Vol. 1768, PA189, Part 1, plans for warden cabin, PANP, August 12, 1938. PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-4, correspondence from Superintendent J.A. Wood, JNP, to B.I.M. Strong "Bim," acting superintendent, PANP, October 25, 1938.

\textsuperscript{35} RG84, Vol. 24, RM185, Part 1, Superintendent Heaslip, RMNP, to Controller Williamson, Wasagaming, May 19, 1939. The response appears as a comment in the margin of this letter.

\textsuperscript{36} RG84, Vol. 200, CBH189, Part 1, memo, to Chief Engineer T.S. Mills, October 6, 1937; ibid., F.H.H. Williamson, memo, to Chief Engineer T.S. Mills, October 6, 1937.

\textsuperscript{37} RG85, Vol. 152, 420-2, Part 2, McDougal, to Hume, September 6, 1932.
Dewey Soper, who would become a Canadian Wildlife Service biologist, was sent to Wood Buffalo that year to investigate warden conditions, work routines and patrol patterns as they pertained to the park buffalo. He was less than enthusiastic, pointing out:

> that a clay roof, although economical is, nevertheless, unserviceable as it holds the dampness and particularly if a cabin is closed for any length of time the contents become damp and mouldy. This condition leads to rapid deterioration of the contents. 38

Soper produced a report quite critical of the wardens, particularly their failure to patrol their districts adequately, and he documented with photographs their existing district and patrol cabins.

One result of Soper's study was a determination in Ottawa that Wood Buffalo's warden cabins "should be located at strategic points throughout the Park so that it will be necessary for these officers to do some patrolling and keep in touch with their districts." A further survey by Park Warden J. Dempsey in 1936 indicated that problems remained. Dempsey, for example, recommended that a new cabin #24 be constructed, the existing edifice being nothing more than "four rounds of logs and a frame work [sic] for a tent." The same year, park officials updated a headquarters list of 32 warden district and patrol cabins, noting that six of them no longer existed. 39

Of the remaining 26 structures, seven were permanently occupied by wardens, while the remaining 19 served as patrol cabins. The reality at Wood Buffalo, then, was quite different from accommodations for wardens in the prairie parks and rather shabby compared to the plans being made for Cape Breton Highlands National Park.

Policy regarding the construction and maintenance of warden cabins remained unchanged during the war, although, in truth, not much new construction was attempted. Annual reports for the period indicate that the following new work was completed during the war: a shelter at Medicine Lake, and a cabin, workshop and stable at Glacier (1941); cabins at Lake Minnewanka, Stoney Creek and the Spray lakes in Banff (1942); a cabin at Egypt Lake in Banff and three patrol cabins at Prince Albert to replace those that were destroyed by fire the previous year (1943); a stable and stores building at warden headquarters in Glacier (1944); and a cabin at Bryant Creek, Banff and one in Glacier (1945).

Most of the warden cabins in use during the 1940s were now at least a decade old. The older structures tended to be smaller and, not surprisingly, in less than ideal condition despite ongoing maintenance efforts. Even at a relatively new park such as Prince Albert, accommodations for the wardens often left much to be desired. There were ten district cabins here providing permanent accommodation for the warden staff, each with a collection of lesser outbuildings, barns, stables, garages, warehouses and tool sheds. The supervising warden's cabin was a 22' by 26' log structure on a cement foundation and consisted of a living room (12' by 16'), a kitchen (10' by 12'), two bedrooms (10' by 13'), and a lean-to verandah (9' by 12') that had been converted into another

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bedroom. While larger than many other district cabins, it was described in 1942 as being "much inferior to the newer warden's cabins." The supervising warden also had a garage, a frame barn, a small tool shed and an ice shack.

The district cabin at Crean Lake, described as "first class," was a frame building with log siding, measuring 19' by 27' with an added 10' by 14' kitchen. It sat on a cement foundation and boasted a full, insulated basement. As well as the attached kitchen, it had a large 19' by 19' living room and a single bedroom, 9½' by 13'. Associated with this building were a 12' by 18' warehouse and a 10' by 14' barn, both of log construction. The Boundary district cabin, also described as a "first class" building, was of frame construction with log siding, a cement foundation and an insulated cellar. It measured 19' by 27' and consisted of a living room (19' by 19'), an attached 10' by 14' kitchen and two bedrooms, again 9½' by 13' in size. The district's outbuildings consisted of a log warehouse measuring 20' by 24' (actually the former cabin), an oil house, granary and barn—all frame construction—and a shed. Most of the remaining cabins were similar, of frame construction with log siding and containing one or two bedrooms. While some could be traced back to the days when the territory was a federal forest reserve, most had been built in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and were ten to 15 years old when assessed in 1942. They give some sense of the state of warden accommodations in a newer park.

Completed at the same time, an inventory of the cabins in Kootenay National Park revealed only two relatively substantial structures. The visually appealing district log cabin at Kootenay Crossing consisted of a living room, kitchen, and two bedrooms. A similar but somewhat more modest two-room log structure served as the district cabin at Vermilion Crossing. The remaining seven park cabins, used principally as patrol stopovers, were one-room log buildings in conditions that ranged from neat to dilapidated, with the majority closer to the latter description.[Figure 5-5,6]

In his 1944 assessment of the warden organization at Banff, Bruce Mitchell stressed the deteriorating condition of many of the district and patrol cabins there. For Bankhead and Castle Mountain district cabins along main highways and tourist routes, Mitchell recommended new buildings, complete with central heating, electricity and modern plumbing, and consisting of a kitchen, bathroom, office, dining and sitting rooms, and two bedrooms. For more remote district headquarters, he suggested "a two-roomed cabin consisting of a kitchen and a bedroom." Like many of the other recommendations in this perceptive analysis, Mitchell's views on proper warden accommodations were a decade and more ahead of the times.

**Telephone Lines**

The forest-telephone systems were extended, particularly in the mountain parks, during the 1920s. By the end of the decade, there were over 850 miles of line. Jasper led with just over 300 miles in its system followed by Rocky Mountains Park with 235 miles. Prince Albert had almost 90 miles.

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Figure 3-6. Kootenay Crossing Warden Cabin, Kootenay National Park, 1942. [NA, RG84, Vol. 1663, KNP189, Part 1, photos and plans, KNP cabins, 3 September 1942. C141065]

Figure 3-7. Vermilion Crossing Warden Cabin, Kootenay National Park, 1942. [NA, RG84, Vol. 1663, KNP189, Part 1, photos and plans, KNP cabins, 3 September 1942. C141069]
while Mount Revelstoke and Waterton Lakes followed with 64 and 57 miles of line, respectively. Yoho had 44 miles, and Buffalo National Park had 34. There was no telephone system within either Elk Island or Point Pelee parks, while Wood Buffalo had but a most rudimentary line at this time.\footnote{All of these figures come from the 1930 Annual Report of the Department of the Interior. According to an article in the Edmonton Journal, August 14, 1928, Wood Buffalo had 105 miles of telephone line, 55 miles of it built that year; RG84, Vol. 53, BU232-1, Part 2, clipping. There is, however, no indication of telephone usage in the park records examined to date.}

The wardens were responsible for extending and maintaining the forest-telephone lines as the first defence against fire and as a means of passing information regarding poaching incidents. After attending a meeting of his park wardens in 1929, the superintendent of Prince Albert reported:

...some of the residents around the Park recognize no game laws and therefore hunt practically all winter. The necessity of adequate telephone lines was stressed, the contention being that if a warden left his district to patrol some other district, he should be able to communicate with one of the other wardens who would immediately arrange to take over the patrol on the first mentioned district. In this way it would not take long to catch any person watching the movements of any of our wardens.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 3, PA300, Part 3, Superintendent Wood, PANP, to Harkin, April 22, 1929.}

The forest-telephone system could also quite literally be a lifeline to the outside world, as more than one warden would discover over the years. In the mountain parks, telephone-line extensions usually accompanied trail development, since the two always occupied the same routes, and their installation was often the work of the trail gangs. For example, the installation of a telephone line in northern Jasper Park along the Willow and Snake Indian river valleys was described in 1924 as being the work of a "Telephone Gang." Here too, Harkin saw signs of a softening in the Warden Service. "Maintenance of trail and telephone lines by trail gangs," he complained in 1922, "tends to encourage the wardens to neglect their areas during the season and to discourage continuous maintenance....A programme of continuous maintenance should be carried out by Wardens."\footnote{RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 3, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, August 27, 1924; ibid., Harkin, to superintendent, JNP, January 7, 1922.}

Once established, the lines were the responsibility of the wardens through whose districts they travelled. Since the wires of most mountain-park systems were hung from living trees, rather than on poles as was necessary in open territory, storms and the resulting windfalls were a constant cause of trouble for the wardens. Strong winds not only cluttered the trails with broken branches and limbs, but also brought down the fragile, single-line systems with depressing regularity. In open areas, wooden poles were used to string the wires, particularly in portions of Waterton Lakes and in less-forested areas of Prince Albert.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 15, KNP62, Part 1, Superintendent Stronach, RMP, to Harkin, January 31, 1922. While little detail exists concerning forest-telephone technology in the 1920s, Supervising Warden Langford of Jasper does note, in a 1924 report, that the poles carrying the line to the Hoodoo Creek cabin were not under eight inches in diameter. RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 4, Supervising Warden Langford, JNP, to superintendent, October 22, 1924.}

By mid-decade, the most ambitious single line was in Jasper National Park and ran southward from the townsite to Brazeau Lake via Athabaska Falls, and the Sunwapta and Waterfalls cabins.\footnote{Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1925, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J. B. Harkin, p. 103.} In 1928, and again at Jasper, the telephone system was extended from the administration building to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{RG84, Vol. 3, PA300, Part 3, Superintendent Wood, PANP, to Harkin, April 22, 1929.}
  \item \footnote{RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 3, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, August 27, 1924; ibid., Harkin, to superintendent, JNP, January 7, 1922.}
  \item \footnote{RG84, Vol. 15, KNP62, Part 1, Superintendent Stronach, RMP, to Harkin, January 31, 1922. While little detail exists concerning forest-telephone technology in the 1920s, Supervising Warden Langford of Jasper does note, in a 1924 report, that the poles carrying the line to the Hoodoo Creek cabin were not under eight inches in diameter. RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 4, Supervising Warden Langford, JNP, to superintendent, October 22, 1924.}
  \item \footnote{Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1925, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J. B. Harkin, p. 103.}
the supervising warden's cabin, thereby assuring the wardens round-the-clock connection with headquarters' staff. For much of each day, and night, the wardens' connection would actually be with the wife of the supervising warden, now part of the telephone grid and expected to provide whatever services were required. Presumptions such as this by management became more ingrained, as the communications systems improved and grew, and, until the 1960s, there was almost never any consideration of remuneration for the "silent partners" of the Warden Service or any thought for the presumptions involved.

The story of the forest-telephone systems in the 1930s is one of new technology—revolutionary change that would, in time, completely alter the nature of warden communication within the parks. Of the existing system, there is little to be said during these years. Line mileage in all the parks grew only a modest 15 percent, from 1,039 miles in 1931 to 1,167 miles by 1939. The wardens concentrated on maintaining the existing lines and the network of communications that they represented. Despite the fragile nature of the telephone-line system, one break being enough to disrupt the line, the wardens were largely successful in their endeavours. Breaks were invariably repaired quickly, and lines were seldom down for long.

The cost of such efficiency was continual patrolling and repair work by the wardens of forest-telephone lines that were constantly disrupted by storms, windfalls and fires. Officials considered radio as an alternative to wire-based communications in the 1920s, but the costs and the rudimentary nature of the new technology convinced park officials to stay with their telephones. In the later 1930s, radios were reassessed for their performance and were installed in at least two parks before the onset of the Second World War.

The first park to use radios for warden communications was Cape Breton Highlands, which would continue to pioneer in the medium for several decades. The special lure of radio here was the absence of any telephone system to link the eastern and western administrative centres of the park, at Ingonish and Cheticamp respectively, and the expense and effort entailed in creating one from scratch. The first experiments with radio communications occurred in 1938, when the installation of two wireless sets, presumably at the two park centres, provided coverage over a 20-mile radius. Much of the park lay outside this range, but it was a beginning.

The same year at Prince Albert National Park, experiments were conducted with radio equipment provided by the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources. With one radio set established at the Waskesiu townsit, the wardens moved a second about, and conversations were held among the wardens at Boundary Cabin, Montreal Lake, Emma Lake and Lac La Ronge. The superintendent reported that:

...it was a very successful demonstration of the usefulness of a radio in our type of work and I would strongly recommend...this type of communication for our Parks be seriously considered.\(^49\)

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\(^{48}\) Department of Mines and Resources, *Annual Report*, March 31, 1938, report of the National Parks Bureau, p. 88, ibid., 1939, p. 99, reported that the radio at Ingonish was a 15-watt set, while that at Cheticamp had five watts of power.

\(^{49}\) PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA192, superintendent, to controller, September 20, 1939.
The war, which had just begun, would funnel such equipment to military needs, but radio replaced the forest telephone in the postwar era.

During the war, little change occurred in the forest-telephone networks built up in the previous three decades. In Banff, some 18 miles of line were replaced in 1940, and, the following year, ten miles of new line were added in Banff, and six in Riding Mountain. Another five miles of replacement work occurred at Jasper and Waterton Lakes that year. In 1942, 20 more miles of line were added in Banff, and a similar amount of repair work was carried out in Jasper, Yoho and Elk Island parks. Almost 100 miles of line had to be replaced the next year in Banff, Kootenay and especially Riding Mountain, where 65 miles of wire were replaced.

The schematic diagram below shows the status of Jasper’s forest-telephone network in 1941. With headquarters in Jasper townsite as its focal point, it consisted of nine radiating lines, some of which had sublines. There were as many as 12 telephones and as few as one serviced by a single line. In total, there were 49 telephones in the Jasper system at this time.\(^{50}\)

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\(^{50}\) JNP, Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, acc. # 85.26.3 [Wardens’ Cabins], January 13, 1940 to May 10, 1966, Jasper Park Telephone System, March 1, 1941.
Expanding the System, 1921-45

The year 1944 saw minor replacement efforts in Banff, Jasper, Kootenay, Yoho and Waterton Lakes, and, crossing Point Pelee, a dual telephone/electricity line for the benefit of southern Ontario residents. In the last year of the war, the only telephone work done throughout the system was the extension of a line eastward from the townsite of Jasper to the Palisades, a distance of about six miles. This neglect of the telephone system would give an added boost to the arguments in favour of radio communication for the parks in the postwar years. In Bruce Mitchell’s 1944 study of the Banff Warden Service mentioned above, he reported that a portion of the forest-telephone network was now open to the operators of bungalow camps and thus could not be used for secure communications by the wardens. Most of his attention in this aspect of the wardens’ work, however, focussed on the recently acquired radio transmitters and receivers, which he viewed, quite rightly, as the system of the future.

Prior to the war, some experimental work had been done with radio communications, and, while the technology seemed to offer promise for the future, its limitations were all too evident at the time. More than one retired warden has commented on the vagaries and general unreliability of the radio sets available in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Nevertheless, the obvious benefits of reliable radio communication, to say nothing of being able to abandon the endless work required to maintain the fragile forest-telephone networks, spurred the wardens on.

In 1940, two 15-watt Marconi transmitters were installed in Cape Breton Highlands as part of a continuing test. A number of radios were tested in Banff and Jasper parks the following year, but with such mixed results that Controller Smart refused the request of Yoho’s acting supervising warden for similar equipment later that year. Late in 1941, efforts to communicate over a week-long period among sets stationed at Field, Jasper, the Ya-Ha-Tinda Ranch and three portable sets located in various parts of Jasper park, in daylight, were “without success, except between Field and Banff which reception was very poor.” At the same time, tests to communicate between Jasper and Banff were described as “most satisfactory.”

By 1942, radio equipment was installed in Banff, Jasper, Prince Albert, Riding Mountain and Cape Breton Highlands parks. At Prince Albert, four district warden stations—Kingsmere, Crean, Boundary cabins and the supervising warden’s cabin at Waskesiu—were equipped with elaborate ground and aerial wires, the latter set at least 35 feet above the ground and stretching 135 feet.

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52 Bruce Mitchell, for example, found the radios first used in Banff in the 1940s to be woefully inadequate to the task of providing dependable communication throughout the park. Like many of his compatriots, he found that radio signals could best be sent and received after sunset. This was a restriction that made the early technology virtually useless for dealing with park emergencies, which, of course, could occur anytime. It was not until the advent of more powerful equipment and the installation of repeater stations that radio transmissions could be safely relied on and the old forest-telephone networks could be allowed to disappear. Warden History #8, oral interview with Bruce Mitchell, November 28, 1983.
53 Department of Mines and Resources, Annual Report, March 31, 1941, report of the National Parks Bureau, p. 84. RG84, Vol. 176, Y192, Part 1, Acting Controller J. Smart, to superintendent, YNP, August 28, 1941; ibid., F.H.R. Jackson, acting supervising warden, to acting superintendent, YNP, G.F. Horsey, August 20, 1941. Jackson had asked for six sets, three permanent radios to be located at Field, Glacier and Revelstoke, and three portable sets (they weighed 60 pounds with their batteries and wooden carrying box), which could be “used in the case of a forest fire any distance from our present telephone lines or in any other emergency requiring constant contact with headquarters.” ibid., extract from report on warden activities, BNP, November 1941; ibid., extract from superintendent’s monthly report, November 1941, YNP.
Expanding the System, 1921-45

Superintendent Knight explained that he wanted the wardens to be operating their radios well before the park fire season began to "enable them to become more proficient operators by overcoming mike shyness on their part." Each warden was instructed to maintain a log of calls, keeping track of the weather and noting any special ground or antenna arrangements he might have made. The logs were to be turned in to park headquarters at the end of each month along with the warden's diary. At the same time, similar experiments were carried out by the wardens at Yoho, with results that were satisfactory to park officials there. Radios continued to be used in these parks during the remainder of the war years, but no effort was made to purchase more equipment or to extend radio communications to other parks.

The Ya-Ha-Tinda Ranch

This 9,750-acre property, which sits in the Red Deer River Valley just east of the present boundary of Banff, has had a complex history since its first connection with the national parks early in the twentieth century. Leased for a time to members of the Brewster family who were Banff outfitters and guides, as a source of winter forage for their pack and riding horses, the ranch also served occasionally as a base for illegal hunting operations, as it moved in and out of the park with the latter's boundary changes. Unable to renew their Crown lease, the Brewsters finally vacated the ranch land in 1917, and it was absorbed again into Rocky Mountains Park. The Ya-Ha-Tinda became a district warden headquarters and, just after the First World War, a centre for wintering the warden horses of the mountain parks. By the 1920s, an annual ritual had developed, whereby the horses of Banff, Yoho, Kootenay and Glacier park wardens were brought to the ranch each fall. In the spring, they returned to their respective parks to serve as saddle and pack horses till the coming fall. In 1930, the ranch was permanently separated from Banff park, but retained by the Warden Service. When Banff's supervising warden, Bill Potts, made an inspection tour of the ranch in June 1940, he found it to be "in splendid shape." In 1945, Potts' successor, Bruce Mitchell, made a similar inspection and reported:

...we will have about 15 two and three year old horses which should be broken for saddle and pack horses before next summer, and I am therefore hoping to put a man at the Ranch this winter who will do this work, and assist [Warden Cliff] Murphy with patrol work at the same time. There was a good hay crop at the Ranch this year, and we secured about 45 tons of brome hay and 15 tons of wild hay. This hay is used to feed our young colts after they have been weaned.

It should, perhaps, be noted here as well that Mitchell had recently suggested that the ranch property be sold and a new, more accessible ranch purchased, where horses would be bred as well as wintered. At this time, colts were broken and trained as warden mounts on a regular basis, and a breeding program, established at the ranch in the 1930s, was supplying horses for the mountain

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Figure 3-9. Ya-Ha-Tinda Ranch, 1931. [Mitchell Collection]
Figure 3-10. Ya-Ha-Tinda house, c. 1931 [Mitchell Collection]
parks. The purpose of the ranch at the end of the war, then, remained twofold: to graze park horses during the harsh mountain winters, and to prepare new animals for their duties as wardens' saddle and pack horses.

The importance of the horse-breeding and training program has grown over the years, as warden recruits increasingly entered the service with little if any knowledge of riding and horsemanship skills. Efforts have been made over the years, from a variety of quarters, to end the horse-raising program and to sell off the Ya-Ha-Tinda. To date, these efforts have not been successful.

**Fire Suppression: New Techniques, New Equipment**

The 1920s witnessed rapid developments in forest firefighting technology and equipment, much of it prompted by parks officials, and a few fierce conflagrations in the mountain parks. From a collection of 30 pumps across the system at the beginning of the decade, the park inventory grew to well over 100 units by 1930, some of which weighed a fraction of those introduced a dozen years before. Weight, and portability, were often crucial factors in subduing fires in rough terrain, far from water sources. As the chief firefighting force in the parks, the Warden Service developed a system of training that facilitated the introduction of new techniques and worked well in practice.

![Figure 3-11. Practising with firefighting equipment, Rocky Mountain National Park, 1921.](image-url)
From the establishment of the Warden Service, park officers had attempted to share knowledge and experience among all the mountain parks, particularly in fire-prevention and suppression measures. Thus, when Howard Sibbald was given responsibility for overseeing wardens in all the mountain parks in 1921, he was also designated Dominion Parks Fire Inspector. His expertise was to be available to all the parks, and he was expected to coordinate the exchange of men and equipment among the parks in the event of fire emergencies.

Also centralized was the effort to develop new firefighting equipment for forest use. Sibbald oversaw the testing, near Banff, of a new Bickle fire pump in May 1921. He considered the tests "very successful" and the Bickle pump "the most efficient Fire Protection Equipment we have received to date." The image suggests the pressure that was available with the pump using 750 feet of hose at an elevation of 25 feet above the source water. Diminished pressure was available, when water was pumped through 2,000 and 3,000 feet of hose at 150 and 250 feet of elevation. Sibbald reported that the pump, when set up on the Spray Bridge, was able to lift water 20 feet straight up without difficulty, a performance that he thought would serve well in the field. The only improvement that he recommended was the addition of an automatic relief valve to stop hoses bursting from overpressure from obstructions or kinks in the hose. Sibbald also sent photographs showing the pack-saddle arrangement, whereby one horse could transport two pumps into the back country.

Together, the pumps weighed 268 pounds and could be carried "any distance" by a good strong horse. Sibbald had six one-gallon cans made that could be carried, three to a box, by one horse. He estimated that it would require four pack horses to transport two pumps, six gallons of gasoline and 2,000 feet of hose. About this time, some thought was given to devising a horse-drawn skid for a heavier fire pump, and, by 1930, Supervising Warden Knight at Waterton Lakes had devised and built a trail cart, which could carry a heavy pump, 1,500 feet of hose and assorted tools.

The Annual Report for 1922 referred to "a new and improved model of the small portable gasoline fire-pump, designed by the Canadian National Parks Branch for fighting fires in the parks," but what park officials actually seem to have done was to adapt an existing, commercially available pump to forest use. A new high-pressure pump was tested, and a number of units ordered, over the next two years. By mid-decade, Jasper National Park was supplied with portable pumps manufactured by Evinrude and Fairbanks Morse, each weighing almost 100 pounds and equipped with 1,500 to 2,000 feet of hose. These too were horse-portable or could be carried by two men. In 1927, Rocky

57 Interestingly, this effort faltered beyond the mountain parks. Neither the techniques nor the infrastructure of the Warden Service, for example, were extended much beyond the mountain parks until the 1930s. This was in part because of the differing circumstances and needs of parks such as Buffalo, Point Pelee and St. Lawrence Islands. It was also likely in part the result of the personal interests and concerns of major figures such as Harkin and Sibbald. Wood Buffalo was literally unique, governed as it was by a different headquarters’ branch and differing rules. RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, YNP, September 13, 1921.

58 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 37, G-3-1, Forest Fires and Forest Fire Equipment, Vol. 1, 1920-21, Sibbald, to superintendent, RMP, May 5, 1921.

Mountains Park Superintendent R. S. Stronach experimented with pumps weighing 230 pounds each and designed to be mounted on automobiles. At the same time, portable pumps weighing just 45 pounds were developed "as a result of investigations at Head Office," and 35 of these models were in use in the mountain parks by 1929.60

Park officials also experimented with new firefighting tools ranging from "Royal Worcester Fire Brooms" to wide-angle lanterns for night firefighting. Fire equipment maintained at the parks included, as well as Wajax, Evinrude and Fairbanks pumps, Geikie water bags, canvas pails and tanks—the latter for relaying water from one pump to another—and assorted hoses, couplings, nozzles, strainers, wrenches and other tools.61 Each warden was also issued shovels, hoes, axes and canvas buckets, while caches of equipment, large and small, were stockpiled at strategic locations throughout the parks for easy access, when fires were discovered.


61 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, Box 7, E2-4 (old file G-1), Equipment, Forest Fire, October 1926-March 1928, Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, June 4, 1927; ibid., Box 8, E2-4, Equipment, Forest Fire, Vol. 2, April 1928-April 1931, Harkin per Williamson, to superintendent, RMP, May 22, 1928. WLNP, Schintz Package #3, WLNP Warden Office, Box 2, File #6, list of fire equipment, April 1, 1927.
Figure 3-14. By 1930, Warden Knight at Waterton had devised and built a trail cart which could carry a heavy pump, 1,500 feet of hose and assorted tools. [Schintz Collection]

Figure 3-15. The heavy hand cart shown here obviously belonged to the same era. [Schintz Collection]
Behind the hardware were ever-evolving fire-prevention and -suppression plans and techniques. Systematic training programs to increase the effectiveness of the Warden Service's firefighting activities began in the 1920s. Harkin prepared the first park fire-prevention manual in draft form in March 1921 and sent it to the superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park for his review. It gave a good overview of park policy at the time. As preventive measures, the wardens were urged to post fire notices, warn campers and park contractors about the dangers of fire in the forest, build fire guards, burn slash at the proper times, investigate fires for their causes and prosecute offenders zealously. Wardens were encouraged to know their legal powers in calling people out to fight fires, and to familiarize themselves with their district and its danger points. Wardens were admonished to keep their tools in good condition, maintain their trails and telephone lines, and know where water was available throughout their districts. They were to consider, before emergencies developed, where camps should best be established and where the best lookouts were. During the fire season, wardens were to step up their patrols and to keep in touch by telephone with adjoining wardens.

A warden discovering a fire was to assess its extent and immediate danger, and to determine if he could handle it or would require help. It was the local warden's duty to manage incoming workers, arrange for food and water, organize the crews and oversee their work until the arrival of a supervising warden. Fire crews were to be broken down into small gangs of eight to ten men, each with a straw boss to direct it. Harkin's manual also offered suggestions for actually dealing with a fire. Small fires in calm air could be beaten out at their edges. Larger fires or windy conditions called for the creation of fire breaks in the soil or among the combustible surface material. The manual explained the use of back burning to head off a fire and how to create soil breaks in different conditions. Mornings and evenings were the best times to combat fires, and, once checked, fires had to be watched carefully, until rain quenched them, lest they break out again. By mid-decade, wardens were routinely trained each year on the operation and maintenance of the various pumps and firefighting equipment available to them. In 1924, Ottawa concluded an agreement with British Columbia for joint fire-protection along a two-mile-wide stretch of territory on the western boundaries of the federal parks in British Columbia.

In 1928, a central store of equipment was established at Banff, but was available to any mountain park as needed. Four Evinrude high-pressure portable pumps, complete with suction strainers and hose, were the first pieces of equipment thus set aside. The material was to be maintained by Rocky Mountains Park staff and loaned out to other parks, not just in fire emergencies, but also as loan equipment to replace items being repaired and thus temporarily out of service. The purpose of centralized stores was to make the best use of limited resources. Jasper Superintendent Maynard S. Rogers perhaps best summed up the attitude of park officers when he wrote: "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Safety."

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62 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 37, G-3-1, Forest Fires and Forest Fire Equipment, Vol. 1, 1920-21, Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, March 1, 1921.
63 RG84, Vol. 13, J185, Part 1, N.C. Sparks, JNP, to Harkin, February 13, 1925. WLNP, Schinz Package #3, WLNP Warden Office, Box 2, File #6, memo, February 26, 1924.
64 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, Box 8, E2-4, Equipment, Forest Fire, Vol. 2, April 1928-April 1931, Harkin per Williamson, to Chief Engineer J.M. Wardle, National Parks of Canada, Banff, May 31, 1928. RG84, Vol. 13, J185, Part 1, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, August 18, 1926. Rogers included the following printed note for Harkin's edification:

FIRE SIGN USED IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON  TYPICALLY U.S.
THIS IS GODS COUNTRY  DO NOT MAKE IT LOOK LIKE HELL BY FIRE
THE Evinrude Portable Pressure Pumper was originally designed for forest work. In that capacity it has proved indispensable. Hundreds of these pumps are now in active use in the forest regions of the United States, Canada and practically every country in which the conservation of timber is practiced.

As with every meritorious product, outstanding success under such trying conditions has brought the Evinrude pumper into use for a great variety of work. Prominent among these additional uses are fire protection for farms, villages, resorts, private estates, golf-courses, etc., and water supply, irrigation, spraying, etc.

**Lightweight Twin Pumper**

This new unit is built to supply the demand for a reliable pumping unit of extremely light weight. The outfit weighs only 52 pounds yet it is sturdy and powerful.

Because of its extreme capacity and portability, this outfit can be rushed to the scene of a fire quickly. If other means of conveyance are impractical the outfit together with necessary hose is carried in through almost impenetrable forest on the backs of two men. Upon reaching the fire the hose is quickly attached and the outfit in operation before the fire has gained much headway, and before the heavier, large capacity equipment is brought up.

The power plant is the Evinrude 6 H.P. high speed "Fleetwin" unit. Besides being the last word in opposed type motor construction, it has a number of special features. The electric light gives a steady flow of brilliance for night time operation. Magneto supplies the current when motor is running. When motor is not in operation, 6 volt battery is "plugged in" at the socket provided for this purpose.

The cylinders and crank case are reinforced and held in rigid alignment by the bridge-like inlet manifold, to which the auto type carburetor is fastened. Carburetor has float and needle valve; throttle with slow, speed and stop positions. Quick starting and non flooding.

The pump is of the same high grade construction and design as that used on the larger Evinrude Pumper. Has oversize bearings with large grease cup lubricators. Pressure gauge provided. Standard 1/2 inch hose fittings are interchangeable with those used on our larger unit.

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**Figure 3-16.** Portable Evinrude pumps, 1927. [NA, FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, Box 8, E2-4, Equipment, Forest Fire, Vol. 2, April 1928-Apr. 1931, Harkin per Williamson, to chief engineer J.M. Wardle, National Parks of Canada, Banff, 31 May 1928, enclosure. C141124]
The wardens’ firefighting capabilities were most sorely tested in the second half of the decade following several years of relative calm. A fire on the Panther River near the eastern boundary of Rocky Mountains Park earned Warden A.L. Allison the commendation of Ottawa.  

The year 1926 probably produced the worst fires of the decade in the mountain parks, when hot, dry conditions combined with high winds and little rain to create optimum forest-fire conditions. In Yoho, a fire entered the park and, fanned by strong winds, covered seven miles in two days. At one point, it almost enveloped and trapped some 20 men who were on their way to fight it. The worst fire of the year occurred in Kootenay, where the wardens were hard-pressed, despite the assistance of 200 temporary firefighters. Two women and two children perished, when their automobile was caught on the Banff-Windemere highway between advancing walls of flame. Park authorities also lost a stretch of forest along the highway in this fire, although, in the long run, it served to open wider vistas to the passing motorists.

The same weather conditions brought fire to Jasper and Rocky Mountains parks that year. In the latter park, fire raged in the Kananaskis River valley for over a month in the late summer of 1926. Supervising Warden Warren has left the following vivid account of the fire and the efforts of the park wardens to overcome it:

On July 28th at about 6 p.m. Warden Naylor phoned from Boundary Cabin (Kananaskis River) to say that he had found a fire at the old Eau Claire Camp on the Kananaskis River and that he could handle this fire if he had a [pump] unit and six men. A unit, equipment and provisions were taken to Kananaskis Dude Ranch and Foreman B. Woodworth and six men were sent with horses to the scene of the fire, arriving at the fire about 6 a.m. on the 29th July, when they immediately commenced pumping water. They had a distance of about 31 miles to travel in the dark. They fought the fire which had only gained about half an acre since it was discovered at 5 p.m. the previous evening and had the fire well in hand when the wind got up about 2 p.m. and blew fire all over the surrounding country and across the river. The men fighting the fire had to make a hasty retreat, but they managed to save the unit and other equipment, with the exception of 500 feet of 1 1/2" hose.

In a few minutes the fire was quite beyond control and was burning fiercely on both sides of the river and helped with a strong wind. It ran through the second growth of Jack Pine at a terrific speed, there being quite a lot of deadfall and old slashings of the lumber company which had been cut some 20 years or more ago to help it along.

In the animal parks where forest cover was more limited, fire was less of a threat. Certainly in the 1920s, fire was an infrequent visitor to Wood Buffalo with its large areas of muskeg, sloughs and river basins. At Buffalo and Elk Island national parks, fire guards were ploughed along the boundary each year to halt the spread of the grass fires that occasionally raced across the prairies. Despite

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66 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1927, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J. B. Harkin, p. 94. RG84, Vol. 187, KNP13-16, Part 1, Chief Engineer J.M. Wardle, to Harkin, July 24, 1926. The two husbands who went for help survived. It was determined, after the tragedy, that the four victims would likely have lived too, had they taken any course of action other than remaining where they were.

67 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, Box 7, E2-4 (old file G-1), Equipment - Forest Fire, October 1926-March 1928, Supervising Warden Warren, to superintendent, RMP, November 19, 1926.
these precautions, Buffalo park lost 1,000 acres of grazing land to fire in 1921.68

At Prince Albert National Park, on the other hand, fire was a constant summer threat and a frequent occurrence. In its very first year as a park, it experienced a fire that was vividly reported by Acting Superintendent Wood and could serve as the model for many future conflagrations. As Wood described it:

...on Friday, September 9th, at five o’clock in the afternoon we received word from the Forestry Branch that one of their tower men had located a fire close to Red Deer Cabin in the PANP.

I immediately proceeded to the scene and found that Mr. Shaw had located some Indians and taken them in on the South end, and that temporary Warden Merrell had moved the road gang, who were located near Bear Trap Cabin, to the fire. I returned the same night to Prince Albert and obtained thirteen more men, who proceeded to the fire on Saturday morning. The fire by this time was moving South. Considerable difficulty was experienced in combating [sic] it as there was no water in the district. About 5 a.m. a small slew was discovered to the South West of the Park, and by running about two thousand feet of hose and using a relay tank, we were able with another unit to check the fire on the South end. The West side was comparatively over on account of a large muskeg being located there.

About eight o’clock on Saturday morning the wind switched from the North to the South and that day the fire again got away from us. About 6 p.m. on Saturday we were able to place a gang on the face of the fire at the North end. We cut a fire guard about thirty feet wide across the face and successfully back-fired. The fire was again held about 3 a.m. At this time there were indications of approaching rain, which started about 6 a.m. and helped us considerably in the control.

I do not think that we will experience any further trouble with this fire. We are maintaining a heavy patrol at the present time, catching any spot or finger fires which may develop.69

The next spring, Wood was again reporting fires entering the Park in a routine that would become all too familiar to the Warden Service of Prince Albert National Park over the coming decades.

Despite the skills hard won in the western mountain parks, the wardens, particularly at Prince Albert, had a formidable task in confronting forest fires with the technology available in the 1920s. Perhaps because of the severity of the fire danger there, Superintendent Wood was one of the few park officials to support using Caterpillar tractors in fire-suppression work, pointing out that his wardens had subdued several fires already by plowing a fire guard. "A tractor," he wrote:

with a good heavy plow capable of plowing through underbrush, etc. would provide a trench from which back-firing could easily and safely be started...it would be invaluable for the transporting of supplies, etc. into outlying areas, as a tractor can go places where it would be impossible to take a team and wagon. It would be extremely valuable on the construction of a fire line, especially through areas of dead fall.70

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69 RG84, Vol. 20, PA185, Part 1, Acting Superintendent Wood, PANP, to Harkin, September 12, 1927.
70 RG84, Vol. 18, PA62, Part 2, superintendent, PANP, to Harkin, October 25, 1929.
Superintendent Wood also noted using an aircraft in battling fire No. 11 of the 1930 season. Air transportation would, in time, prove to be the key to successful fire-suppression—a success that, ironically, would come just as new questions arose about the proper role of fire in forest development.

Considering that the Depression years were a period of financial constraints, the science and art of firefighting advanced markedly in the national parks. New equipment, some of it designed and built by the wardens themselves, appeared on the scene. Existing tools were tested for optimum performance and output on a regular basis. Procedures for marshalling and applying fire-suppression resources were continually studied and improved. The wardens saw themselves in a war against fire. As in their efforts against predators and poachers, unceasing vigilance was viewed as the key to success.

The hand cart, engineered and built by Supervising Warden Herb Knight of Waterton Lakes in the late 1920s, offers a good example of equipment created and improved on within the parks. Photographs of the original cart, designed to transport a heavy water pump over forest trails, were sent first to Ottawa and then on to Supervising Warden Warren at Banff in 1931. Warren added Ford automobile wheels to the original design, producing a man-drawn machine that could be navigated over Banff’s trail system. Knight subsequently devised a cart that would transport two pumping units, and Warren further refined his version, so that it could be pulled by a horse up an 18-percent grade. By mid-1931, pilot versions of these carts were in operation in Waterton Lakes and Banff. Commercially produced light-weight equipment available at this time included the Wajax hand pump, and associated water bag and water tank, each designed to be carried in backpack fashion. It is likely that the hand carts came to occupy a less-essential role in fire suppression with the introduction of Caterpillar tractors later in the decade and the consequent upgrading of fire trails, noted above.

The most important piece of equipment in combating forest fires was the portable gasoline-powered water pump. The Warden Service, particularly in the mountain parks, was continually monitoring developments in this field, testing new products and refining techniques. In 1932, Banff wardens

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tested a U.S.-made Barton centrifugal pump at Lake Minnewanka. The pump was powered by a model "A" Ford motor, both mounted on a trailer with two balloon-tired wheels for towing behind a truck or car. This combination was able to pump two streams of water at 65 pounds pressure about 100 feet at a rate of 300 gallons per minute. A single stream at about 110 pounds pressure sent 200 gallons per minute a distance of 110 feet.  

Similar tests were conducted the following year using a new Barton pump and a model "B" Ford motor. This system, tested with one, two, and three hoses operating, performed slightly better than its predecessor, shooting about the same quantity of water to distances of 120 feet. In 1936, Banff wardens experimented with a Barton pump fitted in different locations on a new Ford truck. That summer, the new equipment and the fire-trail-enlargement policy now under way came together with good results. Supervising Warden Warren wrote of a Banff fire just extinguished:

The new improved trail up the Cascade was a great boon, as it was possible to drive the truck with the equipment right to the end of the road, and from there it was only a short distance to the fire. If we had to pack and send horses out it is highly possible that the fire would have been very serious, and would have cost more to extinguish than the cost of building the improved trail.  


Sometimes, the wardens recommended technical improvements to existing equipment as in the suggestion made from Banff in 1937 that the Evinrude pumps supplied by Wajax be equipped with a blow-off or safety valve to absorb the back pressure created, when a hose kinked in use. The Barton pumps had such a feature, and, without it, the Evinrude pumps could stall, shear a pin or even break a crankshaft. The latter possibility could spell disaster at a fire. Later, Wajax pumps incorporated rubber water impellers, which could adjust to blockages without stalling. This advance allowed firefighters to add hose to a line, using a hose clamp, without having to shut down the pump. When construction and park maintenance was put in the hands of the new Engineering unit in 1936, the Warden Service argued, successfully, that it continue to be responsible for keeping the fire pumps in good repair.74

The Warden Service continued to search for new and better means of transport for firefighting duties. When their patrol boat on Lake Minnewanka was condemned in 1930, the wardens lobbied for a new one. By the fall of 1932, they had obtained an 18-foot runabout with a 16-horsepower Johnson outboard motor. It was capable of 18 to 20 miles per hour, carrying one warden and had been tested to 1,200 pounds. With five men aboard, it managed 10 miles per hour. It was considered adequate for warden patrols but rather slow when loaded down with firefighting equipment, as it would be when responding to a fire near the lake shore.75 Its speed, when carrying two standard and one light-twin fire pumps, hose and other equipment, and four men, was estimated at no more than seven miles per hour.

Improvisation was a common means of adding to the range of park firefighting tools during the


Depression. When he noticed an abandoned Kelly-Springfield truck at the Banff dump, Yoho Superintendent Russell asked if he could use its wheels and part of the frame to make a trailer for his Warden Service—presumably to transport firefighting pumps along park trails. In the mid-1930s, Banff wardens designed and fabricated gasoline-storage containers shaped for pack-horse transport. Each pair of the galvanized iron containers held 17 gallons, and Banff officials suggested that Ottawa have enough made up for all the parks to lower the unit costs. The metal canisters fitted inside specially made wooden outer cases and represented a feasible means of transporting gasoline into the back country to fuel fire-suppression pumps.

It was during these years that Banff wardens first experimented with sets of stereoscopic photographs for fire watchers to pinpoint fire locations and to quickly direct fire crews to the scene. Another facet of fire detection in the 1930s was the use of aerial patrols, both in the mountain and prairie parks. The Royal Canadian Air Force began regular fire-season patrols of Riding Mountain National Park in 1931 to assist the wardens there who, with two assistants each during the fire season, were responsible for patrolling districts that averaged 200 square miles. Regular air patrols were also maintained at Prince Albert and were tried on an experimental basis at Jasper in 1932. In 1937, the Royal Canadian Air Force turned its patrol duties for Riding Mountain and Prince Albert parks over to Canadian Airways of Winnipeg. This private concern continued the patrols into the 1940s. By the end of the decade, pilots in float-equipped aircraft at Prince Albert watched for fires, and ferried men and equipment in to fight them.

Steel and wooden fire-observer towers stood in both parks in 1938, connected by telephone with park headquarters. In the fight against fire, the wardens had learned that speed was their best ally. The more quickly they could respond to the first signs of fire, the more likely they were to extinguish the blaze, before it could become established and gain momentum. The need for speed and planning animated many of the procedures and techniques developed by the Warden Service in these years.

The rules, established at the beginning of the decade by Supervising Warden J.R. Warren to guide Banff wardens, give a clear indication of the intensity of the campaign against fire. Warren first stressed that the individual put in charge of a fire-suppression base camp should be carefully chosen for his responsibility and knowledge of firefighting. If possible, the person should be a warden. Banff's wardens were warned that they could only expect permission to leave their district during the fire season in cases of extreme emergency. They were also advised to lay in sufficient supplies in their district, so that they could remain there throughout the danger period, and were to carry fire-suppression equipment with them on their patrols. They were to keep the supervising warden aware...
Figure 3-20. A pack horse carrying two units, Banff National Park, 1935. [NA, FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 9, F3 (old file G3-1), Fires-Forest, general correspondence, Vol. 1, Jan 1935-Dec. 1939, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, 13 February 1935. C141118]
of where they planned to be each day and to take charge of any fire in their district until relieved by the supervising warden. Warren reminded his men of their responsibility for maintaining all equipment in their district. They were also expected to know the local water sources and which portions of their territory held special fire hazards.

Improvements and innovations came from other parks as well. In 1932, acting superintendent at Riding Mountain, John Smart, formerly with the Forestry Branch, set up a manpower schedule to deal with his park's fire- and game-infraction problems. The park employed six full-time wardens in the early 1930s, one for each district. Smart added two temporary patrolmen per district, each responsible to the district warden. They were hired for the fire season from the beginning of April to the end of May and could be kept beyond this date, if circumstances warranted the expenditure. In the fall and winter, from mid-August on, one patrolman was brought on strength to serve in each district for game protection. Thus, except for the summer period from June 1 to mid-August, each district was protected by a warden and a patrolman, while, in the fire season, two patrolmen were on duty. Similar, though less definite, arrangements existed in all the parks to bolster the Warden Service during critical periods.

Park officials also co-operated with provincial and even U.S. authorities in these years. Prince

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80 RG84, Vol. 24, RM185, Part 1, Acting Superintendent Smart, RMNP, to Harkin, February 8, 1932.
Albert National Park had an understanding with the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources that both would work to contain fires developing near the park boundaries. In 1936, Waterton Lakes sent eight men and five pumps across the international border to assist with an especially tenacious fire in Glacier National Park. In 1939, headquarters’ staff devised the idea of honorary fire guardians—individuals who would volunteer to watch for park fires and would work to assist the Warden Service in fire emergencies. The concept was designed to appeal to individuals who lived in or near a park and who perhaps owed their livelihood to the tourism that it generated. (See figure 3-20) These fire guardians received some training, were issued a certificate of their status and were expected not only to watch for and report fires but also to volunteer in combatting them. At Yoho, for example, the initial list of honorary fire guardians consisted of the managers of local tourist camps and the five Swiss guides who were active in the park. It was clear from park correspondence that these "honorary" fire guardians were expected to assist the wardens in suppressing fires.

![Figure 3-22. Blank copy of an honourary fire guardian certificate, 1939.](image)
Also, by the end of the decade, each park was being encouraged to devise its own fire plans and maps as a means of preparing for the seemingly inevitable onslaught of forest fire. Each warden was to receive a copy of his park's plan, so that he would know in detail how to respond to a fire emergency in any part of the park. By the end of the decade, then, parks staff and particularly the Warden Service had devoted a great deal of time, thought and energy to the problems of preventing and suppressing fire in the national parks. Further advances in recording methods would occur in the next decade, but real improvements in the wardens' firefighting capabilities would have to await the introduction of helicopter transportation several decades later.

There were numerous fires in parks across the system during these years, and a few of them were documented quite vividly and in detail. These reports, while hardly an exhaustive review, do provide a good insight into the mechanics of firefighting in the 1930s—and a sense of the technology, the problems and the dangers involved.

Fires were less common in Cape Breton Highlands than in the prairie parks, but, when they did occur, the rough terrain could present particular difficulties. Some of these problems are evident in the account forwarded to Ottawa by Superintendent MacMillan in 1937. He wrote about what appears to have been the park's first significant fire:

...a forest fire that broke out about noon on July 12th., on the top of a mountain in the North Mountain range between Sugar Loaf and Big Intervale bridge. The fire was quite a distance outside the Park, but from the dry condition of the forests would have spread quite rapidly, if allowed to gain headway.

At the time the report came in, accompanied by two of the Wardens, I was out testing one of the Wajax pumps. We immediately rushed one Wajax pump, some back pumps and a supply of hose to the scene of the fire. Mr. Fenton and a Mr. Cross from Ottawa accompanied us.

The fire was on the face of a very steep mountain about 800 feet up from a scanty water supply. Our first examination assured us that we had to have more pumps on the scene, so Mr. Buchanan the Chief Warden was sent to Headquarters to bring out two more pumps and a good supply of hose. While Mr. Buchanan was away, we explored the nearest stream of water for a pool sufficiently large to keep the pumps going and also carrying our line of hose up the face of the mountain, an extremely difficult thing to do, as it was one of the meanest ranges of mountain in Cape Breton. When the pumps arrived a Wajax which was mounted on a stretcher carrier was taken up the side of the hill about 300 feet over broken rock and a Johnson was established at the pool at the bottom. It took us from about 4 o'clock until dark to get our lines established, and ... it was too dangerous at night to work, as stones dislodged by the fire were tumbling down the mountain side. We were on the scene next morning at 4 o'clock and fought the fire, keeping two pumps going for three whole days. On Thursday evening it started to get away from us on account of a high wind that [had] sprung up and in a short while [it] spread over three of the hills in the range. Luckily that night rain came and helped to extinguish it. The following day three of the Wardens and some of the local men spent all day mopping up small fires with the pack sack pumps, and finally succeeded in stamping it out.

I am sure that if we had not fought that fire for three whole days before the rain came, with the dry condition of the forest and the blazing sun with a considerable wind blowing, the whole of that north country would have been burnt down.

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The two Wajax pumps behaved splendidly. We had to install a Wajax in place of the Johnson at the pool. The Wajax seemed to lift a bigger stream up to the first barrel, which we lifted to about a height of 375 feet. It was kept going for three days at 175 lbs. pressure. The second Wajax was kept at 150 lbs. pressure and also performed splendidly, until the third day when a leak appeared in the gas tank and a Johnson was substituted. It was unfortunate that the Wajax pumps were subjected to such a severe test in their first firefighting test. One of them appears to have come out unscathed, but we are having it looked over; the other had the condenser and pressure gauge injured. One of the Johnson's had a crack in the armature plate while the other Johnson wasn't used....

The Johnson does not seem suitable for the type of mountains we have in the Cape Breton Park. It is hard to carry up the rough surface of a mountain on account of its [sic] overhead weight; a low set type of pump like the Wajax is much easier to handle over broken rock and rough climbing.

From the nature of the country in the CBHP and the location of a water supply, if it were possible to get one single unit pump that would lift the water about 700 feet, it would help considerably.

We had in use about 4,300 feet of hose, ten sections of which were slightly damaged by vibration and rocks rolling down on our horizontal lines, but I think we shall be able to repair some of them, if not all.

We estimated that between the two pumps the water was being lifted about 700 feet, with half a mile of hose from a Siamese in opposite directions running horizontal along the edge of the fire.

The origin of the fire is not known, but it is said some young people set off a rocket on top of the mountain, the rocket being taken off a wrecked ship near Dingwall.⁸³

These fires and the others that the wardens faced during the decade varied in intensity, duration and destructive power, but all had common elements as well. Each represented untold destructive force if not met quickly and effectively, and each contained the potential for disaster and loss of life—awaiting only a faulty response by firefighters or even a simple change of wind.

There were no revolutionary changes in the sphere of firefighting during the war years, although the means of gathering information on park fires improved, and a system of fire-observation stations, based on forestry precedents, was introduced. The honorary fire-guardian program served to utilize better the local human resources available to most parks. Finally, and despite the pressure of wartime requirements, aircraft played an increasingly essential role in park firefighting policy.

In the spring of 1939, Ottawa introduced a new fire-reporting form, again based on federal forestry usage, and designed to gather more information on conditions prior to and during fires as support for ongoing fire-hazard research studies. As in the case of wildlife management and the thorny issue of predator control, headquarters' officials had come to the conclusion that more knowledge was the key to devising better solutions for park problems. Once again, the members of the Warden Service would be the ones to provide that information. As part of the latter process in Banff, park officers suggested that weather data-gathering stations be established at Banff, Lake Louise, the Ya-Ha-Tinda ranch and at the new warden station proposed for Saskatchewan Crossing, with the information to

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be collected by the wardens.\textsuperscript{84}

As part of a revised fire-prevention and -suppression process, each park was required to prepare a revamped fire plan with supporting fire-organization maps, copies of which went to Ottawa. This exercise enabled park officials to identify special hazard areas, apportion equipment for best effect and establish procedures for a variety of fire contingencies. Again, it fell to the district wardens to gather the information required to put the program into operation. The fire-monitoring system established in the prairie parks with the construction of forestry-style observation towers was extended to the mountain parks at this time. In August 1939, an Edmonton newspaper commented on the stationing of a "lookout" at the warden's cabin near the summit of Signal Mountain in Jasper park. Here, no tower was required, but the basic process remained the same. Already, the Jasper fire watcher had discovered several small blazes that had been extinguished, before they could grow to dangerous proportions. The new system seemed well in place and operating smoothly by the 1940 fire season. At Riding Mountain, Superintendent Heaslip reported that his towers had been manned in mid-April, and, already, several fires had been spotted and contained by the Warden Service. A week later, Heaslip reported: "...to date no fire has had over two or three hours start from the first tower alarm."\textsuperscript{85}

In 1940 and 1941, sites for lookouts were located in Banff, Jasper, Kootenay, Yoho and Waterton parks.\textsuperscript{86} Over the next three years, a series of lookout stations were built in the mountain parks, each consisting of a standard one-room patrol cabin and a wooden observation tower. The stations would remain an integral part of park fire-prevention programs until the early 1970s, when increased aerial surveillance made them redundant. [See figure 3-23]

On occasion, new techniques were transferred from park to park. In 1940, for example, Prince Albert's Superintendent Knight, who had served in several mountain parks, suggested applying one of the western innovations to his new domain. Knight recommended that fire roads, similar to those built in Banff in the 1930s, be constructed in Prince Albert park. He maintained that areas of the park were virtually inaccessible to firefighting crews at present, even by air, because of heavy underbrush and swampy ground. He felt that "a good many of the present trails should be widened just sufficient to take a light Park truck in with the fire equipment."\textsuperscript{87}

At the same time, the prairie concept of lookout stations was introduced into the mountain parks. From 1942 to 1944, a number of lookout stations were established in Banff and Yoho parks, using

\textsuperscript{84} RG84, Vol. 20, PA185, Part 4, Controller F.H.H. Williamson, signed by J. Smart, to superintendent, PANP, May 3, 1939. In his 1944 study of the Warden Service at Banff, Bruce Mitchell states quite unequivocally that there are "no pre-arranged plans of firefighting in any area of the Park," so it may be that the policy outlined in 1939 did not immediately take root; Mitchell, "Suggested improvements in Warden Service organization, Banff National Park, January 15, 1944," p.26. FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 9, F3 (old file G3-1), Fires - Forest, general correspondence, Vol. 1, January 1935-December 1939, J.G. Wright, BNP, to Jennings, July 10, 1939. In practice, this task, like that of maintaining radio communication, often fell to the wives of wardens who were a more permanent presence at the district stations than their patrolling husbands.


\textsuperscript{86} Department of Mines and Resources, Annual Report, March 31, 1942, report of the National Parks Bureau, pp. 71-72.

\textsuperscript{87} RG84, Vol. 18, PA62, Part 1, inspector, national parks, Sinclair, to controller, August 30, 1940.
plans previously approved for standard small warden patrol cabins. Here, the lookout stations were so situated that towers were not usually required, but the basic fire-warning system as established in the prairie parks remained unchanged.

During the war years, the park that was most heavily damaged by fire was Prince Albert. Here, year after year, in spring and fall, fires, sometimes several at a time, swept through large portions of the park forests. The common factor was long bouts of dry weather coupled with occasional high winds and electrical storms. There were also incidents at both Prince Albert and Riding Mountain parks in which arson was suspected.

The fires of 1940 at Prince Albert were typical of what park wardens would face through much of the decade. Early in May that year, Superintendent Knight reported to Ottawa that his wardens had already had to fight 14 fires in the park, nine of which were currently "under control." Of the remaining blazes, three were out, and two were "out of control." Knight had 86 men in the field as well as one Caterpillar tractor and one wheeled tractor plowing fire guards. Just outside the park, Knight wrote: "Many fires are raging and are liable to come into the Park at any moment." He also reported that "weather conditions are terrible. We have not had any rain this spring and, with a very light snowfall last winter, all areas are exceptionally dry." Within days, five of the fires that Knight had mentioned earlier had swept into the park, now raging uncontrolled, and 130 men were fighting them. Part of the forest-telephone system had been engulfed but, reported Knight, "[the] Radios work splendidly." Four days after his first report, he had 150 men on the fires, which had consumed an estimated 20,000 acres and threatened some park buildings. Knight was so impressed with the performance of the experimental radios, particularly when large portions of the telephone system was destroyed and the wardens rendered unable to contact Waskesiu headquarters, that he promptly requested four more sets. A few months later, Knight wrote of the spring fires:

It appeared to me, when making visits to the different fires, that the majority of the country adjoining the Park was on fire and on one day alone the towerman on Summit Tower counted forty-three fires outside of the Park, and you can readily see that such a condition was practically hopeless.

Supervising Warden Davies later estimated that the burned-over area was 131,000 acres, but he marvelled that much of it was still green despite the fires. To deal with such calamities in the future, Knight wanted the park boundaries to be cut back 100 feet or so to give some protection against fires coming in from provincial territory, wider road clearances, more and better trails, a Caterpillar tractor with a bulldozer attachment for park use, and pressure on the Saskatchewan government to act more rigorously against fires near the park.

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88 RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Acting Controller J. Smart, to superintendent, YNP, May 29, 1941; ibid., Controller Smart, to acting superintendent, YNP, April 21, 1943.
89 RG84, Vol. 20, PA185, Part 5, Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, NPB, May 11, 1940.
90 RG84, Vol. 20, PA185, Part 5, telegram, Superintendent Herbert Knight, to controller, NPB, May 13, 1940; ibid., May 14, 1940. PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA192, superintendent, to controller, May 22, 1940. RG84, Vol. 20, PA185, Part 5, Superintendent Herbert Knight, PANP, to controller, May 5, 1940.
91 RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Supervising Warden George Davies, PANP, to Superintendent Knight, July 10, 1940; ibid., Superintendent Knight, PANP, to controller, July 5, 1940. Interestingly, Knight used the term trails but described them as follows: "Trails should be constructed to permit the use of trucks for hauling men and fire equipment rapidly to the scene of fire."
Figure 3-23. Tower at Sarbach Lookout, Banff National Park, 12 August 1943. [Whyte Museum, Banff, V488/470-39]
In mid-August, the cycle started over again, although it is unclear if new fires had appeared or if the ground and spot fires being reported, 33 by Warden Roy Hubel alone, were the smouldering remnants of the spring conflagrations. In his report, Hubel gave this graphic account of the effort needed to subdue these fires:

All of these ground fires are slowly getting larger and if not dug out & September turn out [sic] to be a dry month, some of them will probably start running over that, that was burned this spring.

Digging out these ground fires is a slow tedious process. All of the trees are burned out by the roots & have fallen every which way. Some of these are large & a lot of handling is required. Then to get the fire out from all around the roots of the stumps that are in the trench row is another job.

In one place the trench is between 3 & 3 ½ ft. deep to get to mineral soil. Other places it is so stony trenches are hard to dig.

Most of the ground fires are a long way from water so fire units are out of the question.

Spring fires plagued Prince Albert National Park again in 1941 and 1942, with Warden Emmett Millard and two labourers suffering burns serious enough to require hospital treatment in one incident the latter year. Another fire in 1942 resulted in 100 soldiers of the Prince Albert volunteers being summoned to contain it.

Other notable fires occurred in Jasper, Riding Mountain, Cape Breton Highlands and Wood Buffalo parks during the war years. The first Cape Breton fire was a miniature version of the blaze that would threaten the community of Pleasant Bay in 1947. It began when the controlled-burning program of a park construction contractor was caught up in sudden gale-strength winds. As darkness fell, a crown fire was raging across steep cliffs. Four wardens and a "large" number of men, hampered by an inadequate water supply, could do little more than attempt to direct the fire, as it progressed. Only a heavy shower the next morning allowed firefighters to gain control. An estimated 75 acres of highly visible forest cover was destroyed.

The following year in Jasper, a fire occurred, probably the result of lightning, just above the boundary with Banff. Like the Cape Breton blaze of 1939, it was fanned by high winds and proved difficult to contain. Sixty men worked under the direction of Supervising Warden Phillips, and unspecified firefighting equipment was lost.

Although there were few accounts of firefighting efforts in Wood Buffalo in the 1920s and 1930s, primarily because fires were usually allowed to bum themselves out in this immense, water-rich territory, Chief Warden M. J. Dempsey did record fighting a fire in 1941 just eight miles west of the
Hay Camp. The fire was reported early in July and occupied much of Dempsey's time, and that of wardens Charles Bird and Rory McRay for the month. In mid-July, Dempsey described the fire as "out of control" and noted that telephone communication was lost.  

A small fire, which destroyed an old patrol cabin and a log stable in Riding Mountain in 1944, was judged the work of an arsonist and, although the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were called in to investigate, no one was ever apprehended in the case. Fortunately, damage was limited to a strategically important but rather dilapidated warden station.

Throughout the war period, every effort was made, except in the vast expanses of Wood Buffalo, to respond immediately to the threat of fire. The lesson had been learned in the earliest days of the Warden Service in Banff that speed was of the essence in dealing with fire.

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97 RG84, Vol. 24, RM185, Part 1, Superintendent Heaslip, RMNP, Wasagaming, to Controller Smart, July 31, 1944.
CHAPTER 4

Life in the Districts

In the interwar years, there was a seasonal routine to the warden’s life in the mountain parks that was reflected, with variations, in the prairie and eastern parks. The quiet of winter was a time for patrols in search of poachers and predators. Travelling on foot or snowshoes in the mountain parks, on horseback in Buffalo or Elk Island, and by horse or dogsled in Wood Buffalo and Prince Albert, the wardens toured their districts for perhaps a week at a time, returning to their district cabin with its telephone link to park headquarters before embarking on the next trip. In winter, as in all seasons, wardens were expected to report to park headquarters monthly, either in person or by phone. Diaries were also turned in, if possible, on a monthly basis. Beginning in the early 1920s, winter provided wardens with an opportunity to spend several weeks at headquarters taking refresher courses on equipment maintenance.¹

Spring was a time of trail- and telephone-maintenance patrols and, when conditions were dry, a time to be on constant guard against forest fires. In a good year, the fire season covered just May and June, but could stretch into July and August in the absence of rain. With fall, wardens turned their attentions once again to the threat from poachers. As winter approached, they concentrated as well on predator control, aided by the patterns of tracks in the snow. While there were anomalies such as the monitoring of buffalo in the “animal parks,” and the supervision of grazing and timber culling in Jasper and Waterton Lakes, or duck hunting at Point Pelee, this was the rhythm of warden work in the 1920s.

Some specialized warden positions also appeared in these years. Howard Sibbald, as has been noted, was promoted to Dominion Parks inspector with particular focus on the Warden Service in the mountain parks and the maintenance of its firefighting capabilities. Supervisory or chief park wardens were the norm in the mountain parks by the 1920s. Rocky Mountains Park boasted a "Fish Warden" to oversee the stocking of park lakes with fish from the hatcheries just recently established at that park, and at Waterton Lakes and Jasper. The position was physically less demanding than normal warden duties and given to older wardens—in 1923, for example, to Warden Mumford who had been among the first wardens hired. By 1929, Rocky Mountains Park also had a "Town Warden," a precedent to be followed by other parks.² The town warden, stationed of course at Banff, was responsible for the maintenance, conditioning and repair of all warden equipment, especially fire equipment, and stores. He was also the park warden for Banff and its neighbourhood, and served

¹ The automobile, although it brought more and more tourists to the parks in the summer months, was not yet in common use among the wardens. Banff and Jasper had staff vehicles and fire trucks by the late teens—Sibbald, for example, travelled frequently by automobile—but most movement in the parks remained by horse. Even the highways that opened in the 1920s such as the Banff-Windemere and Lake Louise-Golden roads traditionally closed for the winter in the first heavy snows of November. This was the procedure at Jasper by the early 1920s.

as the supervising warden's replacement as required. Walter Peyto was the Banff town warden in the late 1920s.

As part of a larger government initiative, candidates for the Warden Service were drawn increasingly from among those with military service behind them. This was part of a federal effort to reintegrate young returned soldiers into civilian society. Park officers also saw it as a means of instilling into the Warden Service "the habits of thoroughness, obedience, discipline and initiative which these men acquired in their military life." In 1925, Supervising Warden Dick Langford at Jasper estimated that his wardens were "almost exclusively" former military men.

Beyond this common denominator for warden candidates, park officers sought practical experience over traditional schooling. Indeed, more than one early warden found his academic skills hard-tested by the requirement to keep a daily diary. There was also riding to consider. Acting Superintendent Knight at Waterton Lakes told one successful candidate who seemed uncertain of his own riding skills:

I think I made it quite clear in my first letter, that the person holding this position [temporary warden] must be able to ride well, and to be in the saddle for long periods, as the permitted cattle and horses grazing here cover nearly the whole park, while the look out for strays covers the entire area.

If you are doubtful as to your ability to ride, handle stock, and read brands, I must ask you to reconsider your decision to accept the position.

Langford also recommended that warden candidates be men of 35 years of age or so. "Younger men," he wrote, "seem to require short intervals in town occasionally and do not appear to get the enjoyment out of their work which the older men do." Langford saw the warden life as:

....one of the best, most interesting and healthy lives possible, and by selecting very carefully...a staff can be assemble[d] who do not just think of the remuneration but take a genuine interest in their work....

While Harkin agreed in general, he offered the following recruitment advice to the superintendent of Waterton Lakes in 1925:

...in connection with vacancies for positions of Park Warden...in a number of cases the men recommended for the positions have been of the ages of 45 and 50 years and upwards....the most suitable age...Park Warden is from 30 to 35 years. I would ask you...when submitting recommendations, to make the age of the applicants one of the deciding factors as several years must elapse before a Warden can be considered thoroughly efficient and as you know, the work at times is of a very strenuous nature. Therefore, if a Warden is appointed over this age the years when he can

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3 RG84, Vol. 34, U194-2, Part 1, Supervising Warden R.W. Langford, JNP, to superintendent, JNP, March 6, 1925.
4 WLNP, Schintz Package #2, WLNP, Administration Building, File W171, Donald A. Fraser, Pincher Creek, Alberta, to Acting Superintendent H. Knight, WLNP, April 14, 1924, and reply, April 15, 1924.
5 RG84, Vol. 34, U194-2, Part 1, Supervising Warden R.W. Langford, JNP, to superintendent, JNP, March 6, 1925.
A warden’s starting salary was $100.00 per month in the mid-1920s, with three increases of $10.00 and one $5.00 per month for each year of service to a monthly maximum of $135.00. There was also a bonus for married men. Wardens were entitled to expenses when working outside their districts and, for those who were permanent civil servants, 18 paid days of annual leave based on a five-and-a-half day work-week, and on-the-job accident insurance under the *Workmen's Compensation Act*. As civil servants, they were also entitled to a retirement pension or superannuation after 35 years of service. Many wardens, however, worked on a temporary basis, perhaps during fire and hunting seasons, and although called temporary or assistant wardens, were not on the civil list, were paid as casual labourers and received none of the benefits of permanent employees. One could expect to move from temporary to permanent status, as positions became available, but the wait could be measured in years.

Theoretically, the work day was ten hours long, but wardens were on call 24 hours per day, and were expected to work whatever hours were required in the busy fire and hunting seasons. Wardens also were expected to remain in their districts and, indeed, needed permission of their supervising warden to leave, as Warden Robert Mann at Yoho was reminded in 1930. The latter regulation would remain in force until the 1960s. When wardens were sick or on annual leave, which they were required to take during the slack winter season, their district was patrolled by the wardens of adjacent areas. This process ensured that men somewhat familiar with the terrain would always be on patrol. As well, it put pressure on individuals not to malinger, as their absence meant extra work for neighbouring wardens.

Placing a warden permanently in a particular area or district of a park and making him responsible for that district had advantages. The warden came to know his district intimately and usually developed a sense of personal responsibility for its protection. He knew which routes poachers

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6 WLNP, Schintz Package #2, WLNP, Administration Building, File W171, Harkin, to superintendent, WLNP, September 3, 1925.

7 Bill Peyto, for example, appears in correspondence as a warden in 1911 but was not made a permanent park warden, until December 27, 1921; FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-52, E.W. Peyto, Harkin, to superintendent, RMP, December 31, 1921.

8 GNP, Schintz Package #6, Revelstoke, Administration Building, M.R. File 174-34 Warden Mann, Chief Warden John M. Giddie, YNP, to Mann, March 3, 1930. Giddie informed Mann:

> It has been remarked in correspondence received that you spend a considerable time out of your District and on checking up your diary for February, I note you show on 15 separate days being in Glacier and two days going and returning to Golden. In discussing the matter with the superintendent it was agreed that your spending the occasional week end with your family at Glacier during the winter months was in order, but it must be distinctly understood that this will be out of order during fire season. You will no doubt agree that 17 days out of a twenty eight day month going out of your district is excessive and that the criticism is justified. Please use discretion to avoid further complaints of this kind.

9 Time and again in interviews conducted for this study, retired wardens who had worked under the district system stressed this sense of personal responsibility as one of its major advantages. When the district system was phased out in the late 1960s and early 1970s, every warden became responsible in general for all of his park. Retirees often argued that, in practice, no one accepted...
would most likely use, and where they might hunt or trap. He knew the danger areas for fire and where water was available. He came to know the flora and fauna of his district, and could tell if specific populations were flourishing or in decline. He was also on his own for long periods of time and therein lay the greatest drawback of the district system.

In truth, the warden’s isolation exposed him to physical and psychological dangers. A misstep, a slipped axe or, as we shall see, a shying horse could lead to injury or even death in the sombre quiet of the woods. An incapacitating injury was a deadly threat to a man totally on his own. At Rocky Mountains Park, this threat was countered, in part, by placing two wardens in some districts, but this practice had its detractors. Supervising Warden Langford at Jasper discouraged this solution arguing:

While the ‘doubling up’ of wardens has the advantage of providing for mutual and immediate help in the case of emergencies -- sickness, accidents, etc. -- it has been found that the men of the type and age necessary to make the most efficient wardens rarely, if ever, can be successfully housed together on [sic] an area as personal habits and peculiarities, unobjectionable enough as they may be under normal circumstances, grow to be a cause of offence and disagreement when men are thrown together in semisolitude.¹⁰

Some observers saw such isolation as frequently leading to emotional and psychological difficulties. In explaining a dispute that arose between a warden and park visitors in 1925, Superintendent Rogers of Jasper wrote: "There is considerable excuse for [Warden] Macklin in that he has been on outlying post for nearly six years, which always results in shattered nerves.” Five years later, the apparent emotional collapse of a Rocky Mountains Park warden was explained in the following terms:

Mr. Bruce has been in the field for one year living without companionship and on his own cooking with the result that he is in a highly nervous state and he has made application for this leave....we have had him examined by the Medical Health Officer who has attached hereto a recommendation that this leave be given to Mr. Bruce. The condition is an important one and was not foreseen. Mr. Bruce is not in a condition to return to the field to await a decision as to his application for leave, I am therefore taking the authority of granting him the sick leave and 5 1/2 days leave without pay....I would not like to take the responsibility of sending Mr. Bruce back in the field in his present condition and in the face of the recommendation of the Medical Health Officer.¹¹

The recurring theme of isolation was struck again in 1923, when Harkin explored the possibility of

¹⁰ RG84, Vol. 34, U194-2, Part 1, Supervising Warden R.W. Langford, JNP, to superintendent, JNP, March 6, 1925.
¹¹ RG84, Vol. 1626, J179-1, Part 1, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, September 28, 1925. FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-66, Staff, William Bruce, acting associate superintendent, RMP, to Harkin, February 7, 1930. This request for leave was accompanied by the following medical advice:

The above is an outside warden patrolling the area north of Lake Louise. He had been out now a year, and living alone on his own cooking has a tendency to make a man irritable and wanting companionship and good food. I would advise he be given two or three weeks holiday. Ibid., G.M. Atkin, M.D., Banff, to superintendent. RMP, February 7, 1930.
obtaining "Marconi Wireless Receiving set[s]" for the wardens. "In view of the isolated location of some of the Wardens' Cabins and the lonely life which some of them lead," he explained, "I should be glad to do anything possible to assist in making their life in their cabins more enjoyable."  

The sharp bite of isolation could be eased by hiring married men as wardens and permitting wives to live on station with their husbands. This solution also gave the park unpaid spousal labour for a wide range of duties. Warden Allison transferred to Rocky Mountains Park in 1924, accompanied by his wife. The success of such a policy in easing the rigours of isolation, however, was no more guaranteed than was marital bliss itself. Having a wife and family could also be viewed as a hindrance. Superintendent Rogers argued against transferring a warden from Elk Island National Park for the following reason:

> You will appreciate that it is a difficult matter to secure men who will stick to the lonesome life of a warden out in outlying areas, and a man with a family such as Mr. Simmons would be under a serious handicap as he would naturally be obliged to occupy a post far distant from headquarters where there would be no accommodation for his wife and family of four children.  

Officially, no acknowledgement whatsoever was taken of any children a warden might have. In practice, park officers tried to arrange postings, so that a warden with adolescent children would be within reasonable distance of schooling. Often, however, practical considerations required the warden's presence in an isolated district, while his children, and perhaps his wife, lived in a nearby local community with a school. Warden Robert Mann, for example, worked in Yoho Park in the late 1920s, while his wife and their children resided in the town of Glacier, and Bill Peyto's wife, Ethyl, lived at Healy Creek only in the summers, returning to Banff each winter. A number of other Rocky Mountains Park wardens maintained their families in Banff, while they lived in their district cabins for much of each year. Such was the reality for many warden families, until motor transportation

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<th>District</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>Cabin No</th>
<th>Warden</th>
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<tr>
<td>No. 1</td>
<td>Kananaskis Lakes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>J. Curren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Spray Lakes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A. Wright</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>E. Wm. Peyto</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Banff</td>
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<td>W. H. Peyto</td>
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<td>H. B. Fuller</td>
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<td>Lake Louise</td>
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<td>D. F. Galvin</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Castle</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>P. G. Woodworth</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Massive</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>J. M. Christie</td>
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and the end of the district system made it feasible for wardens to live in nearby communities.

Other aspects of the wardens' lives are more difficult to discern. The cabins assigned to wardens were equipped with heating and cooking stoves, cooking utensils, plates and tableware. In addition, each warden was issued with the following personal equipment in the mid-1920s:

- 1 Union Jack
- 1 saddle-horse
- 1 pack-horse
- 1 Riding Saddle
- 1 Bridle
- 1 Pack-saddle
- 2 Halters
- 2 Prs. Hobbles
- 4 Single Blankets
- 2 Nose-bags
- 1 Curry-comb
- 1 Mane Comb
- 1 Dandy Brush
- 1 Body Brush
- 1 Shoeing hammer
- 1 Horse-rasp
- 1 Pr. Pincers
- 1 pack-cover
- 1 Pail
- 1 Magnetic Compass

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1 saddle-horse
1 pack-horse
1 Riding Saddle
1 Bridle
1 Pack-saddle
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2 Prs. Hobbles
4 Single Blankets
2 Nose-bags
1 Curry-comb
1 Mane Comb
1 Dandy Brush
1 Body Brush
1 Shoeing hammer
1 Horse-rasp
1 Pr. Pincers
1 pack-cover
1 Pail
1 Magnetic Compass

To this list, one must add climbing spurs, a linesman's belt and Nicropress—the basic tools for telephone-line maintenance. By 1929, wardens were being issued with emergency rations, largely with firefighting needs in mind. Recommended emergency rations at Waterton Lakes included six-and four-ounce tins of bacon, roast beef, sausage, pork and beans, evaporated milk, cheese and jam and four-ounce packages of chocolate. As well sugar, tea, seeded raisins, salt, rice, candles and matches were to be bought locally and unit-packaged in the park. For these latter items, the park recommended purchasing one-quarter and one-half pint friction-lid tins, small wooden boxes and cotton sacks, all from Victoria, British Columbia manufacturers.\(^{16}\)

\(^{11}\) Panther River 3 C. C. Fuller
\(^{12}\) Red Deer 18
\(^{13}\) Clearwater 29
\(^{14}\) Bow lakes 26

ibid., Superintendent Stronach, RMP, to Harkin, February 23, 1928.

\(^{15}\) RG84, Vol. 34, U194-2, Part 1, Supervising Warden R. W. Langford, JNP, to superintendent, JNP, March 6, 1925.

\(^{16}\) WLNP, Schintz Package #12, WLNP, warden's office, Old Waterton File Firefighting Equipment, Box 2, list entitled "Contents of Proposed Emergency Rations-Season 1929, Revised Ration", n.d.
Although the warden's function in the park was to maintain its natural environment, district cabins often had a distinctly domestic air. (See figure ?) Warden Mann got into difficulties in 1929, when he killed a marten that had attacked the chickens in his henhouse. He was admonished by the superintendent:

...your action in killing this martin [sic] was not at all justified. One of the main purposes of the department employing Park Wardens is for the protection of all game and wild life within the Park areas. If a warden or other resident in the Parks desires to keep domestic hens, it is entirely up to them to protect them by fencing or other means. You can surely see that if the killing of this martin [sic] was allowable in the case of a warden, it would also be in the case of a member of the public, with the result that the enforcement of our game regulations would become an impossibility.  

Mann explained that the killing was accidental and that he had "dispensed with keeping poultry, in order to prevent a similar situation occurring in the future."

The warden's life was physically challenging and, at times, dangerous. Warden Finlayson at Point Pelee, for example, was threatened in 1921 by two hunters he had caught in the park and attempted to disarm. The wardens faced less dramatic dangers on a daily basis. At Jasper National Park the same year, Warden George Busby explained his failure to retrieve a deer carcass from the partially frozen Athabaska River in the following terms: "The ice was not strong enough to hold me so I had to quit and leave the deer as I did not like taking chances on drowning myself to get a dead deer out of the river. I hope this will be satisfactory." At Waterton Lakes in mid-1921, Warden J. C. "Bo" Holroyd, who had been with the park since April 1920, found that he required surgery to remove a cyst from the ligaments of his right knee—a result, his physician maintained, of the constant irritation of long hours on horseback.

The cumulative effects of years of hard physical labour is perhaps best reflected in the circumstances of the well-known early warden, Bill Peyto. Peyto first appeared on warden duty in 1911. He served overseas, and was wounded during the war, returned to the Warden Service and was made permanent in 1921. He remained on duty, for a long time working out of his district cabin on Healy Creek, until his retirement in 1936. By 1930, however, the years had taken their toll on him physically. In August of that year, Peyto, now almost 60 years of age, was thrown from a bucking horse. The fall aggravated his old war wound, a gunshot in his right thigh, and this, coupled with the arthritis that was crippling his hands, led him to request sick leave. The examining physician wrote on his behalf:

The above [Ebenezer William Peyto] was injured on August 2/30 while riding a bucking horse. Previous to his war disability he was a good rider. The after effects of this injury have settled in the

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17 RG84, Vol. 176, Y300, Part 1, Superintendent Russell, YNP, to Park Warden R.H. Mann, May 1, 1929.
18 RG84, Vol. 611, P4-1, Part 1, Royal Canadian Mounted Police crime report, PPNP, January 20, 1921. The two were arrested by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and convicted in a Windsor court; ibid., Vol. 148, J217, Part 1, Warden George Busby, to Chief Warden John James, copy sent by Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, January 14, 1921.
19 WLNP, Schintz Package #2, WLNP Administration Building, File Accidents, 1919-21, accident report, July 23, 1921.
Figure 4-1. Jack Christianson, Rocky Forks, Jasper National Park. (Christianson Family Collection.)
Supervising Warden Warren offered Peyto work around Banff, possibly the town warden post, following his sick leave, "but he prefers to be out of town." For a time, Bill Peyto returned to the mountain wilderness that he loved.

Years after the event, retired Chief Park Warden Jack Giddie of Yoho National Park would recall one particularly harrowing "bear" incident that could have cost him his life. Giddie had given a local resident permission to shoot a large black bear that had been pilfering around his residence. Informed later that the animal had been shot dead, Giddie returned to the scene to dispose of the carcass. When he nonchalantly nudged the animal, it suddenly revived, and Giddie found himself struggling, without a firearm in hand, with an enraged and injured bear. Warden Giddie survived, with a mauling, and a greater respect for bears.

Bear stories became part of the wardens' stock of yarns over the years, carefully passed down, and embellished, as a form of fraternal folklore. The tale of the visitor who dipped his child's hand in jam to get a good photograph of him feeding a pair of bear cubs is one that immediately comes to mind in this regard. Many bear encounters, however, such as that already recounted of Warden Davies at Athabaska Falls in 1918, needed no embellishment. They tell us something of the men who experienced them and more about the conservation philosophies of the time. The story of Warden Alex Nelles awakening, after sleeping out in the bush at the north fork of the Snake Indian River, to find a bear standing over him paints a vivid image. The fact that Nelles shot the bear and turned its pelt in to the Jasper office is a reflection of the state of conservation "on site" in 1924.

That mortal danger did lurk, awaiting a warden's misstep, is evident in the circumstances surrounding the tragic death of Warden Andrew Bower at Waterton Lakes. Bower had served with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police before enlisting in the Army during the First World War. Returning in 1916 with a war injury that kept him from rejoining the Mounties, Bower entered the Warden Service at Waterton Lakes, and soon proved to be a dedicated and active warden. But for the intervention of fate, he seemed destined for a successful career in the Parks Branch. His energetic pursuit of poachers in the park and his success in gaining the co-operation of British Columbian officials indicated that Bowers had a bright future ahead.

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20 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-52, E.W. Peyto, J.M. Roberts, to Harkin, October 9, 1930; ibid., G.M. Atkin, Medical Health Officer, to superintendent, BNP, October 22, 1930.

21 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-52, E.W. Peyto file, superintendent, BNP, to Harkin, December 11, 1930. This story was recounted years later by an author who had known Giddie during his warden days.

22 This particular bear story was first documented in the 1940s, when the wardens of the mountain parks were asked by the publicity unit in Ottawa to recount their own experiences with bears and stories that they had heard. The resulting anecdotes, including that of the garnished child, are on file in the Whyte Museum in Banff. RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Supervising Warden R.W. Langford, JNP, to superintendent, December 22, 1924.
Bowers lived with his wife and five young children at the Belly River warden station. Early on a June afternoon in 1925, he set out alone for headquarters at Waterton Lakes. When he had not arrived the next day, Chief Warden Knight and Warden Gladstone organized search parties to trace his possible routes. That evening, he was found lying unconscious by the trail in several inches of sleet and snow. He was rushed to the Cardston hospital for emergency surgery on a head wound suffered in the mishap, and Mrs. Gladstone informed his wife that he had been found. Bower never regained consciousness and died in hospital the next day. He was buried, his coffin draped with the Union Jack for service to his country, accompanied by a Royal Canadian Mounted Police honour guard that fired a salute over his grave.\(^{23}\)

In the ensuing investigation, Royal Canadian Mounted Police and warden personnel determined that Bower’s horse had reared unexpectedly, as they travelled along. Bower was thrown off and appeared to have struck his head on a stump near the trail. He may have momentarily regained consciousness but had suffered a severe skull fracture in the fall and was found within feet of where he had fallen. No blame was apportioned in the investigation. Andrew Bower had simply succumbed to one of the

\(^{23}\) WLNP, Schintz Package #2, WLNP Administration Building, File W171, [Chief Warden Knight], to Acting Superintendent W.D. Cromarty, WLNP, June 9, 1925; ibid., Schintz Package #12, WLNP Administration Building, files compiled by Park Warden Rob Watt, excerpts from Lethbridge *Daily Herald*, June 11, 1925, and Pincher Creek *Echo*, June 12, 1925.
many dangers that stalked those who protected the parks in solitary patrols. He was the first National Park warden to die while pursuing his duties.\footnote{There have been suspicions among some of Andrew Bower's descendants that his death may have resulted from foul play. The original Royal Canadian Mounted Police investigating officer did initially consider that the severity of Bower’s head wound could have been the result of a blow. Subsequent investigation of the scene of the mishap, however, clearly showed traces of human tissue and hair on the stump near where Bower's horse had reared. On this evidence, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Constable Marjorison and Chief Warden Knight determined that the death was accidental. No evidence was found to indicate why his horse might have bolted, but this, in itself, has no significance. The animal and a pack horse were found unharmed several miles away. It seems highly unlikely, given Bower's prominence in the local community and the esteem in which he was held by his former Royal Canadian Mounted Police compatriots, that officials would have ignored or downplayed any indications of foul play. Historians are traditionally hesitant to claim any event as a "first." Such proclamations usually attract precedents as would a magnet. In this instance, however, there is no indication in the official record of an earlier, on-duty fatality among the personnel of the Warden Service.}

Wardens in the Newer Parks

The Warden Service was a product of the mountain parks, and the duties and routines established there tended to be viewed as the normal range of warden work. As the newer prairie and eastern parks were staffed with wardens, the scope and circumstances of their work widened to meet new needs and situations.

In the territory that would become Wood Buffalo National Park, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police maintained some protective patrols from the late nineteenth century, and six federal "buffalo rangers" were hired in 1911 to work under the supervision of the Department of Forestry. The Warden Service established at Wood Buffalo in the early 1920s, although based on earlier western precedents, was in some ways unique. It was firstly a separate entity within the federal bureaucracy. The officials at Wood Buffalo reported not to the National Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior but to its Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch. While modelled on the wardens of the national parks in duties and responsibilities, the wardens of Wood Buffalo also enforced federal regulations in the territories outside the park—territories that, unlike the provincial land that surrounded the mountain parks, were under Ottawa's direct control. Wood Buffalo wardens also worked under different rules. Indians with traditional claims, for example, could hunt and trap in the park. As well, the park was established for the specific purpose of protecting its namesake—the wood buffalo or bison that inhabited the area. Thus, buffalo protection was the central focus of warden concerns, even at times to the exclusion of enforcing other conservation regulations.

The original wardens of Wood Buffalo National Park were local individuals, hunters and trappers skilled in the craft of surviving in the northern wilderness. Two were landed immigrants whom the first superintendent, John A. McDougal, suspected of having come north to evade the U.S. military draft in the First World War. The wardens of Wood Buffalo were also poorly paid. Initially, they received $50.00 per month and rations, half the salary of a warden at Jasper or Waterton. Such incentives did not always attract the best of candidates. One of the original wardens resigned while under suspicion of having killed a buffalo, the very animal he was hired to protect. Supervisory
personnel on several occasions in the early 1920s complained to Ottawa of infrequent patrolling and
general lack of attention to duty. Following an inspection early in 1923, one official reported:

[Warden] Fowler's chief occupation this winter appears to have been fishing for five pups and four
large dogs. Fowler informed me that it was impossible for him to do any patrol work as he could not
leave the pups and that in any case he had not received any instructions as to what he was to do. He
had followed up a few Indian trails but had never been more than twelve miles away from his cabin.
He had two nets in Sucker Creek and was catching an average of forty small suckers a day. He visited
the nets twice a day and had about fifteen hundred fish in a cache.25

The same report describes the district cabin he shared on occasion with two Native trappers:

The cabin at the Fishery is very small, being about 10 ft. by 12 ft. It has a sod roof and the bunks,
table, bench and door are made of poles. There is no floor in it. The roof is carried over the front
about six feet making a sort of verandah and this space is sheltered by small spruce trees cut and
placed along the sides and front.

There were also signs of internal dissension at Wood Buffalo. Superintendent McDougal found a
"great lack of co-operation among the Rangers, most of them pulling against each other, the result
being there is very little work accomplished."26

Better pay and a more careful selection of recruits soon brought positive changes to Wood Buffalo.
Before long, the work routine at the park became more rigorous than that encountered to the south,
as wardens set to building their own cabins in summer and making lengthy patrols by dogsled and
Native-built snowshoes in the winter months. In the winter of 1923, the new assistant chief warden,
Fred Bennett, and Warden Mercredi embarked on an ambitious six-week trek, which required the
prior establishment of food caches for the men and their dogs.27

By 1924, the wardens were receiving praise for the warm and comfortable cabins that they had built,
for their prowess in training and managing their dogs, and for driving their five-dog sleds over vast
distances. There was, however, little room for sentiment in the handling of sled dogs. District Agent
W. G. Cumming reported to Superintendent McDougal:

[Warden] Klukas killed an old dog named 'Kushner' the day before I reached Peace Point. He said
that the dog was old and lazy and that he could not make him work so he decided to shoot him rather
than feed him for nothing.28

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25 RG85, Vol. 151, 420-2, Part 1, Park Superintendent McDougal, WBNP, to director, Northwest Territories and Yukon
Branch, May 19, 1923; ibid., Cumming, Fort Smith, to McDougal, WBNP, May 1, 1923.
26 RG85, Vol. 151, 420-2, Part 1, Park Superintendent McDougal, WBNP, to director, Northwest Territories and Yukon
Branch, May 19, 1923.
28 RG85, Vol. 1213, 400-2-3, Part 1, District Agent McDougal, Fort Smith, to director, Northwest Territories and Yukon
Branch, March 7, 1924.
By the late 1920s, the infrastructure of cabins and patrol routes was well-established, and an average of eight wardens, each in his own district, patrolled the park on a regular basis. Their chief preoccupation was to monitor the wood buffalo and the plains bison that had been introduced from an overcrowded Buffalo National Park at mid-decade.

The chief duty of the three wardens staffing Buffalo National Park in the early 1920s was range riding to monitor the buffalo herd and to maintain the fence surrounding the Park. As the decade progressed, problems developed with the herd, and the wardens were called on to implement the various solutions devised in Ottawa. At first, it seemed simply that the buffalo experiment, begun early in the century to save the remaining North American herds from extinction, had been too successful with the buffalo multiplying beyond the capacity of the park range to feed them. The logical answer initially seemed to be to slaughter enough of the buffalo to permit the survivors to flourish, and this began in 1922.

In February 1923, Commissioner Harkin was informed that tuberculosis had been discovered in 77 percent of the 259 buffalo recently killed. Department of Agriculture scientists who had carried out testing recommended that most of the remaining animals be slaughtered and an uninfected herd developed. By May, officials of the Parks Branch had convinced themselves that the problem in the Buffalo Park herd was not as serious as first assumed. By November, they were considering shipping some of Buffalo Park's surplus to Wood Buffalo, although Harkin was uneasy over the possible contamination of the northern herd. He wrote in part to Deputy Minister Cory:

...while it is desirable that an experiment should be made in the matter of transfer of young buffalo from Buffalo Park to the habitat of the wood buffalo I consider that there are so many unknown factors in this matter that it would be inadvisable to make anything but an experimental shipment for the first year....In all new matters of this kind previous experience has shown that many unforeseen difficulties are bound to arise in addition. There is...the possibility of the transfer of Wainwright buffalo to the wood buffalo range resulting in the introduction of tuberculosis in the wild herd. You will remember that last Spring we had a conference with Dr. Torrance on this subject and that the Doctor would not commit himself concerning this aspect to the situation.

At first, there were plans to test the animals for tuberculosis and ship only those that were disease-free, but testing was expensive and, in practice, a difficult task. Hoyes Lloyd of the Branch's Wildlife Division prepared the following cautionary note, all to no avail:

It is understood that if buffalo are moved from Wainwright Park to Wood Buffalo Park, they will be shipped without being tested for tuberculosis. It is thought to be very bad epidemiology to ship

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29 RG85, Vol. 151, 420-2, Part 1-A, McDougal, to director, March 1, 1928. This document encloses a list of the current wardens at Wood Buffalo National Park, and the patrols and cabins for which they were responsible.
30 RG84, Vol. 59, BU300, Part 1, extracts from warden diaries, BuNP, September 29, 1921.
31 RG84, Vol. 58, BU292-2, Part 1, report of Pathologist Seymour Hadwen, to Harkin, February 21, 1923; ibid., Veterinary Director General Torrance, Department of Agriculture, to Harkin, March 27, 1923; ibid., Harkin, to Cory, May 23, 1923; ibid., Harkin, to Cory, November 22, 1923.
buffalo from a herd known to be diseased and place them in contact with the buffalo in the Wood Buffalo Park, which are not known to be diseased, so far as I am aware. It is recognized that the chance for contagion as between these buffalo from the diseased herd and the buffalo from the Wood Buffalo Park area, is not as great as it might be if the animals were more confined in range than they are.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 53, BU232-1, Part 1, Hoyes Lloyd, to Harkin, April 22, 1924.}

In September 1924, Ottawa determined that “the tubercular test will be dispensed with.” This directive simplified the work of the wardens who were responsible for corralling the buffalo and moving them into their cattle cars. It also condemned the herds at both parks to an uncertain future. By now, the population at Buffalo National Park was estimated at 8,000 head. To Edmund Seymour, president of the American Bison Society, Harkin wrote in defence of his actions:

As to the danger of infecting the Wood Buffalo Park herds, the break between the Northern and Southern herds in this park should be considered, as well as the slight danger of young buffalo carrying infection north. The young buffalo transferred will not be exposed to much danger from re-infection and, in the large area of pasture available, will have the best possible chance for growing up as healthy adults. It can be expected that under the natural conditions prevailing in their new range, any weaklings will rapidly be eliminated.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 53, BU232-1, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, BuNP, September 24, 1924; ibid., Part 3, Harkin, to David B. Ogden, New York, February 9, 1925; ibid., Part 2, Harkin, to Edmund Seymour, president, American Bison Society, New York, June 8, 1925.}

In June 1925, Warden "Bud" Cotton oversaw the branding of 200 buffalo and their loading on especially equipped steel-framed stock cars, 20 animals per car. Motion pictures recorded all the excitement and activity. Over 1,600 head were shipped out that summer. The Edmonton \textit{Journal} gave the following report of the experiment:

\begin{quote}
Man has dared to question nature. He has sent forth into the forest wilds of the north animals bred through thousands of years to the life of the plains. The experiment was a necessity because of the rapid growth of the Wainwright herd.

What will be its fate? Rangers on stout ponies will follow the movements of the plains buffalo, reporting in a general way their line of march, and, if seen, the attitude of the wood buffalo.

Later in the season the rangers will stay right with the herds, watching, noting, \[so\] that in another year when once more the ice runs down the Slave, the Athabaska and the Peace, the Canadian government may be appraised \[sic\] of the success or failure of their experiment in transplanting.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 53, BU232-1, Part 3, clipping, Edmonton \textit{Journal}, June 13, 1925; ibid., Taylor, to Lloyd, August 27, 1925; ibid., clipping, Edmonton \textit{Journal}, June 23, 1925.}
\end{quote}

Later that summer, Warden Cotton confided to his diary while on patrol: "Range poor. With recent dry years and the overstocked condition of park, it will take years for the range to come back to its former condition." The slaughtering of buffalo that had begun in 1922 was continued, virtually on an annual basis, and, in 1924, a slaughterhouse was built in the park. Soon, the staff of Buffalo
National Park would be providing their expertise on slaughtering matters to the officials at Elk Island.

Routines for the three wardens stationed at Elk Island National Park in the early 1920s were similar to the regimen established in Buffalo National Park to the south. Constant mounted patrols were maintained to monitor the buffalo herds there and to kill the coyotes that hunted the open range. Poaching was uncommon according to Superintendent Archibald Coxford who once informed Harkin: "I have never heard of or saw any trapping or killing of any deer or elk in Elk Island park, and I keep warning the Wardens to keep a close watch for any tracks that they should think look suspicious, and the Wardens never saw any tracks in Elk Island Park."  

With just over 350 buffalo in the Park in 1925, the problems of crowding that plagued Buffalo National Park in the early 1920s did not develop as quickly at Elk Island. By 1928, however, park officials estimated that the population had grown to perhaps 700 or 800, with another 300 to 600 calves expected over the next two years. Again, park staff in Ottawa recommended the slaughter of 200 to 250 animals and the construction of an on-site slaughter house complete with steam hoists similar to the plant already in operation at Buffalo National Park. That summer, Superintendent A. G. Smith of Buffalo National Park travelled to Elk Island to offer his advice and experience in setting up corrals for the slaughtering process. The killing would be done with rifles as was the case in Buffalo National Park. That winter, 230 animals, mostly older bulls, were butchered with the meat going to commercial packing houses. Wardens participated in the roundup, but the actual killing was done by the same shooting expert, Sam Purshell, who worked as a "gunman" at Buffalo Park.

The last of the "animal parks," the National Antelope Reserve near Nemiskam, Alberta, was established, as the name suggests, to protect the remaining plains antelope from extinction. Elevated to park status by 1928 and renamed Nemiskam National Park, the main occupation of the superintendent, Edgar McHugh, and his single helper was maintaining the Park perimeter fence, and shooting, trapping and poisoning the coyotes that preyed on the young and infirm antelopes. McHugh waged a relentless campaign against these predators using various poisons and, in 1929, hounds. He also shot and poisoned bald eagles, which he believed were capable of carrying off young antelope. Ottawa approved of and encouraged his efforts against the coyotes. In 1930, Hoyes Lloyd noted that McHugh:
is aware of the necessity of keeping the Park free of coyotes and has authority to purchase dogs for this purpose if considered necessary. It is felt he is watching the situation carefully and can be depended on.\textsuperscript{37}

There were no wardens at this Park during the 1920s, save McHugh who, as superintendent, also had the powers of a warden. The first wardens appeared there in the late 1930s, not long before the Park was dissolved.

The warden presence at Prince Albert National Park dates from 1927, and activities there followed along more traditional lines than at the "animal parks." Among their early directives, they were admonished to maintain daily patrols of their districts, to monitor sanitary conditions in the camping areas, and to be courteous to visitors but not to act as guides.\textsuperscript{38} Their circumstances, and their roles, differed quite markedly from those of their compatriots at Wood Buffalo, where recreational "visitors" were few and far between. They were also specifically reminded that it was their responsibility to provide food while in their district or travelling to a different one—anther variation from the situation in the northern park. Like Wood Buffalo, the first wardens were local residents with outdoorsmen's skills and trapping backgrounds. Like the mountain parks, their chief concerns were fire prevention and poaching control and, as noted above, they were, from the beginning, kept busy in both endeavours.

Because of the varied nature of the terrain and the fluctuations in the seasonal climate of Prince Albert National Park, the wardens experimented with different means of travel in the Park. They were still debating the merits of each in 1930. The Park's first superintendent, J. A. Wood, noted in an initial survey that the existing trails in the Park would have to be opened up around the lakes. Prior to the Park's establishment, the little travel done in the area was by loggers who worked in winter and used the frozen lakes, whenever possible, for transportation. In the fall of 1928, Wood requested permission to buy a five-dog sled team for Acting Supervising Warden George Davies, arguing that, because Davies was required to visit his wardens each month, he had to travel up to 20 and 30 miles a day, "and twenty miles on snowshoes for a man carrying a pack is an extremely hard day.\textsuperscript{39}

The dogs, four good huskies at $20.00 each and a lead dog for $25.00, would cost $105.00 in all. A "first-class sleigh" would cost a further $20.00 and five sets of harness $25.00. The total expenditure, $150.00, was described by Davies who was experienced with dogs as "an extremely good buy." In Ottawa, Hoyes Lloyd supported the idea, adding that food for the dogs would likely cost about $140.00 for the winter. The request was approved. After the first winter, Davies claimed that he had been able to cover three times the territory with dogs, compared to what he could have

\textsuperscript{37} RG84, Vol. 59, N300, Part 1, Edgar McHugh, National Antelope Reserve, Nemiskam, Alberta, to Harkin, February 12, 1923. Here, McHugh describes his efforts and those of a hired man to shoot and trap coyotes, so that they will not interfere with the antelope herd; ibid., March 31, 1929; ibid., Hoyes Lloyd, to Williamson, December 16, 1929.

\textsuperscript{38} PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA174-8, superintendent, to supervisory warden, May 5, 1930.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., File PA174-4, superintendent, to commissioner, October 22, 1928.
managed without them.  

No thought appears to have been given initially to providing the other wardens with anything more than horses and the snowshoes that Davies felt were insufficient for his own requirements. By the spring of 1929, Prince Albert’s wardens had decided that they too wanted dogsleds. Wood again approached Harkin, arguing that "in view of the fact that a large number of residents in close proximity of the park do not recognize the game laws and hunt during the winter months," it was imperative that the wardens have dogsleds to maintain "intensive patrols" in winter. He recommended that the wardens in the southern areas, comprising Rabbit Lake, Meridian and Montreal Lake districts be supplied with dog teams for winter and horses for summer travel. For wardens in the northern portions, consisting of Crean Lake and Kingsmere lake districts, he suggested dogs and canoes for the two seasons.

Over the ensuing summer, Wood changed his mind about using dogsleds, perhaps because of second thoughts from some of the wardens, whom he now described as being "about equally divided" on the issue of using horses or dog teams for winter travel. He now recommended horses, instead of dogs, for travel in the southern districts, and horses and toboggans for the northern areas. The problem with dogs was that they could only be used in winter but had to be fed and cared for all year round. The question of warden transportation in Prince Albert National Park remained unsettled into the next decade.

East of Prince Albert, the Warden Service in the 1920s was represented by the lone figure of Warden Garfield Finlayson at Point Pelee. Riding Mountain and Georgian Bay Islands national parks were being organized by the end of the decade, but neither yet had a warden component. Similarly, St Lawrence Islands was still maintained by part-time caretakers. For Warden Finlayson, predators were rabbits, hunted in periodic rabbit drives under his supervision, and muskrats, which were trapped by designated local citizens with profits divided between them and the park. Finlayson also oversaw the duck shooting that was permitted each fall. Like the park he protected, Finlayson felt the pressure of the surrounding population. In 1921, he was refused permission to carry a concealed weapon. In Harkin’s view:

Warden Finlayson may carry his rifle which he was authorized to carry some time ago in connection with the shooting of rabbits and other animals and this should be sufficient protection. If any case comes to his notice in which he anticipates violence of any nature, it might be well to get in touch with the police as you did in this case.
In the coming decade, as recreational visitation increased dramatically, Warden Finlayson and his successors would face "people management" problems more commonly associated with the last years of the twentieth century.

Warden Training

During the 1920s, park officials came to realize that wardens were handling more equipment and exercising more skills than had been the case just a decade earlier. An individual whose abilities were limited to riding and packing horses, knowledgeable as he might be in practical forest lore, could no longer be expected to carry out all the varied duties of a national park warden. This realization led to efforts to establish regular warden-training sessions, first in the mountain parks and later throughout the system.

The idea of sharing and disseminating the specialized knowledge being developed in the National Parks Branch was inherent in the decision made in 1921 to promote Howard Sibbald from chief Park Warden of Rocky Mountains Park to the new post of Dominion Parks inspector. Sibbald's official duties were:

...to inspect and report on conditions in Dominion Parks as assigned; to supervise fire and game protection work and advise Park Wardens and other employees regarding methods; to make special investigations as required regarding methods; to make special investigations as required; to direct and supervise the maintenance of cabins, trails and other improvements; to supervise the above work in one of the large parks; and to perform other related work as required.  

In his new post, Sibbald travelled from park to park, noting how things were done in each and suggesting improvements. He soon realized that the Warden Service could benefit from exchanges of knowledge and experiences among its members. In April 1923, he suggested that a convention of supervising wardens be held, before the fire season set in, and Harkin agreed.

The first conference of supervising wardens took place at Banff, lasted four days and was attended by J.R. Warren (Rocky Mountains), H. Knight (Waterton Lakes), R. Langford (Jasper), J.M. Giddie (Yoho and Glacier) and Fire Warden C.V. Phillips (Lake Louise), with Sibbald in the chair. The focus of the meeting was fire prevention and suppression. Sibbald's opening remarks set the tone: "Without forests we cannot have the game." Topics ranged from the need for new Ford cars in several parks to the advantages of having wardens prepare an inventory of water sources in their districts. The idea of having wardens carry watchmen's clocks on their rounds was rejected, and plans were made to investigate the new Forestry Branch proposal to use aircraft patrols and radios

44 FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 44, S-1-4, Staff, H. Sibbald, October 1921-May 1924, Harkin, to Sibbald, October 6, 1922.
45 RG84, Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, YNP, April 3, 1923.
46 YNP, Schintz Package #6, YNP, File 198, chief wardens' reports and correspondence, April 3, 1923 to March 1, 1924, minutes, Supervising Wardens' Convention, Banff, April 18-21, 1923.
to detect fires. The group also discussed park signage, brush-burning protocol and improved efficiency in packing equipment to fire scenes. The supervising wardens witnessed a demonstration of the new Evinrude pump at Forty Mile Creek and requested a salary increase to offset the requirement that they provide their own housing. They concluded with a vote of thanks to Sibbald for giving them a platform to express their views and wishes.

Although no record was made at the supervising wardens' meeting of the need for warden training, regular courses did begin at several mountain parks about the same time. The Annual Report for 1923 first mentions "intensive training and examinations" of the warden staff at Jasper, Yoho, Waterton Lakes, Glacier and Mount Revelstoke parks "in the mechanical systems of fire-fighting." [See figures 3-23 and 3-24.] In September 1923, Superintendent E.N. Russell, of Yoho National Park, recommended to Supervising Warden Jack Giddie that his four wardens attend first-aid courses then being offered at the Field Y.M.C.A. by an instructor sent in by the Canadian Pacific Railway. By 1925, annual refresher courses dealing with specific warden needs, and scheduled for the less hectic winter period, had been established at Waterton Lakes and Jasper parks. In February 1925, Harkin suggested adding the following topics to the upcoming sessions at Waterton Lakes:

- Selecting and marking timber.
- Trail, cabin and telephone maintenance.
- Mechanical details of portable pumps by lecture and demonstration on gas, electrical, lubricating, control and cooling systems.
- Care and repair of hose.
- Driving and running repairs of Ford trucks.
- Education of public in regard to care in use of fire.

In January that year, Jasper's Supervising Warden Dick Langford organized a 12-day course attended by 14 wardens. The park garage mechanic, A. W. Mill, lectured and demonstrated on the care, maintenance and use of outboard motors, gasoline engines, telephones, the Bickle fire truck and the Mudge gasoline speeder operated by the park. Jasper staff were pleased with the results and recommended that the same lectures be repeated for the wardens of Rocky Mountains, Yoho and Kootenay parks.

A "wardens convention" was held at Yoho, likely consisting of just that park’s wardens, in April 1925. The only known topic of discussion was the difficulty of monitoring hunting camps set up inside the park for forays into the surrounding provincial land, where seasonal hunting was permitted.

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47 Department of the Interior, Annual Report, March 31, 1923, report of Commissioner of Canadian National Parks J. B. Harkin, p. 73. YNP, Schintz Package #6, YNP, File 198, chief wardens' reports and correspondence, April 3, 1923 to March 1, 1924, superintendent, YNP, to Giddie, September 21, 1923. WLNP, Schintz Package #2, WLNP Administration Building, File W171, Harkin, to superintendent, WLNP, February 5, 1925.

48 RG84, Vol. 13, J185, Part 1, N.C. Sparks, JNP, to Harkin, February 13, 1925.

Figures 4-3 and 4-4. Jasper Warden John Macklin demonstrating hand signals in fire pump practice, c. 1922. [Courtesy of Mary Haines, Campbell River, B.C.]
By 1929, warden training was being held in April, in the cases of Rocky Mountains and Prince Albert parks, and the main focus of discussion remained firefighting, particularly at the latter location. In both instances, the warden staff was divided in two, so that one half could remain on duty, while the other attended courses. The program at Prince Albert lasted two days and covered the fine points of fire suppression; game protection; trail building; telephone construction and maintenance; patrolling, and the use of dogs and horses on patrols; and the "general conduct of wardens." The wardens here remained convinced that only trapping could keep the coyote population in check. Superintendent Wood concluded his report to Harkin by saying:

...I was extremely pleased with the results obtained from this Conference. The men showed a keen interest in everything brought up and were not afraid to discuss the different points. They have gone back to their work with a new interest and I hope with further knowledge of how their duties are to be carried out. I am strongly of the opinion that a Wardens Conference at least once a year is an extremely good thing for the organization.

This then was the beginning of what would become fixtures of the National Park Warden Service—annual in-house training programs to maintain and upgrade skills, and regular conferences to provide a forum for the discussion and solution of common problems in varying locales and circumstances.

Except at Wood Buffalo, the wardens of the national parks operated as federal officials in enclaves surrounded by provincial lands. They experienced much uncertainty over the nature and extent of their powers, and their relationship with provincial counterparts. Problems that had been worked out between mountain parks and provincial authorities in Edmonton and Victoria over the years, surfaced in the new Prince Albert and Riding Mountain parks early in the 1930s. There was uncertainty over the extent of a patrolman's authority as a law officer and more than a little consternation, when it was realized that only wardens could seize weapons and make arrests for infractions of park regulations. Similarly, at Georgian Bay Islands, Warden George Lynn was told, in 1934, that his assistant who was employed as a labourer had overstepped his authority in confiscating the weapons of individuals caught hunting on park land.

The only exception, which was applied in Prince Albert, Riding Mountain and Point Pelee, was the appointment of specific assistant wardens or patrolmen as special supernumerary constables with powers of arrest under the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act. In a similar vein, only wardens were permitted to wear the warden badge of office in recognition of their policing authority within the parks, although even this rule was broken at St. Lawrence Islands National Park, where the caretakers were issued badges in the 1930s. By the middle of the decade, Prince Albert wardens and Saskatchewan game guardians were exchanging honorary status, so that either could pursue poachers

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50 PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA174-4, "Warden's Conference" minutes, n. d. [April 15, 1929]; ibid., superintendent, to commissioner, April 22, 1929.
51 GBINP, [recently sent to NA]6845-1, Part 1, Williamson for Harkin, to Park Warden George Lynn, GBINP, October 10, 1934.
across park boundaries. In 1939, Herb Knight, who had just become superintendent of Prince Albert National Park, clarified the status of labourers hired as acting or assistant wardens, writing:

...these men are not Park Wardens within the meaning of the National Parks Act, nor have they the powers of a peace officer. They are employed to assist the permanent Wardens in such work as can be properly delegated to them, such as firefighting, patrol work and cabin and trail construction, but not arrests. In other words, they cannot be properly defined as "Acting Wardens" but merely as assistants to the permanent Warden staff.

Some consideration was given in 1933 to a reorganization of the Warden Service "somewhat on the lines of a police organization with a view to increasing the efficiency of the organization and also partly to improve the discipline." It was realized though that the chief focus of the wardens was fire and game-protection work that required "considerable labour and training in the use of firefighting equipment which would not be compatible with ordinary police duties." In short, although they had police-like duties in the parks, most of their responsibilities, their skills and their expertise were really centred in non-police functions. Still, the ambiguity of their role remained.

The issue has been raised many times, since the commissioner considered it in 1933. It remains today as part of a seemingly interminable debate over the role and function of the Warden Service.

From the confusion evident regarding the exercise of authority by both wardens and patrolmen or "acting wardens," it is clear that high among the skills required by those who would protect the national parks in these years were tact and self-reliance. Such traits would also prove useful to a warden on poaching patrol or one attempting to marshal a hastily gathered crew in the face of a wind-swept fire. A profile of the skills and attributes required of a warden can be built up by examining their own views on the subject and then by looking at the backgrounds of a few individuals who were considered by their peers to have, or not have, "the right stuff."

Officially, new recruits required, according to the regulations as they stood in 1932, an education "equivalent to primary school graduation;" what was described as "experience in forestry" but meant, in practice, a familiarity with outdoor life and the ability to survive in the bush; "knowledge of the care of animals," which was, in practice, largely focussed on horses; "knowledge of park regulations;" and a "good physical condition." A job poster issued late in the decade by the Civil Service Commission for an entry, or "level 1," park warden position in Jasper National Park enlarges on these requirements and gives an indication of the range of duties anticipated for the successful candidate. The poster quite specifically invited applications from "MALE RESIDENTS OF JASPER, ALBERTA, AND LOCALITY," a restriction that would remain, in writing, on into the

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52 PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA174-4, commissioner, to superintendent, December 30, 1932; ibid., Harkin, to commissioner of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, June 7, 1935. RG84, Vol. 25, SLI41, Part 1, Caretaker P.D. Carson, Broder Island, St. Lawrence Islands National Park (hereafter SLINP), to Harkin, Morrisburg, Ontario, August 17, 1937; ibid., Vol. 4, PA300, Part 4, Acting District Superintendent R.T. Cook, Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources, to superintendent, PANP, November 27, 1934; ibid., Part 3, Superintendent Wood, PANP, to Harkin, November 29, 1934. PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-4, memo, from Herbert Knight, superintendent, to George Davies, September 19, 1939.

1960s and, in practice, for yet another decade. Starting salary remained pegged at $1,200.00, the figure established in the early 1920s, but the upper limit had in the interim been raised to $1,500.00. No reference was made to the fact that wardens were provided with accommodations in the park or that they were required to live in a park district. There was an entry age limit of 30 years, which could be overlooked only in the case of military veterans in "satisfactory physical condition." The qualifications called specifically for "high school graduation," although, as we shall see, this was a requirement that would not be met consistently for many years. In fact, in an invitation issued earlier that year in Prince Albert to fill a "level 2" position, the educational requirements were given as "two years of high school." Park officials in Jasper also wanted candidates to have "at least two years of practical field experience in forestry, biology or engineering or two years of university training" in one of these fields. Other skills sought included:

...[the] ability to undertake supervision of fire fighting crews and the use of modern methods of fire control; knowledge of the care of horses and use of packing equipment; knowledge of gasoline motor engines; ability to enforce tactfully forest and park regulations; exceptionally good physical condition; good address.

The duties of the position, unlike some of the qualification requirements, were an accurate reflection of what would be expected:

...to patrol a designated area in one of the National Parks of Canada for the purpose of fire and game protection; to investigate forestry and wild life problems; to inspect timber and grazing operations; to supervise the construction and maintenance of trails, roads, bridges, lookouts, cabins, telephone lines; to supervise the care and handling of horses and mechanical equipment assigned to the area; to organize fire fighting operations; to enforce general park regulations and to gather evidence and initiate prosecutions in connection with violations of game and other regulations; to prepare reports; and to perform other related work as required.

That same year, in response to an enquiry concerning work as a warden, the superintendent of Prince Albert compiled the following list of "general qualifications":

Should be generally adapted to outdoor life,
General knowledge of all types of wild life,
General knowledge of different types of trees,
Knowledge of fire detection and the different methods of suppression,
Mechanical knowledge of the operations of fire pumps and outboard motors,
Knowledge covering the care of horses.

54 WLNP. Schintz Package #3, WLNP Warden Office, Box 3, File #1, Superintendent Knight, WLNP, to Frank Judd, Cardston, Alberta, December 21, 1932. These were the traits and skills that Knight stressed in a response to an aspiring warden candidate. JNP, Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, acc. # 84.147.2, [Wardens - General], January 8, 1940: Civil Service Poster for "male" applicants as a level 1 park warden. The issue of sexual discrimination in the Warden Service will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 7. PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-3, Civil Service of Canada, to permanent park wardens level 1, in Prince Albert National Park, March 29, 1939.
By the end of the decade, the salary range for a level 2 or working-level warden was $1,500.00 to $1,740.00. At the level of the supervising warden, park officials wanted experience, leadership qualities and administrative abilities. In 1932, Waterton Lakes' Superintendent Herb Knight, outlined the qualities of a good supervising warden in a letter to the local M.P., Brigadier General Stewart. He wrote in part:

I would strongly urge and recommend that the position of Supervising warden be filled by a man who is thoroughly experienced and familiar with the duties expected of him; namely practical experience with fire units, handling of men at a fire, practical knowledge of fire fighting, trails, game, telephones, etc.

Knight's candidate for the post was Warden J. C. Holroyd Sr., a veteran and married man whom he viewed as both knowledgeable and conscientious. Knight also stressed that choosing from within the existing wardens in the park "would be in the best interests of the Park, and the other Wardens would realize that seniority with ability is recognized, raising the morale of the service, and giving them an incentive to do their best." It seems likely, in this instance, that Stewart, in dispensing political largesse within his domain, had suggested bringing in someone from outside the park and perhaps the Warden Service as well. Holroyd did become supervising warden at Waterton Lakes.

One can also compile a sense of the skills and attributes useful in the Warden Service by examining the background and work experiences of some of those who became wardens in the 1930s. A smattering of this type of evidence survives. When, in 1932, he suddenly found himself seriously short of wardens from recent retirements and incapacitating accidents, Superintendent Jennings of Banff recommended several replacements. These included L. S. Walker who had served in the park "for some years," presumably as a labourer, and had worked outdoors at the Brooks Irrigation Demonstration Farm prior to that. Walker was to assist Warden Murphy at the Ya-Ha-Tinda ranch, just east of the park. His second recruit was Percy Bennett who had six years' experience in the park as a Brewster guide. Bennett was to assist Warden J. Naylor in patrolling District 11, "a large district and particularly hazardous... during the fire season ...." Jennings later defended his retention as an acting warden of a young man who, six years earlier, had been convicted of trapping in the park. Jennings wrote in his defence:

When Stenton was recommended to me for the Warden Service I interviewed him and was satisfied that with his intimate knowledge of the Park and his experience on various occasions in fighting fires, also his long experience as a trail man for various outfitters, he was the very type of young man I required in the Warden Service. The fact that he had been convicted in this manner did not, in my opinion, damn him for life. He had paid the penalty and so far as I was concerned the matter was

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55 PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-3, superintendent, to W.M. Mair, March 23, 1939; ibid., Civil Service of Canada, to permanent park wardens level 1, in Prince Albert National Park, March 29, 1939.
56 WLNP, Schintz Package #3, WLNP Warden Office, Box 1, File O2, memo, to Brigadier General Stewart, M.P., June 15, 1932.
settled by that fact, and by the further fact that he had settled down and become a good citizen. My
judgement in this case has been substantiated by this young man's work, with which I am entirely
satisfied. He is keen, works long hours, and is intensely interested in the flora and fauna of the Park,
having taken pains to educate himself in these matters.\(^{57}\)

Later in the decade, the superintendent at Waterton Lakes recommended the promotion of two
labourers to level 2 warden positions.\(^{58}\) The first candidate, R. M. Christiansen, was 44 years of age,
a veteran and a seasonal park employee since mid-1936. Christiansen, although on the books as a
"Labourer assisting [the] Warden Service," was actually acting as headquarters or town warden and,
since the recent death of Warden McAllister, had assisted in patrolling the Pass Creek district. He
enforced regulations in the townsites and was the first park officer who could respond to fires there.
The second individual recommended for permanent warden status was J. W. Webster who had been
seasonally employed "as Stock Rider and Assistant to the Warden Service" over the previous three
years. This tendency to recommend individuals already employed as labourers was a common
means of advancement by the 1930s. Often, prospective wardens could spend years being paid as
casual labourers and working on a seasonal basis before gaining permanent employment as either
level 1 or 2 wardens.

Further promotion for those with leadership and administrative abilities was available at the larger
parks in the form of supervisory warden positions. A small minority, including, for example, Herb
Knight, would go on to become park superintendents. While vertical and lateral mobility from park
to park was not to become an official facet of park personnel policy until the 1950s, there were some
instances of wardens moving between the mountain and prairie parks during these years. Most
wardens, however, were recruited from the immediate vicinity of the park in which they served, and
few were interested in being posted elsewhere.

At the new prairie parks, where advancement from labourer to warden status was not initially
feasible, wardens were recruited from local residents who had a background of outdoors work and
demonstrated woodcraft skills. The early wardens at Prince Albert, for example, had worked at
various outdoors activities, including farming, trapping, timber cutting and even game protection
before being hired by the park. Warden Frederick J. Carter was a veteran and a motor mechanic who
had served as a Saskatchewan fire ranger and wood scaler for three years before signing on at the
park. Roy Hubel, who became a permanent warden at Prince Albert in December 1936, had farmed
in summer and trapped in winter in Michigan and Saskatchewan before joining the provincial
Department of Natural Resources as a game guardian in 1922. H. W. Genge became a warden, also
at Prince Albert, in 1927. A veteran, he had farmed, trapped and worked in lumber camps before
becoming a warden. G. L. Holden also served with Carter, Hubel and Genge in Prince Albert

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\(^{57}\) FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-56, Staff, H.B. Fuller, Acting Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to
Harkin, June 30, 1932; ibid., BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 32, W2, Game Wardens, Volume 3 (of 3), July 1939-March 1940,
Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Controller Williamson, May 27, 1938.

\(^{58}\) WLNP, Schintz Package #2, WLNP Administration Building, W174-4, Controller F.H.H. Williamson, to
superintendent, WLNP, December 21, 1938 and response.
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National Park, first as a temporary warden in 1938. Holden, like Carter and Genge had served in the First World War. He had also farmed and had worked as a sectionman for the Canadian Pacific Railway before becoming a Saskatchewan forest ranger in the mid-1920s. Such men were comfortable being on their own and patrolling large areas. Some even had previous game and forest-conservation experience, and each was handy and self-reliant. Most, as veterans, were accustomed to taking directions, following instructions and pursuing the aims of a larger organization.

If these success stories help to build a profile of the Warden Service in the 1930s, the failures do as well. The case, touched on in the previous chapter, of Warden William Bruce of Lake Louise district in Banff, is worth noting again. Bruce had obtained leave in 1930 to restore nerves apparently shattered by a year of isolation in the back country. There was more, though, to Bruce's story than this. In fact, he resigned from the Warden Service in the summer of 1931, complaining that the cabins and trails of the district to which he had been assigned—District 14, which ran from the Saskatchewan River to the Jasper park boundary—were "impossible" and that "the equipment issued, used and unwashed blankets, old and chipped enamel plates, used and filthy fry pans [were], ... a disgrace. To be expected to live under such conditions is too great a strain." Not surprisingly, the superintendent denied these claims concerning equipment issued and charged that Bruce had, in the past, been unable to get along with his fellow wardens. Jennings wrote: "Several complaints have from time to time been received from other Park Wardens regarding this man's lack of cleanliness in the cabins." Supervising Warden Warren complained, following an inspection of Bruce's district, that he was "unable to use any of his [Bruce's] cooking utensils owing to their filthy condition." The exact circumstances of this dispute remain cloudy, but it is clear that Warden Bruce alienated his peers and was not prepared to perform the duties that other wardens accepted with equanimity.

In the same year, Prince Albert park officers found themselves with an even less suitable incumbent warden, an individual who had transferred to the National Parks Bureau from the Dominion Lands Branch, when the federal government turned prairie Crown lands over to the provinces. The warden, who had been a Dominion Lands inspector, intended to move again, but the federal election of that year caused his political connections to evaporate and left him with the prospect of remaining a park warden for the foreseeable future. It was not a happy prospect for the incumbent or his superiors. Superintendent Wood recalled that, after a month on the job:

...it was necessary for me to report that he was entirely unsuited for the work, as he had never had any experience along the lines of the work which has to be performed by a Park Warden. He had no


60 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-66, Staff, William Bruce, Banff, to Superintendent Jennings, BNP, July 2, 1931.

61 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-66, Staff, William Bruce, superintendent, BNP, memo for file, January 4, 1932.
knowledge of mechanical equipment, no knowledge of wood-lore, no water experience, and no fire fighting experience. He has always held positions of a clerical nature, and did not seem to be able to use his hands. We were afraid to put him in charge of a District, as he was able to lose himself at a very short distance away from the cabin.  

Soon after this assessment, the man resigned from his post, stating that he was not physically capable of performing his duties.

The Warden Service in the war years continued to emphasize the need for practical skills in its recruits and in the annual warden-training schools now being held in every park with a warden contingent. When a recently hired warden with an academic background in forestry became ill at Prince Albert park in 1940, Superintendent Knight sought to have him replaced by a man with more practical experience. Knight argued that the incumbent:

...has many qualifications, is studious and takes a great interest in entomology (especially forest insects) and forestry, and would, I believe, make a good Forester but not a Warden, which calls for rugged constitution, good physique, self-reliant [sic] and able [sic] to do hard manual labour to efficiently patrol outlying districts and properly maintain trails and telephone line, with, of course, the many other qualifications necessary for a good warden.  

A few months later, the superintendent was even more blunt, suggesting that his choice was "a better man than [the incumbent] for the position of warden, being of a more rugged constitution, and an experienced bushman and canoeman."  

In a similar vein, the following year, a headquarters' official wrote of the wardens at Wood Buffalo: "The nature of the duties of a warden require him to be an experienced bushman, physically fit to carry out these difficult patrols and enforce park regulations." It was felt that one of the current wardens there missed this mark because of impaired hearing and because "he is not capable of carrying out the patrols that are required of a warden," although he was described as "a good teamster and willing labourer." Because of his hearing problem, he had been unable to report on the telephone during his previous two winters in Pine Lake district and had been "a source of worry and responsibility to the Park Management." In truth, the Warden Service at Wood Buffalo was deemed inadequate, following an investigation of conditions there in 1945, and the postwar period would witness new personalities and new vigour in the park.  

In the realm of warden training, an effort was made to widen the wardens' understanding of, and increase their participation in, the scientific investigations of wildlife being carried out in some of the mountain parks. Dr. Clarke, then one of the principal wildlife investigators, attended both the
Jasper and Banff warden schools in 1940, explaining just what his work entailed, why it was being done and how the wardens could help it along. At the same time, there was a continuing emphasis on the skills taught from the earliest schools in the 1920s. The 1942 Warden School at Prince Albert, for example, included sessions on fire prevention and suppression, law enforcement, telephone and radio maintenance, timber cruising, wildlife conservation and fish management. Ottawa sent examination questions to the parks prior to the schools, and the answers were then returned for assessment. Many of the topics covered at Prince Albert were presented by the wardens themselves, but three specialists from the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources also participated, as did a Royal Canadian Mounted Police sergeant and a professor from the University of Manitoba.66

Controller Smart noted, in 1942, that the recently appointed wardens of Cape Breton Highlands National Park had no connection with the established Warden Service. "These men," he wrote, "had little knowledge of even what a National Park meant and their present activities are purely governed by what they have been told from time to time is required of them. We should endeavour to arrange a warden school for Cape Breton so that they would have the benefit of getting the viewpoint from experienced officers through lectures and field demonstrations."67 Accustomed to the sharing of experience across the parks system, it is difficult to imagine such compartmentalization and isolation. The transfer of personnel, and experience, that began in an organized manner in the 1950s would bring a renewed sense of purpose and commitment to the Warden Service across the country.

In his extensive critique of the Warden Service prepared early in 1944, Bruce Mitchell suggested, as well, an annual "one-week school or refresher course" for supervising wardens, in which each would prepare a presentation in a particular area. The meetings would be held at a different park each year to give the participants a better sense of circumstances across the system. Like many of Mitchell's suggestions, it was one that would be addressed in the growth years of the postwar period.68

Warden duties did not change appreciably in these years, although special conditions or problems in specific parks often led to more or less emphasis on different tasks. Care of dogs, for example, meant maintaining healthy sled teams in Wood Buffalo and Prince Albert parks, whereas, in Jasper, dogs were treated more as trail companions or were specially trained for cougar hunts. The rhythm of daily routines and annual cycles also varied in mountain or prairie, northern or eastern parks. While all performed basic protective functions, a mounted warden in Buffalo National Park faced conditions and circumstances much removed from the problems and concerns of his counterparts at Yoho, Riding Mountain, Point Pelee or Georgian Bay Islands, and, in each of these parks, there

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66 RG84. Vol. 8, B300, Part 5, extract, Clarke, to Gibson, December 16, 1940. PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 3, File PA174-20, superintendent, to Davies and all wardens, letter attached to "Agenda for Wardens' School," April 1, 1942; ibid., J. Smart, controller, to superintendent, April 18, 1942; ibid., superintendent, to controller, April 27, 1942.
were again unique local problems to be confronted. Yet, while conditions differed, certain basic terms of work, including hours and mobility, were applied in a standard fashion throughout the system.

As federal government employees, the wardens' terms of employment were regulated by the Civil Service Commission. Like other civil servants, they could look forward to superannuation or a modest pension after a career of faithful service. They were protected in bureaucratic fashion from arbitrary dismissal. They were provided with government accommodations that varied from park to park and even from district to district. They used government-issued equipment in the execution of their duties, although often, as in the case of weapons for predator control and self-protection, they also provided their own tools. Their working conditions differed, of course, from those of an urban, clerical employee, but so too did their daily and monthly work schedules.

Warden work schedules were based on the need to protect the interior or back-country portions of the parks on a continuous basis. A "seven-to-five" work regime was of no value in curtailing the activities of poachers or in fighting forest fires. The system that had evolved over two decades and had enjoyed the mantle of time-honored tradition by the 1930s permitted a permanent and round-the-clock warden presence throughout the parks. A warden was expected to remain in his district, making regular patrols, on a virtually permanent basis. At Banff, he was allowed one day a month, exclusive of travel time, in town to purchase supplies. It was understood by the wardens that such trips were to be co-ordinated with neighbouring wardens who extended their own patrols to maintain monitoring. At Jasper, the wardens were informed that:

....all wardens before leaving their areas must notify the supervising warden, stating the reason for doing so and also their destination, and likely date of return.

....all wardens must report to the supervising warden daily by 'phone line, and report before leaving the 'phone line, stating where they are going and the date of return.  

Later in the decade, the supervising warden at Banff, Bill Potts, issued the directive: "In future any Warden leaving his district without first having obtained permission will be shown on the attendance report as absent without leave." This followed several incidents in which Banff wardens had left their districts without notifying anyone. At Waterton Lakes, too, the acting superintendent issued the following circular in 1939:

Wardens must not leave their respective districts during recognized working hours, that is, between 7 a.m. and 5 p.m., without permission from the Supervising Warden.

During the fire season they must not leave their respective districts at any time without the consent of the Supervising Warden.

Infractions of these instructions will be dealt with severely.\textsuperscript{70}

At Prince Albert in 1932, the pertinent directive read as follows:

Permanent wardens are not permitted to leave their district without permission or unless instructed to do so. It is understood that it is necessary for wardens to obtain supplies and mail. One trip a month, however, should be sufficient for these items. Any mail of extreme importance will be sent in by special messenger. The only other excuse for a warden to leave his district would be in cases of extreme emergency...any infraction of these instructions will be followed by immediate suspension.

In the case of temporary wardens the same instructions apply.\textsuperscript{71}

A few years later, this directive was revised, further limiting the wardens in their movements:

 Apparently a slight misunderstanding is creeping into the Warden Service, relative to the one day a month which is granted them for the purpose of obtaining supplies.

The Wardens are not entitled to this day, and I have granted it to them purely to assist them, and to obviate the necessity of their taking annual leave on such days as may be required for them to obtain household supplies, etc.

I do not wish any warden to take a day a month off unless it is absolutely necessary for him to leave his work, and I would also like to impress on the Service, the fact that such days as are taken are not to be considered holidays. When the Wardens are in Prince Albert or any other town in which it may be more convenient for them to obtain their supplies, they are to remember that they are on duty, and therefore act accordingly.\textsuperscript{72}

What is notable here is not the number of instances in which wardens disregarded or evaded these restrictions on their freedom of movement, but rather the general equanimity with which they accepted the concept of working ten-hour days, seven days a week, with the understanding that they were perpetually on call to answer any emergency. On the one hand, the wardens were the employees of a large twentieth-century bureaucracy, but they were also imbued with a virtually pre-industrial work ethic that recognized no limits to the work day and certainly no set hours. Thus, Commissioner Harkin in revising the predator-control policy in the 1930s could, as noted above, instruct his officials:

\ldots a warden's activities are not to be confined simply to a set period of time, say from seven or eight in the morning until five o'clock at night. He is to work in connection with the reduction of predators

\textsuperscript{71} PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA174-4, superintendent, to Davies, April 13, 1932.
\textsuperscript{72} PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-4, memo, Superintendent Wood, to Supervising Warden George Davies, November 16, 1937.
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such hours and at such times as will best serve the purpose in view....if the wardens were not government employees but were endeavouring to earn their living by killing coyotes and other predators, they would not restrict themselves to any particular hours or times but would carry on their work at such times and under such conditions as were most favourable for success.\[73\]

It is not surprising then, and perhaps only partly in irony, that Warden Bill Peyto noted on his official personnel record that he worked an average of 19 hours a day and entered for "Days [worked] per Month": "Every day." On one occasion, when his supervising warden was not available to fight an evening fire, because he had gone out with his wife, Jasper's superintendent explained apologetically: "It is a very rare thing for the Supervising Warden to go out at night, as he is continually on the job."\[74\] The wardens laboured, then, when there was work to be done, and rested when the opportunity arose. The end result was that certain times of the year, such as fire and poaching seasons, tended to be very busy, while the winter season permitted a more relaxed pace. In the postwar world, the Warden Service would encounter twentieth-century labour relations in the form of unions, established hours and overtime pay. In the interim, the so-called "golden age," the wardens remained tied to their districts but free of any close or immediate supervision.

The issue of wardens remaining in their districts on a continuous basis, particularly during the winter when they would be largely isolated for months at a time, was questioned in Banff National Park in the 1930s, but no major policy change resulted. Superintendent Jennings informed Ottawa in 1932 that, since the wardens could no longer trap during the winter, they:

...now have very little with which to occupy themselves during the long winter months. In some of the districts in the northern part of the Park there is nothing to trap and the district is never visited by outsiders during the winter months.

I do not, therefore propose to keep these men shut up in these little cabins in these far distant districts during the coming winter.

Jennings noted in his opening address to the 1933 annual wardens' meeting: "The very nature of your duties tends to make you temperamental" and urged his listeners to co-operate and "avoid petty jealousies." At the same time, Jennings "decided to bring the men from the outlying districts, into Banff for the winter and to find them useful employment in and around Banff." He assured Ottawa that "it was never my intention to entirely abandon any particular Warden district during the winter months and patrols from time to time during the winter will always be made into each district." Harkin, however, rejected the park's arguments and suggested as a compromise that:

the outlying districts should be patrolled by the wardens throughout the year as this is important in the interest of game conservation.

\[73\] RG84, Vol. 7, B300, Part 3, Harkin, to [superintendents, mountain parks], October 17, 1933.

\[74\] FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-52, E.W. Peyto, record of employment, Ebenezer William Peyto, October 20, 1933. RG84, Vol. 147, J186, Part 2, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Harkin, March 7, 1933.
It seems feasible that suitable arrangements could be made under which the wardens in these remote districts could patrol in pairs and have their headquarters together during the winter months. In the following winter, five such pairs of wardens were sent out on district duty, and this policy was followed on into the war years. A similar doubling up of wardens on winter patrols occurred at Prince Albert in the 1930s. Banff's Bill Peyto, who was renowned for his solitary ways, remained on his own at Healy Creek. He retired two years later.

**Warden Work**

In the foreword to his 1944 assessment of the Warden Service, Banff's supervising warden, Bruce Mitchell, stressed the protection of the forest cover, and the wildlife it sustained, as "our sacred duty." Fire prevention, detection and suppression was the major function of the Warden Service and all other activities—poaching patrols, trail and telephone maintenance, campground surveillance and public relations—stemmed from or led to this end. This focus has remained unchanged over the years, although the aims of the Warden Service and certainly the duties of the wardens have shifted markedly in recent decades. During the war years, however, and, for some time thereafter, Mitchell's emphasis remained that of the parks system at large.

Wardens' work was cyclical in nature, following the seasons and, responding to challenges and threats as they appeared. Even the daily routine varied by the season. At Prince Albert National Park, wardens were expressly directed to be on duty ten hours per day during the summer months, when the fire danger was highest and the tourists most numerous. In the fall, their hours fell to nine hours per day, although poachers were to be pursued as opportunities arose, and, during the winter, wardens could relax in the luxury of an eight-hour day. In Banff at this time, Warden Ulysses LaCasse described such winter duties at Castle Mountain district as trail and highway patrols, cutting and gathering heating wood, and snow clearing and trail maintenance, sometimes in the company of an acting warden. It should be noted too that, once they became permanent civil servants,

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75 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 31, W-2, Vol. 1, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, August 16, 1932; ibid., Box 32, W2, Game Wardens, Volume 2, January 1933-January 1938, Summary of Remarks by the superintendent, May 15, 1933; ibid., Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, October 23, 1933; ibid., Harkin, to superintendent, BNP, February 21, 1934.

76 FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 32, W2, Game Wardens, Volume 2, January 1933-January 1938, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, September 15, 1934. RG84, Vol. 1771, PA272, Part 1, Superintendent Wood, PANP, to controller, November 2, 1933. The only other Banff wardens to remain on their own were Walter Peyto who was Banff town warden and F. C. Murphy who served at the Ya-Ha-Tinda ranch. The following wardens worked together in the winter of 1934: J.L. McLenahan and W. Child (Spray River and Bryant Creek), C. C. Fuller and W. J. Potts (Panther, Dormer and Cascade rivers and Lake Minnewanka), J. W. Gladstone and P. G. Woodworth (Johnson, Forty-mile and Baker creeks, and Mystic and Sawback lakes), W.D. Neish and P. Bennett (Clearwater, Siffleur and Pipestone rivers and Bow Lakes), and J. Naylor and U.U. Lacasse (Bow, Mistaya, Howes, North Saskatchewan and Alexandra rivers, and Lake Louise and vicinity).

wardens were entitled to 18 days of annual leave per year, based on a six-day week, but were expected to take this time during less busy periods of the year.  

In an example from Prince Albert, a level two warden estimated that 73 percent of his time was spent "patrolling for the protection of game and prevention of fires," eight percent on trail and telephone maintenance, six percent for other equipment, 11 percent maintaining government buildings and doing miscellaneous work, and two percent fighting fires and managing fire crews. In support of a warden's bid for his annual increase in 1940, Superintendent Knight stressed the applicant's diligence on patrol, his care for equipment, the neat condition of his district station and buildings, his knowledge of firefighting techniques and his ability as a canoeist. Supervising wardens divided their time between inspections of the districts that their wardens maintained and the preparation of a variety of headquarters-bound reports in the park office.

Recurring dissatisfaction in Ottawa with the wardens at Wood Buffalo led to the dispatch of an official to provide direction and guidance. On his return, M. Meikle reported:

During my talk with the wardens I explained to them the need of more patrols and the kind of information the department wanted and that they were responsible for their districts. I do not think the wardens realize the large expenditures of money that the Department makes in the way of rations, wages, equipment, dogs and dog feed and care, upkeep of cabins, roads and boats. They should have this feature impressed on them when instructions are issued, so that they will see that the Department is entitled to their best efforts.

Diary synopses and reports from Wood Buffalo over the next few years indicate a greater emphasis on poaching patrols, but Ottawa's continued concerns, coupled with relatively low salaries in the park, would lead to personnel changes in the immediate postwar years.

At Cape Breton Highlands, the new Warden Service received both praise and criticism when evaluated in 1942, and it is clear that the eastern wardens had developed their routines in a different fashion from their compatriots in the mountain and prairie parks. On his return from a study of the park's flora and fauna, Dr. Clarke reported:

The present staff is unfamiliar with procedures in the older parks, but in spite of that they have gone ahead and in some features CBHNP is outstanding....The wardens are all capable men....they lack experience in making observations in the bush and are not gaining this experience as fast as they should....they do not spend a sufficient proportion of their time in the Park. Were it not for the use

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78 PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-4, memo, from Supervising Warden George Davies, to all wardens, April 17, 1939. FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86147, Box 32, W-2-6, 1939, miscellaneous, October 12, 1939, to October 2, 1940, District Warden U. U. LaCasse, to Supervising Warden W. J. Potts, [October 12, 1939].


of their private cars those who live at a distance would have to spend most of their time walking to and from the Park. 82

Clarke suggested that the wardens reside in the park, in buildings constructed for that purpose, and that trails be built into the interior of the park, a process that had been planned at park establishment but fell by the wayside over the years. Clarke added:

The wardens now patrol the roads. In other Parks this is done by wardens only for fire protection and they are not concerned with questions of engineering. The Cape Breton Highlands Wardens do this in their own cars. In the writer's opinion the road mileage in the Park is small enough that a daily patrol on dry days by the supervising warden should be enough. Such a patrol would take him into every warden district where he could do a little supervising. At present he does very little indeed. The remaining four men would patrol the interior of the Park. The use of the interior by the public once trails were built would require their presence there anyway.

In his summary, Clarke explained that:

...in the absence of the activities usual to the warden service in other Parks the CBH wardens have made work for themselves in other directions. This may be taken as an indication of an industrious disposition, but in order that the most productive direction possible should be given to them, it is recommended that the Supervising Warden be sent, for a year's experience, to Banff or Jasper. He is, it is understood, one of the best educated men in the warden service and would thus be qualified to make full use of such an opportunity. The writer considers also that the two acting wardens should be brought under the Civil Service Commission.

Following an examination of conditions at Riding Mountain just at the end of the war, Park Inspector C.K. LeCapelain reported that each of the six districts was patrolled on a regular basis by a district warden assisted by a seasonal patrolman using saddle horses supplied by the park for their summer patrols and horse-pulled sleighs in winter. While he criticized the accommodation provided by government, he added that "the fire pumps and hose and small tools were found to be properly cared for and housed." After a similar inspection done just a month later in Banff, Supervising Warden Mitchell reported finding trails and cabins in good repair and well kept up, and equipment properly maintained and cared for, despite the lack of resources available during the war. 83 He seemed genuinely proud of the work done by those under his command in a time of restrictions and limitations.

Home and Family

Life in a remote district could present problems to a warden with a family. Commissioner Harkin had "no objections to the wardens keeping their families in the cabins provided outside the townsites

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so long as the superintendent considers it satisfactory; but in making arrangements for their families to live at these outlying points the wardens must comply fully with all the Parks Regulations." The most common difficulty such wardens had to deal with was providing an education for their children. In 1933, Banff Superintendent Jennings reported that Warden J. W. Gladstone, who was located west of the townsite at Massive, had approached him:

...on several occasions during the past year in regard to school for his children. He has three children of school age who are not receiving any education whatever. Last year he had his wife move in to town [Banff] for the benefit of the children but he finds that he cannot afford to do so any longer.84

Jennings had tried to have a school established at Massive, but Alberta regulations required an area to have eight school-age children before a school would be considered. His efforts to move wardens around indicate how such problems were usually tackled. He explained to Ottawa:

With the resignation of Warden Fuller at Lake Louise where a school exists, it has been decided to place Warden LaCasse, who has two children of school age, in his district as he is a more suitable man for meeting the public and for taking charge of this district which, as you know, is a fairly important one. Might I therefore suggest that you be good enough to consider the transfer of Warden Gladstone to Waterton Lakes, or some other Park where school facilities would be available. I cannot possibly bring him to Banff, as the Banff district is taken care of by Warden W.H. Peyto who also has children at school.

This is an important problem and one that should be given serious consideration because these children of Gladstone's cannot be permitted to grow up under present conditions without receiving any education whatsoever.

Harkin, for his part, could not find an unmarried warden in a townsite with whom Gladstone could be transferred. Subsequent investigation indicated that most single wardens were already in more isolated circumstances than Gladstone and his family. Jennings then tried to have the province provide bus service into Banff, since Massive was on the main highway, but the Alberta Department of Education declined any responsibility for citizens living in a federal park.85

Jennings raised the issue again the following year, stressing:

These young boys are growing up in absolute ignorance. This family, as you know, are half-breeds and in my opinion we are creating a dangerous situation by not taking some steps at this time to see that these children are given at least a modicum of education. My position here in regard to the matter

84 RG84, Vol. 196, B3-1, Part 3, Harkin, to superintendent, BNP, July 22, 1932. FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 23, S-1-6 Staff, J.W. Gladstone, game warden, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, June 2, 1933.

85 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 23, S-1-6 Staff, J.W. Gladstone, game warden, Williamson for Harkin, to superintendent, BNP, June 7, 1933; ibid., Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Deputy Minister of Education, Edmonton, September 12, 1933; ibid., Deputy Minister J.T. Ross, to Jennings, September 15, 1933.
is that I have no place to which I could transfer Mr. Gladstone as I already have satisfactory and suitable wardens in both the Banff and Lake Louise districts.  

Two years later, Mrs. Gladstone met with Jennings to plead her family's case. She had kept her children, now aged eight, eleven and sixteen in Banff the previous winter but could not afford to continue maintaining two households. Again, Jennings was unable to offer any solution. The answer to the Gladstones' problems, as far as park officials were concerned, came the next year, when the warden was dismissed in the wake of the changeover to the Department of Mines and Resources. It should be noted that the difficulty of getting children to school was particularly acute in some of the remote districts of Banff and Jasper parks. Later in the decade, Prince Albert Superintendent Wood, who had served in Banff, opposed an exchange of wardens between his new park and Banff, in part, because of the difficulties of providing schooling in the latter location.

Gladstone's case was atypical in its solution, but the problem of educating a young family was one shared by other wardens in federal parks across the country. Often wardens chose to send school-age children to nearby towns to board with friends or relatives. Warden Walrod at Prince Albert took this option. Several of the wardens at Buffalo National Park maintained horses to enable their children to ride to the nearest school. Wardens' children could also find themselves without adolescent companionship, but one suspects the fascination of the surrounding wilderness did much to mitigate the loneliness they experienced.

Prior to the phasing out of the system in the 1970s, one of the first realities that a warden had to deal with, both for himself and his family, was the relative isolation of life in a warden district, particularly through the winter, when outside contact could be minimal or non-existent for months at a time. This was the case even in Prince Albert National Park, which lacked a mountainous back-country. As the superintendent there informed the brother of a warden, even the mail was sporadic: "The service from Prince Albert to Waskesiu is practically daily but the service from Waskesiu to the various Wardens depends entirely on the individual Wardens; that is, there are certain times of circumstances magnified the dangers of illness or injury, as Warden R.F. Arnold discovered when stricken with appendicitis at his district cabin on Crean Lake, Prince Albert National Park in 1940. Arnold "had to be taken from Crean Lake Cabin on Saturday night by Warden Hubel and three assistants. The trip to Waskesiu was made by canoe and stretcher, and from there he was transported

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86 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 23, S-1-6 Staff, J.W. Gladstone, game warden, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, May 25, 1934.
87 FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 23, S-1-6 Staff, J.W. Gladstone, game warden, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, April 8, 1936; ibid., Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Park Warden J.W. Gladstone, Banff, December 28, 1936. There had been complaints earlier regarding Gladstone's efficiency in maintaining his district, and the dissolution of the Department of the Interior was used as a pretext for letting him go. Ibid., superintendent, BNP, memo for file, September 16, 1935.
88 PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, Wood Confidential file, superintendent, to controller, September 21, 1938.
89 PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA174-5, superintendent, to John G. Diefenbaker, barrister, August 17, 1934. RG84, Vol. 153, U3-13, Part 2, A.G. Smith, superintendent, Buffalo Park, Wainwright, Alberta, to Harkin, September 20, 1934. This was the sentiment expressed by the son of Warden Alex Nelles who was quite young, when the family moved from the Snaring River area of Jasper National Park to Yoho. Warden Service History oral interview # 107, November 1991.
by the Chief Warden to the Holy Family Hospital, Prince Albert." Occasionally, a prospective warden candidate withdrew in the face of such isolated winter working conditions. In one instance, Prince Albert Superintendent Herb Knight recommended a warden vacancy not be filled until the following spring, explaining:

If the position is not filled by October 15th, I would recommend that it be temporarily withdrawn until next spring as I am afraid a new man, more especially a married man, would soon get fed up if he were to arrive after that date to take over a district and to find the lakes partially frozen with winter fast approaching, and not be properly settled or his winter supplies hauled before winter was on him.90

For others, of course, the sense of being totally on their own and virtually independent was an added benefit of the job. Although it came at a price, few employees of government could boast such freedom.

90 PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 3, File PA174-10, superintendent, to William Arnold, April 8, 1940; ibid., superintendent, to controller, October 21, 1940; ibid., Drawer 2, File PA174-3, George Wetton, Employment and Selective Service Office, to superintendent, PANP, September 5, 1945. The candidate here, apparently a bachelor, felt "living alone for a considerable period of time might not be in his best interest;" ibid., superintendent, to controller, September 25, 1945.
Along with responsibility for patrolling a park district came accommodation in the form of a district cabin, the quality of which varied, from park to park over time and, within parks, from district to district. By the war, a second generation of district cabins had been constructed in many of the mountain park districts. In the newer prairie and eastern parks, warden housing tended to be of recent vintage as well, although some cabins, in Riding Mountain for example, predated the establishment of the park. A warden took his chances and hoped for the best. Once having attained permanent status and being more aware of the advantages, and liabilities, of the districts in his park, a warden could move about from district to district on the basis of seniority and as vacancies came about. Ultimate control of such mobility rested, of course, with the park superintendent who was, for the employees under his command, as close to a deity as one could find, short of the bureaucracy in Ottawa.

Detailed information on warden housing in this period is scattered and fragmentary, but inspection reports of Prince Albert in 1942 and Riding Mountain in 1945 have left us with a partial image of circumstances there during the war. The overall picture painted of Prince Albert's facilities is that they were considered, with some exceptions, good for their time. Of the ten permanent warden residences, half were judged "first class." The remainder were either left over from pre-park federal forestry days or suffered from structural problems such as leaking roofs. Seven of these homes contained two bedrooms, the remainder only one. One assumes that all these structures were without running water or electricity. The one patrol cabin included in the report was identified as a "Patrol Cabin and Barn Combination" of log construction and measuring 14' by 16'. It had no foundation and dated back to the forestry service. These accommodations were considered worthy of the park system's approval.

Following his examination of warden equipment, cabins and buildings at Riding Mountain in 1945, the inspector informed Ottawa that:

...the department has not made as good arrangements for sanitation and the comfort of the wardens and their families in the wardens cabins, as they might or should. In several cases the wardens have improved this situation by installing a kitchen sink, kitchen cupboards, pipeless furnace, and chemical toilet at their own expense. I would like to recommend that the department adopt as a matter of policy the provision of better facilities for the comfort and sanitation of the wardens and their families. My idea is that the more we give the more we can demand in service from the park wardens.  

Although they appear infrequently in official correspondence, the wives of district wardens commonly carried out many of their husbands' routine duties, while the latter were on patrol. Usually, their assistance was taken for granted by the administration, although the question of compensation was raised once. In 1942, the acting superintendent at Yoho recommended that the wives of wardens Woodworth at Lake Louise and LaCasse at Castle Mountain, both in Banff Park,


be paid for maintaining the forest-telephone and radiophone communications at those locations. The telephones at key points, such as Lake Louise and Saskatchewan River Crossing, acted as "booster" stations for the wider telephone system. In practice, warden wives at such locations became switchboard operators. He suggested that they be paid $25.00 and $10.00 per month respectively, not insignificant amounts considering that a level 1 warden's starting salary then was $100.00 per month. There is no indication that either woman ever saw any compensation for her services. In only one case is there evidence that a warden's spouse was paid for her work. In the 1940s, May Tocher, wife of Warden Jock Tocher of Ottertail district, Yoho National Park, received $7.50 per month as a weather observer, recording temperatures and measuring precipitation on a daily basis.93

During the war, some further consideration was given to the question of education for the children of district wardens, when correspondence courses were made available in Prince Albert National Park, through an arrangement between the National Park Bureau and the Government of Saskatchewan. The arrangement was extended the following year, when Controller Smart sent the following information to each park as an addition to the ever-growing Warden Service manual:

Facilities for the education of children are available to park employees living in isolated districts by means of correspondence courses....Children who live in a settlement where there are established public schools are not eligible.

Correspondence courses are available in the Elementary, Intermediate and High School Sections. Grades 1 to 8 are usually given free of charge to all approved applicants. For all higher grades there is a charge which varies with the grade and the number of subjects taken. Textbooks are free only in the elementary grades. In the higher grades textbooks may be purchased from the School Book Branch of the Provincial Department of Education, or second hand from local students. Postage on lessons and textbooks sent to pupils is paid by the Provincial authorities, but parents are obliged to pay the postage on all return correspondence.

Parks personnel who wish to take advantage of this offer for their children, should write to the Department of Education in the province in which they are living, and ask to be supplied with full information.94

This was a definite improvement over the ad hoc measures of the past and perhaps an indication of social changes to come over the next two decades.

Equipment

The question of equipment—what is essential and what is best—has always sparked lively debate in the Warden Service. The issues of what constituted appropriate weapons for the wardens and how

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93 RG84, Vol. 176, Y192, Part 1, acting superintendent, YNP, to Smart?, May 5, 1942; ibid., Vol. 124, Y180, Part 1, account with Mrs. J. Tocher, July 11, 1942. The file indicates only that May Tocher was paid from May 1942 to June 1944, but, in her reminiscences in Silent Partners, pp. 54-59, she indicates that she "took care of the Weather Station for 17 years."

94 PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-4, Herbert Knight, superintendent, to George Davies, supervising warden, March 29, 1944. RG84, Vol. 155, U194-4, Part 4, Controller Smart, to various superintendents, February 15, 1945.
Life and Times in the Warden Service

best they could travel in their districts continued to be topics of debate through the Depression. To these was added what would perhaps be the most controversial of all equipment issues—the question of uniforms. Officials and wardens debated the topic, and a uniform was decided on, but the whole question of what constituted an appropriate uniform has never really been resolved.

By 1930, national park wardens carried a variety of weapons, both rifles and sidearms, some of which were government issue such as the Lee Enfield 303, while some were personal property. Wardens used rifles for the specific purpose of killing predators such as coyotes, while revolvers were intended for personal defence against unspecified perils. With the changing nature of the predator-control policy at the end of the 1920s came pressure for new weapons. For example, once it became policy to kill bears only under extreme circumstances, the wardens of the mountain parks began using shotguns, loaded with rock salt rather than lead shot, to discourage the animals from frequenting campsites and towns. Shotguns were also issued to the wardens of Jasper for coyote control, but they proved inappropriate. They were inaccurate, limited in range and lacked killing power, all qualities that made them effective against bears in built-up areas but useless against the elusive coyote that normally kept its distance from man.

If wardens were to maintain their quotas of predator kills without using traps or poison, as demanded by the new policy, they would require accurate, long-range weapons. In 1931, Harkin hit on the idea of using rifles confiscated for hunting infractions, and wrote all the park superintendents for inventories of any weapons that were available. Waterton Lakes indicated that its Warden Service was currently using three Lee Enfield 303 rifles, one Winchester 30.30 carbine and a Savage 250-3000. They also had in stock the following weapons that could be sent to another park: two Savage 22 calibre rifles, three Lee Enfield carbines and one Winchester 44-40. All of these weapons had been recently overhauled by a gunsmith and tested accurate to within several inches at 100 yards. As the decade progressed, Harkin increased the pressure on the wardens to kill predators using firearms. In response, Superintendent Herb Knight at Waterton Lakes initiated monthly target practices for his wardens. He also stressed that better weapons were required, if the wardens were to meet their predator quotas. He had discovered that the park did not even have the right ammunition for its Lee Enfield carbines. "What is required," he wrote,

is a good serviceable sporting rifle of 250-300 calibre, or a .303 British with a short barrel, with peep and telescopic sights and lever action. ...There is a far better chance of killing coyotes with a rifle with telescopic sights than with open sights, as many of these animals are wounded and get away at longer ranges than 100 yards when open sights are used. I would suggest the rifles be made to take detachable telescopic sights which can be taken off when the rifle is carried on horseback, when the rear peep sight could be used, and could be replaced for hunting on foot. The cost of these telescopic sights would be more than covered by the revenue derived from the sale of the hides. Objection is taken to bolt action rifles on account of their awkwardness and bulk when carried in a scabbard.

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95 RG84, Vol. 173, W212, Part 1, Acting Superintendent Knight, WLNP, to Harkin, August 12, 1931; ibid., Vol. 14, J300, Part 4, Harkin, to superintendent, JNP, December 27, 1933.
96 RG84, Vol. 206, W3-1, Part 1, Harkin, to superintendent, PANP, October 21, 1931, copies to superintendents of RMNP, JNP, BNP and WLNP; ibid., Superintendent Knight, WLNP, to Harkin, January 25, 1932. The targets with their results are on file Ibid., Vol. 43, W300, Part 2, Superintendent Knight, Waterton, to Harkin, October 30, 1933.
Knight felt that shotguns could be used only against "crows and magpies," concluding: "We can hardly expect the wardens to have much success in the destruction of predators unless they are equipped with suitable weapons."

Five years later, little had changed. Harkin's successor, Director Gibson, was considering purchasing Savage 250-3000 or Winchester 270 carbines to replace "the present ineffective weapons" used by the wardens at Jasper. A few months later, Jasper's superintendent sent the following list of rifles then being used by his wardens:

3 30-30 Winchester carbine (government issue)
2 250-3000 Savage (government issue)
2 6.5 Mannlicher Schoenaur carbines (privately owned)
1 30-06 Springfield (privately owned)
1 30-06 Winchester (privately owned)
1 32 Winchester Special (privately owned)
1 30 Remington (privately owned)
1 303 Lee Enfield (government issue)
1 303 Lee Enfield (government issue - old model)

He asked for 13 new government rifles, preferably Winchesters, and stressed that surplus army weapons would not be suitable to the needs of the wardens. It would seem then that, as war approached, the wardens, despite almost a decade of pressure to kill predators using firearms, were equipped with a wide range of weapons, the most effective of which were their own property.

The status of sidearms during these years is quite murky. Officially, there is little reference to them and some indication that parks officials had begun to discourage their use. Point Pelee's warden had been refused permission to carry a sidearm in the previous decade, and although wardens Lawrence Lee at Riding Mountain and John A. Routh at Wood Buffalo had inquired about using such weapons, there is no indication that their requests were approved. Lee did own a revolver but seldom carried it, or any weapon, on his regular patrols. In fact, the only official recognition that such weapons were in circulation among the wardens was a request in 1935 that the revolvers and pistols in use at Banff be listed for registration purposes. The resulting correspondence indicated that the wardens there had at least four government-issued revolvers. On the other hand, the widow of David Binkley who served at Riding Mountain during the 1930s, recalled that her husband always carried a sidearm while on duty. One suspects that many other wardens did the same.

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At Prince Albert National Park, the debate over using dog sleds or horses for winter patrols continued in the 1930s with some input from Wood Buffalo, where dogs provided the established means of winter travel. By 1937, the wardens had concluded that the snow was too much for horse travel, and again asked permission to use dog sleds. Wood recommended purchasing four dog teams, each consisting of five dogs. Three were for the Kingsmere, Crean and Bittern districts, with the fourth reserved for the supervising warden who made regular inspections throughout the Park.

Wood estimated that the total cost of feeding the dogs was $60.00 per month in winter and $40.00 in summer (May through October). He also noted that Warden Roy Hubel had patrolled with a dog team the previous winter and had "covered considerably more territory than the...other wardens..." At this point, Controller Williamson sought the advice of the district agent and de facto superintendent at Wood Buffalo, who supported the request. Director Gibson demurred, however, wondering why only Prince Albert of all the southern parks required dog sleds, while the wardens elsewhere managed "on skis [sic] or snowshoes." In the end, the wardens at Prince Albert bought

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Figure 4-6. Warden L.S. "Mac" McAllister, Sage Pass, Waterton Lakes National Park, 1930's. [Christianson Family Collection.]
their own teams of dogs, and the Department absorbed the cost of their feed. This arrangement was carried on into the war years.

The wardens may have relied on horses, dogs, snowshoes and skis for patrolling their districts, but they also depended more and more on automobiles and trucks for general transportation purposes, as the network of park roads grew. In 1936, for example, Banff's supervising warden, Bill Potts, wanted to replace four warden vehicles, including two light-delivery vehicles and his own Ford Roadster. At Prince Albert, during the long controversy over the use of horses or dogs on patrols, the supervising warden was also arguing the case for his wardens to use trucks. Such vehicles, he claimed, could navigate many of the existing fire trails and would be especially useful in deterring poachers through much of the year. At the same time, Director Gibson asked Wood to consider having the Prince Albert wardens use three-wheeled motorcycles similar to some he had seen operated by Alberta forest officers on a recent trip west. Wood preferred using light-delivery trucks similar to the one already at the park. The reaction of his wardens to this suggestion is not known.

The equipment issue that generated the most discussion during this decade, and has continued to do so ever since, is that of a warden uniform. The topic seems to have arisen first about 1919 in reaction to the adoption of a semimilitary-style uniform by the U.S. national park rangers. The early 1920s saw the unofficial adoption of a partial uniform by the mountain park wardens, possibly at the direction of Howard Sibbald. The uniform question was picked up again in the early 1930s, and, before the decade was over, national park wardens were garbed in a distinctive, but not immutable, style.

The question of uniforms seems to have been raised initially at Banff during the park's May 1934 wardens' conference, and may have been sparked by the appearance in town that spring of a uniformed U.S. ranger whose "smart appearance was remarked on by many of the local people and tourists." At any rate, Warden R. D. Barnetson suggested as a topic at the conference:

...the elevation of a Warden's status in the eyes of the town people and visitors from labourer to park Warden by means of standard equipment such as a uniform.

"A great deal of discussion took place over the question of uniforms" and the consensus was that wardens should be "furnished with a standard jacket and wear a distinctive type of headdress."
Figure 4-7. Before the appearance of uniforms: the Banff Wardens’ Conference, 1933. Pictured here are:
back row—Percy Woodworth, Bill Potts, Harold Fuller, Ulysses Lacasse, Bob Barnetson, Wally Gladstone,
J. R. Warren, ?, Jack Naylor and Walter Peyto; front row—Bill Neish, Cyril Fuller, Bill Peyto and Bruce
Mitchell. [ Whyte Museum, Banff, M90, Folder 2, Scrapbook 1, #44]
Superintendent Jennings noted that "there was not entire agreement in regard to the style of head
dress," adding:

My recommendation will be that we furnish each Warden with a jacket and as they all wear the khaki
breeches with long boots or leggings, it is not necessary to interfere with that part of their dress. A
hat of the Stetson type is, in my opinion, the most suitable and could be left to the Wardens
themselves to supply.

Little did Jennings realize how much energy and time would be absorbed by what he initially viewed
as a fairly simple and straightforward matter.

In response to questions from Ottawa, Jennings noted that Banff's wardens already wore jackets in
the summer months when on duty on the main and secondary roads, but that they did not do so when
on patrol in the heat of mid-day. He thought the same routine could be applied to government-issued
jackets. "They would," he believed, "require their jackets in the early mornings and in the evenings,
even in the summer months...." Jennings felt that there was no need to rush on this issue and
suggested further thought be given to the possibilities. There the matter stood for several years.

The question of warden uniforms came up again at the February 1937 superintendents' conference
in Ottawa. Waterton Lakes' Superintendent Herb Knight suggested a jacket similar to that of a
Canadian Army officer, a collar badge "bearing the words, "National Parks of Canada' and "Warden
Service" and incorporating a buffalo or some other suitable Parks emblem." The jacket, he felt,
should be khaki "with a predominant green tinge and, as the uniform would be most in evidence in
the Summer, the material should be light as well as serviceable." For a hat, he recommended "a
stetson with a brim a little wider than that affected by the U.S. Army and not too stiff."

That summer at the Banff wardens' school, Superintendent Jennings, who had just returned from a
visit to some of the U.S. parks, reopened the discussions among his wardens. He informed Ottawa
that the wardens agreed on the "usual Stetson with a badge N. P. S. Canada in front," for a jacket
"the standard R.C.M.P. jacket, khaki, with the V neck, and the badge N. P. S. Canada on the
shoulder." For pants, some wardens wanted slacks, while others recommended riding breeches. The
majority seemed inclined toward slacks, although Jennings thought "the breeches and leggings
present a much more pleasing dress for a Warden, on or off duty...." For footwear, high-top boots
or ankle boots with leggings would be suitable with breeches, boots or ordinary shoes with slacks.
"In my address to the Wardens," Jennings told Williamson, "I stressed the point that any uniform
adopted would have to be purchased out of their own pockets." This attitude would change, but it
was in keeping with existing policy that refused wardens' compensation for personal attire damaged
in the course of duty. In July 1937, Controller Williamson circulated the Banff suggestions to all

103 FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 32, W2, Game Wardens, Volume 2, January 1933-January 1938,
Jennings, to Harkin, July 11, 1934.
104 RG84, Vol. 49, W62, Part 1, Superintendent Knight, WLNP, to controller, NPB, February 12, 1937.
park superintendents, asking them to take the matter up with their respective warden services.\footnote{FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 32, W2, Game Wardens, Volume 2, January 1933-January 1938, Jennings, to Controller Williamson, June 19, 1937. RG84, Vol. 148, J229, Part 1, Superintendent A.C. Wright, JNP, to Harkin, January 23, 1936. FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 32, W2, Game Wardens, Volume 2, January 1933-January 1938, Controller F. H. H. Williamson, circular letter, July 2, 1937.} The response to this effort, as would so often be the case in future endeavours at consensus on warden uniforms, was "yes, but." Most respondents agreed in general and then went on to explain what should be changed. It was a pattern that would be repeated with striking regularity in the future. At Prince Albert, for example, Superintendent Wood and Supervising Warden Davies thought that the suggestions were good, but he wanted a hat "of the type used by the Australian Army during the War, rather than a Stetson." Soon, Warden Pocock at the same park had second thoughts about agreeing to the idea of a uniform and announced that he would cooperate only if directly ordered to do so in writing.\footnote{FRC Winnipeg, W84-85/407, PANP, Box 21, File PA174-2, Uniforms-Wardens, Gatekeepers, Vol.[1], July 1937-Sept. 1939, F.H.H. Williamson, controller, to superintendent PANP, 23 December 1937. C141098}

Headquarters pressed ahead with the initiative, asking for measurements of the warden staff in October 1937. By now, Ottawa was considering splitting costs between the wardens and the Parks Bureau, or perhaps having the latter absorb the full amount. The items of clothing in the uniform had also increased. Now wardens were to be issued with riding breeches and/or slacks, tunic, khaki shirt and tie as well as "a soft, medium-brimmed, pony 'Stetson', or one of similar make." Consideration was also being given to "field boots of the 'Strathcona' type" for riders, but no firm decision had been made regarding footwear, and suggestions were sought from the parks. In December 1937, headquarters sent photographs of prototype uniforms, consisting of soft-brimmed stetson, tunic, riding breeches and high boots, to each park.\footnote{FRC Winnipeg, W84-85/407, PANP, Box 21, File PA174-2, Uniforms-Wardens, Gatekeepers, Vol.[1], July 1937-September 1939, superintendent, to controller, July 26, 1937; ibid., George Davies, to Wood, November 2, 1937.} Although much of the emphasis was on wardens...
looking "presentable" to the public, practical considerations were not ignored. It was decided early in 1938, for example, that the wardens should be furnished with "khaki drill coveralls which are supposed to be worn when a warden is called on to do work which might be expected to spoil the uniform." He also noted: "The difficulty of performing some classes of work, notably fire fighting, in uniform in hot weather is fully appreciated," but did not suggest any solution. No photographic evidence of these coveralls has come to light. Perhaps, they were not considered photogenic.

By March 1938, Ottawa had decided not to contract for the production of boots and shoes, primarily because too many obviously incorrect measurements had been received. Wardens were now to obtain their own footwear. The remaining items of apparel arrived at Prince Albert National Park in June 1938, along with instructions that they were to be worn immediately. Because they were summer-grade uniforms, the wardens were directed to cease wearing them in November, unless otherwise advised. Ex-service men were permitted to wear "the ribbons of any military decorations awarded to them" on the left breast above the pocket of their tunic, and the "Parks Officer" badge was to be worn on the right breast, again above the tunic pocket. New orders were shortly issued directing wardens to wear the "Parks Officer" badge on the front of their hats.

Before the end of the first season of use, some complaints had been forwarded to Ottawa. "Several reports" were made that the curled brim of the "Columbia" hat was unsatisfactory in rainy weather, and Williamson suggested that the superintendents consider having it replaced with the "Austral" stetson, which he described as resembling "the ordinary Stetson as worn by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police...." Superintendent Wood at Prince Albert agreed with this change, although his wardens expressed satisfaction with the rain-repelling power of the existing hat.

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109 FRC Winnipeg, W84-85/407, PANP, Box 21, File PA174-2, Uniforms - Wardens, Gatekeepers, Vol.[1], July 1937-September 1939, J. Smart for controller, to superintendent, March 2, 1938; ibid., controller, to superintendent, June 10, 1938. This correspondence also documents the items of uniform that were received by each warden at Prince Albert. Fred Carter, for example, was issued the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tunic</td>
<td>$11.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair of slacks</td>
<td>$5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tie</td>
<td>$.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 combination overalls</td>
<td>$2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair of ankle boots</td>
<td>$6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 badge</td>
<td>$.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair of riding breeches</td>
<td>$6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hat</td>
<td>$6.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 belt</td>
<td>$.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 shirts @ $1.80 each</td>
<td>$3.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair of riding boots</td>
<td>$13.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total $57.00

Since it had been decided that wardens would pay half the cost, Carter's account was $28.50. It is interesting to note that two pair of boots are listed, despite earlier correspondence that stated that wardens were to obtain their own footwear. Ibid., controller, to superintendent, August 4, 1938; ibid., September 22, 1938.

Figure 4-9. Banff Wardens in their new uniforms, c. 1939. Front row—Cliff Murphy, Jim Raby, Walter Child, Bill Neish; back row—Bert Davies, Ulysses Lacasse, Walter Peyto, Cyril Fuller, Bill Potts, Percy Woodworth, Jack Naylor. [Whyte Museum, Banff, M90, Folder 2, Scrapbook 1, #46]
Ottawa received such favourable comments on the appearance of the wardens in their new uniforms that the Minister decided that they should be worn year round, not just in summer. This led to a scramble for appropriate winter garb, and plans were put in motion to make coats and caps for the Warden Service from buffalo hides of animals slaughtered in the national parks. The minister’s decision also forced park personnel to examine the question of wardens wearing their uniforms on patrol, a possibility that the majority of the staff at Prince Albert found impractical. They felt that a parka, the common winter outerwear in the north, would be more suitable for their needs than the proposed buffalo coat. They also objected to the rest of the uniform as winter clothing, complaining that they had no room under the close-fitting breeches for long underwear and that there was no need in their park for wardens to dress for winter patrols, as they very seldom came in contact with the public. Under this onslaught, Ottawa retreated and declared the use of uniforms in winter to be optional. In the meantime, a sample buffalo coat and cap were making their way through the western parks from Banff to Waterton Lakes and on to Jasper, after which they were to be forwarded to Prince Albert for the sceptical wardens there to examine. In January 1939, the superintendent there informed Ottawa:

While the coat and cap are of excellent manufacture and have a very good appearance, they are not at all suitable for patrol work in the Prince Albert Park....the coat is far too cumbersome and...would be very dangerous for wear in the bush....the standard dress for the North is the parka, and I would recommend that steps be taken to supply a standard parka to the Prince Albert Park wardens. This garment should be of white material. Along with the parka, the Department might well consider obtaining mukluks for each warden. This type of footwear is also a standard dress for outdoor wear in the North, and in addition to being water-proof are very warm.111

By the spring of 1939, discussions about uniforms focussed on replacements for worn-out apparel and possible new items such as a raincoat or "sou'wester" and a British-style pea jacket "for use at night or in chilly weather." This windbreaker-style jacket would have been seen as less formal than the currently issued tunic and more suitable for physical activity. Also noted at this time was the use of chevrons to denote length of service. Headquarters had reconsidered the question of purchasing footwear for the warden uniform and decided to procure from the Hartt Boot and Shoe Company of Montreal 16-inch "Strathcona" boots as ordered by individual park superintendents. Replacement uniform items were supplied by Tip Top Tailors of Toronto.112

It had originally been decided that only permanent wardens would be issued with uniforms, but, by the late fall of 1938, consideration was being given to outfitting at least some temporary wardens too. A year later, headquarters’ officials had decided that uniforms would not be issued to those

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111 FRC Winnipeg, W84-85/407, PANP, Box 21, File PA174-2, Uniforms - Wardens, Gatekeepers, Vol.[1], July 1937-September 1939, controller, to superintendent, November 5, 1938; ibid., November 22, 1938; ibid., superintendent, to controller, November 24, 1938; ibid., controller, to acting superintendent, December 3, 1938; ibid., P.J. Jennings, superintendent, BNP, to superintendent, PANP, December 13, 1938; ibid., superintendent, PANP, to controller, January 10, 1939.

112 FRC Winnipeg, W84-85/407, PANP, Box 21, File PA174-2, Uniforms - Wardens, Gatekeepers, Vol.[1], July 1937-September 1939, controller, to superintendent, PANP, February 8, 1939; ibid., June 8, 1939; ibid., March 27, 1939; ibid., Herbert Knight, superintendent, PANP, to controller, April 20, 1939.
individuals who were hired as labourers and worked as assistants to the wardens. Although often described as "acting wardens" and hired to patrol, fight fires and work on cabins and trails, they had no policing authority. In short, since they wore no badge, they would wear no uniform. On the other hand, Williamson, in May 1939, informed the parks that:

...gatemen, who are employed on a seasonal basis, should be identified as Parks employees by wearing an official cap...we should issue a naval cap in green whipcord similar to the material used in the manufacture of the Wardens uniforms with the words 'National Parks' embroidered in gold lettering on the band. These caps will, of course, remain the property of the State and would be issuable every year so long as they were serviceable. Soiled caps could be dry cleaned or repaired locally, no doubt.\[113\]

Within the Warden Service itself, controversy continued concerning the relative merits of the originally issued "Columbia" stetson, with its curled brim and its replacement, the "Austral" stetson. In the end, the replacement was retained.

Uniforms came to the Warden Service amid much controversy and argument. Most, but not all wardens, seemed to approve of the general idea that a distinctive outfit, not unlike that worn by their compatriots to the south, would garner the public respect required by their increasing contacts with tourists and visitors. Disagreement came on details, with as many views expressed, it seemed, as there were wardens and choices of wearing apparel. The smallest item or change, when it became a matter of personal attire, engendered long debate. The question of hats—Warden L. C. Pocock at Prince Albert favoured a pith helmet for patrol duties—seemed to elicit the most discussion.114 Nor did the heat of debate lessen over time as one could expect, for example, when the original uniforms gained a patina of age and tradition.

Creature Comforts

Probably the major factor influencing the tools, equipment and clothing issued to, or used by, the wardens during the war years was the impact of wartime shortages. The increasing tendency of wardens, particularly in the newer parks, to rely on the automobile and light truck was somewhat curtailed in this fashion. Prince Albert's wardens were specifically instructed to patrol with horses whenever possible because of the "restriction placed on gasoline and tires."115 Vehicles were authorized only for trips to park headquarters and certainly only on park business. At Cape Breton Highlands, however, not even the material pressures of the war could lure the Warden Service from its growing reliance on gasoline-powered transportation. Even in the mountain parks, where access to the back country was especially difficult, the automobile continued to grow in popularity and use, benefiting from, and encouraging, the continuation of park road-building programs. In part, this simply reflected the growing dominance of automobile transportation outside the parks. With tourists and poachers increasingly using automobiles, those who protected the parks had the choice of either adapting or literally being left behind.

While replacement equipment of every sort was in short supply during the war, the problems were most evident in the efforts to maintain the recently issued warden uniforms. Here, of course, the National Parks Bureau was in direct competition with the various branches of the Canadian Armed Forces. The question as to whether patrolmen or "acting wardens" should be issued uniforms was turned over to the individual parks with the pious hope that a standard issue could be established among the mountain parks, and perhaps beyond. For the time being, headquarters' staff had sufficient problems trying to equip the permanent staff across the system. By late 1942, delivery

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114 RG84, Vol. 4, PA300, Part 6, Warden L. C. Pocock, PANP, memo, to Supervising Warden Davies, n.d. [December 1938].
115 PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-4, memo from Herbert Knight, to supervising warden and all wardens, March 27, 1942.
dates for uniforms on order from Tip Top Tailors in Toronto had been delayed into the new fiscal year because of "War priorities."  

Where possible, uniform items were reissued, and headquarters' staff went to great lengths to see that nothing went to waste in one park that could be used in another. Following the same regimen of reuse and reissue, it was decided in Ottawa that park patrolmen who had been appointed police constables under the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act should be issued with "the former issue of warden's badge .... not [to] be confused with the numbered Parks Officer badge issued to the permanent wardens." This refers to the old nickel badges, some of which were recalled in 1921, and to the round bronze "Park Warden" badges issued to replace them. With the uniforms in 1938 came new hat badges, topped by the Crown and displaying a beaver. The latter badges were, in turn, replaced by bilingual lettering in 1977. It is worth noting here as well that uniforms for permanent warden staff also included gold cloth chevrons, each denoting five years of service, worn upside down on the lower left arm of the jacket and several inches above the cuff. Gold cloth stars, worn on the left sleeve midway between shoulder and elbow, denoted rank—two stars for a chief warden, and three for those at Banff and Jasper. These were replaced by collar stars in 1980. In Glacier National Park, Warden R. Mann's uniform at about this same time included a tunic, two pair of breeches, one pair of slacks, two stetson hats, a buffalo coat, a fur cap, 3 ties, a belt, a pair of coveralls, four shirts, one pair of ankle boots and one pair of riding boots, a raincoat, a sou'wester, one warden's badge and two chevrons. Such replacement articles continued in the olive green of the original uniforms.  

Life in a district for the warden and his family was perhaps lacking in many amenities that would be considered essential by the standards of the 1990s, but, in comparison with circumstances in much of rural Canada at this time, offered few hardships not common elsewhere. Little evidence of the material aspects of district life has come down to us. It is known, however, that, in 1940, the possessions of Warden Robert Mann, who lived with his wife in the Stoney Creek district cabin of Glacier park, included a piano, a radio, a washing machine and rugs, as well as a cooking stove and

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the usual cabin equipment.  One observer of the wardens in their districts was scornful of what he described as "trail grub," that is the dried and canned goods that formed the warden's usual fare. Because it was not practical to bring fresh food in to the district cabins—it would not keep anyway—and because the work routine was so demanding, it was suggested in 1941 that wardens in the mountain parks be permitted to kill elk for their own consumption.

Initially, the recommendation was that a single animal would suffice each warden for the whole of the winter period, if taken in the late fall and properly frozen and protected. For the warden of the Smoky River district, viewed as one of the toughest to travel in Jasper, and where elk were not plentiful, a moose could be killed instead. Yoho and Kootenay wardens could be supplied with meat from Banff. Although sensitive to the charge that wardens might abuse this privilege, Dr. Clarke was of the opinion that "a warden who could not be trusted with such a privilege is not fit to be in the warden's service." The response in Ottawa was agreement with Clarke's suggestion: "There will be public objection, but that is no real reason for not utilizing a surplus of elk for Parks purposes." Thus began official sanction for a shadowy tradition that quietly continued for several decades. The decision to endorse what may already have been common policy in the field was, in part, a response to the growing elk population in some of the mountain parks and also a means of dealing with the reality of wartime shortages.

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118 Schintz Package #6, Mount Revelstoke file, Warden Cabins, general, April 1927 to November 1940, GP189, Administration Building, Supervising Warden R. W. Langford, Yoho and Glacier parks, to Superintendent E. N. Russell, January 26, 1940. This list was also generated following the destruction of Mann's cabin by fire.

119 RG84, Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, memo, Clarke, to Lloyd, October 1, 1941.
Dangers

Danger lurked in many guises for the national park wardens. Some threats were recognizable but not always avoidable, like the grizzlies of the mountain parks, or the poachers who prowled by day and night. Some perils came with the very nature of the warden's duties, which were often performed in isolated circumstances. Some dangers were unexpected, bringing injury—perhaps death—in seemingly harmless situations. One warden learned that having police powers, even in a national park, could lead to lethal confrontations.

In the mountain parks, horse-related injuries were commonplace. As we saw, the death of Warden Andy Bower at Waterton Lakes in 1925 was attributed to being thrown from his horse while on solitary patrol. Certainly Bill Peyto was not the only warden to end his career almost incapacitated by the cumulative results of such mishaps. Another source of injury was the work involved in maintaining the forest-telephone networks. Wardens spent a good deal of time climbing trees to make repairs, and fall-related injuries were not uncommon. In 1932, for example, Banff Warden Cyril C. Fuller was injured while cutting boughs off a tree that was to be used for a telephone line. He was blown from the tree by a gust of wind and fell on a stump, injuring his spine. "He was able, however, to ride to town," reported Superintendent Jennings:

...but the X-ray photographs have shown that his spine has been seriously injured and Dr. Atkin advises me that he will be in a plaster of Paris cast for at least two months. The local doctors cannot understand how he was able to ride this distance when his spine was in such a serious condition as indicated by the X-ray pictures. It must have necessitated a great deal of grit on his part.\(^{120}\)

Another source of danger was bear encounters. While wardens almost invariably travelled with a pet dog, in part for company on their long patrols but also in part for the timely warning that they could provide, a disciplined animal was essential. More than one tale has been told of an overinquisitivedog wandering from its warden master on the trail and then returning, terrified, with an angry bear in close pursuit.

Jasper Warden Ed McDonald, endured an agonizing ordeal resulting from a grizzly encounter. In June 1937, while on patrol in his Rocky River district, McDonald's horse was frightened by a grizzly. The horse reared suddenly, throwing McDonald off and then in its terror kicked him, shattering his pelvis. McDonald was unable to remount his horse, once it had settled down, and was forced to crawl back to Grizzly cabin with its telephone, perhaps half a mile away. The journey took three pain-filled days. Even when he arrived at the cabin, it took him some time to prop himself up sufficiently to reach the telephone, which, of course, was mounted at chest height on a wall. In response, Warden Charlie Mathieson arrived from Maligne Lake, rigged a litter using his horse and Ed's, and brought the injured warden to Jasper. The latter journey over rough terrain was an ordeal in itself. McDonald was not deterred by his experience or ill-disposed toward bears. He reputedly

\(^{120}\) FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-56, Staff, H.B. Fuller, Acting Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to Harkin, June 30, 1932.
told acquaintances while recovering: "Hell, you can't tell me that they will slap you down and eat you up. They had an opportunity on four successive nights and .... they turned me down!"\textsuperscript{121}

In truth, grizzlies did pose a significant hazard to those travelling alone in the back country, and, in one instance, such an encounter resulted in the death of a warden. The incident occurred late in the previous decade, again in Jasper National Park. The details could only be surmised after the event, but what is known is that, in September 1929, Warden Percy Goodair informed his boss, Supervising Warden Dick Langford, that he was about to leave on a patrol of the Whirlpool area in his Tonquin Valley district. Goodair had been a conscientious warden since joining the service in the early 1920s and, when he did not report in as scheduled, Langford directed Warden Alex Nelles to investigate. Nelles soon reported that Goodair was not at his cabin and did not appear to have begun his trip to the head of the Whirlpool. Langford, along with wardens Bryant and Wells, immediately headed out to join Nelles in his search. They found Goodair on the trail near his cabin, the victim of a grizzly mauling. Langford later recalled:

\begin{quote}
Word was received from the Superintendent the following day, that in accordance with Goodair's wishes he would be buried at the Tonquin, and we proceeded to make the coffin out of the boards of the verandah floor, and dig the grave. On the third day the Superintendent and the Coroner, together with a few arrived and Goodair was buried. After the interment we all returned to Jasper. Two days later Wardens Nelles, Wells and Bryant went back to the Tonquin Valley to hunt and destroy the grizzly bear that had killed Warden Goodair. They hunted this bear for two weeks but were unable to get within rifle range of her, and had to give it up and return to Jasper.\textsuperscript{122}
\end{quote}

Grizzlies were also known to intimidate isolated warden families, particularly when the warden left with his horses on patrol. Knowing that a grizzly and cubs were foraging nearby could add terror to the mundane trip to a well several hundred yards from the relative safety of the cabin.

While grizzlies did not prowl beyond the mountain parks, other dangers certainly were present elsewhere. Travelling by canoe, as wardens often did in the prairie parks, held potential hazards as Wood Buffalo Warden L. H. Nice discovered, when his outboard-powered canoe hit a submerged log and flipped over one late fall day in 1936, just before freeze-up. Nice and his companion were able to get to shore and start a fire, losing only some of their gear. In a not dissimilar incident the following autumn at Prince Albert, an acting warden, Arthur Howard, drowned while crossing Crean Lake, when his canoe overturned. Another tragic fatality occurred at Prince Albert two years later, when Warden Fred Carter and a labourer succumbed to carbon monoxide poisoning while attempting to clean out the well at Boundary cabin.\textsuperscript{123} The gas apparently built up, when Carter tried to use a

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{121} Jasper and Yellowhead Historical Society and Museum, Mac Elder collection, contains a contemporary account, perhaps prepared for Publicity Director Campbell in Ottawa, in the form of a typescript of an article that McDonald himself published in \textit{Argosy} magazine in April 1951, and a brief commentary on McDonald's exploits as recalled by Mac Elder.
\item \textsuperscript{122} RG84, Vol. 1626, J179-2, Part I, Chief Engineer Wardle, to Harkin, November 22, 1933.
\item \textsuperscript{123} RG85, Vol. 152, 420-2, Part 2, Warden L. H. Nice, WBNP, to Cumming, October 7, 1935. PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-4, Vol. 2, superintendent, to Harkin, September 3, 1936. Howard had gone with Mrs. Grey Owl for a swim near a small island in Crean Lake. On their return to Ajawaan Lake cabin, the canoe overturned. Mrs. Grey Owl was unable
\end{footnotes}
gasoline-powered fire pump to lower the water level in the well. Carbon monoxide produced by the pump would have caused it to splutter and stop, at the same time creating a deadly atmosphere. Superintendent Wood surmised that Carter, without thinking it through, went down the well to restart the pump. When he collapsed, co-worker George Panter went to his assistance, but he too was overcome. Wood concluded:

> It is difficult to believe that Carter would have made such a mistake. He was an excellent Warden, a hard worker and very intelligent. He had discussed with different Wardens on a number of occasions, the danger from carbon monoxide gas, and I am quite sure that if he had thought for a moment, he would have realized that a unit will not operate without air, and he would then have known just what conditions were in the well.

Sometimes the dangers came, not from natural sources, but from park "visitors." Late in the decade, and again at Prince Albert, Warden W. H. Genge arrested three suspected poachers only to be overpowered and badly beaten. According to the physician who treated him, Genge suffered "scalp wounds, lacerations about the face, abrasions, bruising, [and] discolouration ...." Both eyes were blackened and closed, and, for a time, Genge was unable to grasp anything in his left hand because of muscle bruising. The suspects were soon rearrested, but it was several weeks before Genge returned to regular duties.¹²⁴

Certainly the most cold-blooded and deadly attack on a warden occurred at Riding Mountain National Park in July 1932, when Warden Lawrence Lees was shot and killed while sitting at his kitchen table. His wife of less than two months was wounded in the neck and jaw, when she attempted to telephone Warden Dave Binkley for help. Investigators later surmised that an assailant, under cover of darkness, had fired through the kitchen window at Lees, as he sat silhouetted in the light. Although Lees' wife survived and was able to give a partial description of the assailant, no one was ever apprehended or charged with the crime. It was thought at the time that the murderer was likely a poacher, possibly a local resident, whom Lees had recently observed in action. The fact that the assailant entered the Lees' home after the shooting and apparently took Lees' warden diary, as well as his revolver, bolstered the theory that the diary contained an entry identifying the killer.¹²⁵ The incident shocked parks' personnel and brought home to all the dangers inherent in park protection and conservation work.

Perhaps the most notorious example of the dangers to which wardens were exposed in these years occurred in Banff, when Warden Bill Neish set out on the trail of two armed and murderous fugitives. The incident occurred in October 1935, when Neish, who was then at Lake Louise, heard

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¹²⁴ PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA174-6, Doctor's Certificate, May 22, 1939; ibid., superintendent, to controller, May 31, 1939.

¹²⁵ The broad outline of the Lees' murder investigation is contained in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22 and 24, 1932, and the *Winnipeg Tribune*, July 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21 and 22, 1932. No files on this case were found in the official Canadian Parks Service records at the National Archives in Ottawa or in the affiliated Federal Record Centre in Winnipeg.
that fugitives had killed two Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables and were attempting to escape into the eastern portion of the park. Being familiar with the area, Neish offered to help in the ensuing manhunt and hitched a ride east to the park entrance on the Banff-Calgary road.

There is a story that Neish subsequently described his part in the apprehension with the following diary entry: "Shot two bandits." According to folklore, this brusque comment elicited a request from headquarters for more details, to which Neish is said to have added: "Snowing like hell." This story evokes the image of the taciturn, no-nonsense warden of an earlier era who took everything in his stride, and wasted little time or energy on needless paperwork. The reality of the Warden Service in the 1930s differed from this image, as did Neish's actual record of the incident. Still, this popular account of what was an all too real and tragic incident reveals a glimpse of how wardens today view their own corporate past.

Neish provided a detailed account of his actions and involvement in the apprehension of the two fugitives, beginning with his learning of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police murders. Neish recalled how he and another individual were informed of a recent sighting not far from their location:

They told us they had seen two men a little distance away; myself and Harry Leacock proceeded to the spot. We saw foot tracks of two men, leading into the bush. This was at 'Seven Mile Hill' on the north side of the road. After following these tracks about 20 yards from the road someone opened fire on us from ambush. It was snowing heavily at the time and visibility was poor. Two shots were fired at us the first time. We both (myself & Leacock) called out to the bandits to come out and surrender as we had them covered. The reply was another shot at us. I shouted to Leacock 'Duck, or we will both get shot.' I took to cover and started shooting at what I believed to be a man standing in a clump of bush where the bullets were coming from. After I had fired four or five shots there was a loud scream and then silence. Leacock called out to me 'You got one, Bill, but look out, there is another one behind a log with a rifle.' I got Leacock to point out to me the log. He did so and I distinguished a rifle barrel pointed in our direction over the log. We both again called out to the party or parties to surrender and come out with hands up. The reply was still another shot. I then fired, aiming at the log, beneath the rifle barrel. Leacock said, 'You've got him, Bill,' so I quit firing. Just about this time a party of R.C.M. Police arrived on the scene, having been attracted by the shooting. The police went in and found both men had been shot but were alive. They placed the two wounded bandits in a car and took them to hospital in Banff. That completed my connection with the case.126

Both of Neish's victims died of their wounds at the Banff hospital.

Over the decades, the exploits of men like Bill Neish and Ed McDonald, and the tragic circumstances of wardens such as Arthur Howard, Fred Carter, Percy Goodair and Lawrence Lees, have come to epitomize much of what the Warden Service was, and meant, in those formative years. These striking stories are told and embellished, when wardens meet and talk about their collective

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126 Museum of the Canadian Rockies (Archives), M192, folder #1, statement of William Neish, witnessed but undated. Another Banff warden, Ulysses LaCasse, also participated in the hunt on May 8 and received a letter of commendation from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for his efforts; ibid., M90, LaCasse papers, folder 1, Ulysses LaCasse warden diary [journal], February 1, 1934 - July 31, 1936.
Life and Times in the Warden Service

past. Indeed, incidents such as these are the mortar with which collective identity is constructed. However, the bricks making up the esprit de corps over the years and across the parks system are fashioned too of more mundane experiences—long patrols in harsh conditions, frustrating vigils against relentless poachers and shared efforts to protect a portion of our natural heritage.

Wardens and Tourists: The Early Years

It is sometimes difficult, looking back at the parks before World War Two, to realize just how basic and dramatic some of the changes have been over the intervening years. The 1920s witnessed a massive increase in the numbers of people visiting the national parks—an increase sparked by the proliferation of the automobile and the mobility that it offered to those of modest means. But, while the numbers grew, few visitors explored the longer trails and more distant areas unless in the company of guides licensed to operate in the parks. Thus, a warden on back-country patrol was unlikely to meet many tourists, unless they were taking part in recreational or hunting pursuits. The warden was, however, apt to meet park visitors on or near the motor roads that appeared and multiplied in the 1920s. It was in these years and in these circumstances that the wardens really first began to balance their dual, and none too compatible, roles as law-enforcement officers and public-relations spokesmen.

Campgrounds, which were a relatively recent phenomenon in the mountain parks, were largely restricted to locations near townsites such as Banff, with motor road access, or to particularly scenic spots. In 1921, Yoho officials were just determining where public stoves should be located for the travelling camper. Camping permits were devised to give park authorities some means of monitoring visitors, but, as late as 1923, this system was not supported in the park regulations. Park officials could only insist that visitors to a national park register on entry. The following year, Superintendent Stronach of Rocky Mountains Park again complained about his inability to monitor visitor activities:

...there are set aside certain areas within both this and the Kootenay Parks for...camp grounds and every effort is made by us to insure that all parties camping along our main highways utilize these camp grounds and do not camp promiscuously along the roads.

You will readily appreciate the extreme fire hazard which arises through persons camping promiscuously and also the difficulty experienced by our Warden Service in keeping a proper control over camp fires near highways if they are not all located on the proper camping grounds...
Soon, a new regulation was requested, requiring "all parties to register who intended camping out over night in any portion of a Dominion Park, other than a public camping ground set aside...by the Department, or a town lot." Harkin suggested the following to the Deputy Minister of the Interior:

At present we have no regulations governing camping in Parks. Our regulations in regard to the use of land apply only to permanent residents. The Department has set aside certain camping areas and provided camping facilities, such as camping stoves, outside conveniences, etc. It is important, from a fire protection standpoint alone, that campers be restricted to these camping areas. The promiscuous lighting of fires for cooking or other purposes throughout the Parks constitute a serious fire menace...it is intended to prohibit transient campers pitching a camp any place along the highways except on the public camp grounds. An exception is made in the case of parties accompanied by a licensed guide. In starting out with parties these guides usually begin their trips from the Park Headquarters; such as Banff, and in returning by Lake Louise it is often necessary for them to camp along the highway. 128

By mid-decade, park wardens finally had the power to prevent visitors from "promiscuous" camping, that is, setting camp wherever they wished.

While protecting the parks from careless tourists, the wardens also began, in these years, to take a more active role in protecting visitors from the many dangers awaiting the unwary in the wilderness. In 1924, for example, Supervising Warden Warren was directed to construct fences at points along the Marble Canyon trail considered a danger to tourists. Similar consideration was given the following year to the state of the Maligne Canyon trail near Jasper but, for the time being, it was decided "that we should not proceed with any such eye-sore as railings." Instead, warning signs were approved carrying the following text:

Maligne Canyon
Please do not get off the beaten trails - the edges of the Canyon are extremely dangerous, and the Department cannot assume responsibility for any accidents. 129

Occasionally wardens, even in the 1920s, were called to assist visitors in peril. In July 1921, Bill Peyto, although he had no formal mountaineering training, helped to rescue a woman who was stranded, when her husband fell to his death on Mount Eon. Peyto was later commended by the American Alpine Club in "appreciation of his zeal and self-sacrificing devotion." In September 1925, Warden Macklin, who was stationed at Maligne Lake in Jasper National Park, helped in the

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129 RG84, Vol. 12, J62, Part 4, Superintendent Rogers, JNP, to Watson Jack, September 2, 1925; ibid., Harkin, to Superintendent Rogers, JNP, September 25, 1925.
Public safety had its lighter moments too. One day in August 1924, Supervisory Warden Warren heard that a buffalo bull had broken out of the Banff paddock and was terrifying people on the Banff-Bankhead road. Calling out another warden, Warren immediately went to the buffalo paddock only to find that the fencing was not broken nor were any of the small park herd of buffalo missing. He soon learned that a Jersey bull had wandered from a local dairy farm and was spotted grazing near the road. In this instance, the assistance of the wardens was replaced by "a small boy with a hazel switch" who led the errant beast home.  

Wardens were expected to inform tourists of park regulations regarding fires, firearms and the treatment of wild animals. They routinely urged visitors not to feed bears, but it would be many years, before this became an enforced regulation. Wardens were directed to enforce the rules fairly and impartially, and, as Superintendent Wood put it, "at no time to be officious or overbearing." These directions were not always followed. One warden at Rocky Mountains Park was dismissed in 1928 following a conviction for assault while overseeing timber-culling operations. On the whole, however, there is little evidence of poor conduct in the official files for these years. In the coming decades, national park wardens would find their jobs more complex and the possibilities for trouble, both for themselves and all they protected, increasingly common.

Perhaps the most dramatic effect of the war in the national parks was the resulting decline in visitors. Visitation fell from a high of just over 1,000,000 in all the parks in 1937-38 to a low of 457,000 in the last full year of the war. Despite this absolute decline in numbers, a vast range of surviving documentation suggests that the wardens were coming into more frequent contact with those who were able to visit the parks. Part of this may have been the result of tourists being able to gain access to larger areas of the parks through the increasing networks of motor-capable roads. It may too have been the result of the Warden Service taking on a more active role in such public-education areas as fire prevention and campground safety. The overall effect was one of increasing contact between tourist and warden, a precursor of the more public role that the wardens would assume in such fields as public safety and law enforcement in the decade immediately following the war.

The pressure of numbers was perhaps first, and most vividly, evident at the fragile natural enclave of Point Pelee. Here, some efforts were made to control the swelling ranks of recreational visitors, as in the 1939 decision to cut by two thirds the number of fresh-water wells available to campers.

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131 RG84, Vol. 69, R[BNP]230, Part 1, Superintendent Stronach, RMP, to Harkin, August 23, 1924. The newspaper account of the incident, in the Calgary Albertan, August 22, 1924, described "a big bull buffalo who, escaping from his corral, stood before the travellers with his head lowered in a menacing manner," and was no doubt the reason why Superintendent Stronach wrote to Harkin of the incident.

132 PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA174-4, superintendent, to commissioner, April 22, 1929. FRC, Edmonton, E85-86/147, BNP, Box 25, S-1-53, Staff, A.L. Allison, to Superintendent Stronach, RMP, memo for file, April 4, 1928.
Point Pelee was unique in its proximity to large urban centres, and in the recognition that its assets were in danger from overdevelopment.

Point Pelee, however, was not the only park to face pressures for its recreational facilities. Even at Elk Island, viewed primarily as an "animal park," requests came early in the war for more roads and easier access. At the park and with the encouragement of Superintendent B. I. Love, Warden Ray Sharpe prepared a comprehensive review of existing trails to determine where improvements could best be made to open more of the park. Love also saw the proposed work as enhancing the park’s firefighting capabilities by cutting access time, and facilitating the movement of equipment and personnel.

The National Parks Bureau's annual reports for the war period show no change in Elk Island National Park's road system. It seems likely that the initial response both in Ottawa and at the Park was tempered in practice by wartime manpower and material priorities. Still, the pressure for development was there, and, with the easing of restrictions after the war, it would prove to be irresistible. As usage increased and facilities were added, there arose a need for closer supervision—limits enforced, permits issued and vandalism deterred—and much of this activity would become the Warden Service’s responsibility.\(^{133}\)

Another indication that tourists were ranging further afield in the parks came in a report from Jasper in 1941 of a group of campers being attacked by a coyote while sleeping without a tent near Athabasca Falls.\(^{134}\) This area had been made easily accessible just the previous year with the opening of the Banff-Jasper highway. Incidents such as this, although usually involving bears rather than the timid coyote, would increase with the growing influx of tourists after the war. Each would knit the wardens into a closer relationship with the park visitor, changing the very nature of the wardens' role in the process.

With such closer contact came both compliments and complaints. In 1941, a visitor to Glacier National Park, although not aiming his comments specifically at the Warden Service, complained of overgrown trails and lamented: "Everywhere there is the atmosphere of ruin and desertion." Much of what the visitor sensed at Glacier was the effect of the Canadian Pacific Railway's recent abandonment of its hotel facilities there, but the superintendent did acknowledge that funds and manpower simply were not available to maintain the trails in optimum condition. At the far end of the country, the wardens of Cape Breton Highlands were receiving praise for their dealings with the public. Following his visit in 1942, Dr. Clarke wrote of their accomplishments:

\(^{133}\) RG84, Vol. 17, P300, Part 5, [Sinclair], to Williamson, March 4, 1939; ibid., Vol. 9, E62, Part 1, Smart, to Gibson, May 27, 1941. The response in Ottawa was to welcome this initiative from the Edmonton Junior Chamber of Commerce, and to determine which roads and trails could most easily be upgraded for tourist use; ibid., Superintendent B.I. Love, EINP, to controller, June 16, 1941; ibid., Vol. 49, W62, Part 1, Acting Superintendent Deveber, WLNP, to controller, NPB, December 20, 1944. These tendencies were evident at Waterton Lakes, when, with the extension of cooking facilities to Cameron Lake in 1944, park staff realized that they would have to devote more attention to monitoring usage.

\(^{134}\) RG84, Vol. 15, J300, Part 6, extract from superintendent’s monthly report, JNP, July 1941.
One of these is the relations of the wardens with the local people. In the matter of woodlots, haying, and other activities and in connection with the protection of game the local people seem to accept the 'petty tyranny' of regulations with resignation, if not with understanding. The staff of the Park is obviously able to work with the local people and could lead them a long way in any desired direction provided always that innovations be [sic] introduced in an assimilable form.\textsuperscript{135}

At Prince Albert, a party of tourists fishing at Kingsmere Lake, some 20 kilometres from Waskesiu park headquarters, were sufficiently impressed with the "very kind, courteous and attentive" wardens they met to write in appreciation to Ottawa. The impressions conveyed were perhaps not universally positive, but they do mirror the increased tempo of warden/visitor contacts, as the one group ranged more into the territories of the other. In at least one instance, the more intensive recreational use of the parks led to disputes among visitors. At Point Pelee, the ever-present tension resulting from duck hunting in the park erupted in 1942, into a squabble between hunters and campers, with park officials caught in the middle.\textsuperscript{136} This fundamental issue of usage would plague several generations of wardens at Point Pelee over the next half of a century.

Another harbinger of future warden responsibilities also came from Point Pelee early in the war years, in the form of fatal swimming mishaps. Recreational swimming was the major attraction, aside from duck hunting, that drew vacationing crowds to the park, but currents, especially at the tip of the point, were treacherous, and incidents involving swimmers were not uncommon.\textsuperscript{137} Such tragedies would lead to a permanent warden presence at Point Pelee after the war and would bring about a major shift in warden responsibilities as public-safety concerns escalated. By the early 1950s, the wardens of the mountain parks, for example, would find themselves not only monitoring campers throughout the parks, but also following them into the mountains in a new guise as ski and alpine-rescue specialists. The decade and a half after the war witnessed many dramatic changes in the roles and functions of the Warden Service. Most were driven by the demographic explosion in popularity and recreational use enjoyed by the national parks in the affluence of postwar Canada.

The interwar years saw a gradual expansion of the national park's infrastructure, as roads and trails were built or enlarged to accommodate the steady increase in visitors. For the wardens, there was


\textsuperscript{136}PANP, Administration Building, Box 1, File PA174-4, memo from superintendent, to Acting Warden H.E. Harrison, February 16, 1942. In the attached letter, Harrison and his patrolman were referred to as "the Forest Rangers stationed at Kingsmere Lake." RG84, Vol. 17, P300, Part 5, petition concerning hunting, in Point Pelee National Park, n.d. September 1942. The petition, signed mostly by U.S. campers from Detroit, described the park as "not only a paradise for birds and beasts but ... also a poor man's paradise..." It noted prophetically that "many more similar places will be needed after this war is over."

\textsuperscript{137}RG84, Vol. 619, PI3-431, Part 1, Superintendent Grant, PPNP, to Controller Williamson, July 11, 1939. Grant reported the drowning death of one of three persons who "walked right to the extreme end of the Point and went in bathing at the very worst spot and most dangerous spot that there is on the beach in the Park." Two years later, Grant reported a similar incident involving a Detroit resident who was also drowned. Grant wrote that the "weather conditions were very warm and the beaches were lined with people from early morning until late at night;" ibid., July 28, 1941.
improved fire-suppression equipment and even the introduction of a standard uniform to emphasize the policing aspects of their duties. Better transportation and communications’ networks eased somewhat the isolation of wardens and their families, but theirs remained a solitary life and one that required more than the dedication of a nine-to-five job.
Wildlife Management, the Canadian Wildlife Service and the Wardens

The postwar years brought a number of significant changes to the national parks. Visitation increased, as rising affluence, the pressures of urban life and a renewed mobility drew more and more people to indulge in a taste of the "wilderness experience." Within the parks, the world of "game preservation" was giving way to concepts of "wildlife management" and to a tacit assumption that, armed with sufficient information, one could maintain the natural world within the parks, and balance the tension between recreational exploitation and long-term preservation. A similar sea change took place to the south in the U.S. National Parks Service in the 1950s, beginning with the creation of "wildlife rangers." Their duties were primarily resource-management-related and included "animal reduction, reintroduction of extirpated species, censuses, appraisal of browse and forage conditions, protection of endangered species, and elimination of exotics." In Canada, the Warden Service rode through the ensuing storm of conflicting ideals, affecting the evolving debates while being influenced by the controversies swirling around them. By 1960, the wardens, now hunting data more than carnivores, and comfortable in their role as mountain search and rescue experts, had begun a long journey of change in the nature of their work, and in the values and perspectives that they brought to it.

Protecting and Managing the Wilderness

Perhaps the most persistent voice for change in the immediate postwar years was the Wildlife Bulletin, produced monthly in Banff between 1946 and 1949. Ostensibly a product of the park Warden Service, it was, in reality, the handiwork of conservationist author and park warden, Hubert U. "Beaver" Green. From its first appearance, the Bulletin was designed as a primer for the Warden Service in its efforts to assume a more active role in identifying, evaluating and maintaining park resources. The first issue set as its objective "to create more warden interest in park wildlife by presenting useful information on a variety of subjects in the wildlife field" and "[to create] a medium of instruction regarding what is required of wardens in matters of wildlife investigation in their respective districts, and to outline methods of procedure to be followed should such be necessary." This first issue commended Banff's wardens for their past work in completing wildlife-observation cards and spurred them on to record, in greater detail, their sightings of a wider range of fauna. As an indication of the breadth of topics to come, Green concluded with a brief description of the appearance and life cycle of the two species of animal ticks common to Banff park. In seeking approval for future issues, Green explained to Controller James Smart:

I learnt [sic] from [Chief Park Warden Bruce] Mitchell this morning that head office is rather impressed with the idea of doing a wildlife bulletin each month for the local warden service. I suggested this late last month, and because we wanted to get the thing going the first bulletin was short. The June issue, in the making, is far better, four sheets of instruction, comment, and information on wildlife. I want to do four sheets each month if I can.

— Wright, Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks, p. 23.
Green offered to "take on the job of getting it out" and stressed that: "To me the bulletin idea seems good to create interest, especially among the younger members of the warden's service."

In the following three years, Green produced at least 19 issues of the *Wildlife Bulletin*, bringing a wide range of topics and issues to the attention of the wardens in the mountain parks. Green used this forum not only to provide information but also to stress the need for more observations on the part of the wardens. He dealt with problems within the mountain parks such as the excess numbers of elk and sought to popularize conservationist theories, stressing the role of predators in maintaining the long-term balance of species in the parks.

Soon, Green was offering his readers detailed suggestions for improving their powers of observation by calling for constant vigilance and concentration while on patrol. The same issue also described a current effort by Banff wardens to determine, through empirical evidence, a tagging program, to see if park-based coyotes were raiding game outside the national sanctuary, as some local hunting groups were suggesting. Here was a concrete example of how the wardens could work within the parks to increase their knowledge of animal behaviour and relationships, and, at the same time, contribute to one of the major questions in the ongoing predator/prey debate.

The Banff *Wildlife Bulletin* continued along these lines into 1949, providing information, calling for more active participation on the part of the wardens, and questioning the accepted wisdom that carnivores posed a clear and present danger to the large ungulates of the mountain parks. In what appears to have been his last issue, Green was again admonishing "the new members of the service" to increase their field experience and to strive for accuracy in their wildlife observations. He noted, as in previous issues, that there was not always a cause-and-effect relationship between ungulate kills and the presence of carnivore tracks. This was a connection made by those who sought to emphasize the destructive capabilities of wolves and coyotes as justification for eradicating them. By this time, Green was also able to pass on information gleaned from earlier observations as an aid to the wardens in pursuing their protective role. It was possible in 1949, for example, to note the apparent decline of wolves in Banff from the previous year, and to suggest that this was at least, in part, the result of a mange infection observed the previous winter. The wardens were beginning to assemble and build on a base knowledge of the fauna around them. The same issue noted that the wardens were preparing a life history and status report on the bighorn sheep of the park, and that this study,

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2 Green, who wrote under the pen-name Tony Lascelles, was an ardent proponent of the warden as conservationist. He had begun his park warden career in Riding Mountain National Park after initially serving in the area as an Royal Canadian Mounted Police constable. Green transferred to Banff and maintained a personal correspondence with Director James Smart in Ottawa during the late 1930s and on through the war years. Gradually, his views on predator control and slaughter policy took him beyond the official mainstream and, following Smart's retirement, Green left the Warden Service. By 1958, he was in public opposition to Banff park policy. RG84, Vol. 22, PA300, Part 4, *Wildlife Bulletin*, Warden Service, BNP, No. 1, May 1946; ibid., Vol. 8, B300, Part 6, Tony [H.U. Green], to J. Smart, Banff, May 21, 1946. It is interesting to note here that Green consciously directed his message, not at the experienced warden whose views on such topics as predator control were likely set, but on the newer members of the Warden Service, of whom there were many in the years immediately following the war.

3 Although produced specifically for the wardens of Banff, copies of the *Wildlife Bulletin* have been found in Jasper National Park records and were likely disseminated to the other mountain parks as well. RG84, Vol. 22, PA300, Part 4, *Wildlife Bulletin*, Warden Service, BNP, No. 6, October 1946.


complete with photographs and maps, would be mimeographed and made available to park personnel when completed.

The contents of the *Wildlife Bulletin* mirrored the interests and concerns of Hubert Green as much as the reality of the Warden Service in its day-to-day practices. They also reflected the trend of warden work during the period. In the years immediately after the war, wardens in national parks across the country embarked on increasingly sophisticated studies of local flora and fauna, often in partnership with members of the newly created Dominion Wildlife Service. As wardens gathered more information, and applied their developing knowledge and expertise, they began to play a more central role in the direction and management of the parks on a day-to-day and long-range basis. In Waterton Lakes, for example, it was the wardens who were called on in 1947 to assess and report on the claims of local ranchers that park deer were damaging contiguous grazing lands.6

In Banff, where the wardens were receiving praise for their growing interest in wildlife and their enthusiasm in completing wildlife-observation cards, veteran warden, Ulysses LaCasse, produced a three-page wolf survey of the Massive cabin area, based on close observations during a week-long patrol. It is clear from his commentary that his purpose was to observe rather than to kill. In Jasper, warden observations were being used as the basis for determining elk-slaughter quotas.7

Similar patterns of warden activity appeared at other parks as well. At about the same time that LaCasse was studying wolves in Banff park, the wardens at Riding Mountain were closely monitoring their wildlife to determine the causes of a recent decline in the park's elk population. Shortly after their appointment in the new Fundy National Park, the wardens there voiced concern for the fragile condition of the local moose population and actively intervened to sustain weakened animals. At Cape Breton Highlands, the wardens were completing wildlife cards by the early 1950s as the basis for more reliable animal census data. Even at tiny Point Pelee, which did not have a renewed warden presence until the early 1950s, the incumbent was soon actively involved in reforestation work.8

Probably the most ambitious role played by the Warden Service in the immediate postwar period, and one that continues today, was the transfer of species from one park to another. The best known

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6 RG84, Vol. 2221, W217, Part 1, Acting Superintendent deVeber, WLNP, to Alberta Game and Fish Commissioner E.S. Huestis, Edmonton, January 21, 1947, encloses a report by Chief Park Warden Holroyd on damage done by park-based deer outside the park boundary—mostly to grazing feed for ranch cattle.

7 RG84, Vol. 8, B300, Part 6, Acting Superintendent C.G. Childe, BNP, to Controller Smart, January 14, 1947. This is the covering letter for a 21-page summary of animals sighted in Banff National Park, January 1, 1945 to October 31, 1946. Childe wrote in part: "Some of the Wardens turn in a considerable number of cards with valuable information, while others, who are not particularly interested in Wildlife, turn in very few records. However the number of cards are increasing as the men begin to realize the importance and value of the information so that in a few years we should have a valuable record of species, numbers and trends. In the meantime the attached report does give some information, although meagre in some districts, of the distribution of some of the more common game and other animals in the Park." Ibid., Vol. 512, B266, Part 1, Chief Park Warden Mitchell, BNP, memo, January 18, 1947. This is a five-page report on wolves in various areas of Banff National Park and contains, as well, the three-page wolf survey by LaCasse; ibid., Vol. 529, J234, Part 1, assistant controller, to superintendent, JNP, October 27, 1947.

of these efforts, the attempt to reintroduce caribou and moose into Cape Breton Highlands, rivalled
in complexity the initial movement of the Pablo buffalo herds from Montana to Buffalo National
Park or the later, fateful transfer of their descendants to Wood Buffalo. Other animals too were live-
trapped and moved, sometimes to another national park, often to provincial destinations. The
rationale for these efforts varied from attempts to recreate former species’ balances, as at Cape
Breton, to programs designed to ease overcrowded conditions of target species in particular
locations. Sometimes, the goal was simply to provide foreign zoos with North American animal
types. The Warden Service seldom initiated such transfers, but did provide both the labour and the
specialized knowledge that was essential to their success.

The idea of reintroducing caribou and moose to Cape Breton Highlands National Park was as old
as the Park itself, but did not become a serious possibility, until manpower and resources became
available after the war. Both species had been hunted to extinction locally in the late nineteenth and
early twentieth centuries. Having them back in Nova Scotia and under the effective protection of
a national park was a vision too sweet to resist. Park officials might have demurred had they realized
the problems and pitfalls before them.

Dr. C.H.D. Clark of the Wildlife Protection Branch recommended in a 1942 report that moose be
reintroduced to Cape Breton Highlands. Controller Smart first suggested such a project in the fall
of 1946, but, although he specifically mentioned Cape Breton Highlands as a possible destination
for some of Elk Island’s surplus moose population, he was also considering moving some to
particular locations along the Banff-Jasper highway and to Yoho National Park. By December, the
plan had been further modified to ship excess moose from Elk Island to Cape Breton, Riding
Mountain and Prince Albert parks. Banfield would personally supervise the Cape Breton operation,
expected to be the most awkward in logistical terms, and would confer with the superintendents and
supervising wardens who were directing operations in the prairie parks.

That summer, Warden A.E. Roberts of Elk Island accompanied eight moose that were successfully
shipped by rail to Cape Breton Highlands National Park. Another ten moose were shipped the
following year, although the effort was temporarily halted, when some animals died in the Elk Island
corral prior to shipment. Again, Warden Roberts was involved. When a moose cow gave birth
prematurely to twin calves in the Elk Island corral, and they were unable to nurse, Roberts’ children
pitched in to hand feed them, saving the calves but leaving Superintendent Love in a quandary as
to what to do with them. The moose, five males and five females, arrived safely, again accompanied
by Warden Roberts and W.D. Taylor of the Dominion Wildlife Service, and were released into the
park "apparently in good condition." The following summer, a moose cow and calf were spotted
near Warren Lake, the first recorded natural increase, since moose had been officially declared
extinct in Cape Breton in 1912. Further sightings in 1950 indicated that the animals were settling

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9 RG84, Vol. 1002, CBH216, Part 1, A.W.F. Banfield, to Mr. Lewis, April 24, 1947. Banfield gives a brief background
to the project in the attached report, "The Reintroduction of Moose to Cape Breton Highlands;" ibid., Vol. 10, E300, Part 1,
Controller J. Smart, to Gibson, September 28, 1946. The idea also appeared in a report on Elk Island’s fauna by A.W.F. Banfield
of the Department’s Wildlife Protection Branch that fall. The reintroduction of caribou had been mentioned months earlier by Cape
Breton Highland’s superintendent to a provincial contact. Ibid., Vol. 1002, CBH223, Part 1, superintendent, CBHN, to J.A. Fraser,
secretary, Forest, Fish and Game Protective Association, Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, April 2, 1946; ibid., Vol. 1770, PA216, Part 1,
H.F.L. [Lewis], Ottawa, to Mr. Smart, December 16, 1946.
well in their new habitat. Several efforts to repeat this process with caribou failed. Although animals were successfully corralled with the aid of a helicopter and were transferred to the Park in the 1950s, they soon disappeared. At the time, officials believed them to be victims of local poachers, although little direct evidence was uncovered. Later studies of wildlife relationships suggest that the caribou were the victims of a parasite carried by, but not fatal to, the local deer population. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the endeavour was significant in that it marked one of the first efforts to use a helicopter in the management of large ungulates.

The shipments of moose and caribou to Cape Breton Highlands were perhaps the most dramatic animal transfers during the immediate postwar period, but they were certainly not unique. By the end of the 1940s, live trapping and relocation was a common response to perceived overpopulation problems. While ungulates in large numbers tended to overgraze, gradually eroding the carrying capacity of their habitat, a high concentration of beaver had an immediate and dramatic effect on the landscape and associated water systems. Beaver were removed from Georgian Bay Islands in the late 1940s, and from Prince Albert and Riding Mountain the following decade. As early as 1952, helicopters were used in some of these efforts. By mid-decade, Riding Mountain's superintendent, Bruce Mitchell, was suggesting routine relocations of beaver from one portion of the park to another. In 1958, Mitchell's wardens embarked on an ambitious campaign to distribute some 50 beaver from Prince Albert to various remote locations in Riding Mountain under the direction of Canadian Wildlife Service Biologist D.R. Flook. Mitchell secured the use of a Canadian military helicopter to move the crated animals to their release points, saving a week of transit time and, no doubt, the lives of some of the beaver being relocated.

Other animals live-trapped and transferred by the Warden Service included a litter of seven wolf pups that were caught in Prince Albert Park and sent to the Dudley, Worchester Zoo in 1950, and several lynx that were also sent to the United Kingdom in 1956. In Jasper, requests for the live harvesting of animal specimens became routine for the Warden Service in the 1950s. Chief Warden P.J. Brodie balked, however, when the Edmonton Zoological Society pressed for wolverines and grizzlies. He doubted that it was feasible to capture the former and refused to consider trapping grizzlies. Late in the decade, the wardens' efforts to live-trap various animal species were eased somewhat with the introduction of the tranquilizer gun, although the new tool required both

10 RG84, Vol. 1002, CBH216, Part 1, W.D. Taylor telegram, to J.E. Spero, August 16, 1947. Banfield's plans were more ambitious. He recommended that 200 moose be live-trapped and removed from the park. Ibid., Vol. 1019, EINP300, Part 2, Mammalogist A.W.F. Banfield, to Dr. Lewis, October 24, 1947; ibid., Vol. 1002, CBH216, Part 1, Superintendent B.I. Love, CBHN, to Controller Smart, May 18, 1948. It seems incredible, in retrospect, that park officials considered shipping a pregnant moose cow on such a lengthy and perilous journey. One can only assume that the birth, had it been a single one, would likely have occurred in Nova Scotia; ibid., Superintendent Love, EINP, to Smart, August 24, 1948; ibid., Vol. 1002, CBH223, Part 1, W.D. Taylor, memo, to Chief Coleman, August 17, 1953. This was the beginning of an effort to capture and ship woodland caribou from the Slate Islands in Lake Superior to Cape Breton Highlands. The project was dropped in 1954, when aerial surveys indicated that there were only eight animals available. Caribou were captured in eastern Quebec later in the decade by wardens from Cape Breton and successfully transported to the park.

A New Professionalism

Since the mid-1930s, trained biologists, working within the parks system or on a contract basis, had been investigating and preparing reports on the fauna and flora of the parks. In the immediate postwar years, Chief Mammalogist A.W.F. Banfield and five geographically dispersed wildlife officers conducted studies that were considered necessary, with the practical and logistical support of district wardens. In 1947, a reorganization of the National Parks Bureau led to the creation of a Dominion Wildlife Service as an agency separate from the National Parks Service. It was responsible for providing technical expertise in all federal wildlife matters, whether in the national parks, the federally administered Northwest Territories or the federal bird sanctuaries established under joint Canada-United States migratory-bird regulations. The wildlife officers, lately of the National Parks Bureau, formed the core membership of the new Dominion Wildlife Service along with two recently appointed territorial wildlife officers. Chief Mammalogist Banfield and Dr. Lewis of the Wildlife Protection Branch, for example, moved to the new organization. Although now members of a separate agency, the wildlife officers would maintain and strengthen the bond that they had developed with the national park wardens through practical work and common experiences.

In 1948, James Smart, now controller of the National Parks Service, informed his park superintendents that the Dominion Wildlife Service was to provide technical advice on wildlife matters, but that the parks would retain responsibility for looking after wildlife in the parks. It was Smart's intention, and one not acted on for over a decade, to hire "a Chief Park Naturalist whose duties will be those of dealing with game management in parks and as a liaison officer between this Service and the Wildlife Service." Smart also hoped to establish "a nature guide service in most of the parks" under the care of university or high school biology teachers hired on a seasonal basis. Smart and the superintendents also discussed the benefits of conferring police powers on wildlife officers." In 1950, five regional wildlife officers were appointed honorary park wardens but were advised to use discretion in the exercise of their powers as a police constable and to take no action in regard to violations of the National Parks Game Regulations, if they are accompanied by a park warden at the time a violation is noted. No change was contemplated for the Warden Service, or

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12 RG84, Vol. 22, PA300, Part 8, Controller J. Smart, to general manager, Dudley Zoological Society Ltd., Dudley, Worchester, United Kingdom, June 2, 1950; ibid., H.J. Fraser, Fraser and Evasiuk, barristers, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, to Superintendent Strong, PANP, July 26, 1950; ibid., Vol. 513, B300, Part 7, Superintendent B.I.M. Strong, BNP, to Chief Coleman, NPS, February 15, 1956. The lynx were bound for the London Zoological Society. JNP, Warden Office, File 65/7-AY Animals General (210), Box 3 return to Box 24, 1955-65, [WRO 6400], October 23, 1955 to January 24, 1956. Brodie was quite emphatic that "never as far as our records are concerned, had any attempt been made [by park wardens] to capture grizzly bears." By mid-1958, Superintendent Love of Elk Island National Park, a veterinarian by training, was using a tranquilizing drug on an experimental basis during the crating and shipment of elk and buffalo. He had good results and thought that the process could be extended to mountain sheep, and goats and deer, but cautioned that more work was needed before the process could be widely used in the parks. RG84, Vol. 1019, EINP300, Part 3, Superintendent B.I. Love, EINP, to chief, NPS, July 17, 1958.

13 RG84, Vol. 22, PA300, Part 5, Controller J. Smart, to superintendent, PANP, January 6, 1948; JNP, Warden Office, File J300, Game Regulations, General, 1943-56, Box 3 return to Box 24, [WRO 6396], May 1946 to January 24, 1956, Smart, to superintendent, JNP, January 6, 1948. RG84, Vol. 22, PA300, Part 7, Superintendent Strong, PANP, to controller, December 30,
its protective and monitoring activities within the parks.

One point of friction between the two groups was over the appropriate treatment of predators in the parks. Many wardens retained a casual attitude toward the destruction of carnivores and tended to kill them as they could. This stood in marked contrast to the growing insistence by the Dominion Wildlife Service that wolves and coyotes, in particular, be hunted and killed only if careful observation and study indicated that they were upsetting the perceived natural balance in a park. For example, Wildlife Officer H.D. Fisher in his 1948 report on a recent visit to Jasper complained that the wardens still seemed too intent on killing all predators. He questioned the practice of Jasper's wardens in carrying high-powered rifles, "a thing which is not generally done in United States National Parks ...." Despite this disagreement, there seems to have been no animosity between Fisher and his guides. Jasper Superintendent James Wood informed headquarters that the wardens who had worked with Fisher benefited from his expert knowledge and considered him "a swell guy to travel with," not insignificant praise from men who were themselves comfortable in the wilderness of the mountain parks.14

Aside from the periodic visits of its officers to individual parks, the Dominion Wildlife Service maintained a monitoring process in the form of wildlife observation cards—cards completed by the wardens, and correlated and analysed by Dominion Wildlife Service officers. This process too antedated the establishment of a separate wildlife agency but was modified and improved in the years following 1947. Information from warden observations routinely provided the basis for wildlife policy at specific parks. This process was refined in 1951 with the introduction of wildlife-census cards and a system of establishing periodic inventories of the various species present in each park. Wildlife-observation cards and the system by which they were maintained were revised at the same time.15

From now on, the district wardens of each park would make special patrols of their territory, all during the same period, and record as a census or inventory such details of park fauna as the species of animals present, their sex, age and condition, as well as tracks and carcasses seen, and feed conditions. Thus, in February 1952, Dr. A.W.F. Banfield, now chief mammalogist for the Canadian Wildlife Service [Briefly renamed the Wildlife Division in the restructuring of 1950, the agency came to use its current title the same year, and will be referred to as such from this point onward.], was able to write up an analysis of the fauna at Prince Albert National Park based entirely on information contained in the wildlife-census cards submitted by the park wardens late in 1951. Banfield provided a similar analysis of the wardens' census cards in Fundy National Park the same year, and a comparative study in 1952.16

The wildlife-observation cards that the wardens had been filling out, with more or less diligence since 1945, were now judged to be lacking in detail. As well, the monthly summaries of these cards, the sole record being forwarded to the wildlife officers, were deemed insufficient. New cards were devised to provide such information as location of sightings, size of bands observed, sex and age ratios, and habits and conditions. Now the wardens were instructed to complete their observation cards at the end of each day, using a separate card for each species and including "all larger mammals, interesting birds, amphibians, reptiles or smaller mammals observed, [and] interesting incidents observed, such as first appearance of hibernating species, predation, carcasses, damage by game, etc...."17 As in the previous system, wardens turned in their wildlife-observation cards on a monthly basis.

The new systems did not meet universal approval. Warden Harry Harrison's frustration was evident in his assessment to Chief Park Warden Davies, made shortly after the new cards were introduced in Prince Albert National Park:

I am turning in twenty of these cards for the month of May and as near as I can read it is an impossibility to complete these cards, in regards to age and sex [sic] our wild life experts would be unable to determine the age or sex of a beaver or musk rat swimming in the water, a rabbit running through the woods a wood chuck in its natural habitat and in the case of big game animals such as moose deer and elk running through the woods it would only be a wild guess in many cases and in the case of smaller mammals such as weasel mink squirrel etc it looks like a big joke to occupy a wardens time when there is [sic] numerous other important things to do pertaining to wardens duties and I would suggest that this method of game census is neither reasonable nor practical.

Wardens in other parks raised procedural questions regarding the timing and extent of census patrols, and it was soon clear that close co-operation would be required to adopt the new system to the peculiarities of each park. By the end of the decade, wardens were not only completing census cards for their districts; in some instances, chief wardens were preparing the census reports themselves, on an annual or semiannual basis.18

Other instances of warden/wildlife service co-operation ranged from Yoho warden, Jim Sime, providing Mammalogist J.S. Tener with a frozen elk lung for disease-study purposes, to the joint work of Chief Mammalogist Banfield and the Cape Breton Highlands' Warden Service in investigating the current deer situation in the park.19 In the latter instance, Banfield's services were called on, when the Cape Breton Island Fish and Game Association complained that the park was overpopulated with starving deer. Association members, of course, offered to correct this unbalance. Banfield examined the park's eastern deer yards and met with Superintendent MacDonald, Chief Warden A.G. "Glady" Buchanan, and wardens Dan MacDonald and Ben Roper. Banfield then

17 RG84, Vol. 25, SLI300, Part 1, circular letter, to Acting Superintendent C. G. Childe, SLINP, April 24, 1951.
visited the western deer yards and spoke with park wardens John MacDonald, Charlie Doherty and John Roach. The wardens were of the general opinion that the number of deer in the park did not exceed its carrying capacity, but Banfield thought that the deer had expanded significantly in recent years and could be endangered by an especially severe winter with heavy snow. He recommended that 25 animals be killed, and this was done, probably by park wardens as was the procedure in the western parks.

The previous year, Banfield had spent a week on a game patrol along the south boundary of Jasper accompanied on portions of his trip by wardens Mickey McGuire, Norman Hooper, Frank Burstrom and Frank Camp. In 1955, Canadian Wildlife Service Mammalogist Donald R. Flook repeated Banfield's 1953 investigation along the southern boundary of Jasper park. He travelled with the assistant chief warden on his regular south-boundary inspection tour in August that year and remained in the area to join up with the mid-September warden game patrol. Flook travelled with the wardens and lodged with them in their district cabins for more than a month. This meant that Flook was eating supplies, mostly tinned foods, brought in, and paid for, by his hosts. Arrangements were made in Ottawa for the wardens to be compensated at the rate of $1.00 per meal, .85c per breakfast, supplied to the wildlife officer while in the back country. Flook's companions on this tour included wardens Frank Camp, Murray H. Dawson, William C. "Bill" Johnstone, Thomas L. "Tommy" Ross and Michael J. "Mike" Schintz. Arrangements were made the following year to circulate a copy of Flook's report among the wardens who had helped him in his investigations. The report, "Big Game Survey Southeast Jasper Park, Summer, 1955," was left with Warden Schintz who now patrolled the Brazeau District.

Mammalogist Don Flook was back in Jasper in 1956, again working with the wardens there. This time, Flook was choosing locations and pegging out sites for seven permanent range enclosures for game, a means of monitoring the extent to which particular spots were grazed by park animals. Flook chose the locations, and the Warden Service built the enclosures. Flook also spent several days on horseback inspecting, in company with Warden Frank Camp, the Poboktan, Indian and Maligne passes to assess the condition of the caribou herds in those areas.

In Banff, the Warden Service was soon carrying out its own wildlife studies. In the spring of 1957, for example, Banff wardens tagged ten mountain sheep from a herd that had recently moved from winter pasturage to the southern end of the Sawback Range. The sheep were caught by the simple

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21 RG84, Vol. 1629, J300, Part 8, Mammalogist Donald R. Flook, to chief, CWS, August 9, 1956. The game range "exclosures," as Flook called them, were located as follows:

1. Slope east of the highway at the underpass, one mile north of Jasper.
2. Henry House Flats, east of airfield.
3. Flats east of Snaring Cabin.
4. Slope on west side of Jasper Lake, one mile south of Devona on the railway tracks.
5. Slope, south west of Devona cabin.
6. Flats east of Devona cabin.
7. Slope west of Miette cabin.
expeditious of luring them with food and grabbing them by the horns, when they approached closely enough. Earlier efforts to trap the animals in stationary nets were abandoned, when it appeared that they might injure themselves, especially those females heavy with young. Some of the specimens also had their right horn painted red as a means of monitoring travel movements. In his report, Chief Park Warden Robert T. "Bob" Hand noted that this portion of the study was discontinued because of fears that tourists would react unfavourably. It had been planned to mark some animals in each of several herds with distinctive colours, so that the movement patterns of the groups could easily be followed. Hand's report included 13 photographs of the mountain sheep, although none showed the actual tagging or painting process.

In 1958, Don Flook, now a wildlife biologist with the Canadian Wildlife Service, oversaw the transfer of 19 beaver from parts of Prince Albert National Park, where they were overabundant, to the east slope of Riding Mountain, where it was hoped that they would flourish and help to stabilize the watershed system. At Prince Albert, wardens Cliff Millard, Harry W. Genge, George Leslie Holden, Emmet L. Millard, J.K. Leader and Dean S. Allan worked to live-trap the beaver and to prepare them for transport. At Dauphin, Manitoba, he and his charges were met by Chief Warden Joseph T. Allan, and wardens Alan Young and Gordon Cullen who brought them to the park. Wardens Archie Doan, G. Francis and Robert Early, and Assistant Warden Fillmester, helped to distribute the beaver through Riding Mountain's east slope.

Late in 1958, the head of the Canadian Wildlife Service, in recognition of the pivotal role played by wardens in the management of wildlife in the national parks, recommended that a competition be established to encourage them in this role. A trophy would be awarded along with a more material prize such as binoculars or a telescope for "the best written report of first-hand wildlife observations over a two year period." Wildlife Service personnel thought that, if the wardens could develop a more thorough knowledge through personal observations, they would be better able to answer visitors' questions regarding park animals and would themselves better understand "the normal relations between wildlife species, including the actions of predators." Even at the end of the 1950s, there were some wardens who had not accepted the view of predators that wildlife officers had been promoting over the previous two decades.

A New View of Predators

The role of the carnivore in national parks remained a contentious issue throughout this period, although there were signs that the wardens were gradually, and grudgingly, accepting a new concept of the natural balance. In the immediate postwar period, predators were at risk, whenever they came in proximity with human beings. In the coming decade and a half, new technology and old weapons, in the form of cyanide "guns," were brought to bear against wolves and coyotes. By 1960, however, it was becoming clear that a new philosophy of tolerance was gaining acceptance in the parks along with the tacit recognition that a proper wildlife-management policy required that all species be protected.

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YOU ARE WARNED THAT POISONED BAITS HAVE BEEN
PLACED IN THIS AREA UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE NATIONAL
PARKS BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT.
THESE BAITS ARE FOR THE CONTROL OF PREDATORS AND MAY
BE OF SEVERAL TYPES, SO TAKE NO CHANCES. DOGS MUST BE
KEPT ON LEASH AND SHOULD BE PREVENTED FROM EATING ANY
FOREIGN MATTER. YOUR COOPERATION WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

DIRECTOR
NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH

POISON

Figure 5-1. Poster warning of poisoned bait in the parks, hand dated 1953. [JNP, Warden Office, Box 24,
Predator Control, WRO, 6402]
Headquarters tried to maintain a tight control on predator policy, insisting on a constant flow of information from the parks, particularly in any incidents in which carnivores were killed or injured. Active predator-control remained common in some of the parks during the immediate postwar years. Jasper wardens continued the snaring program that was initiated during the war. Renewed pressure in Prince Albert National Park, again led by Chief Park Warden Davies, resulted in the introduction in 1947 of the "Humane coyote getter," a trap set with bait and utilizing an explosive cartridge and cyanide poison. Over the next two years, the cyanide trap or "gun," as it was sometimes called, was introduced to Riding Mountain, Jasper and Banff parks, with mixed results. Fifty "Allways" cyanide traps or guns were ordered for use in Jasper National Park late in 1948. The superintendent was told that they were to be used "only in selected areas," specifically Buffalo Prairie, Moberly Flats east of the town and around the townsite itself. A quota of 20 wolves was also set. The Canadian Wildlife Service was creating a data sheet, and wardens were expected to record the operation, giving the date, time, location and results for each trap set. Headquarters wanted as much scientific data gathered from the kills as possible, including stomach analyses, weights and measurements, and skulls, hides and internal parasites collected. A wildlife officer was also dispatched to Jasper to instruct the wardens in the use of the trap and the work to be done with the dead animals.

The results of such efforts were disappointing and followed the same pattern in each park. After some limited initial success, surviving wolves and coyotes became suspicious of the traps and avoided them. By the early 1950s, there were calls from within the Warden Service for the reintroduction of poisoned bait to curtail what was perceived as the excess growth of wolves. An outbreak of rabies in 1953 in western Alberta tipped the balance, and, for a time, poisoned bait was again employed in the parks to keep carnivores in check. This marked the postwar high tide of aggressive predator-control in the national parks. The following year, Chief Coleman refused Jasper's request for new cyanide-trap cartridges and admonished the superintendent:

> It is desired to point out that the general use of poison in a National park is considered undesirable except in case of an emergency, such as rabies control. You are requested, therefore, to control closely the use of any free poison or poison bearing devices in the Park.

Active predator-control became the exception rather than the norm over the next few years. When Banff wardens began a limited campaign to remove coyotes from the vicinity of the townsite in 1959, it was felt wise to explain the process in a press release, which, in part, stressed the limited

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25 RG84, Vol. 10, E300, Part 1, controller, to acting superintendent, EINP, May 30, 1946; ibid., Vol. 1629, J266, Part 1, controller, to superintendent, JNP, October 18, 1946; ibid., Vol. 1770, PA266, Part 1, Controller J. Smart, to Director R.A. Gibson, April 12, 1947, enclosing a report by Banfield recommending the use of the coyote getter to kill approximately 20 wolves in Prince Albert National Park; ibid., Vol. 22, PA300, Part 5, A.W.F. Banfield, "An Investigation of Wolf Predation in PANP", 1947. Davies thought that Banfield had underestimated the number of wolves in the park during his limited investigation. Of the suggested use of the coyote getter, he wrote: "I note that he recommends Humane Coyote-getter as a means of control. Why be so considerate to the most ruthless killer of our predators [sic], they even commence eating before their victim is dead [sic], animals I have found partly eaten and still alive;" ibid., Chief Park Warden George Davies, to Acting Superintendent B.I.M. Strong, Headquarters' Cabin, June 6, 1947; ibid., Vol. 25, RM300, Part 2, H.D. Fisher, CWS, to Dr. Lewis, CWS, Ottawa, September 22, 1948; ibid., Vol. 1629, J266, Part 1, controller memo, to superintendent, JNP, October 22, 1948; ibid., Vol. 8, B300, Part 6, Harrison F. Lewis, Dominion Wildlife Service, to Smart, December 18, 1948; ibid., Vol. 1629, J266, Part 1, controller memo, to superintendent, JNP, October 22, 1948.
nature of the effort. Some cyanide guns remained in storage until very recently in the warden compound of at least one park, their presence, and their purpose, all but forgotten.

Slaughters

The rhythm of annual, early-winter slaughters, particularly of excess elk, begun in the scenic parks in the early war years, continued on in the postwar period. Park authorities shunned publicity, however, perhaps still smarting from the sensationalized portrayal of Elk Island's buffalo slaughter in the Edmonton Journal in 1941. Wardens were not to permit photographs to be taken of their slaughtering activities or "any pictures which would depict the killing of animals in the National Park...." When the Calgary Herald asked permission to do a feature on the Banff elk slaughter of 1946-47, park officials were initially apprehensive and finally consented, only when the newspaper agreed not to take any photographs. When the story appeared, it did contain several photos of the slaughtering process, including images of a warden aiming at an elk in the distance, two wardens hauling an elk carcass over snow by rope, and a warden standing beside a hanging dressed carcass. Mammalogist Banfield nevertheless was satisfied that "the Government's case was well presented and that this article will result in beneficial publicity for our wildlife management program."

Just before the 1947 season, Controller Smart sketched current slaughtering techniques and concerns in the parks. Slaughter crews were divided into three groups: the hunters (i.e. wardens) and assistants, teamsters and the butchering crew. The hunters were further divided into groups of two, with each group working independently. The teamsters picked up and transported the carcasses to the abattoir, using a vehicle and ropes, and a winch, if one was available. The butchering crew, of course, worked at the abattoir dressing the carcasses and hanging the meat, all under the supervision of an experienced butcher. The process in most cases was paid for out of Indian Affairs' funds and the meat went to local bands. Smart emphasized the need for care in handling to avoid spoilage and stressed that the slaughters should be kept from public view as much as possible. While viscera, legs and heads were routinely discarded, usually by burial, antlers were to be removed and stored for later

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26 RG84, Vol. 25, RM300, Part 2, Superintendent O.E. Heaslip, RMNP, to J.A. Wood, assistant controller, May 18, 1949; ibid., Vol. 22, PA300, Part 7, Superintendent Strong, PANP, to controller, NPB, October 4, 1949; ibid., Vol. 15, J300, Part 7, Warden F. J. McGuire, JNP, to Superintendent Dempster, JNP, September 30, 1952. In this four-page report, McGuire stressed the low numbers of sheep, deer and caribou in much of the eastern portions of the park that he had just patroled. He recommended the following measures: Therefore, despite the National Parks policy toward poison and predators, I do not hesitate to recommend that, for the next winter or two, cyanide guns, strychnine and 1080 be used to hold down all types of predation to give these bands every possible chance to increase. I firmly believe that it is the direct action of the predators and the competition with the elk that is holding down and threatening to wipe out the sheep, deer and caribou bands. With a firm control of the predators for a few years, the elk will no doubt move back down to the lush ranges in the valley floors and leave the sheep ranges alone. No doubt the elk would increase too, but in a few years sheep, deer and caribou bands would be large enough and strong enough to stage a comeback and the problem of too many elk could then be taken up. I feel we cannot act too soon on this problem for the next hard winter and spring will surely make the time for action too late."

27 RG84, Vol. 69, B234, Part 2, Superintendent Jennings, BNP, to controller, February 11, 1946; ibid., Vol. 6, B299, Part 1, Acting Superintendent C.G. Childe, BNP, to controller, December 6, 1946; ibid., Mammalogist A.W.F. Banfield, to Dr. Lewis, December 23, 1946. The photographs that appeared in the Calgary Herald, December 5, 1946, are available only on microfilm, and their quality is not suitable for reproduction in this study. Copies were made for research purposes.
sale to cutlery manufacturers.\textsuperscript{28}

In the 1950s, one Banff citizen, inspired by the sight of wardens at work, donned a pair of green overalls and boldly downed an elk on frozen Vermilion Lake west of Banff, on a bright winter morning during the elk slaughter. He proceeded to gut and skin the animal on the ice, in full view of several wardens who drove by and waved to him during the morning, assuming he was one of them. It was not until late afternoon, after comparing notes, that the wardens realized that they had had some outside help on the kill that morning. A search finally turned up a new half-ton truck, bearing hair and blood stains, hidden in a basement garage in Banff. At the ensuing trial, the audacious poacher lost an expensive vehicle, one of the first such confiscations at Banff.\textsuperscript{29}

Park staff both at headquarters and in the field remained sensitive to the image created by the annual slaughters, particularly of elk. The relentless pressure of numbers seemed to leave no alternative to starvations of catastrophic, and embarrassing, magnitudes. Throughout this period, the slaughters were fully supported, even pressed for, by the Canadian Wildlife Service. For the wardens, the necessity for the annual killings was self-evident and a part of the job of managing the parks. It should be stressed, too, that much of the public opposition to the slaughters came from disgruntled hunters who envied the role of the wardens.

In 1959, \textit{Time} magazine published a brief article on the annual park slaughters, entitled "Unbalancing Nature," which outlined the extent and the rationale for the process. It also pointed out that:

....the slaughter sickens many conservationists, who are beginning to question the wisdom of their own methods. Says Elk Island's Superintendent B.I. Love: 'I don't eat wild meat of any sort. I've seen too much slaughter.'

The article concluded: "A better way might be to leave nature's balance alone, stop killing the cougars and wolves that prey on the herds and let them do the work of the wardens' rifles." It was a perspective that would steadily gain adherents in the coming decade. In the interim, however, park officials continued to defend the slaughters as part of the cost of maintaining wilderness refuges in an increasingly developed society.\textsuperscript{30}

\textbf{The Evolution of a Bear Policy}

During the postwar years, bears continued to be viewed both as a nuisance and a danger, especially in the mountain parks, where they were relatively common. At the same time, one can discern the growth of a more sympathetic attitude toward the plight of the bears among park officials and visitors. There is evidence as well in these years of a determination to create and implement policies

\textsuperscript{28} RG84, Vol. 24, RM299, memo, to superintendents, WLNP and RMNP, from Controller Smart, October 3, 1947.

\textsuperscript{29} Warden Service History informal interview with former Warden Michael J. Schintz, October 22, 1993.

Figures 5-2 and 5-3. Two photos of a truck with a dead elk. Cascade Fireroad, 1950's. [Banff National Park Collection.]
that would permit recreational development in the parks without further endangering the wildlife that the parks supported. It was a difficult task filled with contradictions and was not always fully successful. Similar problems in the U.S. national parks led to the creation of a national bear-management policy in 1960. The U.S. effort sought to reduce bear/people conflict through “more efficient garbage removal, visitor information, removal of problem bears, and stricter enforcement of the feeding regulations.” In the end, the bears survived, even the physically ferocious yet ecologically fragile grizzly, to face those who would protect them with still more severe challenges in the last decades of the century. Ultimately, their survival, or loss, will be the measure of success, or failure, for the national parks and their custodians.

Developments in the Maligne Valley of Jasper National Park in the immediate postwar years provide a sense of the tensions that accompanied the extension of recreational activities into bear territory. Fred Brewster, who operated a successful touring and guiding business out of Jasper, had pressed for better road access into the beautiful Maligne Valley during the war; by 1947, he operated commercial chalets at both Medicine and Maligne lakes. Brewster complained, though, that grizzlies had broken into both buildings, presumably before their late spring opening, damaging windows and, revealingly, stealing "stored food supplies." Brewster was concerned at the response of the park, which had "sent out two young wardens with rifles, but these boys have first gone into the Rocky River District where a Warden's Cabin has been broken into. It would, I think, be a reasonable request, when the opportunity presents itself, to ask for increased protection.” None of this stopped or slowed preparations for the tourist season. Brewster expected the chalets to be occupied by mid-June.

At park headquarters, Brewster's dilemma evoked a sympathetic response. Superintendent Wood, in explaining the tour guide's plight, stressed the destruction wreaked by grizzlies on the park infrastructure. Grizzlies were becoming ever more numerous in the Maligne Valley. Wood wrote:

Last year all of the cabins in the Rocky river area were broken into by grizzlies. Doors and windows were smashed and the contents of the cabins were for the most part destroyed. The same thing happened again this spring but in addition, all of the Maligne district cabins were broken into including the Brewster Chalets at Maligne and Medicine Lakes. Several of the cabins were entered twice.

All of the supplies backpacked in by the wardens were destroyed. Under these conditions something in the way of control had to be started or no man would stay in the district.

Wardens Christiansen and Camp were instructed to reduce the number of grizzlies in these districts and to save the pelts if they were in good condition. The skulls were to be saved in any case.

Six grizzlies were shot altogether between Jacque and Maligne lakes. This number will have little effect on the total number of grizzlies in this district.

The Chief Warden advises that he knows of seven cubs born last year in a small area of the Malign district alone, therefore the total increase in both these districts must be considerable.

31 Wright, *Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks*, p. 129.
As a consequence, trouble as reported above, can be expected unless measures are taken to control the number of these animals, as they have no natural enemies other than man.\(^{33}\)

In 1950, the current superintendent ordered two grizzlies shot that were disrupting the Patricia Lake Auto Camp and the nearby government incinerator. As Dempster explained to Ottawa, "regardless of what Dr. Lewis of the Wild Life Division thinks, I do not intend to have the safety of tourists in the vicinity of Jasper jeopardized for the want of destroying two grizzly bears."\(^{34}\) This, of course, was the crux of the bear problem for park officials and the basis on which many animals over the years were condemned to death. On-site authorities simply could not justify to themselves actions, or any inaction, that left visitors at significant risk. Gradually, though, new policies and techniques were introduced to ease the friction, and lessen the prevalence, of bear/people encounters.

Problems with bears around Jasper Park Lodge in this period led to the investigation of alternatives to simply shooting the bears. Here, the focus of trouble was clearly the Lodge dump. It was here too that much of the solution to the "bear problem" was worked out. Circumstances at Jasper Park Lodge in the early 1950s were similar to those encountered in Banff and other mountain parks over the years. Bears were a recognized tourist attraction, and the bears, in turn, were attracted by the Lodge dump and incinerator. Warden George Fowlie reported seeing 24 bears there at one time, and probably more tourists. Unfortunately, this apparently symbiotic relationship dissolved in mid-September, when the Lodge closed, and the bears, now readying themselves for hibernation, were forced into a search for food. As Dempster explained the situation to Banfield:

> Once their food supply is cut off when the Lodge closes about mid-September, they become rather nasty, and one can hardly blame them, inasmuch as they have been able to procure food very easily for the majority of the season, and as a result they resort to breaking in to the various places where food is kept. So far this is the only spot where trouble has been experienced with either black or brown bear in recent years.\(^{35}\)

The next spring, Banfield investigated the situation at Jasper Park Lodge and recommended more vigorous efforts to dissuade the public from feeding the bears. He also suggested that an experimental new bear-repellant be tried out at the dump. The repellant worked, but its odor was so repugnant, to people, as well as to bears, that it could only be used in areas such as the Jasper dump. Superintendent Dempster noted in some frustration:

> As far as the Jasper dump was concerned, between the repellent and ensuring that there were no feed [sic] stuffs left around we had no trouble at the dump—all the bears moved into town where we couldn't use the repellent and we had more trouble than in past years.\(^{36}\)

It was yet another instance of the difficulty of maintaining "balance" in wildlife-management efforts.


\(^{34}\) RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Superintendent Dempster, JNP, to controller, August 18, 1950.

\(^{35}\) RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Superintendent Dempster, to controller, October 17, 1950; ibid., Superintendent Dempster, JNP, to Canadian Wildlife Officer A.W. Banfield, in care of superintendent, BNP, Banff, October 31, 1950.

\(^{36}\) RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Superintendent Dempster, JNP, to director, June 7, 1951; ibid., January 3, 1952.
The following summer, Wildlife Service Officer Banfield again investigated the bear problem at the Lodge dump and left the following vivid account of his experience:

During recent field investigations in Jasper National Park during late August, I was informed of the regular occurrence of grizzly bears at the Jasper Park Lodge dump, by the Town Warden. Friday, August 29th, in the company of the Chief Warden and Town Warden, I visited the garbage dump from 8.30 to 10.30 p.m.

Upon our arrival there were ten black bears in the vicinity feeding on garbage. As dusk approached the bears became much agitated and were continually sniffing the air. When one knocked some garbage tins down, they all took to the pine trees in a panic. After dark, in the light produced by car headlights, we saw a large grizzly bear approach through the trees. There was a great out-cry of snorting among the black bears and they all disappeared into the timber. From then until I left, we had several glimpses of three grizzly bears prowling about the garbage dump. I was informed that there had been as many as seven grizzly bears observed after dark at the dump.

I join the Warden Service in feeling a little apprehensive concerning the possibility of an unwary tourist being attacked by one of these bears. A few tourists have learned of their occurrence and have attempted to photograph the grizzly bears, using flash bulbs.

This is the first year that so many grizzly bears have frequented this area, although there have been reports of one to two grizzly bears about Jasper during the summer months for the past two years. I was told that there had been a failure of the berry crop at high altitude in the Park. This may account for the presence of so many grizzly bears at this low elevation. It is hoped that these bears do not form a habit of visiting the town garbage dumps.

The Wardens have shot at these bears and have perhaps killed two or three of them. I would like to see some method of preventing the possibility of a human accident without too drastic measures of destroying the bears themselves. I suggested to Mr. Brodie that it might be possible to place a gate across the road, some distance back from the dump, with a notice on it that the garbage dump was closed after dark because of the risk of meeting grizzly bears.37

Director Smart's response was in part to underline the responsibility of the Lodge as the source of the garbage that was attracting bears in the first place. The Lodge's incinerator, it seems, could not deal with wet materials, and these continued to attract the bears even while the incinerator was in use. Initially though, the response of park and Lodge officials was to concentrate on keeping people and bears apart, rather than looking to the more expensive solution of installing a new incinerator. A gate was constructed on the road leading to the Lodge dump, and the following sign was put up in luminescent lettering:

WARNING
BECAUSE OF THE DANGER OF ENCOUNTERING GRIZZLY BEARS, TRAVEL ON THIS ROAD AND THE DUMP GROUNDS IS PROHIBITED BETWEEN THE HOURS OF 9.00 pm AND 8.00 am.38

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38 RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Director J. Smart, to superintendent, JNP, November 5, 1952; ibid., superintendent, JNP, to director, November 12, 1952; ibid., Superintendent Dempster, JNP, to director, November 20, 1952.
Despite these efforts, the bear problem continued the following year. Banfield was now growing restless with the continued killing of errant animals and suggested to the chief of the Canadian Wildlife Service, Winston Mair, that refuse incineration be improved. Superintendent Dempster agreed, suggesting that new, more effective incinerators be considered for the Lodge and the Jasper townsit dump. Ottawa quickly consented. Indeed, new incinerators had been installed the previous year in Point Pelee, Cape Breton Highlands and Kootenay, and plans were already under way to do the same at Lake Louise. By the following summer, new incinerators were at work at both the Lodge and townsit dumps. The immediate result was that the 20 bears that had depended on the dumps now turned to other sources of food, and orders were given to the Warden Service to destroy those bears that could not be moved or driven from the townsit.\(^{39}\)

Within three years, grizzlies were again congregating at the Lodge dump, perhaps because it had again outgrown the capacity of its incinerator. Warden Frank Burstrom, who kept track of the bear situation there, reported up to 15 grizzlies as night visitors to the dump. The gate and the sign warning visitors away remained in place, but the increasing concentration of grizzlies so close to people raised alarms. In 1958, yet another investigation of the continuing problem concluded that too much garbage was again accumulating at the Lodge dump. Lodge management insisted that a more careful management of garbage delivery and burning would solve the crisis and remove the attraction. In the interim, arrangements were made to bulldoze the existing dump site and bury the raw garbage now accumulated there. These actions proved ineffective. In 1959, Mammalogist W. E. Stevens visited the Lodge dump with Park Biologist Donald Flook and Warden Frank Burstrom and reported:

> We were equipped with 7 X 50 binoculars which allowed us to see objects quite plainly, even after dark. When we arrived by truck there were several black bears feeding on the garbage heaps. But as the night grew darker they left, just at the time when a female grizzly bear and her three yearlings appeared on the opposite side of the clearing. These bears came forward to within five - ten yards of the truck and began feeding. They were followed soon after dark by at least four more grizzly bears, all adult and quite dark in colour. We continued to see bears all around the environs of the garbage dump. In addition to the female and her group there were four adults, with perhaps several others in addition. Although it became too dark to identify individual animals, we were sure we had seen at least eight grizzly bears.

The garbage dump at Jasper Park Lodge is near the golf course and adjacent to a wooded hillside criss-crossed with pony trails and hiking trails. The presence of grizzly bears in this vicinity is dangerous, and though no accidents have occurred, it has been necessary to remove several animals this year. The garbage site is kept locked at night but the bears must be fairly near thereto during any time of the day or night, and there undoubtedly are people who wander through the region after dark. It is most fortunate for all parties concerned that the recent spate of bear accidents has not been duplicated on the golf course of Jasper park Lodge, nor along one of the trails nearby. The potential certainly is there.\(^{40}\)

\(^{39}\) RG84, Vol. 529, J212, Part 1, Chief Mammalogist Banfield, to chief, CWS, September 2, 1953; ibid., Superintendent Dempster, to Chief Coleman, September 4, 1953; ibid., Chief Coleman, to superintendent, JNP, September 10, 1953; ibid., Part 2, chief, CWS, W. Winston Mair, to chief, NPS, July 28, 1954.

By now, the problem, and the solution, were becoming clear for all to see. It would be well into the 1960s, before a larger capacity incinerator was installed, and the garbage attraction was finally eliminated.

An adjunct to the elimination of park garbage-dumps as a lure for bears was the development of bear-proof garbage containers for campgrounds and scenic lookouts. Again, this was a problem that had been recognized for decades, before a practical solution was developed. In 1958, officials at Waterton Lakes were experimenting with centralized garbage storage in the form of a shed made from concrete blocks. They also had plans to set up suspended garbage barrels in the campgrounds to frustrate scavenging bears. The idea here was to hang 45-gallon steel drums with self-closing lids from free-swinging chains. The lids and the mobility of the drums, it was hoped, would discourage bears. Garbage was burned at the park dump, but there was, as yet, no incinerator there. By 1959, all of Jasper's campgrounds had been equipped with stationary garbage receptacles designed to hold 45-gallon drums. Officials were still trying to devise a lid that would be bear proof, but they felt that the simple expedient of keeping the drums rigidly upright was a helpful advance. At Banff, which was now the regional headquarters for the mountain and prairie parks, the Warden Service carried out experiments in 1959 on the effectiveness of various hanging and stationary garbage receptacles. As in the case of the Jasper Lodge dump, it would be several years before practical bear-proof garbage containers were the norm. Nevertheless, the fact that the problem was being addressed indicated a recognition that "bear problems" could be solved without automatically eliminating the bear.

If part of the solution to these difficulties was removing attractive nuisances from the parks, another was the need to educate the public to their responsibilities. Park officials had understood for decades that, when tourists fed bears, trouble was not far away. It was not until the 1950s, however, that any real headway was made in breaking this habit. In 1947, Waterton Lakes' superintendent, H.A. DeVeber, had suggested that the current revision of park regulations specifically include a clause forbidding tourists from feeding bears. At the time, there was no means of enforcing such a ban under existing park rules. Several years later, his successor, Superintendent J. Atkinson, passed on to Ottawa a "beware of bears" card currently being given to tourists in Glacier National Park to the south along with information on the fines for feeding bears in U.S. national parks. Similar recommendations were made throughout the coming decade, but it was not until 1959 that a regulation was enacted, and enforced, forbidding the feeding of bears in national parks. In August of that year, Banff's chief park warden, Bob Hand, noted that there were fewer bears along the park highways and in the Banff townsite, all largely the result, he believed, of the new policy of handing out leaflets against feeding bears and charging those who ignored the rules.41

Despite all these efforts, serious bear incidents continued to occur, although perhaps at a lesser rate, given the increasing numbers of park visitors. In 1955, two twelve-year-old boys sleeping in a cabin in Waterton Lakes were attacked and mauled by a black bear. A warden subsequently dispatched the bear, but no explanation could be made for the attack. Three years later, a seven-year-old child

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was killed in a black-bear attack at an auto camp near Sunwapta Falls in Jasper National Park. The bear had apparently become accustomed to scavenging garbage and begging scraps from tourists over a period of years. The shock from this tragic incident in which a seemingly "tame" bear proved to be quite wild did much to encourage park officials in their various efforts to keep man and bear apart. Bear management, particularly in the days before the advent of the tranquillizer dart, was at best an uncertain art. In one incident in the fall of 1958, Banff Warden George Balding was called by a local tourist-cabin operator to the scene of a trapped black-bear cub. Working in the dark, harassed by the frantic mother and unable to persuade curious onlookers to move out of harm's way, Balding had to shoot the animals that he had come to remove. In an interview 34 years later, his memory of the incident remained vivid, his frustration palpable.42

Poaching in the Parks

Although less likely motivated by economic considerations or domestic shortages as in the Depression and war periods, poaching remained a serious problem for the Warden Service in the postwar years. The problem was particularly acute in Riding Mountain, which, surrounded by agricultural lands and with innumerable access points, sometimes seemed to be virtually under siege by poachers. In Cape Breton Highlands and the new Fundy National Park in New Brunswick, the presence of major highways crossing park territory made it difficult for wardens to enforce gun-sealing regulations. As in earlier eras, vigilance, constant patrols in hunting season and close cooperation with other law-enforcement agencies were the keys to maintaining park integrity.

While there were intervals in the late 1940s when Riding Mountain's poaching problems seemed under control, by 1951, Banfield was reporting stories of an elk meat "ring" operating out of nearby Grandview. One poacher had recently shot another, fatally, within the park, and there were complaints that the wardens were being directed to campground work in the summer, leaving the larger portion of the park virtually unprotected. The latter charge indicates both the changing nature of duties facing the wardens, and the presence of poachers outside the traditional fall and winter periods. The following winter, Superintendent Heaslip complained to headquarters that poachers, who had in the past entered the park on horseback or with horse-drawn sleighs, were now shooting elk from the comfort of their roadside automobiles, and leaving one or two individuals to dress the kill. The shooter would then leave the scene of the crime, returning later to pick up his accomplices and the poached meat. Now back-country warden patrols would have to be accompanied by constant monitoring of the park highways too. Unless a warden happened on the scene just as an animal was hit, he was unlikely to discover the crime, until it was too late to act. Nevertheless, convictions were frequent. The fines, though, were too low to pose much of a deterrent. Poachers resented more the wardens' power to confiscate their weapons, horses and vehicles, and much of the superintendent's time at Riding Mountain was taken in answering appeals for the return of such equipment, when the wardens' actions were upheld by the courts. Confiscation was usually invoked, if the poaching appeared to be on a commercial scale, as in a 1955 incident in which an individual was caught with...

Although there was no repeat during these years of the events that had led to Lawrence Lee's cold-blooded murder two decades before, more than one Riding Mountain warden found himself staring down the barrel of a rifle during a poaching patrol. The acceptance of park regulations by local residents seemed to grow over time. Certainly, the attitude prevalent in the mountain parks by the 1950s that poaching was not only illegal but also inappropriate had not yet become the norm around Riding Mountain, where earlier hunting and trapping days were clearly remembered. A similar antipathy to poaching regulations would appear amid the new Maritime parks of the 1960s and 1970s. In the meantime, at Riding Mountain, the carnage continued, with wardens pursuing unrepentant poachers by horse in the districts and by car on the highways.

In one incident, a lone park visitor drew the attention of the patrolling warden who suspected a poaching violation. The suspect denied hunting and claimed that he did not know that he had crossed the clearly marked boundary of the park. The warden suspected that the weapon that he had heard discharged was hidden in the snow, and he began searching for it. The visitor maintained his innocence, but the warden saw him twice again during the day, also apparently hunting for something in the snow. The warden found the weapon, and arrested the visitor who subsequently was convicted and had his rifle confiscated.

Another incident, late in 1955, underlined the danger that accompanied wardens on their patrols of Riding Mountain. On a mid-November game patrol in the Gilbert Plains district, Warden Dean Allan and Acting Warden K. Steven came across a hidden camp some six miles inside the park. After following two horse tracks for several miles, they spotted two horsemen carrying rifles. Although unarmed, the wardens pursued and caught up to the intruders, when the following scene ensued, as described by Chief Warden Joe Allan to Superintendent Mitchell:

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43 RG84, Vol. 25, RM300, Part 2, extract from Smart, to Gibson, June 16, 1949; ibid., Chief Mammalogist A.W.F. Banfield, to chief, CWS, Banff, August 17, 1951. PNRO, Winnipeg, RMNP, File 6815-102, Vol.3, O.E. Heaslip, superintendent, RMNP, to J. Smart, director, NPB, January 16, 1952; ibid., J.M. Chalmers, acting superintendent, to J. Smart, director, February 21, 1952. Chalmers recounted the conviction of an elk poacher who had shot his kill from one of the two main highways crossing the park; ibid., Director J. Smart, to superintendent, RMNP, September 19, 1952. In this case, the convicted poacher lost his one-ton Mercury truck, and the vehicle was transferred to Banff for park use there. This was a common means of disposing of confiscated property in the 1950s. Items that could be used in a park were shipped away from the area where they had been seized, prior to use; ibid., Vol.4, report of W.J.G. Stewart, justice of the peace, Onanole, Manitoba, On the case of ----, [February 1, 1955]; ibid., Royal Canadian Mounted Police document, signed by Corporal E.L. Hadley, in charge of Wasagaming Detachment, February 24, 1955. Park officials, supported by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police corporal, opposed the return of a team of horses and a wagon that were seized in this case, as the individual involved belonged to a local family that "kill and sell dozens of elk each year, and it is for this reason that the park authorities feel that by them losing their means of transportation it would have more effect on them, then [sic] the fine imposed on them, even though the latter is greatly in excess of the same."

44 Ray Fetterly who served as a patrolman during the winter of 1952-53 writes vividly of several such incidents in his reminiscences, A Ranger Alone (Regeher's Printing, Winnipeg, 1993) and Gordon Bergeson, whose career at Riding Mountain spans three decades, has described similarly dramatic incidents occurring in more recent years, Warden Service oral interview #71, October 1991. PNRO, Winnipeg, RMNP, File 6815-102, Vol.3, J.M. Chalmers, acting superintendent, to J. Smart, director, March 1, 1952, describing a poacher's failure to stop at the park entrance, his pursuit and the confiscation of two unsealed rifles discovered in his car.

The men would not stop when ordered to by the Wardens and when they got close or tried to get past, they hit the Warden's horse on the head and neck with their rifles. After quite a struggle which lasted some time, the Wardens took one horse, a saddle, both rifles and half a whitetailed deer, but the men got away. The men were both wearing parkas with the hoods up, it was dark and there was a heavy snowfall so the Wardens were unable to see them clearly enough to give a good description.\textsuperscript{46}

In his report to headquarters, Mitchell explained that rifles were "too heavy and cumbersome to carry around" and recommended that "our wardens should in future be supplied with side arms."\textsuperscript{47} Allan Sr. noted that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were investigating but added: "We do not expect to find the guilty parties unless someone talks." Around Riding Mountain, few people talked about such incidents—not to the wardens at any rate.

Mitchell pursued the side-arms issue and, while he acknowledged Ottawa's concern over an accidental shooting, he argued:

\begin{quote}
I am still of the opinion that a warden is entitled to have some method of protecting his life and it is only for this purpose that the use of a firearm will be tolerated. Several incidents have occurred in this park where poachers have pointed loaded rifles at wardens and have also used them as clubs. These poachers are for the most part of foreign extraction and the law of self-preservation is the only one they recognize. It is for this reason that I feel our men should have some means of protecting their lives and this would only be as a last resort.
\end{quote}

Mitchell added that the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police felt that the wardens should be armed, and were willing to provide handgun training, if requested. He also pointed to the precedent of the wardens at Banff who were issued Smith and Wesson .38 calibre revolvers, although he acknowledged that this was primarily seen as protection against grizzlies. In the end, Chief J.R.B. Coleman deflected the issue by putting it on the agenda of the next superintendents' conference, where it languished unsettled.\textsuperscript{48}

As one of its poaching-prevention measures, one still common to all the national parks, Riding Mountain sealed all firearms passing through the park and kept a register of weapons sealed. At a park composed of many fragments, such as Georgian Bay Islands, this strategy was impractical, and, here, the superintendent, without any separate warden presence until the mid-1950s, was unable to deal effectively with the poaching that went on during each fall hunting season. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police had been requested, and had agreed, to station a constable at Point Pelee in 1947, but a similar request from Georgian Bay Islands the following year was, for reasons unknown, refused by parks officials in Ottawa.\textsuperscript{49} To the east, the newer Maritime parks, Cape Breton Highlands and Fundy, and their wardens, seemed to have particular difficulties with the application of the gun-sealing programs that had been in effect in the mountain parks for half a century.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., Vol.4, Chief Warden J.T. Allan, to Superintendent Mitchell, RMNP, November 29, 1955.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., superintendent, RMNP, to chief, December 2, 1955.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., December 23, 1955; ibid., Chief J.R.B. Coleman, to superintendent, RMNP, December 30, 1955.
Some of Fundy's boundaries actually ran along roads used by sportsmen to get to and from their fall hunting camps, and the new wardens there were at a loss as to how they should proceed with a gun-sealing program. Headquarters suggested that signs be erected along such stretches and the wardens be instructed to maintain frequent patrols along the roads. For the time being, however, there was to be no effort to seal those weapons. The logistical problems of having the wardens seal weapons as they entered Fundy National Park were not overcome until the mid-1950s, when gates and gatekeepers were established on a seasonal basis at the two main park entrances. Later in the decade, suggestions were made for further reforming the system by replacing metal seals with a paper receipt for those just passing briefly through the park. At Cape Breton Highlands, visitors travelling the Cape Breton Trail by automobile entered and left the park a number of times on their circular journey. In 1957, Superintendent J.H. Atkinson suggested that the gun-sealing process be replaced by a system in which the park boundaries would be clearly marked; visitors would then be held responsible for the use of firearms within the park.\(^{50}\)

In the west, the old issue of "hot pursuit," of hunters wounding an animal outside a park and then following over the boundary to finish it off, was again raised, this time at Waterton Lakes. Park policy now was to discourage hunting close to the park, and so permission was refused to hunters to operate on park land. A hunter losing his prey in this manner was expected to notify the district warden who would, if necessary, destroy the wounded animal. The carcass, however, became Crown property.

At Riding Mountain, Superintendent Mitchell had been permitting hunters to track wounded animals into the park, if accompanied by a warden. The animal would then be killed, by the warden, and turned over to the hunter. Ottawa's response on learning of Mitchell's practice was to institute the same rules as prevailed in the mountain parks, with the meat going to local Indian bands.\(^{51}\) By the end of the decade, wardens across the national parks system were enforcing a rigorous antipoaching policy, often in the face of stiff opposition around the newer parks.

The Continuing Battle against Fire

The threat of fire remained a constant hazard in the parks throughout this period and would not be significantly ameliorated by the introduction of new firefighting technologies until the 1960s. In the interim, the Warden Service relied on periodically renewed vigilance, a regularly maintained and upgraded system of fire routes and lookouts, constant monitoring during danger seasons, and cooperative agreements with provincial and territorial agencies.

In the late 1940s, park officials concentrated on making up for wartime stringencies by purchasing

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\(^{50}\) RG84, Vol. 141, F300, Part 1, Superintendent E.G. Saunders, New Brunswick National Park [Fundy National Park (hereafter FuNP)], to Controller James Smart, Alma, Albert Company, New Brunswick, September 30, 1948; ibid., Smart, to Saunders, October 7, 1948; ibid., Vol. 484, F3-1, Part 1, Superintendent J.D.B. MacFarlane, FuNP, to chief, NPS, Ottawa, September 14, 1956; ibid., Vol. 200, CBH3-1, Part 1, Superintendent J.H. Atkinson, CBHNP, to chief, National Parks Division, June 11, 1957. No indication has been found in the records that this suggestion was put into effect.

Figure 5-4. Photo, c. 1950s, of a warden explaining a fire hazard sign to visiting youngsters in an unnamed national park. [NA, PA58886]
over 50 new gasoline-powered water pumps and increasing the number of lookout towers from 12 to 18. Thousands of feet of hose were also purchased and distributed among the various parks. In the immediate postwar period, headquarters' officials estimated that, during fire season, district wardens spent perhaps half their time on fire prevention, although this would vary from park to park and from district to district. Cape Breton's superintendent, T. C. Fenton, for example, estimated that his wardens spent about 75 percent of their time on fire-related duties during the park's four-month fire season, but only ten percent during the remainder of the year. As had been the norm since the 1920s, wardens continued to test fire equipment annually, and fire-suppression techniques were routinely practised at warden-training schools. As the numbers of park visitors swelled in the late 1940s and 1950s, the Warden Service increased its efforts to instruct the public in fire safety. By the mid-1950s at Jasper, for example, the wardens responded to increasingly dry and hazardous fire conditions by temporarily restricting travel to main highways and secondary roads, and prohibiting picnics, hiking, horseback riding and fishing, where the danger was greatest. The wardens also posted fire-warning signs and notices, and visited auto and bungalow camps to advise visitors on fire hazards and current restrictions.52

At headquarters, the emphasis remained on preparedness, much as in the era of Commissioner J. B. Harkin. Individual parks were reminded, for example, of the need to check all fire equipment prior to the onset of the fire-hazard season, to maintain forest-telephone and radio-communications systems in peak form, to establish fire suppression-units in areas where scrub and cut brush were being burned, and to keep lookout stations manned and active during critical fire-hazard periods. In Jasper, this translated, in part, into the establishment of five-man crews, under the general direction of Chief Warden Phillips, that were prepared to move quickly into those districts considered most hazardous—Brazeau, Maligne, Jasper and Athabaska.53

In the parks, preparedness seemed to translate into efforts to obtain more equipment, especially portable pumps and hose, and to develop better fire-road and trail systems to move crews and equipment quickly and efficiently, wherever they might be needed. In 1949, Jasper officials suggested that the "gradual extension" of existing pack-train and foot trails to accommodate jeeps, so that future fire-suppression efforts would not "readily be defeated by the time lost in getting equipment to the scene of the fire." At Cape Breton, too, especially after the Pleasant Bay conflagration of 1947, recommendations were made for the construction of a series of interior fire trails. One result of wartime restraints and the limitations posed by the terrain of the park's interior was that only eight and a half miles of interior fire-roads had been built by 1951. At mid-decade, D. J. Learmonth, a forestry specialist who had joined the National Parks Bureau from the Northern Development Branch and Wood Buffalo National Park, prepared a comprehensive overview of Cape Breton's road and trail system with recommendations for its extension.54 By 1956, only five of the


75 miles of motor-vehicle trails originally recommended in 1951 had been built. For Cape Breton, technological change, in the form of helicopter transportation for fire-suppression crews and their equipment, would overtake trail-building plans in the latter 1950s. Cape Breton, then, did not experience the phenomenon that was common to many other parks—abandoned fire roads gradually falling back into their natural state.

Of all the fires that struck in the national parks during the postwar period, none caused as much damage or required as much effort to suppress, as the Pleasant Bay fire in Cape Breton Highlands in the summer of 1947. Since its creation, park officials had realized that the rugged and inaccessible interior terrain of Cape Breton Highlands was an acute fire-hazard area, particularly during the periodic dry seasons to which it was prone. The Pleasant Bay fire, so named after the nearby community, began early in August with a lightning strike and, fanned by high winds, almost immediately raged out of control. Early efforts to contain the blaze were also frustrated by the high, rugged terrain, where the fire started. The first wardens and firefighters on the scene were faced with flames roaring through bush and scrub on steep, sometimes almost vertical, hillsides. Controller James Smart soon came from Ottawa to take personal charge of the firefighting efforts and even purchased four more pumps from Watson-Jack Company in Montreal, and had them and an accompanying 8,000 feet of hose flown in by air express. Despite their best efforts, the fire extended northeast beyond the park and destroyed half of the 40 some buildings in Pleasant Bay, although not before its 350 inhabitants were evacuated by boat to Cheticamp, further down the west coast of Cape Breton Island. After the fire, Smart wrote: “I am advised by those who were engaged on the fire the first day of the outbreak that it was almost impossible for a man to stand up against the wind velocity which was blowing at the time.” It was a full two weeks before Smart declared the fire fully under control, by which time it had destroyed 9,000 acres of park and adjacent land. It was only with the assistance of a steady rain that the fire crews were able to gain mastery of the blaze. The Pleasant Bay fire caught the public imagination because of its intensity and the ensuing destruction. The National Film Board attempted to film the firefighting efforts there for news reel footage. Almost half a century later, the fire and the efforts to contain it remain vivid in the memories of those who witnessed it. There was some criticism afterwards that insufficient equipment was available locally when the fire started. In retrospect, however, one must agree with Controller Smart who argued that, once the fire had started, given the terrain and wind conditions, no amount of existing technology could have stopped it.

Perhaps the most remarkable facet of fire-suppression work in the postwar period was the increasing degree of interagency co-operation. In the instance of the Pleasant Bay fire, for example, national park firefighters had worked in conjunction with provincial crews in an effort to contain a blaze that began inside the park, moved beyond its boundaries and then reversed itself back into the park, all in response to fluctuating wind directions. In Prince Albert National Park, fire crews routinely worked with their provincial counterparts against fires in the vicinity of the park boundary. By the

55 RG84, Vol. 1000, CBHNP, CBH186, Part 1, telegram, Superintendent Fenton, CBHNP, to Controller Smart, August 9, 1947; ibid., acting director, to Mr. Jackson, August 20, 1947; ibid., newspaper clipping, “Fear Village Doomed in Maritime Fires,” Ottawa? Journal, August 15, 1947; ibid., Controller Smart, to Mr. Gibson, September 11, 1947; ibid., extract from assistant controller's memo, on file CBH 55-28, August 13, 1947, referring to a request from a Mr. Mulhall of the NFB to film the fire. It is not known if permission was granted or if filming occurred. Warden Service History, oral interview with Freeman Timmons, #68, October 1990. RG84, Vol. 1000, CBH186, memo from Controller Smart, to Mr. Gibson, October 20, 1947.
early 1950s, Ottawa officials concluded formal agreements for co-operative firefighting arrangements with municipalities close to the parks, such as Alma and Revelstoke on the boundaries of Fundy and Mount Revelstoke parks, or even a community such as Canmore that was perhaps five kilometres from Banff's eastern border. In 1957, Ottawa and the Alberta government agreed to co-operative fire-suppression along the Wood Buffalo-Alberta boundary line, not unlike the understanding that had been reached regarding Banff's eastern borders earlier in the century. This focus on the north foreshadowed coming events. In the following year, four members of the Warden Service, all acknowledged fire-suppression experts, were sent to the Yukon to help direct firefighting efforts there. Although the personnel changed, wardens remained in the north until the end of September and the end of the fire season. This secondment, which opened up new horizons for the individuals involved and presaged the permanent establishment of new parks and the Warden Service in the north in the 1970s and beyond, was also testimony to the reputation that the wardens were establishing for their expertise as fire-suppression specialists. In a similar manner, federal park wardens assisted in suppressing fires on provincial land in Newfoundland in the 1960s.

**Park Harvests: Decline of a Concept**

The exploitation of renewable resources had been accepted park policy, since the provision for cattle grazing and timber culling in the earliest days of the mountain parks. By and large, it was the wardens who implemented these policies and oversaw their day-to-day execution, keeping records and issuing permits. Perhaps the example of natural-resource harvesting most jarring to modem sensibilities was the effort, in the 1920s and 1930s, to establish a commercial buffalo-meat industry in Buffalo and Elk Island parks. There was also an active fish-stocking program in the mountain and prairie parks for the benefit of sports fishermen. During the Second World War, some commercial fishing had been permitted in Prince Albert's Waskesiu Lake, again monitored by the park's wardens. In the postwar era, such endeavours began to fall out of favour with conservationists, and were increasingly viewed as being incompatible with the aims and goals of the national parks. This turning away from natural-resource exploitation within the parks would accelerate in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, only sports fishing, in a restricted form, remains from the many and varied types of "harvesting" that once were common in the parks. As such activities declined, so too did the wardens turn their attentions in new directions.

From the establishment of a fish hatchery at Banff in 1913, the wardens had been involved in all efforts to maintain fish stocks for park anglers. Their primary task was the transport of fish, as eggs, fingerlings or yearlings, from the hatcheries to the lakes. In general, lakes accessible by motor
vehicle were stocked with yearlings, while more remote locations that could be reached only by pack horse received the more easily transported fingerlings and eggs. Wardens also monitored fish catches and fish levels in the lakes being stocked. By the early 1950s, one warden in both Banff and Jasper was assigned full-time to fish-stocking and monitoring duties, aided in each case by two more wardens in the summer months. In Waterton Lakes at this time, two wardens were assigned to fishing-related duties in the summers. Cutthroat, eastern brook and rainbow trout were the most common species stocked in the 1950s, although splake, a hybrid of lake and eastern brook trout developed by Warden Ernie Stenton about 1950, was being used in a few lakes as early as 1952.\(^{57}\) By mid-decade, disputes had arisen regarding the effectiveness of the stocking program, with supporters calling for increased production and opponents arguing for an end to the whole hatchery program. In the following decade, the latter camp would prevail, with the resultant closure of the Banff and Waterton Lakes hatcheries. When Jasper's hatchery closed in the 1970s, one long-time role of the Warden Service came to an end.

The postwar era did witness the end of commercial fishing in Prince Albert, the only park where it had developed. Here, too, the process was monitored by the park's Warden Service. The company involved, Waite Fisheries Ltd. of Big River, Saskatchewan, was advised as early as 1947 that its netting of whitefish in Prince Albert's Waskesiu Lake had been permitted only to relieve wartime meat shortages and that its privileges were to be terminated. Commercial fishing did continue, however, over the next decade on an annual tender basis, primarily to serve the perceived needs of park tourists. The catch varied from 20,000 to 30,000 pounds per summer. With the support of the Canadian Wildlife Service, which refuted the argument that whitefish netting assisted game-fish conservation, commercial fishing was prohibited in 1957.\(^{58}\) In the 1940s and 1950s, a similar fishing venture was carried out on Lake Claire, in Wood Buffalo National Park, again under warden supervision.

In the same years, timber destined for park buildings was cut and sawn in mills located in Banff and Jasper parks, all under the supervision of the local Warden Service. Timber culling, although long since prohibited on a commercial scale in most parks, remained the privilege of local residents at Riding Mountain. When Fundy was being established in 1948, consideration was given to permitting "thinning operations" without which it was feared the park forests would become "a jungle, interfering with its general use for recreational purposes and also crowd out some forms of wildlife." Indeed, the culling process was extended to the new park of Gros Morne, Newfoundland, in the 1960s to ease local opposition to the park's establishment by continuing the traditional custom of fuel-gathering rights. In each case, district wardens were required to supervise such cuttings, maintaining size limits and patrolling timber limits, much as their predecessors had done in the mountain parks half a century before. At least one of the initial wardens hired at Gros Morne had

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\(^{57}\) Environment Canada/Canadian Park Services, Ottawa, Second Century Collection, F.W. Lothian papers, J.P. Cuerrier, "Review of Fish Hatcheries in the Mountain Parks," August 11, 1954. Ibid., also information to come from Warden Rob Watt, WLNP, via Mike Schintz.

been a provincial forestry officer and was well-versed in the intricacies of timber-gauging and debris-clearing regulations.\textsuperscript{59} Logging also made legitimate the presence of individuals with horse-drawn wagons or vehicles in park interiors, and provided cover of a sort for prospective poachers.

One form of harvesting that came under increasing pressure during these years was the use of park lands for grazing by domestic cattle. The issue first came to the attention of Ottawa authorities in 1946, when cattle owners complained that their herds in the Birdtail Valley of Riding Mountain National Park were being attacked by wolves. Dr. H.F. Lewis, chief of the Canadian Wildlife Service, emphatically rejected these complaints, pointing out that the presence of cattle was "inconsistent with National Park objectives and conditions, and should be eliminated as rapidly as possible." Five years later, Lewis again called for the reduction of both grazing and haying operations in the Park "as and when opportunity permits."\textsuperscript{60} Privileges once granted were difficult to retract, and residents near Riding Mountain had enjoyed these particular privileges, since the Park was established 25 years earlier. For the next decade and more, the wardens of Riding Mountain would continue to issue haying and grazing permits, patrol for infractions, and maintain the necessary accounts and records.

**Life in the Districts: The Impact of Park Development**

The work and the life of the average warden in a national park began to undergo a transformation in the years following the Second World War. With increasing visitation to the parks, wardens found a growing proportion of their time taken up in dealing with people and people problems. As road access to and within the parks improved, visitors could be found in ever-widening areas of the parks. The wardens, too, during these years, turned finally and irrevocably from the horse to the motor vehicle as their primary means of transportation. This is not to say that the horse was abandoned. Saddle and pack horses remained the best means of patrolling back-country districts, especially in the mountain parks, and horses continue today to serve a real and useful function for elements of the Warden Service. In eastern parks, however, from the 1940s on, a warden could enjoy a long and productive career without ever becoming a horseman. One knowledgeable and long-time observer of the Warden Service, Bruce Mitchell, described the half-ton truck and the eight-hour day as the main factors in the decline of the warden way of life.\textsuperscript{61} Be that as it may, they did signify change, the one in the 1950s and the other in the next decade.

Another aspect of park development to have profound repercussions for the Warden Service was the increasingly sophisticated housing facilities made available to wardens beginning largely in the

\textsuperscript{59} When Controller Smart visited the mountain parks in the summer of 1948, he noted that several timber berths were being worked on the eastern slopes of Glacier National Park by a commercial logger, Rodgers Lumber Company. RG84, Vol. 10, GNP62, Part 2, Controller Smart, Banff, to Mr. Gibson, June 22, 1948; ibid., Vol. 1039, F200, Part 1, memo, controller, to Mr. Gibson, January 14, 1948. This was Curling Laing who introduced the author to some of the duties of a government forestry officer, Warden Service History, oral interview # 67, October 1990.

\textsuperscript{60} RG84, Vol. 25, RM300, Part 1, H.F.L.,[DR. H.F. Lewis], to Controller Smart, Ottawa, November 19, 1946; ibid., Part 2, chief, CWS, Harrison F. Lewis, to Controller Smart, August 22, 1951.

\textsuperscript{61} Warden Service History, oral interview # 8, October 1983.
postwar era. As modern conveniences became the accepted norm and then the minimum standards acceptable to recruits, pressures developed that facilitated, in the 1960s and 1970s, the process of centralization and the demise of the park warden district system that had been the backbone of warden life, and the essence of its unique character since before the First World War. The wardens were, belatedly, entering the twentieth century. Many surprises awaited them.

The end of the war, and of the restrictions that accompanied it, had a dramatic impact in the parks. Visitation rose from 450,000 in 1944-45 to almost 600,000 in the first year of peace. By the 1952-53 season, Banff alone registered just under 600,000 visitors, and the total for all the parks reached 2,400,000. By the end of the decade, visitation had risen to almost five million overall and just over one million in Banff itself. To accommodate these growing numbers and to make up for earlier wartime restrictions, there was a good deal of development in the park system ranging from the creation of new parks, Fundy and Terra Nova in New Brunswick and Newfoundland respectively, to the influx of commercial recreational facilities, and the construction of new campgrounds, visitor centres, theatres, golf courses and road systems in the existing parks. The improvement and expansion of park-road networks brought more tourists into ever-larger areas of the parks and into closer contact with the wardens. Cape Breton Highlands, which had been established just before the war and probably suffered the most from wartime austerity measures, underwent perhaps the most startling postwar metamorphosis. Most notable was the completion and hard surfacing of the Cabot Trail or motor road, which circumnavigated the park and became in itself a tourist mecca of continental repute.62

If hard-surfaced roads were becoming the accepted norm for tourist travel within the parks in the postwar years, it is also clear that the trail system for fire- and wildlife-patrol purposes was increasingly one designed to accommodate motor vehicles, as well as horse and foot travel. At the same time, more of the parks were being opened to motorized traffic by the introduction of the four-wheel-drive technology that had been developed during the war.

In 1948, Canadian Wildlife Service chief, Harrison F. Lewis, who had recently travelled through parts of Jasper with Chief Warden George Fowlie, noted that parts of the "trail" between Shalebanks and Devona cabins, east of Jasper townsite, were deeply rutted and muddy, the result he surmised of permitting commercial concessionaires to run trucks on them. Lewis warned Smart: "If fire trails are bulldozed through the wilderness and then private trucks are allowed in on the trails, then gravelling is demanded, and the next will be hard surfacing. The wilderness disappears. I think all private vehicles should be kept off these trails."

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62Department of Mines and Resources, *Annual Report*, March 31, 1946, report of the National Parks Bureau, p. 101; ibid., Resources and Development, March 31, 1953, report of the National Parks and Historic Sites Division, p. 13. Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, *Annual Report*, March 31, 1961, Report of the National Parks Branch, 1960-61, p. 49. RG84, Vol. 8, CBH62, Part 1, Superintendent T.C. Fenton, CBHNP, to director, September 3, 1947. In response to a request from Ottawa, Fenton made a list of the improvements needed in his park. His first recommendation was that the Cabot Trail, road and bridges, be completed, although he also pointed to the need for a water supply at Keltic Lodge, the major commercial facility; a network of fire trails for access to the interior of the park; and the "provision of more elaborate camping facilities" to encourage this form of recreational activity.
Every improvement to the warden trails made them more alluring, both to commercial interests within the parks and to visiting tourists. In 1949, Jasper officials recommended that an additional 195 miles of "fire trails" be cut 12' wide and made accessible to a 4 by 4 jeep. The issue of non-fire-suppression usage was not addressed.

By the early 1950s, it was understood that a "fire trail" was by definition to be accessible by a light truck. There is also some indication that lesser horse and foot trails were being neglected, possibly because of the focus on motor-accessible routes. One mountain park visitor wrote in 1951:

It has been my custom for many years to enjoy the privilege of a holiday in your Canadian Rockies, especially in Banff and Jasper Park. It has been my custom to go there for approximately forty years, which includes some thirty odd seasons. My travels have taken me on foot and horseback over quantities of trails from the Waterton Lakes to Robson Park in the north, and I assure you that it has always been a pleasure to be in these mountains and to have had the privilege of enjoying the great park system of Canada.

It has been my observation in the last few years that in many instances improper care has been given to the trails in these parks. Whether this is due to lack of funds or improper supervision and direction, I do not know. I do know that there is a tendency for the wardens in the parks to stay as close to civilization as possible, whether it be near the highway or their cabins; and in many instances they do not seem to get around and do the little necessary things to keep the trails in good condition, such as removing windfalls, replacing foot bridges, etc. There are many instances where only a few hours
of work would often put a trail in first class condition again, and yet if two or three seasons go by an accumulation of debris on the trail occasions much difficulty for either pack train or pedestrian.

Controller Smart, in passing on this observation to the mountain-park superintendents, suggested that there was some substance to it and added: "I believe we have a tendency now to figure that any trail work to be undertaken would be bulldozing [sic] out truck trails and by concentrating on this we are neglecting the maintenance of the ordinary foot trails."63

By mid-decade, pressure was again being exerted to open up park patrol-routes to commercial and public access, and again the focus of this pressure was in Jasper National Park. In 1954, Fred Brewster, who operated Brewster's Rocky Mountain Camps at Maligne Lake, wanted permission to run a 25-passenger bus on the road leading to his concession—a privilege that would necessitate improvements to the existing road. Superintendent Dempster supported Brewster's request, but it was refused by Chief J. R. B. Coleman as being beyond the Park's mandate. Roads were to be constructed for fire and wildlife protection, and the existing access into the Maligne Valley met the Park's needs. It was to prove a temporary respite. At the same time, similar pressures were being exerted, again by a member of the Brewster clan, for permission to use the warden fire-road between Wapta Lake and the commercial resort at Lake O'Hara in Yoho National Park.64 The compromise reached here, and approved by the deputy minister, was that the road would be opened to motor access by employees, but that guests would continue to travel in by pack train. The unrelenting pressure of commercial interests and the rising numbers of park visitors was gradually opening more and more of the territories in the national parks to easy and convenient access. An increasing interest in alpine skiing and mountaineering in the late 1940s, and through the next decade also, opened new territories, and dangers, to park visitors. In 1950, the Warden Service began to respond to this latter phenomenon, first by developing the skills for alpine-ski patrols, and then with a mountain search and rescue capability. Postwar park development and the influx of visitors led then to a major shift in the nature of the wardens' work.

The warden cabin, once a simple log structure nestled in the back country, was also caught up in the changes of the postwar development era. By the late 1950s, new warden residences bore little.

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63 Following his inspection of Riding Mountain National Park in 1947, Controller Smart reported on the trail network and its need for improvement. He specifically notes portions that cannot bear motor traffic. Although he writes of "trails," he is clearly describing a network of secondary motor roads. RG84, Vol. 23, RM62, Part 1, Controller Smart, to Mr. Gibson, September 11, 1947; ibid., Vol. 18, PA62, Part 2, Superintendent B.L.M. Strong, PANP, December 6 and 20, 1947. Strong describes here a three-day inspection trip, which he, Chief Warden Davies, Warden Harrison and Mammalogist Banfield took through much of the interior of Prince Albert National Park using a four-wheel-drive vehicle equipped with a winch. With the exception of several flooded areas, Strong and his party were able to navigate the park-trail system with little difficulty or discomfort. On a second trip north from Kingsmere cabin in mid-December, Strong and Harrison travelled by the more traditional dog sled after driving by car from Waskelesi to the Heart Lakes. Ibid., Vol. 13, J62, Part 7, Harrison F. Lewis, to Mr. Smart, Ottawa, November 27, 1948; ibid., memo on fire-trail improvements, JNP, October 27, 1949; ibid., Vol. 8, CBH62, Part 1, Acting Superintendent J.D.B. MacFarlane, CBHN, to Director J. Smart, NPB, May 22, 1951. This was the definition by which MacFarlane assessed Cape Breton Highland's interior routes, most of which did not yet meet the standard.; ibid., Vol. 27, U62, Part 1, Henry S. Kingman, president, Farmers and Merchants Savings Bank, Minneapolis, Minnesota, to National Parks and Historic Sites Service, August 15, 1951; ibid., Director Smart, to superintendents, JNP, BNP, WLNP and YNP, August 22, 1951.

resemblance to their pre-war predecessors. Now larger than before, and boasting facilities hitherto only available in urban environments, they were about to become part of the equation that would lead to the centralization of the Warden Service within each park and the abandonment of the district system, which had been a major component of park structure and policy since 1909.

At the end of the Second World War, warden cabins varied in size, condition and amenities, not only from park to park but within each park as well. While there were standard cabin designs, there were, in reality, few standard cabins, and wardens within each park took the condition and location of a district's residence into account when determining what represented a promotion and what did not. Two-bedroom homes such as that at Kootenay Crossing in Kootenay National Park, noted in the previous chapter, represented the upper end of the scale in warden housing, and, even it was upgraded by the addition of bathroom facilities in 1952. While patrol cabins everywhere tended to be of modest size and rustic amenities, the older district cabins in Wood Buffalo likely filled the lower end of the housing scale in the immediate postwar years. Warden I. F. Kirby, on an inspection patrol through part of Wood Buffalo just before the spring break-up in 1946, described the Peace Point district cabin on the Peace River some 50 miles above Fort Chipewyan as "old and rotten" and "not worth repairing."

In contrast, when three new warden cabins were proposed for Prince Albert National Park in 1947, two of them, to be located in Waskesiu townsite, where water and sewage facilities were available half the year, were to have bathrooms and indoor plumbing. In the early 1950s, everyone contributing to the extensive correspondence that accompanied the construction of a residence for the chief park warden of Mount Revelstoke National Park seemed to take for granted that the building would be equipped with plumbing and electricity. By the end of the decade, Jasper had a "Colour Committee," whose duty it was to co-ordinate exterior paint colours for park warden cabins that were in need of repairs. The change in perceptions of minimum housing standards from the pre-war period is perhaps best exemplified in the arguments used in a 1959 memorandum to justify renovations to a warden residence originally constructed in 1937. The building, Prince Albert's Silver Grove warden station residence, was a two-bedroom home "constructed of good, sound materials by able craftsmen and has since been well maintained [and] is still in good condition." By 1937 standards, it was a first-class home. By 1959, however, its shortcomings had become painfully obvious. As the memo pointed out: "It lacks indoor sanitary facilities and has no basement. Toilet facilities are provided by an outdoor privy. The house is supported on posts but a wood burning furnace, salvaged from another park building, has been installed in [an] earth-walled dug out cellar just large enough to accommodate the heating unit." To bring the Silver Grove residence up to

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65 KNP, Schintz Package #4, KNP Administration Building, Box 2, File, Superintendents' Annual Reports, 1931-52, Annual Report, December 31, 1952. RG84, Vol. 200, CBH189, Part 1, photo of patrol cabin, CBHNP, November 1948. This tiny clapboard building was likely completed in 1948 and was certainly suitable only for occasional overnight stays. RG85, Vol. 154, 420-2, Part 4, Superintendent Gibson, WBNP, to Deputy Commissioner Gibson, April 10, 1946.

contemporary standards, it was suggested that a partial basement be dug out, and modern plumbing and a more efficient furnace be installed. One of the existing bedrooms could be converted to a bathroom and two additional bedrooms constructed "to give the required three bedroom house." The renovations were intended to accommodate a district warden, his wife and their four children. In the coming decade, park officials would slowly come to realize that the costs of implementing these standards were more than they were willing to pay.

Warden Mobility and the New Parks

Like all non-war-related government agencies, the Warden Service was worn thin by six years of personnel and manpower constraints. Cape Breton Highland's superintendent acknowledged in 1946 that his wardens lacked proper training and transport, did not have the help of needed patrol assistants and were forced by circumstances to carry out routine maintenance work that kept them from their duties as protection officers. These shortcomings were recognized and were being addressed, as resources became available. Because it had been created shortly before the war broke out, Cape Breton Highlands was perhaps the park worst affected by wartime restraints, but the results of enforced neglect were evident everywhere. Point Pelee, for example, had no warden complement during the war, and, like Georgian Bay Islands to the northwest, would not have a permanent warden presence until the early 1950s.

In the mountain and prairie parks, where the Warden Service was well-established when war came, circumstances were less bleak, but here too fewer wardens, with inadequate equipment, faced the postwar era. The filling of these places in the immediate postwar period with ex-service men, experienced in military discipline and often accustomed to harsh working conditions, reinforced the distinct identity that had grown up in the Warden Service over the preceding years and strengthened its esprit de corps for decades to come. In the long run, the need to address the problems of wartime neglect led to a revamping of the promotion process within the Warden Service and to an effort to achieve uniformity of expertise across the parks. The latter aim was achieved by a new emphasis on mobility and the encouragement of wardens' promotions through transfers among the parks. In the 1960s, this striving for excellence would lead to a reassessment of warden entrance-standards, and warden responsibilities.

The twin themes of warden promotion and mobility are intertwined in the 1950s, and can best be examined together. The transfer of wardens from one park to another was rare but not unknown in the pre-war period. Usually, it was undertaken to meet personal circumstances, perhaps an ill family member who required sophisticated medical care not available at a remote park. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, park officials in headquarters came to believe that some parks could benefit from an infusion of the expertise existing in the Warden Service components of the older parks. In

\[\text{to receive a different combination of earth-tone coloured paint, were the headquarters' cabins for Maligne Lake, Athabaska Falls and Whirpool River districts; ibid., Vol. 2124, U189, Part 3, Deputy Minister R.G. Robertson, to D.M. Watters, secretary to Treasury Board, October 14, 1959.}\]

\[67\] RG84, Vol. 1002, CBH300, Part 1, Acting Superintendent T.C. Fenton, CBHNP, to Controller Smart, Ingonish Beach, Nova Scotia, April 20, 1946.
practice, this meant a movement of personnel from the established mountain parks to the newer, less
developed, parks of the Maritimes and Ontario. Experience would show that the expertise could,
and did, flow in both directions.

In 1953, in an effort to enlarge the recruiting pool available to the Warden Service at Wood Buffalo,
recent recruits in Jasper—wardens at level 1—were offered transfers to the northern park. The
incentive was an additional Northern Allowance of $1,500 for married wardens and $900 for
bachelors. There were no volunteers. The system of internal promotion supported by Chief Warden
Brodie, in which districts were assigned on the basis of seniority, had so succeeded in boosting
morale among the wardens that not even the enticement of a promotion to level 2, the permanent or
working level, was sufficient to lure Jasper's wardens to another park. Similarly, initial efforts to
find positions for Wood Buffalo wardens in southern parks, including Jasper, Waterton Lakes and
Prince Albert met with little success. The initiative was taken to provide Wood Buffalo wardens,
whose work was particularly arduous and physically demanding, with career opportunities, when
they were no longer able to carry on in the northern park. It is possible, as in Jasper, that other parks
too had evolved internal rotations of warden districts that could be upset by the injection of an
experienced outsider.

In June 1954, Chief Coleman noted that, at both Banff and Jasper, a number of wardens had been
kept at the entry level, or level 1, beyond the intended period of two years. To maintain a promotion
system, Coleman asked the superintendents of both parks to review their staff situations and make
recommendations for promotions to level 2. The promotion system continued to prove ineffective,
with superintendents keeping wardens at level 1 beyond the first two or three years of service,
probably in part to keep pay costs down and also to provide fewer candidates for system-wide
competitions—that is, competitions that could see the transfer of productive and experienced
wardens.

In 1956, headquarters’ personnel division suggested that the original two-tiered warden system be
revitalized with superintendents recommending the better level 1 wardens with the necessary
experience for promotion to level 2. The chief of personnel further suggested that the two existing
levels within the Warden Service be divided, with park wardens at level 2 being in charge of a
district, while those at level 1 would assist in district work. Level 1 would become a probationary-
stage of two years' duration, after which incumbents could move up through a promotion board
examination, but only, after gaining responsibility for a district. The purpose of this more clearly

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68 JNP, Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, acc. # 84.174.4 [Wardens - General], March 21, 1950 to October
6, 1955, Chief Coleman, to superintendent, JNP, May 13 and June 26, 1953; ibid., Superintendent G.H.L. Dempster, JNP, June 29,
1953. RG84, Vol. 2216, W174-4, Part 2, Chief Personnel Division Wimberley, to Hutchison, February 26, 1954; ibid., Vol. 207,
U174-4, Part 1, A.C. Wimberley, chief personnel division, memo to Mr. Hutchison, April 21, 1954; ibid., Director J.A. Hutchison,
to Mr. Wimberley, July 7, 1954.

The following year, the chief of the personnel division suggested that promotion competitions be held to establish candidates for park
warden level 2 positions from among existing level 1 wardens. Ibid., Part 3, chief personnel division, to Mr. Hutchison, March 9,
1955.
defined structure was to free up personnel for wider transfers, a process that began in earnest late in the decade. It appears to have been put into effect in Riding Mountain, where three young wardens were recommended for promotion before the year was out. In another year, Jasper, too, had begun to promote some of its more reliable and experienced level 1 wardens. By the end of the decade, it was stated policy to promote individuals to level 2 after two years' service, provided they were qualified and capable of assuming the full duties and responsibilities of a district warden. It is perhaps not inappropriate to note here that the Warden Service remained open only to male recruits. This requirement was specified in job posters until the mid-1960s and remained in practice until the next decade.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 2117, U174-4, Part 3, chief, personnel division, A.C. Wimberley, to Mr. Hutchison, to the attention of J.R.B Coleman, April 24, 1956; ibid., Part 1, A.C. Wimberley, chief, personnel division, to Director J.A. Hutchison, May 15, 1956; ibid., Vol. 203, RM174-4, Part 1, Superintendent Mitchell, RMNP, to chief, December 18, 1956. The wardens were J.A. Young, R.R. Robertson and D.S. Allan, the last of whom transferred to Prince Albert National Park; ibid., Vol. 1625, J174-4, Part 4, Superintendent Pettis, JNP, to chief, NPS, February 6, 1958. The four wardens promoted here were A.F. (Alf) Burstrom, A. Hanley, M.J. (Mike) Schintz and L.L. (Larry) Tremblay; ibid., Vol. 2117, U174-4, Part 4, Chief Strong, to superintendent, RMNP, May 20, 1959; ibid., Vol. 1625, J174-4, Part 4, job poster, park warden level 2, JNP, May 27, 1959.}

In 1954, Point Pelee again received the protection of a warden with the arrival of Maurice J. McCarron who had been a warden at Fundy for the previous three years. The next year, Georgian Bay Islands also obtained a warden, although the park continued to be managed from Point Pelee. This post was offered to Murray Dawson who had joined the Jasper Warden Service in 1952. A relative newcomer, Murray had been assigned to the remote Blue Creek and Smoky River districts in Jasper, and had participated in several mountaineering and snowcraft warden schools before being offered the Ontario posting. Early in the next decade, Dawson went to Point Pelee as superintendent, bringing to Ontario the experience and the traditions of the mountain parks’ Warden Service. By 1957, St. Lawrence Islands National Park also had a full-time warden presence in the person of Frank Jervis, formerly of Prince Albert.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 202, P174-4, Part 1, Chief Coleman, to J.C. Browne, PPNP, June 29, 1954; ibid., Park Warden M.J. McCarron, PPNP, to Chief Coleman, September 6, 1954. While McCarron came as a warden and was addressed as such, he was made superintendent of Point Pelee in 1959. In September 1954, the park also obtained the seasonal services of Levi Leroy (Bus) Girardin who would remain on staff for many years; ibid., Vol. 207, U174-4, Part 1, Chief J.R.B. Coleman, to superintendents, PANP, EINP and RMNP, August 10, 1955; ibid., Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Superintendent Dempster, JNP, to chief, April 20, 1955; ibid., Vol. 1928, STL174-4, Part 1, H.C. Cooper, memo to file, August 2, 1957.}

Despite the efforts to encourage mobility in the Warden Service and the successful filling of warden posts in the Ontario parks, the wardens of the mountain parks remained less than enthusiastic about the idea of transfers eastward. When Terra Nova National Park was established late in the decade, five wardens applied for the new position of chief park warden there—three from Prince Albert and one each from Jasper and Cape Breton Highlands. B.H. (Ben) Roper, an experienced warden at Cape Breton, was the successful candidate and Terra Nova's first chief warden. At almost exactly the same time, seven mountain-park wardens applied for a vacant park warden level 2 position in Waterton Lakes.\footnote{RG84, Vol. 1928, STL174-4, Part 1, Superintendent Strong, BNP, July 30, 1957; ibid., Vol. 1953, TM174-4, Part 1, Chief Strong, to superintendent, CBHNP, April 10, 1958; ibid., Vol. 2216, W174-4, Part 2, Director Coleman, to Chief Personnel Wimberley, June 18, 1958.} Nevertheless, the process was in place, and promotion through transfer would...
become commonplace within the Warden Service during the 1960s.

At the end of the decade, Superintendent Herb Ashley of Prince Albert National Park prepared a critique of the existing warden-promotion process, based on the opinions of the other park superintendents. One suggestion from Superintendent Bruce Mitchell at Riding Mountain was that level 2 vacancies in the mountain parks be opened to all western level 1 incumbents. Mitchell's concern here was that wardens in parks with limited promotional opportunities not be locked out of wider possibilities. One other option that emerged from these discussions was that of creating eligibility lists from among warden level 1 candidates for vacant level 2 positions. This would allow for the orderly filling of further vacancies as they became available, without continued recourse to expensive and time-consuming examination boards. This process of advancement would become common in the Canadian civil service and was first applied within the Warden Service in the early 1960s. For the wardens, though, much more dramatic change was in the wind.

At Work and at Home

The 1960s and the early 1970s are usually looked on as the period of major changes in the work and family circumstances of the Warden Service, but many of these changes can be traced back, in their initial stages, to the postwar period. Unionization, in a tentative guise, came to the prairie-park wardens in the early 1950s, for example, and, by the end of the decade, there were rumblings of discontent in at least one of the mountain parks with the restrictions imposed by the district patrol system. As well, throughout the postwar period, the actual work of the wardens was constantly changing, as new duties were created to reflect evolving circumstances in the parks.

Little seemed different in the years immediately following the war. A 1946 job poster directed at "qualified male candidates" offered the successful park warden, level 1, a starting salary of $1,200 and described the duties in traditional terms. The incumbent would "patrol a designated area in one of the national parks of Canada for the purpose of forest and game protection," would "investigate forest and wildlife conditions... inspect timber and grazing operations... undertake the construction and maintenance of trails, bridges, cabins, lookouts, telephone lines, campgrounds... care for horses... operate and maintain mechanical equipment assigned to the area... undertake firefighting operations... enforce regulations and... gather evidence and initiate prosecutions in connection with violations of game or other regulations...." Applicants were to be under 30 years of age and have two years of high school education. Also required were a knowledge of "woodcraft and wildlife," "modern methods of forest fire prevention and detection and ability to supervise firefighting crews, knowledge of the care of horses, pack-horse equipment," automotive and mechanical equipment, and the "ability to enforce regulations tactfully." Applicants were to be in good physical condition and have a "definite liking for outdoor life and willingness and ability to live in isolated locations." The

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74 PANP, Administration Building, Drawer 2, File PA174-3, job poster "For the Public Service of Canada", May 7, 1946.
Figure 5-6. Phyllis Elvin and Socks at Topaz, Jasper National Park, 1955. Harold Elvin was a District Warden. [Schintz Collection]
construction of bridges and cabins no longer fell within the jurisdiction of the wardens but the last requirement, the ability to survive in isolation, remained an important attribute in many parks.

As in the years following the first great war, preference was to be given to military veterans. In the long term, the veteran's preference helped to shape the Warden Service for decades to come. In the short term, it created some anomalies; experienced wardens who had remained on temporary status because of wartime hiring restrictions now found their advancement blocked by the arrival of ex-servicemen. Warden H. E. Harrison, who had joined Prince Albert's Warden Service in 1938 and regaled the public with his "tame" wolf in the early 1940s, now found that he did not qualify for advancement to permanent status.75

By the latter 1950s, job descriptions had not changed dramatically. One enquiring member of Parliament was told in 1958:

You will see that the duties are chiefly concerned with forest and game management and for that reason we expect the warden to be an 'outdoors' man, something of a forester and conservationist. His main responsibilities lie in the enforcement of Park Regulations, and in the protection of the wildlife and forests of the Parks.

Although additional credits are given for any academic training above elementary school, it is not considered essential for the candidate to have an advanced academic education. A practical turn of mind, a liking and aptitude for out-of-doors life and work, a familiarity with the basic principles of forest and wildlife management and firefighting, as well as a pleasing personality, will inevitably be the important standards on which the candidate for a Park Warden position will be judged.76

Yet, wardens were now routinely trained in mountain-rescue work, as we shall see shortly, and had added avalanche control and patrol activities to their duties.

Superintendent Heaslip of Riding Mountain National Park was perhaps the first manager to catch a glimpse of the coming changes. In 1951, some unnamed members of his Warden Service submitted a resolution to a Winnipeg convention of the Amalgamated Civil Servants of Canada calling for changes to their hours of work, including the right to Sunday as a day of rest. Heaslip assured Smart in Ottawa that only one or two of his wardens were members of this association and, he felt, none would have actually supported such a resolution. Heaslip pointed out that as "a recognized police force" charged with patrolling for poachers, the wardens could hardly be exempted from Sunday work. He also stressed that they were granted compensatory time in slack seasons for overtime worked in the summer and fall, and days off in lieu of time worked on Sundays and holidays.77

77 RG84, Vol. 203, RM174-4, Part 1, Superintendent Heaslip, RMNP, to Director Smart, June 27, 1951.
Nothing further was heard of union activity for almost a year, and it seems doubtful that any change was made in either Sunday or holiday hours for the wardens of Riding Mountain. In March 1952, the Amalgamated Civil Servants of Canada again surfaced at Riding Mountain, this time to oppose the imposition of rental charges for wardens’ accommodations in the park. Again, the union was unsuccessful in its efforts. Rental charges were introduced throughout the parks in the mid-1950s. Union representation in the Warden Service, and the conundrums associated with the application of collective bargaining to a law-enforcement agency, would be dealt with in the 1960s. In its next appearance, however, unionization would not be an isolated phenomenon restricted to a single park, but rather part of a broader effort to introduce collective bargaining throughout the federal civil service. It would prove to be an interesting and, at times, frustrating experiment in labour relations.

The seeming brevity of unionization among the wardens in the 1950s did not mean that dissatisfaction with working conditions and hours simply disappeared. As late as 1955, employees in national parks, in keeping with circumstances elsewhere in the civil service, worked either ten- or eight-hour days, six days per week. Wardens were in the latter category, but their circumstances were complicated by the additional requirement that they remain in their districts and available for emergency duties 24 hours per day, seven days per week. The issue of hours of work for wardens arose at mid-decade, as part of a policy review regarding the payment of overtime to salaried employees. In the case of the wardens, the compromise settled on was to provide for compensatory time or cash payments for work required beyond the established 48 hours per week. Warden hours of work were further clarified in 1958 in a document prepared for a warden management-training course. Again, it was pointed out to chief and assistant chief wardens that park wardens were on call 24 hours per day:

> A Park Warden may not, therefore, leave his district at any time except at the discretion of, and with the permission of, his Chief Warden. While he may not be required to undertake duties during a Sunday or Statutory Holiday, he is required to remain on call, in his district, during these periods, as the Chief Warden considers necessary for the efficient protection of the Park.

The same document reiterated the chief warden’s responsibility to approve, or deny, all requests for leave. It also pointed out that:

> ...time for provisioning may be granted periodically at the discretion of the Chief Warden. This does not constitute time off from duty. The amount of time granted for such purpose is dependent on the circumstances pertaining, and the discretion of the Chief Warden.

Just months after this explanatory document was distributed, the federal Cabinet approved a 40-hour work week for all federal employees. The result for the Warden Service was a need for more

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personnel to maintain patrols and protective duties, and more accommodations to house them. In Banff, for example, this meant 12 new entry-level positions to be filled, and houses or bunkhouses for accommodations. The new warden hours, at Cape Breton Highlands, were set at 8 a.m. to 12 noon and 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. By the end of the decade, some of the realities of overtime compensation were coming home to park managers, and superintendents were being urged to keep overtime to a minimum and to encourage wardens to take time in lieu of cash payments for overtime worked. These changes, and others imposed in the coming decade, would soon have an effect on the stability and the discipline for which the Warden Service had become known. Late in 1959, the superintendent of Kootenay National Park informed Ottawa that he had moved several of his wardens to different districts, and noted discipline problems with one individual who had left his district without the permission of the chief park warden.80 Before the next decade was out, the districts themselves would be a vanishing institution.

The district system evolved in the difficult terrain of the mountain parks, where access was limited, and travel slow and restricted. The larger central and eastern parks were also divided into districts for administrative purposes, but seldom did these district wardens experience the isolation that was the trademark of the mountain parks. More hospitable land forms and good road systems, with parks often surrounded by agricultural lands and small communities, all worked to lessen the isolation of a district warden and his family. In smaller parks such as Point Pelee and St Lawrence Islands, the district system was not needed and never adopted. The district system was also applied differently from park to park by the 1950s. In Riding Mountain, for example, it had become routine for district wardens to come into the townsite during the summer months to deal with the various problems associated with a large influx of vacationers. By 1955, however, Superintendent Mitchell was working to keep them in their districts throughout the year, as had been the original plan for district patrols.81

Even in some of the larger eastern parks, wardens were hardly any more isolated than the farmers whose lands stretched out beyond the park boundaries. Certainly, this was true in Fundy and even in Cape Breton Highlands, where wardens lived, often with their families, in their districts but also close to motor roads, in the form of the Cabot Trail. Charles Doherty—and his wife Mary—who replaced Freeman Timmons in Pleasant Bay district in 1947, for example, felt no more cut off by the winter snows than did their farming neighbours several miles away.82 In the mountain parks, however, the isolation remained very real throughout the postwar years.

Jasper, for which such records have been preserved, provides a good sense of how isolated some


82 Warden Service History, oral history interview # 78, Charles and Mary Doherty, July 1991.
warden districts were, even as late as the 1950s, and the difficulties that park officials sometimes experienced in their efforts to find suitable back-country wardens. Veterans seeking employment in the federal civil service after the war often were shocked by the realities of life as a national park warden. One prospective candidate was advised against bringing his family to Jasper in 1947 because of the lack of accommodation there. The individual, who was to arrive in the winter, was to live in a government cabin in the townsite until spring, when he would be able to travel to his back-country district. His accommodations in Jasper, however, were also used by wardens from outlying districts, when they came in for their periodic visits to headquarters, and thus would not be suitable for his family. Warned by a friend, who was also a warden in Banff, that an outlying district was "no place for a married man with two children," the candidate wrote again seeking assurance and clarification. Superintendent Wood responded that he would indeed be sent to a back-country district, either Rocky River or Brazeau, the first of which was then 18 miles by car and 17 miles by pack trail from Jasper townsite, the second, 45 and 15 miles respectively. Both districts had a headquarters' cabin approximately 16' by 24', equipped with a stove, a bed, essential kitchen equipment and tools. Wood added: "I might say that the districts are not particularly suitable for a married man with a family, but on the other hand it is your responsibility to make the decision." The candidate politely declined the position.83

Another prospective warden was told "it would be impossible for you to take [the] furniture you speak of to your district" and urged "before cutting loose from your present work, ... visit Jasper alone and get a true picture of the situation." This individual too declined the offer. In 1950, a new superintendent, G.H.L. Dempster, gave similar advice to a candidate thinking of taking his family into the Brazeau district. He wrote in part: "As far as living conditions are concerned, it certainly would not be too satisfactory for a wife and youngster. As a matter of fact, a number of the wardens in similar areas have their wives and families living in the town of Jasper." As the superintendent informed another candidate: "The Brazeau area is a very hard district to patrol, cabins and shelters are approximately 12 miles apart, in the summer travelling is by saddle and pack horse, [and] during the winter by snowshoes." 84 It was also, for a time, a difficult district to fill. One incumbent, Frank Camp, left the Warden Service in late 1947 after a period alone on the Brazeau. Camp returned in 1951, having married in the interim, and was again posted to the Brazeau district, though now accompanied by his wife. Thus began a long and productive career in the Warden Service. Camp was replaced in the Brazeau in 1956 by Mike Schintz who also came with his wife into the district, living there with their growing family.

The Blue Creek district in the northern portion of Jasper National Park was another remote area staffed in the postwar period by a newly recruited level 1 warden. As the superintendent freely admitted, it had few visitors in the summer and less in the winter months. Its warden was expected

83 JPN, Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, acc. # 84.147.3, [Wardens - General], September 15, 1944 to October 22, 1949, superintendent, JNP, to Ralph D. Michelson, February 17, 1947; ibid., superintendent, JNP, to Michelson, March 7, 1947; ibid., Michelson, to superintendent, JNP, March 10, 1947.

Figure 5-7. Young Ted Schintz prepares for a winter patrol on the Rocky River in Jasper National Park, 1958. Father would pull the sleigh and mother would steer from behind. [Schintz Collection.]
to patrol the district each month, by saddle and pack horse from June to November, and by foot and snowshoes the remainder of the year. Each fall, he packed in enough food, supplies and equipment to last the winter. The cabins and shelters were well-supplied with utensils, stoves, space heaters, beds and bedding. The Blue Creek headquarters’ cabin measured about 18’ by 21’ and consisted of a single room. The amount of personal effects and furnishings that a warden could take in to this cabin were restricted by the use of pack horses, as was the situation in other remote districts. The superintendent estimated that it took three days to pack in to the main district cabin. Mail, of course, was delivered only as far as the post office in Jasper and could be picked up on the warden’s periodic reporting trips.\(^85\) In the 1950s, then, there remained a small band of wardens living in the remote areas of the mountain parks, often with their wives and children, in circumstances not greatly changed from those of almost half a century earlier. Change though was not far away.

Life in the districts for the wardens and their families continued much as it had in previous decades. Change in the form of encroaching civilization—better roads, more reliable vehicles and radios—was coming though not quickly enough for some. For more than one warden's spouse, the chain across the fire road leading to their district cabin was a barrier both physical and psychological, cutting them off from casual contact with neighbours and visitors.\(^86\) Within each park where the district system was in place, there was a constant balancing of forces and frequent shuffling of incumbent wardens. Recruits, as seen in Jasper's postwar placement efforts, were sent to remote districts with the understanding that they would be promoted to less isolated circumstances, as their skills and abilities improved. Although a secondary concern, there was also an ongoing effort to place married wardens with school-age children within reach of educational facilities. The number of children educated by correspondence courses testifies to the inadequacies of the process. This system of advancement also militated against transfers of experienced wardens from park to park. Superintendents were reluctant to bring in "outsiders" who could bump incumbent wardens. At the same time, few senior wardens were prepared to "start over" in the outlying areas of another park.

The families of district wardens, or those old enough to carry out chores, continued to be unpaid servants of the Crown. Dean Allan, himself a warden and chief park warden, wrote of growing up in the postwar years at his father's warden station in Riding Mountain:

> In 1946 Norgate station got electricity but Mother continued to prepare bountiful meals on a wood cookstove. Days were very busy for there were still cows and horses to be tended and in Dad's [Joe Allan, Riding Mountain warden from 1937 to 1950 and chief park warden there until retirement in 1963] absence, Mother was just expected, (as were all warden wives at that time), to sell licences for fishing, lumbering, posts or haying. The park got quite a bargain really, for though they hired the warden, his entire family carried on his yard and office duties while he was out on patrol.\(^87\)

Warden stations in Riding Mountain National Park had a distinctly rural and agricultural atmosphere

\(^85\) JNP, Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, acc. # 84.174.4 [Wardens-General], March 21, 1950 to October 6, 1955, Superintendent Dempster, JNP, to Murray H. Dawson, November 22 and December 12, 1951.

\(^86\) Dixon, Silent Partners, p. 180.

\(^87\) Ibid., p. 65.
to them in the 1950s. Following an inspection tour in 1956, Superintendent Mitchell informed Ottawa that he had just banned pig raising at the stations, and suggested a set of rules for his wardens to follow. Mitchell thought it reasonable that wardens with children should be allowed to keep one milk cow and a horse for transporting children to school. He was less enthusiastic about having chickens roaming the district stations "as they have the freedom of stables and garages and roost on saddlery and other equipment." He quickly added: "However, the wives usually like to keep a few chickens for fresh eggs and meat," and suggested a limit of 25 birds maintained at the warden's expense and kept separate from park buildings and equipment. His summary provides an evocative image of district stations in the mid-1950s:

It is also noticed that there are some fairly large gardens at one or two of our warden stations. However, it is rather difficult to make a hard and fast rule as it is the warden's wife who usually works in the garden and cans the fruit and vegetables. The warden of course also works in the garden to some extent but there is no objection to this if it is done in his own time. It is certainly preferable to see a nicely laid out garden, even if it is large, rather than an area full of weeds and rank grass. I think the best we can do is to assure ourselves that the garden is only supplying the immediate needs of the warden and his family and the produce is not being sold.88

By the end of the decade, these rules remained largely in place at Riding Mountain and were suggested as a guide for Prince Albert as well. The superintendent there, Herb Ashley, objected, arguing that, with one exception, which he was hoping to remove, his wardens were not then raising livestock, and he wished to keep it that way. Ashley argued in part: "We are surrounded with available farm produce within a few miles of most of our Warden stations."89 With the notable exception of those in the mountain parks, district wardens and their families were, like most rural residents, gradually finding themselves in less isolated circumstances. Soon, this growing ease of travel would contribute to the demise of the district system itself.

**Wardens and Visitors: Developing a Search and Rescue Capability**

In the immediate postwar period, two developments combined to bring about a major change in the duties of national park wardens, initially in the mountain parks and eventually throughout the system. The first was the growing number of park visitors interested in experiencing the wilderness first-hand; the second was Canadian Pacific's decision in the early 1950s to get out of the business of guiding alpine excursions. Both developments were fuelled by the increasing affluence of postwar Canada. With more money and more leisure time, Canadians, and others, were discovering the wonders of the national parks. No longer were mountaineering and alpine skiing the exclusive preserves of the wealthy. As these circumstances brought more people into the Rocky Mountains on their own, alpine guiding ceased to be a profitable enterprise. Canadian Pacific's withdrawal meant, however, that more and more people, often ill-trained and poorly equipped, were at risk in the mountain parks. It was in response to these changes in the late 1940s and early 1950s that the

wardens of the mountain parks endeavoured to establish an alpine search and rescue service. Within a decade, they would develop a world-class expertise that continues to this day. First, though, they had to learn to travel in the mountains. They had to learn to ski.

Mountain park wardens had traditionally travelled by horse in summer, and on foot or snowshoes in winter. Their habitat and patrol territory in general ended at the timberline, and they concentrated their efforts in the mountain valleys, where game proliferated and poachers worked. This focus changed, as visitors began to take to the slopes and the peaks of the mountain parks in ever-growing numbers. By 1950, it was clear that the wardens would have to develop new skills, if they were to retain their role as park guardians and enforcement agents.

The first tentative effort to teach skiing skills to the wardens occurred early in 1951 under the direction of Glacier warden and skiing enthusiast, Noel Gardner. Gardner gathered together five Banff wardens in Glacier park and put them through ten days of practical and classroom drills dealing with the basic manoeuvres of alpine skiing, combined with instructions on recognizing and dealing with avalanche dangers. Gardner found that it "was necessary to start with the basic fundamentals of skiing as these men's ability on skis was very limited." One of the students, Ed Carleton, injured a knee on the second day of instructions, but three of the remaining four advanced at what Gardner felt was a satisfactory rate. Gardner suggested more and longer ski and mountaineering schools for the future. "Most wardens," he argued, "feel a sense of inferiority when confronted by some of these ski teachers and guides when in all actuality he should be the man looked up to by these people." Gardner also pointed out in support of future classes: "Should the need for a rescue party arise at any time the Warden of that district should be capable of leading the party efficiently, making the decisions and at all times be in command of the situation. To be able to do this the Warden must be trained in this work."

Gardner also argued that "skis properly used are more efficient than snowshoes for winter patrol and give the man using them a much wider range with less exertion," a stand that would result in much controversy within the Warden Service for the next several years. For the future, Gardner suggested a ski and snowcraft instruction course lasting 26 days and including not only basic alpine ski lessons, but also the rudiments of stabilizing injured climbers and moving them "over difficult and steep terrain." Future schools should, in Gardner's view, be limited to ten pupils and restricted to wardens under 45 years of age.

Gardner's suggestions received both strong support and some criticism from officials in the mountain parks. His own superintendent, R.J.J. Steeves, particularly pressed for further mountain-rescue

90 RG84, Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Superintendent J.A. Hutchison, BNP, to controller, December 5, 1950; ibid., Park Warden N.C. Gardner, Glacier, British Columbia, to Superintendent R.J.J. Steeves, Field, British Columbia, March 6, 1951, enclosing a detailed five-page report on this first ski and snowcraft instruction course, held at Glacier National Park. The original students were E. Carleton, M. Allred, J. Royle, J. Romanson and O. Hermanrud. The latter warden was the one who did not progress well in the program. RG84, Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Park Warden N.C. Gardner, Glacier, British Columbia, to Superintendent R.J.J. Steeves, Field, British Columbia, March 6, 1951.

Emergencies have occurred in the past in slide country when it became necessary to go outside the Warden Service for experienced men to comprise a rescue party. Such circumstances were brought about due to members of the Warden Service not having adequate experience in skiing and sufficient knowledge of snow craft conditions.  

At Jasper, Superintendent Dempster agreed with many of Gardner's recommendations but questioned the superiority of skis over snowshoes and suggested that instruction:

....be extended to include a certain amount of mountain climbing to those wardens who are most likely to become proficient at it. At the present time in Jasper we have no mountain climbing guides, and would be in rather a bad spot when it comes to rescuing individuals who have gotten into difficulty.

Dempster's views on snowshoes were soon supported by no less an authority than Yoho's chief warden, Robert Mann, who stressed the value of snowshoes to working wardens and warned against too heavy a reliance on skis. Dempster also thought training for his wardens should be done in Jasper park, possibly by an available local individual, Alex Neumann, who had Swiss mountaineering experience. The superintendent and chief warden at Waterton Lakes also favoured local instructions, arguing that the wardens would benefit more from being trained under local conditions.

In Banff, both Superintendent J. A. Hutchison and Chief Warden Frank Bryant were enthusiastic supporters of the suggested training program. Hutchison wrote to the director in mid-1951:

After careful consideration I would most strongly recommend that the recommendations arising from Warden Gardener [sic] be accepted in their entirety. As Chief Warden Bryant points out it is most desirable that we have present in Parks in which skiing is becoming popular some highly qualified wardens and these can only be secured through the process of careful and somewhat lengthy training. It can only be done by a careful selection of wardens for training.

Chief Warden Bryant was more blunt: "In each park," he wrote:

....there are a number of elderly wardens who would not 'go' for the ski, who will finish on snowshoes. There should be no need to clutter the course with these wardens who will not be interested, and [will be] too old to expect them to convert etc.

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92 RG84, Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Superintendent Steeves, YNP and GNP, to director, NPB, April 3, 1951.
93 RG84, Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Superintendent Dempster, JNP, to director, NPB, May 1, 1951.
95 RG84, Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Superintendent Hutchison, BNP, to director, June 1, 1951, enclosing Chief Park Warden Bryant's memorandum to Hutchison, May 1, 1951.
In the end, the decision from Ottawa was to continue the training under Gardner's direction, but to permit a separate program to be established in Jasper as well. Before the end of the year, Jasper officials were preparing for a month-long training school for six wardens in March 1952, which would cover ski instruction and rescue work.  

While all these various opinions were being weighed, officials were also considering the future relationship of the mountain wardens with the various ski lodges that were quickly growing in the mountain parks. The initial view from Banff's superintendent was that the new ski-lodge concessionaires should be responsible for rescue and first aid within their own areas of operation. By the fall of 1951, a Banff Ski Patrol had been established under the direction of the park's chief warden, Frank Bryant, its costs split between the federal government and the Banff Chairlift Corporation. Duties included patrols of the ski slopes, accident prevention and first-aid care for accident victims.

Gardner's plans for a second ski and snowcraft school in Glacier park were thwarted by a shortage of affordable accommodation, and initial efforts to relocate the school to Banff also failed. The wardens, it was felt, would be self-conscious learning to ski while surrounded by competent skiers of all ages on the public ski slopes of Banff. They finally chose Sunshine Lodge in Banff park, where a modicum of privacy could be obtained. The program was also cut back from one month to two weeks to economize but was extended again to three weeks at Gardner's earnest request. Eight wardens participated in this second training program in late February and early March. Gardner proclaimed it a success in which "the majority of pupils advanced in skiing with phenomenal rapidity." Again, instruction consisted of intensive practice-skiing lessons combined with classroom studies of avalanche behaviour and survival techniques. Gardner also provided officials with a detailed assessment and grading of his pupils, a process that would become standard in future training exercises, as proficiency in mountain travel and rescue work came to be an integral part of warden duties. Jim Sime, for example, was described as having made "excellent" progress and was recommended, "already having a good mountaineering background," as an assistant instructor for future courses. In Ottawa, Director Smart was impressed with Gardner's efforts and agreed with him that the growth of recreational skiing in the mountain parks meant that the Warden Service would have to develop more expertise to maintain its traditional authority.

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96 RG84, Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Superintendent Dempster, JNP, to director, December 20, 1951; ibid., December 21, 1951.
In Jasper too, a ski and snowcraft school was held that spring under the tutelage, as Dempster had suggested, of local resident and Swiss Army veteran, Alex Neumann. Five Jasper wardens participated: Tom Ross, Jack McGee, Frank Camp, Larry McGuire and Clarence Wilkins. Here too, the program lasted three weeks and consisted of practical skiing lessons interspersed with classroom studies of avalanche conditions and first-aid treatment for fall victims. With the assistance of Warden Ross who had some skiing proficiency, Neumann stressed travel over varying terrain and in different weather conditions in an effort to mimic, as closely as possible, the circumstances that wardens would face in actual rescue attempts. There is no indication that any mountain climbing was attempted in this initial course.

In the spring of 1952, park officials from Yoho, Banff and Jasper met to co-ordinate future warden training for mountain-rescue work. Here, it was determined that another two ski courses would be held early in 1953 in Banff and Jasper parks, both under the direction of Warden Noel Gardner and both of two weeks' duration. In addition, plans were made to hold an advanced snowcraft course for selected graduates of earlier skiing programs. The new course would be held at the Asulkan Glacier in Glacier National Park and, if arrangements could be made with the railway, would be directed by Gardner and Canadian Pacific's alpine guide, Walter Perren. For the first time, park officials had determined that the Warden Service would enter fully into the art and science of mountain-rescue work.

It was also decided at the Banff meeting that only wardens who were themselves eager to learn the new techniques would be asked to participate. At about the same time, Gardner prepared a comprehensive list of mountaineering equipment, including ropes, ice axes, pitons, carbiners, crampons, skis, poles, shovels and avalanche probes sufficient for a four-man team in each park. Gardner also recommended a warden ski uniform consisting of slacks, parka, shirts, ski cap and ski boots, the first items all in the green colour of the current uniform. Before the next courses were held, participants also received itemized lists of all the equipment and clothing that they would need to bring with them. By 1953, then, mountain-rescue work had been accepted as a new warden function, and many of the administrative details had been settled. Now, all that remained was to develop the expertise to make it a reality.

Gardner conducted another mountain ski-instruction school at Jasper for six local wardens and a forestry engineer in the late winter of 1953. Participants were again graded, and Gardner suggested that Ross be considered as a ski instructor for future courses at Jasper. Ross then can be considered the first "graduate" among the mountain-park wardens who began ski and snowcraft training in the early 1950s. The Jasper class was followed almost immediately by an advanced course of instruction at Lake Louise, again under Gardner's direction and attended by seven wardens, all of

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whom had participated in earlier courses.\textsuperscript{100}

In this latter program, which lasted ten days and took place in various locales in Banff and Yoho parks, Gardner taught his apprentices some of the basics of glacier crossings and descents, utilizing belaying and rappelling techniques, proper rope usage and knotting practice, and the use of ice picks, ice pitons, caribiners and crampons. Gardner also concentrated on what he described as "terrain analysis for snow avalanche recognition," in an effort to prepare his charges for one of the ever present and most serious dangers of the mountain slopes. At the end of this course, Gardner recommended that someone more experienced than he be brought in soon to direct "a purely rock climbing school" as the next advance in training. Gardner felt that Jasper now had "an excellent four man rescue squad" in the persons of Ross, Pierce, Camp and Wilkins. Similarly, Banff and Yoho parks could be serviced by himself working with wardens Sime, Woledge and Romanson.

To those who questioned the motivation of mountain-rescue enthusiasts, he wrote:

There has been in some quarters the popular misconception that ski and snowcraft courses are merely glorified ski holidays. This misconception I hasten to correct. All pupils have been worked harder by far, than on any job that they possibly do in the regular course of duties with the possible exception of fire fighting. On these courses I have had strong men completely exhausted by three o'clock in the afternoon and in many cases at the end of the course some men have lost as much as ten pounds in weight. While I endeavour to make instruction as easy as possible to absorb, these course [sic] can not be considered as play periods by any possible stretch of the imagination. I should like to have a Chief Warden of any Park concerned along during an entire course. Both for his benefit and my own.

It would not be too many years before Gardner would see his wish come true, as training "refresher" courses were forced on reluctant warden managers. In a summary defence of continuing the program he had started, Gardner wrote:

With great increase in the popularity of recreational skiing, National Parks with ski areas within their boundaries are faced with an entirely new type of problem. This problem is mainly concerned with the well-being and safety of the recreational skier and it is my thought that the Warden Service must handle the job. One has only to go to Sunshine Ski Lodge, Mt. Temple Chalet or the Marmot Basin to observe the most flagrant disregard of all safety procedures that any competent ski mountaineer observes as a matter of course. I should say that if snow avalanche hazard continues to be disregarded it will only be a matter of time until lives are lost. It is my hope that ski and snowcraft training will go ahead and that the Warden Service will initiate regulations governing ski lodges and areas. Ski and snowcraft training for field personnel has made a fine start in the Rocky Mountain National Parks and will, I hope, go on to a fitting conclusion.

The year, 1954, witnessed a repetition of the previous year's ski and ice-climbing exercises, and a mountain-rescue team practised out of the Cuthead cabin area in Banff that spring. This year also

\textsuperscript{100} RG84, Vol. 125, U183-2-R, Part 1, report on ski school, n.d. [March 16, 1953]. The participants were Tom Ross who acted as Gardner's assistant and received some advanced training, Frank Camp, Clarence Wilkins, Murray Dawson, Norm Hooper, Norm Young and Forest Engineer T.W. Pierce; ibid., report on ski school, n.d. [May 2, 1953]. Participants in this advanced course were Tom Ross, Frank Camp, Clarence Wilkins, Bert Pittaway, Neil Woledge, J. Romanson, Jim Sime and R.W. Pierce. They represented Jasper, Waterton, Banff and Yoho parks.
saw Gardner's resignation from the Warden Service and the recruitment of alpine guide Walter Perren to replace him. Perren had been mentioned earlier as a possible rock-climbing instructor. When Canadian Pacific decided, because of the costs involved, to discontinue its mountain-guide service at Lake Louise in 1954, Banff Superintendent "Bim" Strong immediately offered Walter Perren employment with his Warden Service. Perren, then in his mid-30s, had trained in mountain climbing and skiing in Switzerland, and had five years' experience in the Canadian Rockies as well. He and another trained guide had been hired originally by the railway to replace the legendary Swiss guides, Edward and Ernest Feuz, who had worked at Lake Louise for many years. Perren seemed an excellent choice to develop a professional mountain-rescue capability within the Warden Service of the mountain parks, and he more than fulfilled these expectations. Under his firm but understanding guidance, the small crew learning to mountain ski in 1951 became, in a very short time, the nucleus of a world-class search and rescue organization.

Just as this change in training instructors was taking place, another event occurred, which, in retrospect, shows how park authorities viewed the current status of their mountain-rescue program. In November 1954, the U.S. National Parks Service invited its Canadian counterpart to send "one or more representatives" to its advanced snow and avalanche training school to be held at Alta, Utah, in January 1955. Although park authorities had previously rejected suggestions to employ a U.S. climbing instructor, preferring to keep training and development strictly within the Warden Service, Chief Coleman welcomed this invitation to assess the existing program and to learn from U.S. experts. It was decided that Jim Sime, now chief warden at Yoho, and Bert Pittaway and Larry McGuire, assistant chief wardens at Banff and Jasper respectively, would represent the Warden Service. Larry was not a proficient skier and was soon replaced by Tom Ross, then a park warden, level 2, at Jasper. "It is essential," exhorted Coleman, "that the designated officers give a good account of themselves by their actions, address and appearance both at the course and during travelling time to and from Utah." They would travel and attend the course in uniform and, as Coleman stressed: "It is needless for me to say that we expect them to use the 'spit and polish', [and] be courteous and dignified to create a favourable impression on all who come in contact with them." The trip even resulted in the establishment of a standard warden uniform for outdoor activity in the mountain parks—a peaked ski cap, ski slacks and an unlined hooded parka, all in olive green—so keen were park authorities to create a good impression. These "special skiing uniforms" arrived just days before the scheduled departure, and the three wardens strode into the U.S. west, no doubt, with some of the carriage traditionally associated more with mounties than wardens.

The one-week course, taught by U.S. "snow rangers," included classroom and field work in avalanche-rescue techniques, ski mountaineering and safety planning. The Canadians made a

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101 RG84, Vol. 125, U185-2-R, Part 1, report on snowcraft school, n.d. [April 14, 1954]; ibid., Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Superintendent Strong, BNP, to chief, June 2, 1954. Gardner left and joined the Jasper Ski Club just two weeks after the offer of employment was made to Perren. Perren had earlier exhibited a reluctance to join the park training-program as a co-instructor with Gardner, and it may be that differences in training philosophy, or clashing personalities, led to the resignation. RG84, Vol. 49, U185-2, Part 1, Superintendent Strong, BNP, to chief, November 5, 1954.

distinct impression in their new uniforms and in their levels of expertise. The head instructor later wrote to Director J. A. Hutchison of the National Parks Branch:

I hope you won't mind if I tell you a little human interest story about these men. When they first appeared at Alta I recognized them by their uniforms. They were, of course, complete strangers to the area and everyone present. I took the opportunity to introduce myself to them, make them welcome and at the same time form some estimate of the kind of men Canada has as snow rangers. I suggested that we take a little tour together of the ski area.

Snow conditions were a bit difficult for anyone unused to the heavy snowfalls of Alta. The terrain I chose was the steepest and roughest we have and I set the fastest pace of which I'm capable. You will understand that I thought this would be as good a chance as I'd have to 'get my bluff in first', as we put it. The course, naturally, was as familiar to me as it was unfamiliar to the Canadian snow rangers. If you are a skier yourself, you will realize how great an advantage this gave me and I exploited it fully. Some of the other instructors who saw this performance later accused me of most unfair tactics, and they were justified.

Nevertheless, no matter how I forced the pace and took advantage of my knowledge of the terrain, every time I looked back, those Canadians were right on my tail. I knew then that your National Park Service was going to be well represented, and it was.

Gardner’s troopers had proved themselves in the eyes of their southern cousins. With the continuing guidance of Walter Perren, they soon were an impressive and effective rescue force on the slopes of the mountain parks.

Wardens Sime, Ross and Pittaway succeeded in Utah partly because the emphasis was on skiing in difficult conditions and terrain, skills they had learned well from Noel Gardner. In the coming few years, Walter Perren would round out their education with an emphasis on rock climbing and victim retrieval. Officially, this new era began in February 1955, when the superintendents of Banff, Jasper and Yoho parks agreed to support the establishment of a mountain-climbing and rescue specialty within the Warden Service under Perren’s tutelage. The new emphasis on rock climbing would enable the mountain parks, using the personnel already trained in alpine skiing and rescue techniques, to develop a year-round rescue capability. This commitment was further strengthened in mid-1955, when several spectacular climbing accidents led park authorities in Ottawa to press for the Warden Service to exert greater control of alpine recreational activities by establishing regulations requiring would-be climbers to register before setting out. This was the beginning of a lengthy administrative process by which the wardens came to be seen as guardians of safety in the mountains just as they were in the rest of the park territories.

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In the spring of 1955, wardens from Banff, Kootenay and Yoho national parks met at Cuthead Camp on the Cascade River north of the Banff townsite. Originally a warden station and developed as an alternative workers' camp during the war, Cuthead had the facilities to handle groups of trainees and was close to terrain suitable for practice work. This was actually the second annual warden school held in what a generation of wardens came to know affectionately as "Cuthead College." Perren and Pittaway were the principal instructors. The syllabus covered firefighting, law enforcement, telephone-line and trail maintenance, equipment maintenance and wildlife observation, as well as classroom and practical instruction in mountain climbing and mountain-rescue techniques. A professional, freelance photographer accompanied the school and provided the first of a series of visual documentaries of warden-training practices. Pittaway instructed novices in basic rope work and the elements of moving over rock, belaying and rappelling on small slopes. Perren took those with more experience to practice belaying, rappelling and stretcher handling on more demanding terrain. The wardens also practised a simulated mountain-rescue using a mine-rescue basket, and rappelling and belaying techniques. In Jasper just two months earlier, six wardens under the guidance of Hans Gmoser and Tom Ross underwent an intensive ten-day program in ice- and rock-climbing techniques at the Columbia Icefield in poor weather conditions and in temperatures that fell on occasion to -48 degrees. This group, too, simulated rescues, although in glacier crevasses,

Figure 5-9. Cuthead College, in Banff National Park, was used for the Warden Training Schools in the 1950's. [Bruno Engler photograph]
using both seat and sling retrieval and "an improvised basket" to haul their "victims" to safety.\textsuperscript{106}

In the fall of 1955, Perren presided over the first multipark training exercise to concentrate specifically on the theme of search and rescue in all mountain environments. Again, the locale was Cuthead College, and the participants numbered 48, with 18 from Banff and the remaining places filled by wardens from other mountain parks. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police also agreed to send one constable from each of their detachments at Waterton Lakes, Banff, Jasper and Yoho. The whole training exercise was again photographed, this time by mountain guide and photographer Bruno Engler.\textsuperscript{107}

Again, Bert Pittaway took responsibility for teaching the basics of rope work and knot tying to novice participants. He also led them on several practice sessions using pitons, testing rock and selecting routes. Walter Perren instructed the more advanced students in increasingly difficult climbing manoeuvres and rescue techniques. Perren’s group also practised simulated rescue efforts on vertical rock surfaces using baskets and ropes. Map and compass use, and first aid for fall victims, were also dealt with in this session. Practical work was interspersed with classroom lessons and discussions, and the course ended with a written test on all phases of mountain-rescue work.

Throughout this and future sessions, Perren stressed that mountain-rescue workers needed a practical

\begin{figure}[h]
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\caption{Belaying "victim" in basket under direction of instructor, Walter Perren, Spring Warden Training School, Banff, 1956. [NA, PA182487]}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{106} JNP, Jasper and Yellowhead Museum and Archives, acc. # [85.26.1 Warden Schools, Ski and Snowcraft and Equipment], July 30, 1952, to September 21, 1955, "Ski Mountaineering and Snow School, Columbia Icefield, March 21-31, 1955." The students on this course were Frank Camp, Clarence Wilkins, Murray Dawson, George Wells, Alf Burstrom and T. McCready.

knowledge of terrain and weather conditions, experience in choosing routes over rock and ice, and familiarity with their equipment and its limitations.

Calm and good natured but always professional and "in charge" of situations, Walter Perren was the perfect role model for his aspiring mountain rescue experts. Throughout this period, the wardens relied on ropes for vertical climbs and rescue descents. In the next decade, this technology would be replaced by steel cables that allowed for greater weights and longer drops. Cables, in turn, would be replaced by the introduction of the helicopter, which revolutionized mountain-rescue work at the end of the 1960s.

In the remainder of the decade, wardens of the mountain parks met frequently, usually on a semiannual basis, to renew and extend their skills under Perren's guidance. In the process, they gained experience and a widening reputation for excellence. The National Film Board asked for permission to use the film taken by Engler in the February 1956 course at Cuthead College, to create a film on their activities. By the end of the year, the wardens' exploits were being shown widely in Eastern Canada and the United States. The following year Canadian Geographic published an article entitled "Training Park Wardens in the Rocky Mountains," which included some heart-stopping photographs of mock rescues in dangerous terrain.108 By the end of the decade, the Warden Service of the mountain parks had created a formidable search and rescue organization, which would soon attract the attention of other federal and provincial departments and agencies. Soon, park officials were faced with requests for permission to participate in the ongoing training exercises. On a more practical note, the wardens found that their skills were needed at an ever-

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Figure 5-12. Intrepid Instructor coaches worried warden - Ollie Hermanrude and Walter Perren at Warden Training School, 1950's. [Bruno Engler photograph]
increasing rate, as more visitors flooded into the mountains for recreational activities.

In July 1954, park officials were shocked by the deaths of four Mexican climbers who fell from Mount Victoria near Lake Louise, and then, within a week, by yet another fatal accident in which a 17-year-old died in a 900-foot plunge down Mt. Rundle on the edge of Banff townsite. In the second incident, Chief Warden Bert Pittaway and Warden Ed Carleton were among the four-man team that retrieved the body and brought it down a canyon so steep that one newspaper reporter on the scene described it as "impossible." The difficulties of communication faced by the retrieval party in this incident—they were completely out of touch with officials on the ground for 15 hours although on the virtual doorstep of Banff—led Superintendent Strong to recommend the purchase of walkie-talkie radios for future rescue parties. Strong was sufficiently concerned by the apparent disappearance of the original rescue team that he considered sending a second group and chartered a small plane from Calgary to assess the situation. Strong commended the search party for completing "a most dangerous and hazardous job" and informed the chief park warden: "Warden Carleton's knowledge of climbing and his display of perseverance and courage contributed very materially to the success of the expedition." That same summer, Glacier's chief warden, Alex Nelles, reported an unsuccessful attempt to retrieve the body of a fallen climber.109

Convincing evidence of the need for order and rules in the recreational use of the mountain parks came in July 1955, with the shocking Mount Temple tragedy, in which seven inexperienced young climbers plunged to their deaths in a single incident. Contemporary charges that the party were not sufficiently warned by the park authorities, particularly the Warden Service, were dismissed in the coroner's inquiry, but it was clear that such incidents could not be tolerated in the future. In a less-publicized incident, which occurred just three days later in Yoho National Park, Chief Warden Jim Sime and S. Haugen set out after dark in aid of a young bungalow camp worker who had gone missing on a climb of Mount Field. Sime and Haugen found the woman just before dawn, trapped on a 12-inch ledge at the 8,000 foot level and facing a sheer drop of 600 feet. Approaching from 130 feet above by rappel ropes, Sime was able to reach and reassure the young woman, secure her with a rope and then supervise her removal to higher, safer ground.110 Sime and Haugen's feat caught the attention of officials in Ottawa, and Sime received a ministerial commendation:

While your story of the event was written in the concise and factual manner that is typical of good reporting in the Warden Service, it was not difficult for us to see beyond the words of the report, the great courage, leadership and ability that you displayed in bringing this rescue to a happy and successful conclusion. Your actions were exemplary and were in the very best tradition of the Warden Service of the National Parks of Canada.


110 RG84, Vol. 226, B13-434-1, Part 1, Mount Temple accident, July 11, 1955. The park file on this tragedy is two inches thick and contains a copy of the coroner's report that exonerated park staff of charges of negligence for permitting such a party to climb in the park and fixed blame for the accident on its leaders. RG84, Vol. 44, Y13-434, Part 1, memo, to Superintendent Steeves, YNP, from Chief Warden J.A. Sime, July 15, 1955.
Figure 5-13. Walter Perren shows “How it goes”, Flint’s Peak, Banff National Park, Warden Training School, 1950’s. [Bruno Engler photograph]
I would like to extend to you my personal congratulations for a most excellent job and my very best wishes for every success in the future on your chosen career.

When it reached the public in the form of a press release, Minister Jean Lesage's letter had taken on a more vivid quality:

This was a particularly hazardous rescue operation made more difficult by drizzling rain and the fact that a major portion of the operation had to be carried out in darkness. The actions of the rescuers in disregarding personal risks to protect the public are in the highest traditions of our Warden Service.\(^{111}\)

It was becoming all too evident that guidelines were needed for the supervision of alpine activities in the mountain parks. One immediate result of this spate of incidents was a renewed effort to enforce existing regulations calling for climbers to register with the Warden Service before setting out, giving their approximate routes and anticipated time of return.

In the summer of 1956, a revised set of "instructions to mountain climbers" was prepared in Banff to lessen the carnage. Alpine enthusiasts were directed to obtain a certificate of registration from the park office or any district warden. This would provide park authorities with basic information regarding the climbers' itinerary and timetable, so that a search could be launched without delay should the party fail to return as planned. District wardens now had the authority to caution climbers, if they considered the party's equipment inadequate. In case of accident, climbers were directed to seek out the nearest warden, and were cautioned not to separate from their party or to change their itinerary after setting out, without informing a member of the Warden Service.\(^{112}\) These instructions, which did not give wardens the power to refuse climbing permits, remained essentially unchanged, through the rest of the 1950s.

In July, much to the relief of park authorities, five employees of the Banff Springs Hotel were convicted under National Park regulations for not registering with the Warden Service before setting out on a climb. The individuals had been spotted by the Warden Service lookout on Tunnel Mountain, as they ascended a funnel on Cascade Mountain. "They were climbing in a most dangerous canyon at about the 6000' level, with tons of rock and a dangerous snow cornice about 2000' above them," wrote the investigating Royal Canadian Mounted Police sergeant who added that, "they were not equipped with any gear or proper clothes." Perren and Pittaway caught up with them and brought them down, before they could get into serious difficulties. The magistrate at their trial told them "how foolish they were in attempting to climb in a dangerous place, that they could have received expert advice from the Warden Service and that they not only endangered their own lives but also that of the Wardens who brought them down the mountain." A month later, a party of climbers was rescued on Victoria Glacier near Lake Louise and promptly fined for failing to register. In Jasper another group, although led by the experienced alpine guide Hans Gmoser who earlier had helped to train wardens in mountain travel, was similarly fined. The charge was laid to


Figure 5-14. Early Rescue School - Murray Dawson; Larry Tremblay, Tony Klett; Niel Wolodge; Mike Schintz. Standing: C. Moore (RCMP), Ted Christiansen, Ron Baker, Walter Perren (Instructor), Tony M. (Asst. Instructor), unknown. Banff National Park, 1950's. [Schintz Collection.]
indicate that regulations applied to all and that the Warden Service was taking command in the park mountains.\footnote{Rg84, Vol. 2155, U316-10, Part 1, Royal Canadian Mounted Police report, July 5, 1956; ibid., Vol. 2121, U185-2, Part 2, Superintendent Strong, BNP, to chief, July 9, 1956, encloses Acting Chief Park Warden B. Pittaway's report and two newspaper clippings on the incident. Ibid., Vol. 2155, U316-10, Part 1, Superintendent J.A. Pettis, JNP, to chief, August 30, 1956.}

While these efforts brought a degree of order and stability to alpine recreational activities in the parks, and probably lessened the number of incidents and tragedies, accidents continued with depressing regularity. A climbing fatality occurred near Lake Louise, even as the fines were being levied. Over the next three years, at least another two climbers and two skiers died in accidents, and many more inexperienced and incautious individuals were rescued by wardens, often after exceeding their own limited alpine capabilities. In December 1958, for example, chief wardens Perren and Pittaway and wardens Woledge, Shepherd, Tasker and McPhee, participated in the recovery of the bodies of two skiers who had died in an avalanche, apparently of their own making, in Banff.\footnote{Rg84, Vol. 656, B13-434, Part 2, Superintendent Strong, BNP, to chief, August 10, 1956; ibid., Vol. 513, B312-4, Part 4, Chief Warden W. Perren, BNP, Report on Avalanche Accident, December 4, 1958.}

By the end of the decade, rescue efforts calling for dexterity and endurance, and a well-honed knowledge of survival techniques were becoming commonplace in the working lives of many a mountain park warden.

Before the end of the decade, park officials were discussing the possibilities of using helicopters in certain rescue situations. There was, as yet, no thought of incorporating this technology in mountain-rescue efforts, as existing helicopters lacked sufficient power to operate in such high altitudes. At an administrative level, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police remained in charge of missing-persons investigations, and some members of the force were sufficiently trained in mountain travel to accompany warden rescue teams. The actual rescue efforts, however, were the jurisdiction of the Warden Service whose expertise was by now clearly recognized and accepted by other authorities. By 1958, park officials had developed detailed emergency search and rescue procedures and operational guidelines, including a clearly delineated chain of command, and what amounted to a statement of roles and responsibilities for emergency-rescue efforts. Early in 1959, Superintendent Dempster at Banff prepared a revised and more detailed set of instructions to guide search and rescue personnel.\footnote{Rg84, Vol. 2121, U185-2, Part 2, Superintendent J.A. Pettis, BNP, to chief, December 12, 1957; ibid., Superintendent Dempster, BNP, to chief, June 25, 1958. This document also included the names of all search and rescue, and administrative personnel, their job titles and telephone numbers for emergency access. Ibid., Part 3, Superintendent Dempster, BNP, to chief, January 6, 1959.} Dempster took this opportunity to argue against the idea, raised the previous summer, of adding a trained search dog to the wardens' search and rescue organization. Dempster felt that the amount of time that a dog master would have to commit to his canine companion would interfere with the proper, and traditional, duties of a park warden. Ottawa agreed and, for a time, the idea of maintaining tracking dogs for park emergencies was shelved.
encouraged to study the flora and fauna of their districts in more depth, and to act as sources of observation and information for the Ottawa bureaucracy, and particularly the officers of the Canadian Wildlife Service. Taking up the challenge presented by the increasing influx of visitors, wardens became more focussed on the need to assure their safety and security in a wide variety of park circumstances. Time would reveal, though, that all the changes in these 15 years were but a hint of what awaited the Warden Service and the national parks in the coming years. Flexibility and a willingness to adapt to new challenges, coupled with a solid sense of jealously guarded traditions, would enable the Warden Service to survive and to take on new responsibilities in the years ahead.
For much of North American society, the decade of the 1960s was one of social unrest and reevaluation. In Canada, this process led, in part, to the creation of a national flag and the confident celebration of 100 years of existence. For many young Canadians, the journey of discovery was a literal one, taking them across the length and breadth of the land and, at times, into a puzzled contact with the wardens of the national parks.

For the Warden Service, too, the 1960s were years of reevaluation, the continuation of an odyssey begun in the previous decade. In response to the pressures of external change, the wardens reassessed the very nature of their role and function in the parks. Collective bargaining, for example, forced the Warden Service to define its park function in relation to the larger civil service. As well, increasing park visitation required the wardens' public-relations and law-enforcement abilities. At the same time, a growing sense of the value, fragility and scarcity of wilderness territory pulled the wardens in the direction of natural-resource conservation. There was, during these years, much discussion of protection versus conservation as the warden's central role. The increasing complexity of tasks such as mountain rescue led to the growth of specialization in the Warden Service, much to the dismay of many traditionalists whose ideal warden was a generalist with wide-ranging skills and experience.

These changes also swept away the district patrol system, which had, since the inception of the Warden Service, bound individual wardens to specific and distinct territories on a full-time basis. In retrospect, the forces arrayed against the continuance of the district system were irresistible, but its demise robbed wardens of much of their sense of individual responsibility. The dilemma of the 1960s for the Warden Service was, in part, to "find itself"—in the language of the era—that is, to determine its proper role in the protection of the national parks and to maintain the excellence it had developed in the 1950s. That journey continues today.

Engines of Change

Although beyond the administrative environment of the Warden Service itself, several changes within the larger bureaucracy of the national parks had repercussions for wardens across the country. Only two new parks were created in the 1960s, Kejimkujik in Nova Scotia (1968) and Kouchibouguac in New Brunswick (1969), but work was begun on Pukaskwa in Ontario (1968) and Gros Morne in Newfoundland (1967), and major change came with the introduction of regionalization to the national parks' administration. The process had actually begun in the late 1950s with the creation of a western regional supervisor, stationed in Banff and responsible for the

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1 Pukaskwa was not officially gazetted a national park for another decade, but it served as a testing ground in the 1970s for the policy of bringing Native peoples into the management of the new parks being created in their northern lands. While "northern" only in the minds of southern Ontarians, Pukaskwa initiated this policy with the hiring of local Ojibwa Natives as park staff, including warden positions. Gros Morne National Park (hereafter GMNP) in the 1970s, like Kouchibouguac National Park (hereafter KouchNP) of New Brunswick, provided park managers and the Warden Service with painful lessons in the protocol of establishing national parks in the late twentieth century.
superintendents of the mountain and prairie parks. This structure harkened back to the early days of the Warden Service, when an administrator responsible for the mountain parks was briefly established in Edmonton. In 1964, the Banff post was expanded into a western regional office in Calgary, again with responsibility for the mountain and prairie parks—and historic parks and sites. At the same time, the Atlantic Region was created, centred in Halifax, as well as the Central Region, with an office in Cornwall to service Ontario’s parks. In the early 1970s, the Prairie and Northern Region, headquartered in Winnipeg, was carved out of the Western Region. With the creation of national parks in Quebec in 1970, the Central Region was further divided into Ontario and Quebec regions, creating the five geographic regional offices. The structure persisted until 1997, when a new command structure was established. These changes provided a regional focus for the Warden Service, particularly in the east, where individual parks had tended to follow their own paths in training, and the moulding of the warden’s role and duties. In brief, regionalization led to more interaction among the parks through the establishment of regional training courses, regional conferences for warden managers and, ultimately, the exchange of expertise and personnel among the various regions. Within the new regional offices, Natural Resource Conservation units were established, and specialists were hired to provide support and direction to the wardens in the field.

The issues and problems that confronted the Warden Service during these years, and the ways in which they were handled, were best reflected at the meetings of chief park wardens. These meetings were regional in nature, with one being held at the Palisades in Jasper for mountain- and prairie-park representatives and another at various eastern locations for Ontario and Maritimes personnel. The first western Chief Park Wardens’ Conference was held in 1958. The first eastern meeting was in Ottawa in 1960. They became regular events in the 1960s, initially on a triennial or biannual basis, with yearly meetings established before the end of the decade. Much of their work focussed on recommendations regarding the substance of annual training for wardens in the individual parks and in regional schools. From the beginning, though, the chief park wardens also used these meetings to address current problems in the Warden Service and to suggest solutions to headquarters’ administrators.

In their first conferences, the chief park wardens concentrated on details of upcoming warden-training itineraries, but they also discussed the warden-promotion process and the perennial question of warden uniforms. On the latter issue, their purpose was to protect the exclusivity of the warden uniform, an indication that they perceived a danger of losing the sense of a distinct organization, if gatekeepers and other personnel were permitted to wear the forest green of the wardens or their winter-issue fur caps—designed after those of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. It is interesting to note here that the fur cap that was deemed too common in the western parks was examined for the first time by the eastern chief park wardens at their 1960 meeting and recommended “as the standard winter warden hat.” Superintendent Bruce Mitchell at Riding Mountain was “particularly gratified that a recommendation was made to the effect that the green uniform should be limited to the members of the Warden Service. I have personally recommended this for a number of years and I trust that action will now be taken to implement this recommendation. I have felt that the Warden Service is of sufficient importance to warrant a distinctive uniform of their own, and I have particularly suggested that persons such as Gatekeepers, bathhouse attendants, etc. who are now issued the green uniform, should wear a different color of uniform, such as grey.” G.H.L. Dempster who was then western regional supervisor agreed with Mitchell’s stand, adding: “The pride attached
to and the need for distinctive uniforms is usually a basic concern with all regulatory forces.”

On the question of how promotions should be made from the entry or park warden level 1 to the fully qualified park warden level 2, the consensus was that rating boards or standard written exams would be the best determinants. On the issue of how vacant level 2 or district posts should be filled, there was less agreement. Some chief park wardens favoured moving existing park warden level 2 incumbents within a park, when a choice vacancy became available, before opening the process to the wardens of other parks—still the practice in Jasper, Riding Mountain and many other parks. There was also increasing pressure for region-wide competitions to facilitate the interpark mobility first advocated in the previous decade. Even in these early regional meetings, the chief park wardens evinced a desire for uniformity within the Warden Service: in appearances through uniform or dress standards, in experience through set promotion processes, and in skills through standardized training courses. By the end of the decade, the warden managers were probably as close to their goal as regional anomalies would allow.

Other topics in these early conferences ranged from traditional concerns over "proper deportment and dress regulations," the administration of grazing rights, implementing bear policy and determining responsibility for major construction projects, to newer issues such as how to apply fairly the concept of a forty-hour work week and what role the wardens would play in the introduction of an interpretation service within individual parks. In 1963, the first signs of a more fundamental reexamination of the Warden Service appeared with the determination to review, at the upcoming Chief Park Wardens' Conference, "the general terms of reference and responsibilities of the National Park Warden Service, and the possible need of studying in detail the Warden Service organization and Warden District structure in the individual parks." The rationale for this decision was that "changing traffic and Park use patterns over the years have caused many of the Warden District structures or arrangements to become antiquated." When the chief park wardens met, at the Palisades, in April 1963, they discussed this issue at length, and their "unanimous decision" was that "there was definitely room for improvement in the Warden Service organization." In forwarding this agenda topic to his superintendents, Western Regional Supervisor Dempster noted: "This appears to be a reasonable observation since many Parks have in existence to-day the same Warden District arrangements that were drawn up when the Parks were established." Also acting as a spur for change...
was the growing recognition that techniques and equipment were becoming more sophisticated, and that new recruits would require more formal education to function effectively. Clouding these perceptions was the clash, within the Warden Service, between those who advocated more specialization in training and function, and those who wished to see the average warden remain a generalist, proficient in a wide range of duties and able to respond to virtually any protective need within the park.

Concerns about the level of education among wardens can be traced back at least into the 1940s, but the issue took on an added momentum amid the rapid changes and growing administrative complexities of the 1960s. At the beginning of the decade, Western Regional Supervisor Dempster noted that recent rating boards, established to assess level 1 wardens for promotion, "were alarmed at the apparent lack of knowledge and experience" displayed by many of those examined, and this was in such traditional functions as national park regulations, law-enforcement procedures, firefighting and wildlife identification. Dempster suggested more emphasis on the annual schools of each park, but at least one superintendent countered that this was already being done.

An effort to raise basic educational standards for entry into, and promotion within, the Warden Service in the early 1960s ran into the problem of how to deal with incumbents who had met less stringent, earlier requirements and were performing their duties satisfactorily, but no longer met criteria for advancement. Just such a situation developed at Yoho in 1964, when a warden who had won a rating-board competition for a park warden level 2 position had his promotion overturned in Ottawa, because he "failed to possess the required educational qualifications to enter the competition." In the end and to his credit, Director Coleman recommended him for promotion while remaining in his existing Banff position. He was to be told that he was being recommended for reclassification "on the basis of his good work performance," not because he had won the Yoho competition. It is possible that the Director’s reticence was meant to veil the bureaucracy’s inconsistencies rather than to protect the winning candidate’s sensibilities. Despite the difficulties of dealing fairly and sensitively with such anomalies, the pressures of working effectively in an increasingly complex world made a higher level of formal education essential. At mid-decade, Yoho’s superintendent, Richard H. "Dick" Kendall, himself a university graduate in forestry and a close student of the Warden Service, noted the limited career avenues open to the younger and better educated wardens. Such a situation might be satisfactory to an individual with limited schooling who was content to remain in one park throughout his career, Kendall felt, but would be too restrictive to those with wider horizons and more ambitious plans. With the current educational minimum of a junior matriculation, it was the latter group that the parks were targeting for recruitment. The chief wardens, at their 1965 annual meeting, recognized this issue as one "which is currently of great concern to the Warden Service" and recommended in-house administrative training, the Junior Officer Training Program, with tours of duty in Ottawa "possibly of 6 months duration during the winter months on expenses" to prepare them for further advancement. Frank Camp provides a personal perspective on this process in his lively reminiscences, Roots in the Rockies. Late that year, Assistant Director Alexander J. Reeve, in making arrangements to fill three vacant chief warden positions, had to advise the chief of personnel not to set the competition’s educational requirement above a grade-ten education, as this would rule out "good men" who had

By 1966, not only were the educational criteria for wardens under study, but the whole question of the warden role and function within the larger park organization was being reevaluated. By the following year, park officials were seeking new wardens from among the graduates of existing technical colleges, and were pressing for the creation of academic programs and courses more closely attuned to the needs of the national parks. One stumbling block to the implementation of a new recruitment policy aimed at college graduates was the continuing Public Service Commission requirement that candidates be residents in the province that had the vacancies. The ratio of prospective job seekers to employment opportunities was much higher in Ontario, for example, with its three small parks, than in Alberta, with its smaller population and its concentration of national parks. Under these criteria, residents of Quebec had no access at all, until the creation of Forillon and La Mauricie in 1970. Some enterprising candidates learned to circumvent this process by maintaining postal addresses in various provinces through the aid of relatives and friends. Late in the decade, and in conjunction with changes in the classification of wardens within the federal civil service, the minimum educational requirement for recruits to the Warden Service was changed to high school graduation. Soon wardens already in the system were enrolling in night-school classes to meet the increasing pressure for formal education and to ensure their future advancement opportunities. By the early 1970s, new recruits were frequently graduates of technical or community colleges; some of these today occupy responsible senior positions in the national parks.

The creation of a mountain-rescue capability in the previous decade is perhaps one of the best and earliest indications of the extent and tempo of the changes that wardens faced. By the early 1960s, overviews of district warden duties routinely included references to "search and rescue" activities along with forest protection, visitor safety and "other emergency operations." By mid-decade, the increasing numbers of park visitors had brought other changes as well. With the tentative introduction of interpretive programs in the national parks in the early 1960s, the wardens, as the personnel on site and immediately available, were frequently called on to fill this role, as well as their traditional duties. As park naturalists were brought in to the parks, this role diminished for the Warden Service but, initially, there was more than a little uncertainty as to who would ultimately

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5 RG84, Vol. 2279, Y174-4, Part 4, Director Coleman, to superintendent, YNP, November 23, 1964. The victim here was J. R. Robertson, a park warden level 1 at Banff. Ibid., Superintendent R.H. Kendall, YNP, to director, January 6, 1965; ibid., Vol. 2121, File U185-1, Part 5, Summary of Proceedings and Recommendations of the Chief Park Wardens' Conference, January 1965. Frank Camp, Roots in the Rockies. Frank Camp Ventures, Ucluelet, British Columbia, 1993, pp. 150-1 (hereafter Camp, Roots in the Rockies). Along with the family reminiscences brought together by Anne Dixon in Silent Partners, this is one of the best and most evocative accounts of the warden life to appear in print. Certainly in describing the day-to-day routine of life in a back-country warden district, the good and the bad, it has no match. Camp has captured and preserved the portrait of a way of life that was, in many ways, an anachronism at mid-century, and now has disappeared entirely into memory and folklore. RG84, Vol. 2117, U174-4, Part 6, Assistant Director Alex. J. Reeve, to Mr. Thirlwall [chief of personnel], December 14, 1965.

6 RG84, Vol. 1769, PA194, Part 14, Director J.R.B. Coleman, personal and confidential, to superintendent, PANP, July 6, 1966; ibid., Vol. 2117, U174-4, Part 6, Western Regional Director Coombs, to Alan D. Chambers, Forestry Department, Selkirk College, Castlegar, British Columbia, September 26, 1967; ibid., Part 7, memo to file, October 27, 1967, minutes of a discussion of college and parks officials about recruitment strategies, province-based versus country-wide, and educational requirements Ibid., Assistant Director Alex. J. Reeve, to directors of Atlantic and Western regions, April 23, 1968. Ibid., Vol. 440, [SLI]6-W-1, Part 1, Director Nicol, to Central Regional Director, March 19, 1969. One name that immediately springs to mind in this context is that of Allan Gibbs who entered the Warden Service at Georgian Bay Islands from an Ontario community college and became chief park warden of Cape Breton Highlands National Park.
be responsible for this enlarged and visitor-focused duty. By the mid-1960s, as park naturalists took charge of interpretive programs, the wardens came to be viewed as ancillary sources of expertise and information for park visitors, a development that ironically aroused more than a little jealousy among many members of the Warden Service. Sometimes, it seemed a fine line of distinction between advising hikers and campers on safety issues, and explaining the natural wonders that surrounded them.

This pressure of numbers, a fourfold increase in visitation to the national parks between the late 1950s and the mid-1960s, also forced change on the wardens' traditional balance of activities. Director Coleman addressed this issue in 1966, when he wrote of the interweaving of old duties and new:

Wilderness travel will soon come into its own and we will have many new problems as a result. Wardens must know all about all trails in their Warden district and if possible in the park. Visitors must be encouraged to use trails and get back into wilderness areas and to this end trails must be properly established, brushed out and marked on the ground as well as on map sheets. The park Warden must have a detailed knowledge of the physical characteristics of his district so that he will be able to give correct advice or render assistance to an ever-increasing number of wilderness travellers. His mental and physical condition must be such that he is prepared to expose himself to personal danger as a service to the public. The old adage of, 'when in danger or in doubt, call the Warden Service out' must continue to depict the Warden Service to other park staff and the general public.

The Warden Service is going to find itself increasingly involved in the handling of young people in small and large groups. Our affluent society is permitting young people to travel in groups and often they will end up in a National Park. It is here that we have a very real duty and responsibility to try and present the National Parks as interesting and exciting places for these young people. Hopefully, ways of helping them burn up their energy in non-destructive ways will be found. This is preferable to imposing restrictions and bottling up the energy until it explodes like dynamite and results in destruction of park facilities.

It was also during the 1960s that wardens first became associated with national historic sites in the establishment of a warden presence at Louisbourg, initially on a temporary basis in 1963 and then permanently in 1966. Although the decision was made because of the extent of wilderness land encompassed in the federal territory surrounding the historic fortress, it was a precursor of the wider responsibilities of Quebec region's wardens in the 1970s and the recent appointment of "cultural resources management" wardens in some of the mountain parks.

At the same time that wardens were taking on new responsibilities and improving their enforcement and public-safety techniques, they were also being divested of other development-related functions that they had taken up in some parks. Jasper's superintendent, for example, was warned in 1962 that his wardens were too involved "in major construction projects and maintenance operations which

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often have had no direct connection with the general sphere of Warden Service activities." Regional Supervisor Dempster acknowledged that this division of functions was often still common in the smaller parks, where there were fewer employees to carry out essential development and maintenance work. He pointed to the policy recommendation of the previous year's Chief Wardens' Conference:

The Warden Service is basically a protection organization, responsible for the preservation and management of the natural features of the Park. In addition it is responsible for the protection and guidance of Park visitors. The administration and maintenance of developments and facilities required in attaining these two objectives, should normally be carried out by the Warden Service."

In Dempster's view:

This statement automatically excludes from the Warden Service work responsibilities, such activities as major road construction, camp and picnic site development, major housing construction and those Park Visitor services which are not normally linked with the Warden Service activities.

Dempster followed this with a statement that outlined in more detail the respective responsibilities of the Warden Service and the park engineering section, as they had evolved at Banff. In brief, the latter was responsible for the construction and maintenance of all campsites except those in wilderness areas, roads that were open to public traffic, major buildings and facilities construction and all craftsmen categories save the blacksmith and the radio technician. The wardens patrolled campsites, maintained patrol trails, constructed "small and more remote buildings required for Warden Service operation," constructed and maintained forest-telephone lines, supervised the park sawmill, cared for animals, and were responsible for mosquito-control measures and the operation of park ski patrols. As the decade progressed, similar divisions of duties were imposed, wherever possible, to enable wardens to concentrate on their protection-oriented mandate.

The pressures and problems resulting from ever-larger numbers of park visitors and the uncertainties of a changing administrative structure affected the development of the national parks, and the Warden Service in particular, during the 1960s. Within this setting, park administrators strove to shape a renewed Warden Service that would be more effective and responsive to changing needs. Considering the sometimes conflicting perspectives and aims of those who at one time or another took responsibility for the processes of change, the Warden Service entered the decade of the 1970s well-suited to its task.

Blueprint for a New Warden Service

The administrative odyssey on which the Warden Service embarked in the early 1960s continues, in many ways, to this day. Indeed, one could argue that a creative tension among their varied functions—natural-resource conservation, public safety and enforcement—represents the best

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blueprint for any future development of the warden's role in the national parks. It has proven to be a long and winding journey, and one that has evoked much emotion among its participants. If there exists a common thread or theme among the reminiscences of those former wardens who were interviewed in the preparation of this history, it is that much was lost in the creation of a "modern" Warden Service. It is the hope of the writer that the following outline will provide a sense of what disappeared and what was gained in the changes of the 1960s, as well as an outside perspective on what was perhaps inevitable and what might better have been avoided.

In some ways, change was always a part of the warden experience, whether it was the painful adaptation to new predator-control regulations in the late 1920s or the accommodation with park naturalists in the 1960s. In the latter decade, though, change came at a faster pace, was more pervasive and far-reaching in its repercussions, and was purposely, if sometimes erratically, directed by the various layers of park management. The impetus for much of the direction of change in the 1960s came from the Royal Commission on Government Organization—the Glassco Commission—established in 1960 to examine the burgeoning structure of the federal administration and to suggest the means of reorganizing it to function in a more efficient manner. From its deliberations came not only the policy of regionalization, implemented between 1964 and 1970, but also a reexamination of the warden classification within the federal employment hierarchy as a precursor to the introduction of collective bargaining later in the decade.11

Even before the Glassco Commission, park administrators were reassessing the recruitment criteria that served as a foundation for the warden function. In June 1960, Chief Strong in Ottawa met with a representative of the Civil Service Commission to review warden promotional procedures. Traditionally, the park warden level 1 position was an entry level, and incumbents served as assistants to district wardens who were in substantive, level 2 positions. The establishment of a five-day work week for wardens in 1959, however, had necessitated the creation of a number of full-time, relieving wardens, all of whom were hired at the entry level. Although they had developed expertise and, some argued, now carried as much, if not more, responsibility than a district warden by virtue of their wider duties, substantive positions were designed for those in permanent charge of a district. Strong's solution was to establish annual rating boards through which qualified level 1 candidates could seek promotion after two years of service. In part, this was but a reflection of the reality that had evolved in the field. In mid-1960, for example, Banff had 19 level 2 park wardens but only 13 districts.12 This change was designed to end an inequity that had arisen through changing circumstances, but it also had the effect, not remarked on at the time, of lessening the significance—in terms of status and remuneration—of being in charge of a warden district.

Other aspects of the warden-promotion process were also examined and revamped in the early 1960s. After some discussion between Chief Strong in Ottawa and various park administrators, it was determined that superintendents should retain the power to transfer wardens from district to district within their parks without recourse to formal competitions. Field managers, including the

western chief wardens, convinced Strong that promotion from level 1 to level 2 of the Warden Service should be on the basis of rating boards rather than by simple seniority, as he had initially favoured. The chief wardens also recommended a regional basis for promotions rather than one limited to individual parks.\textsuperscript{13} To balance the workings, and the results, of rating boards at the various western and prairie parks, the regional forest officer, Steve Kun, was made a permanent board member. By the early 1960s, then, a prospective candidate first applied through a Civil Service Commission competition, established whenever a level 1 park warden vacancy occurred. If successful here, the prospective warden was put on an eligible list, and the individual who placed highest on the list was offered the posting on a probationary basis. After six months on the job, he was interviewed, and his work was assessed. The process was repeated at the conclusion of a year's service, at which time the probationary employee was taken on permanent strength or dismissed as unsatisfactory. Following two years of satisfactory service, the warden could apply to a rating board for qualification at level two. If passed by the board, he was eligible for promotion to a vacant park warden level 2 posting either in his own or another park.

The other change in recruitment and promotional policy entrenched during this period was a growing stress on mobility as a key factor in individual advancements. By 1963, it was accepted that chief wardens could expect to be moved from one park to another at the discretion of management. It was the view of Western Regional Supervisor Dempster that "any applicant for a position of Chief Park Warden must be prepared to accept the possibility of a transfer to any National Park at any time." By mid-decade, Chief Strong was stressing the concept of "one Service" across the national parks, and mobility was to be a major factor in bringing it about. Director Coleman wrote in support: "...we are giving active consideration to getting out Branch Circulars stating that it is policy to rotate not only National Park Officers, which is already the case, but also Chief Park Wardens and Park Wardens between parks within Regions and between Regions." The existence of regional pay scales within the federal civil service, giving Point Pelee the highest wages and the eastern parks the lowest, acted as a deterrent to the implementation of a mobility policy and a disincentive to ambitious individuals.\textsuperscript{14} Still, by the end of the decade, the regional solitudes that had developed hand in hand with the expansion of the national system were largely dissolved, as a multitude of wardens transferred from park to park and region to region.

While these changes were being imposed on the Warden Service from above, some individual wardens, perhaps influenced by the decade's emphasis on personal freedom and collective rights, began a revolt against the more restrictive aspects of the warden's work-world. If one's hours of work were limited to 40 in one week, and one's week was established as five days long, how could management continue to insist on a warden remaining "on call" in his district 24 hours a day, seven days a week? The administration's attitude had not changed from an earlier era and is best summed up in a document that was in circulation in 1962:

\textsuperscript{13} RG84, Vol. 2117, U174-4, Part 4, Strong, to Dempster, January 15, 1960; ibid., Dempster, to chief, NPS, January 8, 1960. WLNP, Schintz Package #4, WLNP Warden Office, Box 1, File 174-4, Park Wardens - General, Regional Supervisor Dempster, Banff, to superintendent, WLNP, February 1, 1960.

Park Warden duties differ considerably from those of most other vocations. The variety in the work is found to be most challenging by those who are suited to the job. Suitability is of course dependent on the interest and ability of the warden and the willingness of both he and his family to accept the conditions of employment. Many people feel that a Park Warden's job is a way of life since a large portion of the individual's private life is directly connected with the job. During the holiday season and in cases of emergency the Warden's devotion to duty should and must provide the incentive to work irregular and long hours to complete the job, with the sole compensation of pride in a job well done. In the Warden's absence from headquarters, his wife and family are often obliged to provide information to park visitors. A successful candidate who accepts an offered Warden position should be willing to adopt the Warden way of life and be governed by the following conditions of employment.  

The conditions that followed acknowledged the wardens' five-day 40-hour work week but noted that "there is a definite distinction between hours of work or duty and hours 'on call.' Park Wardens must be prepared to be on call twenty-four hours a day. This is necessary in view of the emergency or caretaker nature of their responsibilities." When circumstances called for overtime, it was to be compensated, whenever possible, with time off rather than in overtime pay. And since wardens "are considered on call all day every day they must always obtain the permission of their Chief Warden before leaving their Warden Districts." The timing of annual leave was at the discretion of the chief warden and was "normally not granted between April 1st and October 1st." Leaving one's district to restock provisions was permitted "periodically at the discretion of the Chief Warden," but was not considered time off from duty. It is perhaps not surprising that these rules met resistance in the 1960s.

Nor is it surprising that the initial rebellion arose in the mountain parks, where isolation remained a very distinct reality for many district wardens and their families. In other parks of smaller size and less rugged terrain, improving road networks and more reliable vehicles had largely eaten away any substantial isolation that might once have existed. The Ontario parks, for example, were too small to have had the district system imposed on them. In the prairie parks by the 1960s, district wardens were really no more isolated than their rural neighbours. In the Maritimes, too, the situation was similar. At Cape Breton Highlands, wardens lived in their park districts, but their homes were on the main motorway, the Cape Breton Trail, and their focus, like that of most park visitors, was on the territories near this highway rather than on the admittedly dense and rugged interior plateau. Only in the mountain and northern parks were wardens still faced with circumstances at all similar to those confronting their predecessors of half a century before. When resistance appeared here in the mid-1960s, those who wished to maintain traditional Warden Service ways found themselves defending a system that really no longer existed in many of the national parks across the country.

The catalyst here was John Morris "Jack" Christiansen, district warden at Belly River in Waterton Lakes National Park in the mid-1960s. Christiansen's career stretched back to temporary warden duties in the early 1950s in the same district. By the summer of 1965, Warden Christiansen had four children of school age, and he wanted to move his family from the Belly River warden station into Cardston, some 30 miles east of the park, where his children would have access to social and

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community activities, rather than commuting to school as they had been doing. Christiansen requested a reduction in his district station rent, but it was also clear that he was spending his two days a week off at Cardston with his family, a point that Regional Director Strong noted and objected to, citing current Warden Service conditions of work.\textsuperscript{16}

Here the issue rested, until the following spring, when a new superintendent informed Strong that Christiansen had indeed moved his family to Cardston and, that while he continued to pay the full rent for his district station as required by Treasury Board directive, he was also now in the habit of leaving his district at 5:00 p.m. each Tuesday to spend his two days off with his family in Cardston, returning to Belly River for work on the Thursday evening or Friday morning.\textsuperscript{17} Superintendent Lunney was well aware of the possible repercussions of Christiansen's actions for all of the Warden Service, and he appealed to Strong for guidance in dealing with the issue. Strong, in turn, canvassed all his superintendents, asking them to consult with their chief park wardens and come back with suggestions that could be used to frame a policy on wardens being required to reside in their districts. They responded, like paddlers in a strengthening current who have yet to hear the sound of approaching rapids.

Sometimes, the pace of change is so slow, incremental and gradual as to be virtually imperceptible. If one examines the face of a glacier on a daily basis, little variation appears evident. It is only when one carefully compares the present with images of perhaps half a century before that the magnitude and extent of change becomes obvious. In the spring of 1966, park managers, pushed to action by the awkward circumstances of the Christiansen case at Waterton Lakes, took a retrospective look at the face of the Warden Service. Most were quite startled by what they saw.

There was, of course, a range of responses among the superintendents to Christiansen's challenge, with the views of Bruce Mitchell at Jasper and Steve Kun at Prince Albert representing, respectively, the traditional and the adaptive approach. For Mitchell, the issue was clear cut. "There is no question," he wrote, "but that a warden must reside on [sic] his district if he is to carry out his duties properly and if the interests of the Department are to be protected. The operation of a district cannot cease at 5:00 p.m. each day as there are countless problems which arise after that time and which are normally handled by a responsible warden." Mitchell acknowledged: "I am probably somewhat old fashioned in my views as it is my feeling that a warden should remain in his district on a full-time basis regardless of his personal problems. However, I realize that times are changing and that it is difficult to force men to stay on [sic] their districts on their days off unless we are prepared to pay them overtime."

Mitchell was also aware of other precedents such as at Point Pelee, where a warden was permitted to visit his family some 35 miles away in Windsor each weekend. Mitchell was prepared to compromise only to the extent of recognizing the warden's five-day week but insisted that each day


called for 24-hour availability, meaning, in practice, that a warden could not travel until midnight of his fifth day of work. Steve Kun's view was that "the National Parks system is endeavouring to operate a contemporary Warden Service according to ground rules and terms that have become obsolete. When we think back to the overall situation that existed in the National Parks thirty years ago, we can all agree that the place for the Warden to live was on [sic] his District."\(^\text{18}\) He cited changes in transportation and communications in the interim that made the former regulations unnecessary and anachronistic. Kun believed that, in many, if not most, instances, a warden could perform his duties without residing permanently in his district. Kun argued: "I strongly suspect that if we groom our Warden Service organization on the premise that we can expect 24 hour availability from each individual, we will be entertaining a good deal of wishful thinking rather than facing up to the fact that modern employment practices will make such arrangements unfeasible." Kun noted prophetically: "I feel that we should begin thinking about consolidating Warden Service facilities at service centres and make provisions for the Warden to work basically normal hours with all the time being spent on prescribed duties." He also suggested "that there is a need to carry out a thorough study of the Warden Service to establish desirable organizational structures, work product objectives and training programs to meet the objectives."

Most of the other superintendents that were consulted seemed willing to compromise on the issue in at least some instances, although most also cited examples where residence in a district was essential for its adequate protection. One superintendent warned Strong, as had Kun, "that enforcement of this condition in today's sophisticated atmosphere of labour relations could result in us finding ourselves with a tiger by the tail."\(^\text{19}\) The superintendent at Waterton Lakes, where the problem had originated, argued that most wardens would remain in their district, when it was threatened by fire or poachers, without being ordered to do so, and that there was no need to restrict wardens on their days off, if arrangements had been made for patrol coverage of their area of responsibility. J. R. Malfair, whose task it was to find consensus in the views of the western and prairie superintendents, concluded by quoting the recommendation of the most recent western Chief Park Wardens' Conference:

> It was suggested that perhaps to alleviate some of the isolation factors involved, it would be a good idea to attempt centralization of Warden accommodation. Two or three Warden houses could be situated together and perhaps some could be brought in to the headquarter's area. With modern transportation Wardens would be able to commute without difficulty. Whilst some Wardens agreed with this in principle it was pointed out that this could not be done in certain circumstances. Some areas have to be manned 24 hours a day and in other situations, due to avalanche and traffic control work, personnel must be situated on location. It was agreed that a policy such as this could not be generally applied but that each situation would have to be weighed individually. The Chief Wardens were asked to devote considerable thought to this and submit their views to Regional Office.

What was becoming increasingly clear to all concerned was that changes within the parks and in the


larger Canadian society were undermining many of the traditional tenets of the Warden Service. What was needed, it seemed, was a reassessment of the wardens' roles and functions within the national parks and, perhaps, new directions for the future. Before the decade was out, the reassessment had been made and new paths chosen. What follows is an examination of that process.

Restructuring the Warden Service

As early as 1963, the western chief wardens had determined in their annual conference that the roles and responsibilities of the wardens should be the subject of a special study. As noted earlier, a committee of three chief wardens was struck at this conference to draw up terms of reference for such a study but their deliberations were not pursued. The minutes of the next two chief park wardens' conferences indicate that the issue remained unsettled, not entirely out of mind. It was brought once more to centre stage in 1966, when the government of Lester Pearson determined to introduce collective bargaining into the federal civil service. As a prelude to this, it was essential that all federal employees be placed in occupational groups, a process that required a clear statement of roles and responsibilities. Complicating the initiative was the interjection of yet another investigative process, the management utilization study teams and their reports, which were prepared, again as a system-wide process, between 1966 and 1969 to streamline the federal civil service and improve its efficiency.

The first of the resulting management-improvement studies, conducted by the Management Services Division and based on an analysis of operations at Prince Albert National Park, recommended "that a full scale, independent study of the Parks' wardenship function be undertaken." Suddenly, the question of the Warden Service's place in a changing national park structure was more than a theoretical issue. When the occupational groupings, determined by the Bureau of Classification Revision, were announced in June 1967, wardens found themselves placed in a lower "service" category, along with janitorial, laundry and food-service personnel, because of their custodial duties in the parks. As Director Coleman would later ruefully explain the process, the evaluators did not appreciate the scope of activities that national park managers assumed in the term "patrol." What Coleman had wanted was that the wardens be placed, not in the general services group of the operational category, but in the general technical group, where, he felt, their varied and often specialized activities could be more readily recognized and appreciated. With another, larger process apparently deciding their future, it was time for action. Thus, the reassessment first proposed to accommodate changing circumstances and new pressures in the early 1960s got under way in 1966 in the face of a larger rearrangement of the federal civil service.

The response was twofold, or perhaps two-staged, and consisted of an interim study (1967), prepared in the Western Region, and a larger investigation, the Sime-Schuler Report (1968), which based its findings on criteria from across the parks system. By the end of the decade, national parks managers found themselves trying to alter and implement an occupational categorization program that they viewed as fundamentally flawed. At the same time, they were attempting to apply the

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recommendations of several studies designed to revamp the Warden Service and provide it with revised guidelines for its roles and responsibilities. It was an interesting time to be a warden.

The interim study began as a recommendation of the western chief wardens in 1966. It was prepared by chief wardens Bert Pittaway (Mount Revelstoke and Glacier) as chair, Bob Hand (Banff), Andy Corrigal (Elk Island) and Peter Tasker (Kootenay). The report was issued in June 1967. It stressed the increasingly specialized nature of the modern warden's duties in the national parks, citing specifically the mountain-rescue and recreational water-sports-protection work being carried out in the western and prairie parks. The report grouped the current warden functions into four general categories: protective service, reporting service, public relations and law enforcement, and provided a thumbnail sketch of each. The protective service meant that the warden was responsible for protecting "everything in the Park....the Park visitor from himself and nature, the forest from fire or disease, the animals from themselves due to over-population and disease, the land from harmful effects of overgrazing, erosion and other things." 

The protective service also encompassed the newer technical areas of mountain-rescue and water-safety work. The reporting service covered cooperative work with the Canadian Wildlife Service, and the planning and interpretive sectors of the parks' administration. It included passing on routine daily observations and providing specialized data as requested. The role of public relations officer was a recognition that the warden was a focus of attention for visitors and, in his uniform, a personal representation of the park who must be intelligent, knowledgeable and courteous in all his dealings with the public. Here Pittaway and his committee stressed the need for co-operation with park naturalists and with those employed to maintain the park infrastructure. "Many times," the report noted:

"...misunderstandings are a result of a Park Warden trying to protect his Park when he is dealing with somebody who is not familiar with the Park Policy. Again, in fairness, the Warden Service is not always right. However, the Parks Policy is taught to a Park Warden considerably more than most others and therefore more is expected of him in return."

The final category of warden work, law enforcement, was separated from the protective service by the axiom that "protection deals with nature and enforcement deals with people." Again, the warden uniform was cited as the symbol of park authority with a stress on the enforcement of park regulations. The authors were careful to note the distinction between the limited scope of the wardens' law-enforcement mandate and the wider range of such a policing authority as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police or a provincial police force. Again, the increasing numbers of visitors to the national parks were making the warden's enforcement duties a more substantial portion of his overall duties. It was also obvious that these duties would require more thorough training. In short, the report noted that:

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21 RG84, Vol. 1767, PA174-4, Part 3, personal and confidential, Director Coleman, to superintendent, PANP, July 6, 1966. In this memorandum, Coleman outlines, at length, his views on the proper roles and functions of the Warden Service, and he ties the review to the larger evaluation being carried out by the Management Services Division for the purposes of creating groups for collective bargaining. Larry McGuire was chief warden at Prince Albert, when the study was prepared, but was not a member of the study team, perhaps, in part, because it soon widened its focus to include all the mountain and prairie parks. Among them, the four team members had overlapping experience at nine parks. RG84, Vol. 2117, U174-4, Part 6, Western Regional Director D.B. Coombs, to director, attention S.F. Kun, June 13, 1967; ibid., "A Report on the Role of the Warden Service, 1967" prepared by B. Pittaway, chairman, R. Hand, A. Corrigal and P. Tasker, enclosed with D.B. Coombs, to director, attention S.F. Kun, June 13, 1967.
The Warden Service is a cohesive force which should assist to bind Park forces together. The engineering and maintenance service deals with roads and buildings; the forest service deals with trees; the limnologist deals with lakes and fishes and the Naturalist deals primarily with the interpretive program, whereas the Warden, in one way or another, is involved with everything that goes on in the Park. This overall presence of the Warden gives him a unique opportunity which he should make the most of and which should be understood by all Park employees.

The report recommended the creation of a national training program "for the orderly recruitment of Park Wardens nationally," the placement of the Warden Service in an occupational category that would recognize the wide range of skills and activities required of a warden, and the continuation of the special training schools that had evolved in the western parks. Pittaway and his committee also wanted to see the warden freed of the "miscellaneous duties" that still took up much of his energies in some parks and recommended an increase in pay rates for "all classifications of the Warden Service." By the time that these suggestions were circulating through the parks, the decision had been made to place wardens in the general services occupational category. Almost immediately, park officials embarked on the system-wide study recommended by the chief wardens' report, hoping not only to establish the future direction of the Warden Service, but also to change the recently determined warden occupational designation.

With the impetus of the recommendation from the January 1967 Management Improvement Study (the Prince Albert Report), the first of a series of management utilization study team reports that were prepared for most of the national parks, and the framework supplied in the chief wardens' recent evaluation of the warden function, the time was right for a full-scale study that would examine all the problematic aspects of the Warden Service and provide a blueprint for revision. The principals chosen for the task were James A. "Jim" Sime and Donald E. "Don" Schuler. Sime, a 20-year veteran of the Warden Service in 1966, had worked in a number of mountain parks and had been a chief warden since 1954. By 1966, he was at headquarters and an obvious choice for an overview of his own specialty. Schuler was a recent arrival from the United States with an academic background and a personal knowledge of natural-resource-conservation issues in the U.S. park system. It was thought that he would bring a wider perspective to the task.

Prevailing headquarters' visions for the future of the Warden Service at the time Sime and Schuler began their work were well and clearly articulated by Steve Kun, assistant chief of the National Parks Service, when he addressed the participants of a warden-training school that spring. In a presentation entitled "The Changing Role of the Warden Service" Kun sketched both past and present circumstances, stressing the extent of change in recent years, and the need to respond with a revised set of roles and responsibilities. Kun outlined a past in which the warden "was master of his own warden district improvements and recognition of a job well done was based on adventurous exploits particularly pertaining to feats of travel in the Wilderness." "In the early days," Kun continued:

....the greatest proportion of permanent park employees were associated with the Warden Service. Consequently, in a certain sense, they became a service of expedience and the job of the warden

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prevailed as a Jack-of-all-trades function.

As can be understood, the park warden enjoyed the responsibility of the role placed upon him, responded well and cherished the self-satisfaction and prestige that this total involvement in park work gave him. By virtue of the many jobs the wardens did, they became the backbone of the National Parks Service. Their by-line was 'Whenever in trouble or in doubt, just call the Warden Service out.'

Kun then pointed to the phenomenal changes brought about within the national parks, especially after World War Two, by greatly increasing numbers of park visitors. He noted, for example, that the 11,000,000 people who had come to the parks in 1966 represented a twentyfold increase over the number of visitors in 1930, and four times as many as were welcomed in the late 1950s. The resulting growth in park facilities, and in the organization itself and its employees, inevitably distanced the warden from many of his traditional maintenance and development roles—but without clearly defining or focussing his present and future functions. Gradually, through evolving circumstances, the warden had become responsible, in Kun's view, for resource management. "The objective of the Park Warden Service," he argued: "is to protect the natural resources and the people from themselves and each other. The purpose behind this objective is to ensure that the resources remain healthy and unimpaired while the visitors remain safe and happy in pursuit of the exploration of park features."

For the future, Kun recommended that:

...we should plan on embarking on the preparation of detailed inventories and management plans for the management of all the natural resources and park features within each warden district, collecting these into a park plan and blending them as much as possible into the preservation aspects of the natural resource management policies for the lands surrounding the parks. This means that there will be a growing technical element in the work requirements and qualifications of the park warden....Also the day can be foreseen when the park warden will require university graduation as a basic entrance qualification. More immediately, I would expect that, within the next few years, we will be expecting warden candidates to have a diploma from a provincial institute of technology providing a conservation program. Meanwhile, through staff training, we hope to upgrade existing staff.

In his conclusion, Kun suggested that:

....the warden of the future will be expected to have the same degree of devotion to duty and the National Parks concept as he does today. We can, however, reasonably expect a greater amount of professionalism and specialization in resource management and public relations. Improved communications, transportation and servicing methods is causing the National Parks Service to think more and more in terms of bringing the warden closer to modern community services for increased family benefits and overall operations efficiency. In certain areas we are considering warden service centres where several warden residences are grouped on common facilities and the warden will travel out daily to his designated area of duty or possibly team up with a co-worker to go on extended patrols. In all cases the warden will be required to carry out, more and more, methodical studies and observations, prepare plans and provide detailed written reports. Pertinent information from these reports and plans will be used to update warden district management plans, park management plans and aid in the preparation and updating of park master development plans.

These were brave words in 1967, and prophetic ones, as anyone familiar with the Warden Service over the intervening quarter of a century can attest. This then was the intellectual milieu in which
Sime and Schuler embarked on their ambitious enterprise.

Jim Sime and Don Schuler spent the month of September 1967 on the road interviewing regional staff in Halifax and Calgary, and visiting Cape Breton Highlands, Fundy, Riding Mountain, Banff, Yoho and Glacier-Mount Revelstoke parks, again to interview superintendents, chief wardens and interpretive officers. Their stated objective was "to determine and recommend administrative methods which, when applied, will ensure the effective management of the natural resources on the National Parks in the context of the National Parks Act."23 In their travels, they were to identify, examine and assess the various resource-management methods in the parks that they visited, compare the best methods with existing Warden Service roles and suggest to senior management any changes that would improve the warden function in the parks. They were also asked to assess career opportunities within the Warden Service, and suggest standards for recruitment and training. A preliminary report was first discussed at the annual superintendents' conference in September 1967 and then was circulated confidentially to them late in October for their written comments. It was also discussed at the Chief Wardens' Conference held at Carleton Place, outside Ottawa, in March 1968. A revised study incorporating some of the suggestions received in this process and entitled "The Park Warden Function in the National Parks Service" was approved by Alex Reeve in June 1968.

The Sime-Schuler report is arguably the single most important document in the history of the Warden Service because of what it said about the wardens as they existed in the mid-1960s and, more significantly, for the directions it suggested for their future development. The report did not receive universal acclaim when it was issued, and some of its recommendations have been honored more with lip service than action. Nevertheless, it has served through the intervening quarter of a century as both a guide for the development of the Warden Service and as a yardstick against which changes in the functions and roles of the wardens have been measured.

In introducing the term "resource management," the report stressed that the concept was not new and had in effect been practised for many years within the parks, although without any long-term planning. Sime and Schuler painted the parks as dynamic, changing entities composed of living communities of plants and animals. "As stewards of the National Parks of Canada," it was the duty of park employees to direct this change in such a manner as to maintain "an unimpaired natural condition" despite the addition of people and development into the equation.24 As preconditions to effective resource-management, detailed resource-inventories were required. These, in turn, would form the basis for detailed management plans whose objectives would provide long-term continuity. Into this tension between utilization and preservation, between recreational development and conservation, came the warden function. Sime and Schuler stressed that the warden, "as a manager of multiple resources, ... must be a generalist rather than a specialist" and recommended that the Warden Service be recognized as fulfilling four general roles in the national parks: natural-resource

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Implementing resource-management plans would always be the warden's primary function, and thus he would require "technical competence in general resource management activities." His duties within this area included not only planning but the gathering of information on which plans could be based, the actual implementation of such plans and, of course, "protecting resources from over-use or misuse." The warden's role in public relations was presented as a "very prominent" but "informal" one that would be carried out in close co-operation with the park naturalist and his interpretive program. Because of his frequent contact with park visitors, it was essential that the warden be a knowledgeable conduit of information. Public safety was the special realm of the warden, and the report recommended here that they "should continue and expand their role...." Sime and Schuler cited mountain climbing, hiking, riding, boating and swimming as the recreational activities that put visitors at particular risk and that drew on the warden's educational and remedial efforts. Although law enforcement was the fourth warden function cited in the report, Sime and Schuler stressed that the Warden Service "should not be considered a law-enforcement body, as this is not primarily its role." In their view, "laws which are designed to protect the resources from people, or people from resources, should be the responsibility of the Warden Service. Laws which protect people from other people, or property from people should be a police responsibility." The authors also stressed the need for the Warden Service "to maintain the good liaison which exists with the R.C.M. Police and that the Park Wardens continue to assist them in emergency situations." Finally on this subject Sime and Schuler recommended that wardens "not be used for routine control activities such as parking cars, traffic control, catching dogs in townsites or townsite policing."

After examining what they considered to be the appropriate roles of the Warden Service, Sime and Schuler addressed the issue of cutting back on extraneous duties that had accrued over the years. First and foremost here was maintenance and construction within the parks. Sime and Schuler insisted that these duties be transferred to the existing maintenance service, with the wardens participating "in work-planning, setting standards and approving completed work." They also recommended changes in the existing "responsibility units," the warden districts and a wider salary-grading structure, to offer wardens greater challenges and responsibilities, and wider opportunities for advancement. In this context, Sime and Schuler wanted to see the educational requirements for recruitment raised, eventually to university graduation. Existing wardens, 80 percent of whom had not graduated from high school, should be offered the training required to fit them into the new Warden Service. Efforts along these lines coupled with "natural attrition by retirement, resignations or promotions and transfers" would gradually lead to the results desired. Sime and Schuler also outlined a recruitment policy with mobility a condition of employment and three levels of entry, dependent on educational qualifications. All recruits should undergo a six-month training program following which "individuals who did not meet the required standards would be released." Finally, the report suggested that a committee, consisting of headquarters, regional and park staff from across the system, should implement its recommendations.

The Sime-Schuler report was relatively well-received by superintendents and chief wardens, perhaps, in part, because it built on and amplified many of the suggestions and recommendations that had been accumulating over the previous decade. While there was much support for a new emphasis on natural-resource management, some field officers had reservations about curtailing the wardens' law-
enforcement duties, and several voiced concerns for the future of current wardens who lacked the proposed educational requirements and were too old to be considered candidates for intensive upgrading. The superintendents knew only too well that removing the wardens from law-enforcement duties, while justifiable on a flow chart, would cause problems in practice, because other police agencies were unlikely to fill the resulting void of their own accord. The process of revising warden duties would not be accomplished overnight.

Implementing the New Order

The manner in which change came to the Warden Service in the years following the Sime-Schuler report can perhaps best be appreciated by an overview of two of the components in that change—the ending of the district warden system and the reclassification of the wardens from the operational to the technical grouping. From these realignments flowed many of the subsequent changes in the Warden Service over the intervening quarter of a century.

As noted earlier, headquarters and field managers had begun to take a hard look at the district system in 1965, when one warden openly defied the time-honored tradition of remaining permanently in his assigned territorial district. Even amid the immediate calls for maintaining precedents, there were officials, such as Steve Kun, who suggested that it was perhaps time for a reevaluation and a new approach. "I feel," he wrote in 1966, "that we should begin thinking about consolidating Warden Service facilities at service centres and make provisions for the Warden to work basically normal hours with all the time being spent on prescribed duties." The road systems and the reliable motor transportation that made it possible for Christiansen to work in Waterton Lakes and live in Cardston on his days off were available elsewhere. Park officers were also becoming increasingly aware, as the 1960s progressed, that expectations for community and social services—education for example—as well as domestic conveniences were rapidly increasing. Electricity and running water were essential in the Canadian home, rural, as well as urban. The costs of providing such basic services in the headquarters' cabins of back-country districts were beyond contemplation. Now that consideration was being given to recruiting a more highly educated warden, the pressure was even greater to provide him and his family with the amenities that had come to be seen as essential.

The idea of consolidating wardens in centralized facilities, perhaps two or three wardens and their families living at one location, near an all-season road and sharing some facilities, had much appeal as a compromise that would still permit the wardens to be relatively close to their districts. Another possibility was to centralize warden facilities in a larger community and depend on the road network to enable wardens to reach various areas of the park. Beyond this concept loomed the idea of dissolving the districts outright and making the wardens responsible for different functions throughout all or a larger portion of the park. Each of these possibilities was discussed, and most were experimented with, during the next two decades. Even as Kun and others were considering the

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theoretical possibilities in 1966, the realities were being worked out in a new park—Kejimkujik in Nova Scotia.

One compelling argument against maintaining accommodations for the district warden, and by extension against the districts themselves, was the increasing costs involved. Clearly, if a new breed of warden was to evolve—one better educated and with wider career aspirations—the housing of years gone by, often primitive and lacking in amenities by mid-century standards, was no longer adequate. In 1960, the western chief wardens recommended that electric generators that would permit the use of electricity, domestic appliances and running water at warden residences be made standard fixtures "wherever practical." They also suggested that propane-fired furnaces be made the norm, both for new residences and when existing structures required upgrading. Chief Strong agreed, adding that the "power plants should have adequate capacity for modern-day living." The new residence planned for Prince Edward Island National Park that year contained three bedrooms, a substantial improvement over the older one- and two-bedroom structures that were the norm in western and prairie parks. Steps were also being taken to replace the now hazardous furnaces in several Prince Albert warden residences. Miscellaneous improvements, such as the installation of running water and a hot water tank at Riding Mountain's Heron Creek warden residence in 1962, continued as resources permitted. When Mount Revelstoke's superintendent was arranging for construction of a new warden residence in 1961, headquarters insisted that it be located close enough to the new Trans Canada highway, so that the warden could see and be seen.27 With the growing numbers of park visitors, there was a tendency for wardens to concentrate more of their attention on areas accessible by motor vehicle, a tendency that had been increasing, along with the roads themselves, since the 1920s.

If warden residences were becoming an increasing burden to park managers because of their growing sophistication, their cost and their ambivalent role in park protection, they also became a sore point with wardens after the mid-1950s, when a system of rental charges was imposed. The idea of wardens paying rent for their accommodations was not a new one. Rental schemes had been floated in the 1940s. Now, however, impelled perhaps by rising costs, park officials made a concerted effort to impose a comprehensive accommodations-rental system based on amenities available, relative isolation, and the size and age of the building. Rental charges made one more variable to be considered by candidates for promotion and transfer. Moving to a better district could become less than appealing, if one's rent increased dramatically. The western chief wardens complained about such vagaries in 1966, citing the case of Chief Warden Gilroy whose rent increased by 50 percent, when he transferred from Kootenay to Jasper. They also noted that, at Prince Albert, wardens in outlying districts paid no more than $56.00 per month for their accommodations, while those in the townsite of Waskesiu were charged $65.00 to $84.00. Frank Camp, in his reminiscences of warden life in Jasper, notes the ultimate indignity regarding rents. Much to his chagrin, he found that he was to pay a higher rent in his Poboktan Creek home because of the very lighting, heat and water

When Kejimkujik National Park was under development in Nova Scotia in the mid-1960s, park officials had an opportunity to deal again with the question of wardens' residences and the larger issue of district divisions. The new superintendent, Everett "Ev" Doak, wanted the wardens housed "in the central staff housing area." He also recommended that the park not be divided into warden districts. He wanted the wardens to be responsible for the whole park area, with the chief warden determining the work to be done and who would patrol where. The regional forestry officer, Arnold D. Brown, thought that centralized housing was a good idea. "It would," he wrote, "relieve the warden's family of the isolation usually associated with district stations, and would be convenient for [the] transporting of his children to school, etc." Brown also touched on what would be the central argument for retaining the district system and keeping the warden located in it. Unless the warden lived in his area of responsibility, Brown suggested that, "a warden would have a different feeling toward his district. I doubt there would be the same sense of responsibility for the district or the same interest shown outside his regular working hours as would be the case if he was living in the district." The initial warden accommodations, available by 1966, consisted of house trailers. The housing plans, as they were finalized in 1968, called for four wardens' houses to be built, each with approximately 1,100 square feet of living space, including three bedrooms and a full basement. They were to be built in pairs, and close enough together to share carports and driveways.²⁹

By this time, the concept of centralization, first suggested in the mid-1960s and alluded to in the Sime-Schuler report, was gaining momentum and adherents. It was a common component of the various management utilization study team studies prepared for individual parks between 1967 and 1969. The report dealing with Jasper National Park, for example, appeared in 1968 and recommended the creation of six resource-management areas to replace the existing 14 warden districts. The new structure would not only permit better management of existing resources, the report claimed, but would also give more scope for advancement to the warden personnel involved. By early 1969, the first steps were being taken to implement these systems and, in the process, to revise and revitalize the warden function.³⁰

Implementation at Jasper National Park, to take an example, was a lengthy process that began with the establishment, on paper, of the new resource-management areas. The first area, Jasper, encompassed the former districts of Pocahontas, Palisades, Jasper Yellowhead and Smokey River, as well as Jasper townsite, and would require an establishment of a chief warden and ten park wardens, all working out of offices in Jasper townsite. Area two with headquarters at Maligne Lake consisted of two previous districts, Maligne Lake and Rocky River. It would require an "area


manager" and four wardens. Area three with headquarters at Poboktan Creek on the Jasper-Banff highway also consisted of two former districts, Brazeau and Sunwapta, and would also be staffed by an area manager and four wardens. Area four, Athabaska Falls, was on the same highway and to the north of Poboktan; it was drawn from Cavell and Athabaska Falls districts, and would be staffed by an area manager and three wardens. Area five was Devona on the Yellowhead highway to the east of Jasper townsite. It was made up of the former districts of Devona, Willow Creek and Blue Creek, and was to be staffed by an area manager and three wardens. The last management area, the former Smokey River district, was originally a subarea of Jasper and was to be monitored on a seasonal basis by staff from Jasper townsite. The wardens to be stationed at each area were to be a combination of level 1 and level 2 park wardens, with a senior warden in charge as area manager. In each case now, wardens would be living in close proximity to other wardens, and their families, and would have immediate access to paved highway transportation. Wardens would continue to patrol back-country areas on a regular basis, but the days of wardens and their families living in isolation, as had been the case for the Brazeau district warden, were to be gone forever. The Jasper solution to the problem of isolation, and the need for increasingly responsible warden roles and functions, was a compromise that dissolved the old district system without completely consolidating the park Warden Service in one central location. Other, smaller parks lent themselves more easily to the concept of complete centralization.

While the resource-management areas were being established at Jasper, wardens were being transferred and reassigned in Riding Mountain National Park strictly on the basis of the traditional districts. By January 1970, Riding Mountain officials were also dividing their park into resource-management areas—three in this case to replace the existing 11 districts. Here too, the existing warden residences with good road access would continue to be used, but the wardens would work out of an office in Wasagaming townsite. A similar process occurred at Prince Albert in 1969, with its seven existing warden districts realigned into four management areas: Waskesiu, Meridian, Sturgeon Crossing and Wabano. Each area would be the responsibility of a manager and several wardens who would live in close proximity to good all-weather roads. At Waterton Lakes, the existing four warden districts were dissolved in 1969, and the park was run as a single management area with a chief warden, one senior warden, three level 2 wardens and three seasonal level 1 wardens. Two of the level 2 wardens resided outside the townsite, at Waterton River and at the old fish-hatchery station. Before the end of the decade, the district warden system was in the process of being abolished or significantly altered throughout the national parks. The process of centralization, although tentative and partial in places, had begun. It would proceed in the following decades hand in hand with the continued improvement of road systems and communications networks in and around the national parks.


After centralization, the major change to the Warden Service in the late 1960s was the effort to upgrade the occupational classification originally established in mid-1967 for the purposes of collective bargaining. The arguments developed here became the basis for creating a new, more highly educated and skilled Warden Service with a wide range of technically demanding functions and responsibilities, including the use of search and rescue equipment, scuba gear, tranquilizing agents and trained dogs. Initial success, in the form of advancement from the operational to the general technical category, came in the early 1970s, but the process itself and the arguments that it engendered merit examination in some detail, because they show quite clearly how park managers expected the Warden Service to evolve.

Park officers were dismayed by the initial decision to place wardens in the operational category and began immediately to work for a change. It seemed an insult to lump the wardens, who exercised a major responsibility for public safety and enforcement activities in the national parks, with strictly service-oriented personnel, and it augured ill for recent efforts to enhance the warden's roles and functions. At the March 1968 meeting of chief wardens held at Carleton Place near Ottawa, the future of the Warden Service and the implementation of the Sime-Schuler report were items of major concern. As Steve Kun argued: "We need a Departmental approved program of work for Wardens which can be presented to the Bureau of Classification Revision...We need a new job statement for Chief Park Wardens and Park Wardens and [we need to] ask [the] Bureau of Classification Revision to point rate and classify the positions." The task seemed clear, and its completion would bring closer to reality the revitalization of the Warden Service envisioned in the Sime-Schuler report.

In April 1968, spurred by the receipt of selection standards for the Warden Service that specified a minimum grade-ten education, park officers began a campaign for reclassification from the operational category of the general services group. The initial approach to the Bureau of Classification Revision stressed the changes currently being implemented in the Warden Service in all the parks as a result of past and ongoing management-improvement studies. Perhaps the most significant thrust here was the determination to withdraw "maintenance and labouring functions from the Warden Service role." "At the same time," the Bureau was assured, "we have been reinforcing our attitude that Wardens must undertake a more aggressive managerial role, particularly in the sense of investigating, planning and managing natural resources in designated Warden districts." The original job descriptions had been "inadequately prepared," the argument went, and did not give sufficient weight "to the participation by Park Wardens in resource and visitor[-]use research as assistants to members of the Canadian Wildlife Service and the Planning Division of the National Parks Service respectively." The new recruiting standards were also below current requirements and would become less appropriate as technical training, and then university graduation, replaced the current grade-12 minimum.

Turning to the regions, headquarters' staff asked for "new and complete position descriptions for selected Park Warden responsibility units [still the districts] containing considerable technical

34 RG84, Vol. 2117, U174-4, Part 7, Director Coleman, to Mr. Steward, attention Mr. Ray Collins, April 17, 1968; ibid., A.C. Holden, branch personnel adviser, to Mr. Baxter, April 17, 1968.
responsibility ...." The regions were also encouraged to "consider getting rid of any current Park Warden eligible lists and running competitions, if necessary, to establish new lists on the basis of the new poster which we must have drawn up and approved." At the same time, the Canadian Wildlife Service was approached "to utilize Park Warden personnel to assist with and receive instruction in studies they are making in the National Parks this summer." Several wardens had been selected to attend courses at the forestry school in Hinton, Alberta, east of Jasper, pending Treasury Board approval. A one-week report-writing course, to be conducted by the University of Alberta in Calgary, was planned for "selected Wardens" and the chief wardens had been asked to identify warden-training needs. In Ottawa, officials were "working hard on the classification of the Park Wardens." As for the personnel most directly involved, the wardens themselves, headquarters suggested:

We think that every opportunity should be taken to encourage the Park Wardens to become active and to start thinking about resource conservation and management....they should also be encouraged to do some 'self improvement' ....for example, I understand that Parks Wardens Dumpleton and Morrison have special skills in aerial photo use and interpretation. I am sure there are many others. These men could be encouraged to develop a training program at park level to develop these skills in the other Park Wardens in their park.

An example of the kind of activities that wardens could expect to find themselves drawn into in the future was the Mountain Park Trail Study, set up in the spring of 1968 in Jasper and Kootenay parks. The purpose was to monitor trail use in the back country, utilizing trail-register boxes, information forms and the work of three summer-student assistants. Similar projects had been carried out in Banff, Yoho and Waterton Lakes over the previous two years. The 1968 study would be supervised by warden personnel. "This data collection, if effective, over 5,000 square miles of back country by the District Wardens," the Planning Division chief wrote, "will provide the data needed by our master planners as well as providing the wardens with the type of experience you [Assistant Director Alex Reeve] suggest."36

In June 1968, senior park managers, including Rory Flanagan, Don Learmonth, Bruce Mitchell, P. Lange, A.C. Holden and E. Baxter, met with a representative of the Bureau of Classification Revision to review the case for upgrading the warden classification. It was an impressive array of arguments that were put forth for change.37 The Bureau representative had come prepared to discuss only the situation of chief wardens, also in the general services group, but the discussion soon widened to encompass all of the service. Firstly, it was pointed out that wardens did not have "responsibility for the general maintenance and labour force" as the Bureau representative apparently believed. Don Learmonth stressed, as an example of the activities commonly performed by wardens, their role in investigating animal deaths and noted the technical knowledge they required. Bruce Mitchell added to this the need on occasion for impromptu autopsies in the field, and also noted the

35 RG84, Vol. 2117, U174-4, Part 7, Assistant Director Alex. J. Reeve, to directors of Atlantic and Western regions, April 23, 1968; ibid., Assistant Director Reeve, to western regional director, April 24, 1968; FRC Winnipeg, W84-85/496, PANP, Box 12, File PA174-4, Park Wardens - General, Vol. 3, 1966-69, Alex J. Reeves, assistant director national parks, to Dr. Munro. April 26, 1968. Reeves explained: "Active management for conservation of the park resources will be the prime function of Park Wardens and we are interested in exposing them to as much contact with resource management and conservation activities as we can."


ski and mountain-rescue capabilities required by the 70 percent of the warden force employed in the mountain parks. Rory Flanagan addressed the area of law enforcement and the skills that wardens needed to perform such duties and to co-operate with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Flanagan also spoke at length on the relationship between the Warden Service and the Canadian Wildlife Service. To these areas were added fire-suppression skills and the knowledge required to implement fish-stocking programs. The Bureau representative left with the promise that he would consider the information and arguments presented.

Because the warden function was actually changing, the task of park officials was not just to convince the Classification Bureau of the need for a category revision. The word had to be passed on to field managers too. Thus, in mid-1968, we find the superintendent of Prince Albert giving his chief warden the following advice concerning the proper law-enforcement role for his wardens:

As outlined in the Branch Directive, there will be occasions when a Park Warden should act properly and on his own initiative take direct actions in matters normally handled by the RCMP. There is no objection to this. It is the too intimate continuing involvement in police duties as a regular assignment that is to be avoided.

What headquarters’ officers did not want was the development of circumstances in which a warden devoted his efforts to purely law-enforcement activities, such as patrolling highways within the park with an eye for traffic rather than park infractions.\(^38\)

In the spring of 1969, a committee was established to speed up the process of converting the Warden Service to its new functions, as recommended in the Sime-Schuler report and supported by the recommendations of various management utilization study teams. Its members were J. B. Heppes representing headquarters and Central Region [given separate representation in the person of chief warden of St. Lawrence Islands National Park, George Balding, in May], and Jim Sime and Arnold Brown representing respectively Western and Atlantic regions.\(^39\) The committee was specifically directed to develop revised benchmarks for the classification process; to make an inventory by region of the education, skills and training possessed by current wardens; to prepare selection standards for recruits; to review existing training operations and prepare a warden-training program; to develop statements of responsibility to support the warden’s resource-conservation role and to develop statements of duties for “benchmark positions.”

Although it initially moved rather slowly, the committee was able to report some progress early in 1970 and to present a draft version of the new duties of a park warden. On the latter issue, the committee chairman wrote:

\(^{38}\) FRC Winnipeg, W84-85/496, PANP, Box 12, File PA174-4, Park Wardens - General, Vol. 3, 1966-69, J.R. Malfair, superintendent, PANP, to chief warden, July 5, 1968. With the completion of the Trans Canada highway through the Rockies in the 1960s, there were new opportunities for such activities in the mountain parks, but it was, at times, a problem of focus in parks such as Terra Nova National Park (hereafter TNNP) as well. Warden Service History, oral interview # 69, Joe Tucker and Jack Patey, October 1990.

The role of the Warden is rapidly changing from the old to the new as recommended in MUST [management utilization study team] reports and the Sime-Schuler report. New Statements of Duties must be prepared as soon as possible, and a start has been made in Banff. Once bench-mark statements have been prepared, and accepted, it should be a comparatively simple matter to adjust them to all Parks. However, a change of duties and responsibilities will most likely indicate a very definite need for reclassification of all Wardens.  

The resulting draft warden duties were divided into six functional areas: preserving and managing park features through on-site surveys and inspections, providing technical support to a variety of professional staff members and consultants, carrying out such resource-conservation activities as fish-stocking and animal population-maintenance programs, supervising fire-suppression and prevention efforts, doing public-safety and rescue work, and protecting people and natural resources in the parks. The chairman felt that, for a time, there would have to be "two types of wardens, one a conservation officer type involved in basic conservation and technical duties, and the other [a] non-technical man involved with public relations in campgrounds, public safety and so forth." In the continuing effort to present the work of the warden in a manner that would win him entry into the technical category, George Balding, now superintendent of St. Lawrence Islands, compared the warden's firefighting duties with those of a municipality's firefighters. He argued in part:

I feel that in the past and at present the Branch has relied on its Park Wardens to be pump operators, power saw operators and two way radio operators rather than competent forestry fire fighters. I am certain that city fire departments look on their employees as technicians, highly skilled and capable men in the area of fire suppression, not nozzle operators and truck drivers. The section [4] I think should be rewritten to reflect a true fire fighter as an all-a-round man, capable of organizing and coordinating a major fire, as well as being capable of operating a shovel to jumps spots.  

With the success in the early 1970s of these efforts to obtain a reclassification to the general technical category, park officials set the Warden Service more firmly on the path to new functions and increased responsibilities in the management and operations of the national parks.

**An Evolving Law-enforcement Policy**

It can be argued that more pressures for and against change were exerted on the warden's law-enforcement role during the 1960s than on any other traditional function. The Sime-Schuler and management utilization study team reports called for a curtailment of this facet of the warden's duties in favour of resource-conservation activities. At the same time, growing numbers of visitors, and an increasing climate of vandalism and violence in the parks, made the presence of law-enforcement agents essential. The efforts of park managers during this decade were also hindered by the unwillingness, or inability, of other law-enforcement bodies to take a more prominent role within the national parks.

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By 1960, the Warden Service had long been viewed as the enforcement agent for national park regulations pertaining to such traditional jurisdictions as wildlife and forestry preservation. Its relationship with other law-enforcement bodies, however, was less than precise and varied from park to park. As Sime and Schuler would suggest in their 1968 report, wardens, in general, were responsible for laws designed "to protect the resources from people, or people from resources....Laws which protect people from other people, or property from people should be a police responsibility." In practice, this dividing point could easily become blurred, as Chief Strong suggested to the superintendent of Waterton Lakes in 1960. Strong wrote, in part:

The director gained the impression that the Wardens are being used to a considerable degree in assisting the R.C.M.P. in policing the townsite. Co-operation with the R.C.M.P. is of course highly desirable and no doubt there has been a great improvement in the conduct of certain elements at Waterton. At the same time the Warden Service may be losing considerable public respect by becoming too intimately involved in minor police duties in the townsite and on the main highways.

It is necessary to be very careful that the Warden Service's primary work of park protection and to guide, inform and control the general public using the park does not suffer in order to provide better policing facilities in the townsite.

Warden Service and police work overlap to a considerable extent and it is not possible to define any hard and fast relationship between Warden and R.C.M.P. duties. It is a matter which must be carefully watched and which must be controlled with a good deal of discretion.  

A similar situation developed the next year at Terra Nova National Park, when a new superintendent, Ev Doak, discovered that Chief Warden Ben Roper was in the habit of accompanying the Royal Canadian Mounted Police on routine patrols along the Trans Canada highway, which bisects the park. Headquarters supported Doak:

Park Wardens do not receive the extensive training in law enforcement provided to the R.C.M. Police. It has been our experience that, except for matters connected with forest protection and the enforcement of the game and fishing regulations, the general public does not look upon a Park Warden as a police official.

Growing levels of rowdy behaviour and vandalism among a minority of park visitors in the 1960s and on into the 1970s, however, made it increasingly difficult to differentiate between warden and police responsibilities in many of the national parks. The problem appeared first, and was perhaps most extreme, in the system's smallest park, Point Pelee in southwestern Ontario. While tiny in size, Point Pelee was a major wild-fowl migration point and bird sanctuary. It also boasted beautiful sand beaches jutting into the warm waters of Lake Erie and, most importantly, it sat close to two major metropolitan centres. From its creation in 1918, Point Pelee had acted as a magnet for recreational visitors during the summer months. In the 1960s, park staff found the social climate changing—for the worse—and the Warden Service there was hard-pressed to restrict its enforcement duties to resource-conservation issues.

The problems that would plague Point Pelee first appeared in the early 1960s in connection with the annual smelt run and were initially treated with some humour by park staff. In explaining why he wanted to postpone the departure of his current chief warden, until after his replacement had arrived from Georgian Bay Islands, Superintendent Pierce wrote:

> He [Campbell] must be shown the ropes here [PPNP], this is particularly necessary in April when we have the very heavy influx of smelt fishermen. It is felt that Mr. Dawson must personally conduct Mr. Campbell through the enlightening experience particularly as it will be my first experience with this onslaught of mad fishermen.

To the incoming chief warden, Gerry Campbell, for whom Pierce was arranging the get-acquainted visit, the superintendent wrote: "You will undoubtedly find it an enlightening experience."\(^{44}\)

By 1964, the director of the Central Region, D. B. "Don" Coombs, was dealing with escalating infractions by increasingly unruly smelt fishermen, many of whom were U.S. citizens. Liquor and traffic violations were particularly difficult to handle with individuals who could simply return across the international border, where they were beyond easy apprehension. Coupled with the awkwardness of applying Canadian law to U.S. citizens was the presence of four police forces at the park: the Warden Service, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Ontario Provincial Police, and the local or county police. In Coombs' view: "It would appear that if we are to be concerned about the good name of the park, the problem of proper control of the use of liquor by fishermen during the smelt run must be taken up with Provincial and County authorities." The problem with this approach was that it left the maintenance or order in the park in the hands of agencies with other responsibilities and priorities. As it turned out, the county police chief refused to enforce the provincial liquor regulations, even when he was himself present in the park and aware of the violations. Superintendent Pierce complained that the chief had refused to accompany the chief park warden "and advised the Wardens to simply dump the liquor."\(^{45}\)

Representatives of the several agencies involved met following these incidents. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, it developed, did not wish to become involved in the enforcement of provincial liquor legislation, and the Ontario Attorney General's office balked at incurring further expenses to deal with circumstances arising from the presence of a federal institution. In practice, a chief warden, two full-time wardens and an assistant could not hope to deal with the alcohol-related vandalism and speeding infractions of an estimated 64,000 "smelt fishermen."\(^{46}\)

In February 1965, spurred by an "increase in the number of violations of the law—particularly acts of vandalism, and offences against the Highway Traffic Act and liquor laws" attributed to "the increase in park attendance over the past few years," headquarters issued a branch directive on law

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enforcement for the Warden Service. The directive reasserted earlier efforts to focus warden efforts on the maintenance of park regulations and encouraged park managers to continue their reliance on external policing agencies. It was little comfort for the hard-pressed Warden Service at Point Pelee. At the same time, however, another meeting between park officials and the chairman of the Ontario Police Commission resulted in a provincial commitment to have the Ontario Provincial Police enforce both the criminal code and liquor infractions within the park, although provincial officials expressed some doubts as to their legal authority within the federal park. As Central Regional Director Don Coombs explained the agreement:

...the OPP will look after the enforcement of the Liquor Act as best they can and will provide extra assistance during the 'Smelt Run.' It will be up to Superintendent Pierce to contact the OPP detachment at Essex when the 'run' begins.

At the same time, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which had maintained a single constable in the park the previous summer, agreed to commit two men full-time for the coming season.47

With the combined presence of three law-enforcement agencies, Point Pelee's superintendent reported no special problems with the smelt run of 1965, but the park's difficulties did not disappear. In 1966, during the smelt run, Ontario Provincial Police constables confiscated 47 quarts of liquor, 33 pints of liquor and 840 pints of beer from these seasonal fishermen. In 1967, there were again complaints of rowdyism, although now the trouble began on the May holiday weekend and continued into June. It was centred among young people who were congregating in the campgrounds in growing numbers, but the new superintendent, George J. Raby, wrote ominously of motorcycle gangs, 60 strong, lurking outside the park gates, of threatened "rumbles" and young people roaming the park throughout the weekend nights. Soon, local newspapers were describing these scenes. Within the park, strict new rules were established that limited camping permits to persons 21 years of age or over.48 The wardens, too, were entering the age of aquarius. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, it became common practice for other parks to send wardens to Point Pelee to help keep order there during the annual smelt run. A photo of one such contingent suggests that they were chosen more for their brawn than their beauty.

The presence of exuberant and wandering youths was perhaps first and most strongly felt at Point Pelee National Park, but it was a phenomenon that appeared in the recreational areas of virtually every national park over the following decade, when camping areas were specifically set aside for transient youths. Former warden and author Sid Marty, in his study Men for the Mountains, recounts an incident with unruly and drunken young people under the Bow River Bridge in Banff. Marty clearly expresses the frustrations felt by many peace officers in these circumstances. The need to control ever-increasing numbers of visitors, an expanding portion of whom seemed to have little

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interest in their natural setting, would colour the development of the warden law-enforcement function in the 1970s and 1980s. For many recent retirees of the Warden Service, the struggles to maintain order in the campgrounds during these turbulent years remain vivid memories.\footnote{Marty, \textit{Men for the Mountains}, p. 225. Joe Tucker and the late Jack Patey, Warden Service History, oral interview # 69, October 1990, vividly described some of their experiences in crowd control and campground patrols at Terra Nova National Park in the 1960s and 1970s. Similar disturbances occurred at most parks during the period and have occasionally resurfaced more recently, although usually in a more subdued manner.} The very success of the national parks in drawing visitors over the past 30 years seems, in retrospect, to have largely circumvented the repeated efforts of park managers to limit the law-enforcement duties of the Warden Service.

\textbf{Search and Rescue: Fulfilling a Mandate}

The warden's search and rescue role was established in the 1950s. In the next decade, it was honed, through rigorous training and wide-ranging experience, into an expertise recognized and sought after by protection agencies across the country. In addition, the original focus on mountain terrain was
widened to include a water-rescue capability at parks, where recreational swimming and boating were available. In the mid-1950s, park officials had been flattered by the invitation to participate in a U.S. park-ranger school on avalanche survival and rescue techniques. By the 1960s, other agencies were coming to them for training. The British Columbia government, for example, asked if its Mount Robson Provincial Park supervisor could attend the wardens' fall climbing school in 1963. In 1965, headquarters' staff at the Department of National Defence asked if three or four members of the Armed Forces could attend the next mountain-climbing and rescue school. Director Coleman wrote the western regional director: "I consider this request a compliment, indicating the extent to which the Schools have become known and the esteem in which they are held." In 1966, in what must have given park officers much gratification, permission was granted for three U.S. National Park rangers to attend the upcoming climbing school to be held in Yoho National Park. The assistant director of the National Park Service, Howard W. Baker, wrote to Director Coleman:

> Technical climbing is steadily increasing here, and there has been a surge in winter climbing. Too, the National Ski Association is active by sponsoring cross-country skiing and outlets for such activity. It all adds up to the need for us to maintain professional capabilities in patrol and rescue. We know our men will gain much from their association with your people, and we do appreciate your thoughtfulness.\(^5\)

Late in 1966, Assistant Director Alex J. Reeve wrote to the senior assistant deputy minister about the Warden Service's achievements in mountain-rescue work. He noted: "The stature that our mountain rescue training has achieved in North America is a source of pride to the Branch and a tribute to Mr. W. Perren, our mountaineering specialist stationed at Banff." He listed the agencies that had made use of the wardens' expertise, including the Canadian Army, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the National Parks Service of the United States.\(^6\) "It is apparent," Reeve concluded, "that our National Park mountain rescue training has gained favourable recognition in the United States as well as in our own country."

Behind this praise lay an organization that was largely, as Reeve had acknowledged, the result of Walter Perren's tireless efforts and unfailing expertise. Perren had been the driving force moulding the rescue-training system since the mid-1950s, and he continued in this role until his death in 1968. He had trained a nucleus of wardens and, in turn, set them up as teachers, gradually increasing the scope and complexity of the rescue routines. By 1963, he was sufficiently confident of the current

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\(^5\) RG84, Vol. 2122, U185-2, Part 4, Regional Supervisor G.H.L. Dempster, Banff, to chief, June 18, 1963; ibid., Part 5, Director H.G. McWilliams, Parks Branch, Department of Recreation and Conservation, British Columbia, to Director J.R.B. Coleman, November 19, 1964. By the latter date, British Columbia officials were considering warden mountain-rescue training for its personnel in Garibaldi, Kananee and Mt. Assiniboine parks. Director Coleman approved of the co-operation and suggested that two provincial representatives be accommodated at the upcoming school.; ibid., Part 5, Director Coleman per D.J. Learmonth, to regional director, Western Region, March 5, 1966.; ibid., Assistant Director Howard W. Baker, NPS, United States, to Director Coleman, January 18, 1966. Records indicate that three rangers, one from Yosemite, one from Alaska's Mt. McKinley National Park, and another from Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming attended the fall 1966 school. Ibid., Wonder Lake District Ranger Wayne P. Merry, Mt McKinley National Park, Alaska, September 5, 1966 and A.J. Reeve, assistant director, National Parks, to senior assistant deputy minister, October 28, 1966. Later the same year, park officials granted the Water Research Branch of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys permission to send to the next climbing school several employees who would soon be carrying out glacier research in the Rockies. Ibid., Director Coleman per R.T. Flanagan, to western regional director, June 13, 1966.

Figure 6-2. Wardens on Bonnet Glacier, Mountain Rescue School, Banff, 1960.
[Bruno Engler photograph]
wardens' capabilities to suggest that general training courses be cut back to every second year rather than the existing annual system. At the same time, he recommended that each mountain park include two days of mountain rescue in its annual spring-training program, another way of spreading around the expertise that he had inculcated in the Warden Service. It was also Walter's way, in keeping with his teaching techniques, of ensuring that his charges could carry on when he had gone.  

The wardens' public-safety mandate was expanded into other areas as well during the 1960s. Swimming and boating had long been traditional recreational activities in such parks as Point Pelee, Georgian Bay Islands, St. Lawrence Islands, Prince Edward Island, Prince Albert and Riding Mountain, but public safety had often been delegated to seasonal staff. In the 1960s, this emphasis began to change. Park officials, admitting their ignorance of the developing field of scuba or skin diving, approached a Calgary scuba club in 1961 in search of assistance. They hoped to "have one or two trained Scuba or Skin Divers on the staff of the Warden Service in each major Park." This was an ambitious plan, and one that has never been fully realized, but it does underline the growth of public-safety concerns in the parks. By 1964, the wardens of Prince Albert were making presentations on their water-safety and rescue organization, their patrol systems and their water-skills-training methods at the annual Western Region training program. With the reorganization presaged by the Sime-Schuler report late in the decade, the Warden Service would turn more of its attention and skills to the development of an all-encompassing public-safety program and a corresponding rescue capability.

The Warden Service owed both its reputation for excellence and its prowess, directly to its willingness to devise and maintain a stringent, methodical, training program. By bringing wardens together from the far reaches of the country and placing them literally in each other's hands, the program has also provided much of the social glue that binds them together as a group. The regular training courses also permitted the testing of new equipment and techniques prior to their introduction in actual rescue attempts.

The first climbing and rescue school of the decade, held out of Cuthead camp in Banff during the last two weeks of September 1960, was typical of the processes developed to this time. Walter Perren was in charge, and led many of the activities for the 19 wardens and three Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables involved. He was assisted by mountaineering specialist Willi Pfisterer who would become a fixture in mountain-rescue training. The course itinerary included both practice and theory. It began with rope handling and tying lessons followed by "climbing practice in easy terrain," and went on to an actual climb in which Perren stressed belaying and rappelling techniques. Students were lectured on the use of map, compass and altimeter, and introduced to the relatively new cable-rescue equipment. The latter, used in place of rope, enabled rescuers to cover greater vertical distances and enhanced the scope of rescue options available to them in steep terrain. They also practised "all phases of training" on Bonnet Glacier.

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The training was intensive, tough and even grim at times, but some wardens managed to retain their sense of humour through it all. One warden, third on the rope in a climbing-school exercise in the Athabaska Valley, was reputed to have stared at his fellow students at one particularly hazardous point and told them pleasantly: "If you guys drop me, I'll come back and haunt you for the rest of your days." Despite the dangers involved, no warden, to date, has been lost on either training or rescue work, although there have been many close calls. In one incident in 1980, while on a climbing exercise on Mount Logan, search and rescue specialists Peter Perren, son of Walter Perren, and Tim Auger fell some 2,000 feet and lived to tell about it. In an earlier incident on a mock-rescue exercise, a warden narrowly escaped certain death, when a rock crashed through the rescue basket moments after he had been released from it. Walter Perren graded students for mountaineering and climbing abilities, and attitude and leadership traits, and wrote assessments in comments that ranged from "Good physical condition. Outstanding potential" to "Has fear of heights" and "Very slow to improve." A similar training program, again at Banff, and consisting of two classes totalling 38 wardens and eight Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables, was held in the spring of 1961 to teach skiing techniques and avalanche-rescue routines. Later that year, almost 60 individuals participated in the September climbing and rescue program. The winter ski and avalanche rescue school was opened to Riding Mountain wardens that winter.54

By 1962, the wardens were experimenting in the use of both a stretcher and a type of bosun's chair for moving injured climbers down vertical surfaces. By mid-decade, the open stretcher had evolved into a body-length basket, its upper portion caged to protect the immobilized victim from abrasions during the descent. Perhaps the major technological change during the decade, beyond the introduction of steel cable and winching systems, was the increasing reliance on helicopters, first to transport the rescue party to an accident scene and, as the craft became more powerful, their application in the actual rescue and evacuation of injured climbers. While the helicopter was expensive, its use meant a quicker rescue, which was especially important where critical injuries were involved. As well, helicopter rescue required only a two- or three-member rescue team, in contrast to earlier techniques that often called for a virtual rescue expedition, including pack horses and packers. Helicopter-assisted rescues using retrieval slings were introduced during the late 1960s by Peter Fuhrmann, Walter Perren's replacement in the mountain-rescue program.55 The ultimate evaluation of the training courses, the equipment and procedures, and of the wardens themselves, came, of course, on the rugged and precipitous terrain of the Rockies, where success was measured purely in terms of effort and results.

The rescue of injured climbers from Mount Avalanche in Glacier Park in July 1960 was, in many


ways, typical of search and rescue operations in the early 1960s. The incident occurred, when six inexperienced climbers, having reached the summit of Mount Avalanche, began their descent roped together but crossing snow gullies and rock ridges without using proper belaying techniques. One individual slipped, pulling the others down, and the whole group slid some 200 feet, suffering injuries ranging from broken bones to slight bruising. The expedition's leader sought assistance for his comrades, and soon Warden C. Thomas was leading eight park employees on a rescue attempt. A second group of 12, led by wardens Bill Laurilla and L. B. Faggetter, followed within hours, bringing more rescue equipment. The climbers were brought down during the night and, some 14 hours after the incident began, were recovering in Revelstoke Hospital. The rescue site was close to Illecilawet campground and the main Canadian Pacific Railway line, but still required the efforts of 22 volunteers, as well as members of the Warden Service. In his report, Chief Warden Bert Pittaway wrote: "Considering the terrain they had to negotiate and the injuries as reported plus the carrying up of baskets, deer toter, first aid supplies, extra ropes and food, I consider the number of men used were [sic] an absolute necessity."

This pattern was first broken in July 1961, when Chief Warden Jim Sime and Warden R. O. "Bob" Wood, in an unsuccessful search for a missing climber presumed lost in the crevasses of the Purcell Range near Invermere, British Columbia, were transported by helicopter some 2,000 feet up from a base camp, to the point where tracks had been located. After the effort, Sime reported that the helicopter was "of extreme value. A large area was covered in a short time, which is of prime importance in a search. This valuable time and energy would have been lost by travelling of [the] search party to the scene." A month later, warden personnel at Banff under the leadership of Walter Perren pushed existing helicopter technology to its limits during a complex, three-day effort to rescue a climber injured on Mount Blane in the Kananaskis Forest Reserve, just east of the park. In this incident, the victim was stabilized and lowered some 3,000 feet by gramminger seat and rescue basket to a point where a temporary log and rock cribwork had been constructed as a landing platform for the helicopter. From here, the climber was transported by air to vehicles waiting near the mountain's base. The incident caught the attention of local newspapers, and an account was passed on to the deputy minister.

The following year, a grateful member of a recently rescued climbing party sent a letter of thanks to his benefactors and, in so doing, captured the feelings of those for whom the warden search and rescue program existed:

Yesterday the little red aircraft had flown over several times and we were confident that the machinery of the warden rescue service had been put into operation. Sometime during the next few days we could expect to see men on foot coming up the slopes to bring help. This very comforting

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57 RG84, Vol. 656, B13-434, Part 3, Superintendent Coombs, BNP, to chief, August 21, 1961, encloses three brief reports of recent mountain-rescue efforts. Walter Perren was, by now, designated as "chief warden" at Banff, but his duties were restricted to mountain-rescue and warden-climbing training. At the same time, Bob Hand was also "chief warden" at Banff and was responsible for the overall supervision of the Warden Service there. Wardens George Balding, Ed Carleton and H. Shepherd, as well as several RCMP constables, were involved in this successful rescue effort. RG84, Vol. 656, B13-434, Part 3, Chief Strong, to superintendent, BNP, September 25, 1961.
Landing platform for helicopter under construction.

Ready to load casualty in copter; note 5 gal. milk can by platform -- rescue team drank 10 gallons of water during the two days, a major concern if this amount had to be back packed.

Basket being lowered; danger of falling rock is very great at times such as these.

thought was also the most disturbing; for to engage the help of this efficient team of men, was to call
them from their regular work. It meant a degree of hardship and danger to men, all of whom had
families and responsibilities in accordance. It was difficult to suppress a feeling of guilt—"Had we
taken all precautions to prevent this from happening?" "Were we equipped and experienced to do
what we had set out to do?" Though the answer was a firm "yes," the feeling still remained.

The day wears on, and the sun is gaining in power. We are now all awake and are sitting in the sun
to lose the chills from the night before. The air is still and the only sound is that of a waterfall,
thundering hundreds of feet to the rocks below. And if a feeling of uncertainty should prevail, the
serenity of the surroundings takes that away—temporarily.

Then suddenly the voice of a man sounds up the hill, breaking the silence. Uncertain of the direction
I look around in the bright sun. There they are—four minute figures laboring up the rocky slopes,
under packs, carrying ice axes. It seems almost unreal. After the long hours of cold and hunger the
surprise is almost too great—too sudden. They had come.

Things got a little foggy just then but when they cleared up, there were four men in the inconspicuous
green and khaki of the Warden Service. In a few minutes there was the quiet, warm greeting of men-
about-their-work. There were few words, few questions, a mountain of sandwiches and chicken, fruit
and juices; and the confidence, sobriety almost radiating from four men.58

The pattern of spring-avalanche recoveries and summer-climbing rescues continued through the
decade, increasing in tempo with the rising numbers of park visitors testing themselves against the
mountain slopes and cliffs. In 1966, Perren directed a successful rescue on Mount Babel in the
Moraine Lake area of Banff that he described as having been "completed at considerable danger to
the wardens involved" and at the cost of ten hours of helicopter time. Perren complained that
increasingly climbers were attempting new, more difficult ascents, often involving "sheer vertical
walls." "Climbers," he felt, were "taking chances knowing that they will be rescued at the cost of the
department disregarding danger involved by the rescue team." He suggested that "if climbers
had to pay the cost involved on [sic] rescues the situation would improve." His suggestion was not
acted on, but it did underline a problem that has come hand in hand with the very success of the
mountain-rescue program—the temptation for climbers to press their luck knowing that the Warden
Service was not far away. To counter this tendency, a monitoring and reporting process had been
set up in the previous decade. In the late 1960s, it was further developed into a comprehensive
search and rescue policy that outlined the objectives and intent of the program, the responsibilities
of the Warden Service and the extent of its role in protecting inexperienced adventurers from their
own folly.59 In the final analysis, though, and despite all the efforts of wardens to give good advice,
or of superintendents to close areas considered too dangerous, climbs by ill-equipped and untrained
enthusiasts in wilderness terrain continued to result in injuries and deaths.

Search and rescue programs in the national parks usually summon up visions of mountain climbing
in the Rockies, but during the 1960s, the wardens' protective role was extended to cover other terrain

58 RG84, Vol. 2122, U185-2, Part 4, Superintendent Coombs, BNP, to chief, August 21, 1962, enclosing an almost lyrical
letter of thanks to Walter Perren and men of the Warden Service who rescued the writer and several others in the summer of 1962.
Coombs sent the letter on suggesting that "it might be material for one of the Head Office publications...."

59 RG84, Vol. 2155, U316-10, Part 3, telex, general superintendent, BNP, to western regional director, August 24, 1966;
and other recreational activities—particularly boating and swimming. Here too, the move was, in large part, a response to the pressures of increasing numbers of visitors using park facilities, and a corresponding increase in life-threatening incidents. Such pressures led Point Pelee's chief warden, Murray Dawson, to call for a suitable rescue boat for the park in 1961. This park experienced several drownings each summer, largely because bathers ignored warning signs for the strong currents and an undertow off the tip of the point. Dawson was particularly frustrated in this instance, however, because he indicated that a preventable death had occurred. A sailboat had capsized in high seas between the park and Pelee Island eight miles to the southwest, and one of its occupants drowned, before a rescue effort could be mounted. A larger rescue boat was obtained, probably in 1963.

Warden staff at other parks with recreational boating and swimming facilities also took on a more active, protective role in the 1960s, although no other park had the dangers of Point Pelee's often treacherous currents. Certainly no other park had its unenviable rate of fatalities during this period. It can also be said, with some assurance, that no more bizarre a rescue effort occurred in this period than that involving Warden Ray Knight one cold and blustery day in January 1964. Knight, who would become chief warden of the park in 1974, had joined the Warden Service at Point Pelee in 1957. On January 12, while patrolling the point, Knight noticed that a strong easterly wind was causing the ice along the west beach to break away from the shore, and he began warning groups of ice fishermen of the danger. Later in the day, he discovered a group of men marooned on an ice flow, with some 50 yards of open water between them and the shore. Five of the men appeared in good health, but a sixth was stretched out motionless on the ice. Unable to communicate with the group and fearing for the one in apparent distress, Knight put a small boat in the water and rowed toward the stranded fishermen. As he did so, the wind picked up, and soon the rescuer found himself stranded with the other victims. As Knight described the scene: "It was apparent now that I wasn't going to be able to lift anyone off the ice. I threw a line to the fishermen and they helped me haul the boat from the water." Meanwhile, on shore, local police had notified the U.S. Marine Corps Rescue unit based in Detroit, and it dispatched three military helicopters to the scene.

The fishermen and their would-be rescuer were pulled one by one into a hovering helicopter and whisked to safety. Knight noted: "I was the last to leave the ice. While getting into the harness, the helicopter was caught by a gust of wind and I was lifted about thirty feet off the ice by one arm. The crewman talked the machine down and I was able to get into the harness and was lifted into the plane." Even Walter Perren's protégés would have had difficulty bettering the drama of Knight's experience with helicopter rescues.

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60 RG84, Vol. 619, PI 13-431, Part 1, Chief Park Warden M.H. Dawson, PPNP, rescue report, July 18, 1961. The Warden Service at Point Pelee did have a boat at the park, but it would appear to have been suitable only for in-shore rescue activities. The "Warden Service boat" was used to search for the body of a swimmer lost in the point's undertow that August, but, in such actions it was not required to venture out far into the lake. Ibid., Vol. 1706, PI 13-431, Part 2, Superintendent Pierce, PPNP, to Chief Strong August 8, 1961. Warden E. R. "Ray" Knight, in reporting a drowning the next summer, noted that it had not been possible to launch the park boat because of waves that were running four to five feet high. Ibid., Park Warden E.R. Knight, PPNP, to Superintendent Pierce, July 4, 1962. In fact, U.S. Marine Corps Reserve helicopters, stationed at nearby Grosse Île, Michigan, rescued the remaining victim the day after the sailboat's skipper had swum from his sinking vessel to the park to alert authorities.

Wildlife Management in Transition

The restructuring of the Warden Service that began in the late 1960s included a new vision of the warden's role as "guardian of the wild." Perhaps most noticeable within the larger parks system was the gradual falling out of favour of "harvesting" processes and the programs of ungulate slaughters that had begun in the 1940s. Coupled with these changes was a growing emphasis on the parks as refuge for all wilderness denizens and the gradual withering of the old views of "good" and "bad" animals, deserving of more or less protection. At the same time, park officials fashioned a new policy of wildlife management that gave the wardens a more vigorous and active role. They were now to gather information and conduct studies that would form the basis for future park-management strategies. A similar transformation occurred in the U.S. National Park Service during the 1960s. Here too authorities adopted a wider view of their responsibilities, which emphasized an encouragement of natural processes and a reluctance to intervene directly in stable ecosystems.62

Park officials during the decade continued to be haunted by the threat that bears posed to unwary park visitors—a threat that occasionally was realized with fatal results. Policy statements and lengthy written guidelines detailing the proper procedures for handling the various predator species would await the 1970s and 1980s, but concrete advances were made in the 1960s in the treatment they received, especially the bears of the mountain parks. These advances included the addition of tranquillizing agents to the established process of moving bears from close contact with people to back-country areas, the creation of an effective and practical "bear-proof" garbage container, and the standardization of incinerators at park garbage dumps. The 1960s also witnessed the publicizing of the parks' bear-marking program, a process that left some officials and politicians blushing as brightly as the rear ends of the bears that they had marked. Perhaps most important, and fuelling the other changes, was the unspoken but growing sense that predators, despite the dangers they represented, belonged in the parks at least as much as, if not more than, the species that had established these wildlife sanctuaries.

A definitive solution to the old problem of bears being attracted to garbage dumps was worked out in Jasper during the 1960s. In the previous decade, some progress had been made both at the townsite dump and at Jasper Park Lodge with the introduction of incinerators to burn the refuse that lured bears into contact with people. By 1960, however, the problem seemed to have returned to Jasper Park Lodge, where bears were again being sighted at the dump. The decision at this point was to live-trap the bears and ship them into the Rocky River district, where it was thought they would likely remain, and to improve the Lodge's garbage-burning process, thereby lessening the attraction of the dump. This worked for a time, but increasing numbers of visitors and growing quantities of refuse brought the issue to the fore again in 1966. In June that year, the district warden counted 18 grizzly bears frequenting the Jasper Park Lodge dump, and park officials were understandably apprehensive of a "bear/people" incident occurring. The manager of the Lodge, according to Superintendent Bruce Mitchell, wanted: "to destroy all the bears that appear at the dump," a recommendation that Mitchell dismissed as "drastic measures." Much of the Lodge's garbage was again being burned in the open, and the resulting odors were attracting grizzlies out of the Maligne

62 Wright, *Wildlife Research and Management in the National Parks*, pp. 23 and 41.
Valley to the south. Mitchell's solution was to close the Lodge's dump and to treat its garbage at a new incinerator that was large enough to process the waste from both the Lodge and the townsite. Canadian Wildlife Service Biologist Donald Flook supported Mitchell's recommendation, and Director Coleman agreed, ordering park officials to inform the Lodge that, beginning the following year, they would be required to shut down their dump and use the townsite facilities. Behind this action lay the unspoken view that the conservation of park wildlife was to be a major factor in future management decisions.

In a parallel program intended to lessen bear/people contacts in the mountain parks, work continued on the development of "bear-proof" garbage containers for use in townsites and campgrounds. Early in the decade, Jasper officials unveiled several models that they considered to be practical and effective for use in campgrounds and picnic areas. These consisted of one or two 40-gallon-drum receptacles surrounded by reinforced concrete walls four inches thick and topped by iron plate lids and steel retrieval doors. Experimentation would continue, and new configurations would be produced, but the basic elements of a bear-proof garbage container were in place early in the decade. Again, this advance was fuelled, in part, by a determination to accommodate wildlife and remove points of friction with park visitors.

Removing attractive nuisances was one side of the evolving bear policy in the 1960s. Another facet, also begun much earlier, was the transportation of troublesome animals, those that had lost their fear of man, away from inhabited areas. By the early 1960s, the wardens had developed a routine for catching such bears, using either a tranquillizing gun, if the animal was a female with cubs, or a baited culvert-type live trap. In either case, the offending animal was marked with red paint, and for a time tagged, then released into a remote area of the park. The use of a tranquilizer, Anectine, administered by dart propellant and a "Cap-Chur" gun, was a delicate task requiring skill and experience. Too large a dosage for the weight of the animal could cause death, while an insufficient amount could lead to unpleasant surprises for both wardens and bear.

In 1960, a chance remark by Northern Affairs and National Resources Minister Alvin Hamilton in the House of Commons regarding the "bad bear" painting program of national parks' staff resulted in much publicity, and some ridicule, of the process, but, in truth, there was often little humour involved in such scenes. At Waterton Lakes, the process had been largely abandoned by the early 1960s, because there were no truly remote areas into which to release problem bears. As the superintendent explained in 1961: "[when released] A bear, by taking short cuts, can almost be back to where he was trapped before the warden is." The ever-present danger to park visitors from unruly bears was a constant pressure on park staff, wardens included. Waterton Lakes chief warden, Frank Camp, echoed the sentiments of most park officials, when he wrote in explanation of four bears being shot:

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It was felt that to explain the danger of the bear to everyone and ask them to leave her alone was not sufficient precaution to avoid an accident, especially after it had attracted so much attention. To take the attitude of live and let live and have something happen to someone after, which is the action I would have liked to have taken, was too much of a gamble and the only recourse was to shoot the bears.65

The "safe" course then often meant a bullet for the bear, or, less obtrusive but equally effective, an overdose of anectine. The successful suit by an injured tourist against the U.S. park service in 1962, and the court case arising out of a Maligne Valley bear attack in Jasper in 1965, resulted in greater pressure on wardens to ensure that problems with individual bears did not recur. On a more positive note, wardens were also in the forefront of the ongoing educational effort to convince visitors that it was unhealthy, as well as illegal, to feed park animals, and that contact with bears was especially hazardous.66

The 1960s, then, represented an ambivalent stage in the development of a coherent and balanced bear-management policy. On the one hand, efforts were made to eliminate attractive nuisances and to devise non-lethal means of handling bear problems. On the other hand, concerns for the safety of park visitors often resulted in dead bears. On the wider issue of predator control, there were no longer many active programs except in Wood Buffalo, where a wolf-control policy remained in effect at mid-decade. Even here, the practice was limited, in that wolves were not disturbed in much of the park territory. Once Wood Buffalo was integrated into the national park system, the wolf-control program there came under fire. In 1968, Western Regional Director Don Coombs took the following stand:

My comments on this matter are that we should not even consider [the] poisoning of wolves in Wood Buffalo National Park. The presence of timber wolves in a wilderness environment greatly enhances a wilderness experience as has been proven in Algonquin park. Further, wolves are an important part of the biotic communities which Wood Buffalo Park represents. If anything should be eliminated from the Park it should be the trappers, not the wolves.

I was glad to note the Superintendent's stand on this matter....67

The debate on the role of predators in the national parks did not end in the 1960s, but the decade did see the last of the officially sanctioned efforts to manage wildlife populations by killing predators.

Also coming to an end by the late 1960s were the programs of ungulate slaughters that had been

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carried out annually by wardens in the mountain and prairie parks, beginning with reductions of the buffalo herds in the 1920s. Elk slaughters were held at Waterton Lakes, Elk Island and Prince Albert at the beginning of the decade but, by 1961, arguments were increasingly being forwarded against their continuance. Hunters in the vicinity of Waterton Lakes, where ranchers had traditionally pressured for elk reductions, lobbied against continued slaughters, arguing that the wardens' activities "were seriously affecting big game hunting in the Waterton area." By the late 1960s, the management utilization study team reports on individual parks were advocating, without much in the way of supporting argument, that the slaughters should be ended. At Jasper, for example, the study teams in 1968 noted curtly that the current elk-reduction program did "not harmonize with the general park concept of preservation." The report recommended that "the present practise [sic] of reducing the elk population and processing elk meat be discontinued." The program aims could be met by live-trapping and transporting elk, sterilizing them, extending hunting seasons on park boundaries and, interestingly, "permit[ting] predators to increase as a measure of control." By the end of the decade, a new wildlife-management process had formed out of the cessation of two earlier programs—predator control and ungulate slaughters. The end result was the reintroduction into the parks of a more natural means of balancing the species in the parks—one that would proceed largely without the active intervention of the wardens.

Natural-resource Conservation

The role of the warden most affected by the institutional changes of the late 1960s was that of monitoring park wildlife. In conjunction with postwar park development, wardens were encouraged to take on a more active role in the management of park resources. Initially, this meant gathering more information in the form of wildlife-census cards, assisting Canadian Wildlife Service biologists in their park studies, and conducting their own research projects on major species and significant problems. The changing emphases of the late 1960s, heralded in the Sime-Schuler and individual management utilization study team reports, strengthened this mandate. As well, the higher educational requirements set for recruitment and promotion meant that park wardens would, in future, be better able to carry out their research, monitoring and reporting functions. The full impact of these changes would not be evident for some years, but even in the 1960s and before receiving the added impetus of the various report recommendations, park wardens were expanding the range and scope of their wildlife work.

In April 1959, in an effort to supplement the existing census-card system and to establish a more accurate estimate of wildlife populations, park wardens were directed to conduct annual, intensive counts of major species in their parks. These census counts or inventories were carried out at different times of the year in each park, depending on local circumstances and the habits of the animals being monitored. For the mountain sheep and goats of Banff, the census period was late May, after the sheep had begun banding together, but before they could be lured to higher altitudes by the appearance of new grass. At smaller Fundy National Park, the census of all animals was

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taken in each district during a single week in December, just after the first snowfall. The animals counted in Fundy included moose, deer, bobcat, beaver, porcupine, rabbit, red fox, black bear, partridge, red squirrel and raccoon. At Elk Island, the species targeted for the annual census were buffalo, elk, moose, deer, beaver and coyotes. The actual census was conducted both by aerial survey and by "a ground sample count each autumn or early winter." The latter process had the benefit of "getting wardens out into and through their districts," but, in the superintendent's view, provided only crude estimates of the numbers of animals in the park. Implementation of the annual wildlife-census process was spotty at first, with some parks apparently ignoring the initial directive, but the result by mid-decade was a better understanding of relative populations of major species in each park.  

There was, in fact, so much raw data coming to the Canadian Wildlife Service, by this time, that biologists there suggested that the work of compiling and analysing the information contained in the wardens' wildlife-observation cards be turned over to the park naturalists now being hired at most of the national parks.

In his critique of the existing system, Canadian Wildlife Service Biologist Don Blood suggested:

At the present time many park wardens feel that filling out Wildlife Observation cards is a waste of time because no use is made of them, and to a large extent they are right. I think the 'card' system has merit, particularly if expanded and annually reviewed, and if wardens are encouraged to make more and better observations. Park Naturalists are in a better position than we are to accomplish these ends.

By 1966, wardens and park naturalists had begun to work together on the production and utilization of wildlife information gathered through the observation cards. In the following year, park naturalists attended the annual warden school at Banff, thereby strengthening their association with the Warden Service as a whole.

As well as serving as the eyes and ears of the organization within each park, the Warden Service continued to expand its role of conducting individual studies designed to provide information on specific questions or problems. Although Canadian Wildlife Service biologists left the sorting of census and observation-card data to park personnel after mid-decade, close co-operation continued with the Warden Service in ongoing work such as sheep-tagging projects in Jasper (1964), the setting aside of wildlife study areas in Elk Island National Park (1962-63) and an elk study at Waterton Lakes (1965-66).

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Wildlife studies conducted by the Warden Service alone ranged from the monitoring of tent caterpillars at Prince Albert, to attempts to deal with a deadly outbreak of anthrax in Wood Buffalo National Park. In the latter project, park wardens used a helicopter, bombardiers and a tractor in a desperate bid to open drive trails and herd park buffalo away from an anthrax-contaminated range in the park. While this particular effort was deemed less than successful—the problems of disease among the herds of Wood Buffalo remain intractable to this day—the Warden Service would take on more responsibility for flora and fauna conservation in the 1970s and 1980s.

Another aspect of resource conservation within the parks, and one that had traditionally been the preserve of the Warden Service, was the continuing campaign against poaching. Here, too, the reports of the late 1960s provided support for continuing and strengthening the warden's role in “protecting the park from the people.” Poaching remained an active threat and a constant pressure throughout the 1960s, although now it was often fuelled by recreational considerations rather than the need for sustenance. As in the past, Riding Mountain retained the dubious honor of being the most intensively poached park in the system. Also appearing at this time, though not in relation to Riding Mountain, were new reports of trophy hunting and traffic in ungulate horns and antlers, problems that would reach commercial proportions in the 1970s and 1980s, and would tax the skills and ingenuity of the Warden Service's developing law-enforcement specialists. As the stakes rose, so too did the dangers. In 1961, faced with continuing threats of violence from poachers who were, by definition, armed and normally worked in groups, some wardens of Riding Mountain revived the old mountain-park tradition of travelling their districts with dogs. The dogs, though, were seen now as added protection against two-legged rather than four-legged predators.

By the end of the 1960s, the Warden Service of the national parks had a virtually new mandate. Several of its traditional roles in areas such as predator control and wildlife reduction had been deemed incompatible with contemporary wildlife-conservation philosophy and were quietly terminated. With more demanding educational requirements and a determination to play a more responsible part in the planning and execution of park-management policy, the Warden Service looked forward to new roles and responsibilities. The coming decades would see these roles defined.

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In the quarter of a century following the Sime-Schuler report, many changes occurred both in the Warden Service itself and in the wider parks system. While a detailed analysis of developments in these years is beyond the scope of this publication, the following survey provides an overview of recent trends in the parks and within the Warden Service. The number of national parks almost doubled in the intervening years, as did the extent of territory to be patrolled. The nature of the resources to be protected changed too, with the addition of marine and Arctic parks. Even the “elementals” of conservation philosophy underwent some startling reassessments. Fires were no longer routinely opposed. The struggle against poaching reached a technological level undreamed of 25 years earlier. Park resources were no longer “managed” in the style of the 1960s, since wardens became responsible for assessing the probable impact of any changes proposed within park ecosystems. This latter role, refined in the 1990s, may well prove to be the wardens' most significant long-term contribution both to the national parks and to the natural habitat beyond park borders.

The human face of the Warden Service too changed during these years. Native peoples, long on the periphery of warden activities, were invited into the Warden Service and soon provided protective services in some of the new northern parks. In keeping with the evolution of North American society itself, the Warden Service was opened to women in the early 1970s. Despite all these changes, wardens continued to share with their predecessors the ultimate goal of preserving the flora and fauna of the national parks.

Maintenance Duties

None of these new directions was clearly evident to park policy-makers in the years immediately following the Sime-Schuler report. Indeed, the report meant different things to different people, depending on what portions of it they chose to stress. In practice, the wardens' functions and activities evolved in response to developing needs and problems. One of the strongest messages in the Sime-Schuler report was that the Warden Service must be freed from maintenance work. In the 1970s, the job of repairing and upgrading park infrastructures was largely passed on to engineering or “works” units within the established parks. In most parks today, these operate out of secure compounds, often shared with the facilities and vehicles of the Warden Service. However, in a new park, a warden could find himself responsible for creating the meagre visitor facilities considered suitable in a wilderness reserve. When Chief Park Warden Ray Frey arrived at Nahani in 1972, it was his task to locate and build the docks and fuel-drum storage points for those who would soon arrive to ride the wild river that was the heart of the new park.¹ Once established and operating smoothly, such services became the domain of works personnel. Similarly, when development began at Pukaskwa, the first chief warden, Mike Schintz, served as the superintendent's “right hand man” in everything from exploration of the new park to setting up maintenance facilities and locating resources.

¹ Warden Service History, oral interview # 73, Ray Frey, October 24, 1990.
Law Enforcement

Another area in which clear direction was given by the Sime-Schuler report was that of law enforcement. Wardens were to protect park resources against human threats and visitors against the dangers posed by the natural world. Law enforcement, as in the protection of property, or the enforcing of traffic and liquor regulations, was to be the domain of regular policing agencies, federal, provincial and municipal. In practice, many circumstances arose to blur these distinctions. Even when Director John I. "Jack" Nicol urged his regional directors in 1971 "to relieve wardens from the enforcement of dog and cat regulations in our park town sites," an issue that went back to the earliest days of the Warden Service in Banff, he acknowledged that they would have to remain responsible for such work in less developed portions of the parks. It was also difficult to maintain the strict separation of enforcement duties called for by Sime and Schuler. As one warden in Riding Mountain discovered, ignoring minor traffic violations on the highway bisecting the park could result in local Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables turning a similarly blind eye to game infractions. In practice, co-operation often meant action and involvement. In 1970, the director of the Ontario region, Jean-Jacques Seguin, showed some support for the suggestion, offered by the superintendent of Georgian Bay Islands, that wardens "should be able to handle routine problems and seek outside assistance only in extreme cases." Seguin agreed that "it would be most satisfactory if we could project the image of the Park Warden as the protector of the park's resources and at the same time quite rightfully slant his law enforcement role as being carried out in the name of resource protection." He also noted "that as the number of visitors increases, so do the problems which require tactful but firm control by an officer with authority."

In the new parks of the late 1960s and early 1970s—Kouchibouguac (1969), Forillon, La Mauricie, Gros Morne and Pacific Rim (1970), Kluane, Nahani and Auyuittuq (1972) and Pukaskwa (work begun in 1972)—law-enforcement duties presented the Warden Service with two distinct problems. One was the awkwardness of protecting park resources prior to official establishment, when federal legislation did not yet apply, and wardens were required to use provincial laws. The second problem was the need to deal with angry individuals who had lived in the areas now designated as national parks and who objected, sometimes violently, to expropriation and relocation, and to the loss of traditional resource-harvesting rights ranging from firewood culling, to rabbit snaring, to tidewater commercial fishing. These issues were most intense in Kouchibouguac, and the ongoing struggle there in the 1970s frequently received national news coverage. They were present in Gros Morne too, though in less spectacular fashion. In each case, the basic role of maintaining law and order was the responsibility of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, acting on the behalf of provincial authorities, but wardens were frequently in the thick of these struggles. Acts of vandalism and arson were not uncommon events, and park wardens sometimes found themselves the objects of

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5 In the 1980s, Grasslands National Park, with its patchwork territory and multiplicity of boundaries, has presented yet another challenge to the enforcement of park regulations. Informal interview with Chief Park Warden Keith Foster, Grasslands National Park, Swift Current, Saskatchewan, January 24, 1994.
intimidation and physical threats. One warden, now retired, acknowledged carrying a concealed sidearm for his personal protection during the height of the troubles at Kouchibouguac in the early 1970s. While the debate on the appropriateness of wardens carrying handguns continues to this day, such weapons were decidedly not part of the official dress code in 1972. Gros Morne’s first chief warden, Freeman Timmons, recalled entering a local store to buy cigarettes and “show the flag” shortly after arriving at the park. His friendly overtures were greeted with a stoney silence and, as he left, an anonymous voice called out: “So that’s the son of a whore who’s going to steal our homes from us." Mountain- and prairie-park wardens had faced many dangers over the years, but none quite matched the intensity of the human dramas unfolding in the new parks of the Atlantic region in the 1970s.

The warden’s law-enforcement role, as envisioned by park managers is well-illustrated in a February 1973 incident at Point Pelee. Informed that a group of Native peoples intended to make a show of hunting on park territory to publicize their own land claims, Chief Warden Ray Knight advised his wardens not to make a point of keeping anyone under surveillance but to lay charges, if illegal acts were observed. Knight also stressed that, if a game infraction occurred, the suspect was to be advised of his rights and asked for his weapon. If refused, the warden was to inform the suspect that he was obstructing a police officer but was not to attempt to seize any property by force. If faced with continued defiance, the warden was to inform the Ontario Provincial Police who would "take the necessary action." Such confrontations were rare outside Kouchibouguac and Gros Morne, and, even in the latter park, law enforcement by the end of the decade centred largely on game infractions. This is not to suggest that law enforcement became an uneventful duty. In the five-year period between 1977 and 1982, Gros Morne recorded 16 obstruction and three assault charges against park wardens. In one of the latter incidents, a rifle was fired at a warden, and, in the remaining two cases, weapons were pointed. The superintendent asked for more intensive training and better equipment for his wardens. What the wardens received, coincidentally but shortly thereafter, was a memorandum discussing the impact of the new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and guidance on how to execute an arrest.

Discouraging and curtailing unruly campground behaviour remained a warden priority in some parks during the high-visitation summer season. In 1980, the consumption or possession of alcohol was banned at Georgian Bay Islands from early May through to the first of June. In 1983, this ban was limited to the two-week period surrounding the May 24 weekend and seemed to have the desired

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6 Warden Service History, oral interview # 84, MacWilliam “Mac” Savoy, June 1991.
7 RG84, Vol. 611, C-1440-1, Part 1, memo to file, Chief Park Warden Knight, PPNP, n.d. [February 1973?].
8 Non-game-related infractions did not disappear. Warden Glen King reported a park truck tire being slashed in 1979. GMNP, File 6815, [Law-enforcement Activities], Volume 1, Glen King, park warden, GMNP, memo to file, January 4, 1979. Several months later, Chief Warden Freeman Timmons reported another vandalism incident that he believed to be an act of vengeance against the Warden Service for removing snares outside the designated snaring areas; GMNP, File 6815, [Law-enforcement Activities], Volume 1, F. Timmons, chief park warden, memo to file, March 2, 1979.
9 GMNP, File 6845, [Law-enforcement Activities], Volume 1, superintendent, GMNP, to acting director Atlantic Region, March 1, 1982.
10 GMNP, File 6845, [Law-enforcement Activities], Volume 1, A.T. Davidson, assistant deputy minister, to all regional directors, May 11, 1982.
effect. At this time, park wardens in Ontario were also designated provincial-offences officers for the purpose of enforcing Ontario liquor laws. During the same period, a seminar on "campground rowdiness and alcohol abuse" was held for the wardens of Atlantic region's national parks. By early 1983, the sense was growing both in the Ontario and Atlantic regions, that law-enforcement incidents were increasing and that they were becoming more violent. It was felt, particularly in the Atlantic Region, where problems continued at Kouchibouguac and Gros Morne, that current warden law-enforcement responsibilities were too vague and ambiguous, and that wardens needed more training. In the Ontario Region, guidelines were sent to the parks outlining a revised law-enforcement policy in which all park employees were encouraged to participate. The guidelines stressed, as the first line of attack, the need for all park staff to inform visitors of park regulations, and to watch for and report to the wardens any "potential problem situations." The guidelines also reiterated the established policy that the Warden Service was not to become "a secondary police force." Enforcing legislation beyond the National Park Act and regulations was to fall to the wardens, only if other agencies' personnel were not available or if they specifically requested warden assistance. Law-enforcement specialists were added to regional staff in the early 1980s to provide a wide range of support and expertise.

In 1987, the wardens' range of enforcement powers was officially extended to government property traffic regulations and small vessel regulations under the Canada Shipping Act. These changes permitted wardens to deal with traffic problems on proposed park lands and boating-safety infractions within park jurisdictions. The same year, a directive was issued designating as peace officers all park wardens and superintendents who had undergone law-enforcement training. The directive also provided for a new Peace Officer identification card to be carried by all qualified personnel. In 1988, changes to the National Parks Act, designed in part to discourage sophisticated big-game trophy hunting, resulted in greatly increased penalties for poaching. To support this new emphasis, a Law-enforcement Operations unit was established at headquarters, and five regional law-enforcement specialists were hired to provide guidance and information for wardens in the field. Soon, their attention would be directed not only toward trophy hunting but also to the commercial poaching of animal parts for the clandestine medicinal and aphrodisiac markets of Asia. While the

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13 GMNP, File 6815, [Law-enforcement Activities], Volume 1, K.M. East, superintendent, FuNP, to superintendents KouchNP, Kejimkujik National Park (hereafter KejNP), TNNP and CBHNP, March 9, 1981.
Figure 7-1. Atlantic Region Chief Warden's Conference, April 1979, Cheticamp, Cape Breton Highlands National Park.
Top row (l to r) John D. MacDonald, CBH; Bert Buchanan, Fundy National Park; Ben Roper, Fortress of Louisbourg NHS; Gilles Babin, Kouchibouguac; Sandy Maclean, Gros Morne National Park; unidentified; Jordan Wentzell, Cape Breton Highlands National Park.
Bottom row (l to r): Roger Daigle, Fundy National Park; Freeman Timmins, Gros Morne National Park; Gordon Cullen, Kejimkujik; Michael J. Schintz, Atlantic Region Warden Coordinator.
question of issuing side arms to members of the Warden Service remains unresolved at the present
time, wardens in some parks have recently been trained in the use of a personal-defence baton that
they routinely carry on patrol. A recent Warden Trainee Program, a 12-week course of instruction
held partially at Jasper’s Palisades in the spring of 1993, included five weeks of law-enforcement
training at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police College in Regina. New threats, increasing levels
of violence and the growing complexity of law enforcement have combined to mute the original
Sime-Schuler recommendation calling for wardens to assume a more limited and circumscribed law-
enforcement role.

Resource Conservation

Jim Sime and Don Schuler saw resource management as the pre-eminent role of the Warden Service
and, in a manner that they could not have foreseen, they have been proven quite right. Some
traditional aspects of resource management such as bear control, firefighting and antipoaching
activities have continued to play a role in the wardens’ seasonal routine. Even resource harvesting
remains in a limited form. However, in the intervening years, the central focus of resource
management has come to be the monitoring of park wildlife—the collection of inventory data, and
the assessment of species’ interaction and ecosystem development, all with an increasing emphasis
on minimal intervention and the encouragement of natural processes. This approach has meant the
virtual end of such intrusive tools as predator control. It has also called for a reassessment of fire-
suppression policy. Finally, the Warden Service has become the agency for implementing, within
the national parks, recent federal legislation assessing probable impacts on the environment of
proposed developments—the Environmental Assessment and Review Process. A response to the
growing concern that modern technological processes were causing massive damage to the natural
environment, the Environmental Assessment and Review Process is well-suited to the skills and the
resource-preservation/law-enforcement mandate of the Warden Service.

A new and more sophisticated approach to resource conservation appeared in the form of bear-
management guidelines in the early 1970s. This was a response to the rash of maulings and fatalities
in western U.S. and Canadian parks in the late 1960s and on into the 1970s, as dumps were shut
down and back-country hiking increased dramatically. At Gros Morne, for example, where the
bear population was small and the threat to visitors considered slight, a bear-management workshop
was held in 1972, and, later in the decade, wardens and other park specialists met to draft an Atlantic
Region bear-management policy. The latter document dealt with public education; identified
responsible personnel and their roles; and offered recommendations on garbage disposal, and on the

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19 The author had the opportunity to participate in a small way in this training process with a brief slide presentation on
the history of the Warden Service.
20 In the early 1970s, biologist, CWS, Wilf Etherington, was killed during an attempted grizzly-bear relocation. Other,
multiple incidents on occasion brought national attention to the growing bear/people problem. Informal interview, Warden Cliff
21 GMNP, File 9810, Volume 101, [Bear Management and Bear Incidence], D.J. Learmonth, superintendent, GMNP, to
regional director, November 3, 1972.
The bear relocation process, Warden Compound, Banff National Park, June 1976.

[John Digney, Calgary, AB]

Figure 7-2. Waiting for the drug to take effect.
Figure 7-3. Removing the incapacitated bear into net.
Figure 7-4. A two year old 250 pound grizzly.
Figure 7-5. A grizzly on its way to a new home in the back country.
issues of bear relocation and destruction. In 1979, a region-wide bear-management workshop with warden representatives from each Atlantic park was held at Kouchibouguac National Park. By the end of the decade, similar policy guidelines were in effect in all the national parks. While some oldtimers scoffed at the idea of reading a huge manual when confronted with an angry bear, the establishment of written guidelines helped to spread a uniform approach and response to bear problems, and served as a secure means of transferring knowledge and techniques from generation to generation of park personnel. Periodic workshops would also become a standard method of upgrading skills and disseminating expertise in bear management and other areas of resource-conservation work. By the mid-1980s, wardens who successfully completed a bear-management workshop received certificates qualifying them to use immobilizing equipment and drugs in bear emergencies.

Figure 7-6. Examining and tagging a black bear, Gros Morne National Park, 1970's. [Parks Canada, GMNP Photo Collection]

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23 GMNP, File 9810, Volume 101, [Bear Management and Bear Incidence], M.J. Schintz, for acting director of Atlantic Region, to superintendent of all national parks, February 5, 1979; ibid., M.J. Schintz, for director of Atlantic Region, to superintendents FUNP, KouchNP, CBHN, KejNP, GMNP and TNNP, February 20, 1979; ibid., M. Schintz, warden service coordinator, and Gary Corbett, wildlife management planner, minutes from "Bear-management Workshop", [March 7, 1979].

The planning and establishment of guidelines had gone hand in hand with fire-suppression work in the national parks since the 1920s. Beginning in the 1970s with the creation of a new forest-fire report form, there was a concerted effort to establish nationally uniform standards and routines for fire-suppression work. Later in the decade, wardens began routinely assessing and monitoring campgrounds for visitor fire-escape routes, in a combination of their resource-protection and public-safety roles. Wajax pumps, now described as "self-contained fire-fighting units," continued in use, as they had since the days of fighting railway fires in Rocky Mountains Park during World War I. Increasingly, in the 1970s and 1980s, helicopters were used to transport men and equipment to fires throughout the parks. This use of helicopters provided a revolutionary advance in fire-suppression technology, as it enabled fire crews to reach fires soon after they were first spotted. The old warden policy of reacting as quickly as possible was given a tremendous boost with the advent of increasingly powerful and wider-ranging machines. In the early 1970s, fire-suppression capability was further enhanced with the creation of a "Parks Canada air force," in reality, a small contingent of contracted aerial water bombers available for fighting park fires. A skilled, mobile team of Native firefighters was assembled to work in conjunction with the aircraft. Devised initially for use in Wood Buffalo National Park, the aircraft and ground troops were deployed against serious fires in other parks, including the Rolling River fire at Riding Mountain in 1981. Ironically, just as these advances occurred, conservationists began to question the whole policy of suppressing fire, wherever it appeared.

With every success of modern firefighting techniques and equipment, the existing forest was permitted to age further, and this aging made a greater fire more probable. Soon, it became clear that, if all fires were extinguished as they broke out, the day would come, when a drought, coupled with years of unburned deadfall, would combine to create a fire storm that no existing means could control. The loss then from a "superintendent fire" could be incalculable. It was a sobering thought, transformed to reality with the vast conflagration that consumed much of Yellowstone National Park in 1988. At Yellowstone, too, nature had been thwarted for years with the efficient prevention of fires as they developed, whether from lightning strikes or human carelessness. The results were catastrophic, and the lesson was not lost north of the border. The result was experimentation with controlled or "prescribed" burns, first in the mountain parks, to permit the natural process of fire to continue within park forests without "getting out of hand." Today, a major role of warden firefighting units is to assess fire risk, and to develop fire- and vegetation-management plans. Wardens continue to fight fire, but also to plan and supervise deliberately set fires to achieve wider objectives for vegetation and fire-danger management. Current national park fire policy, then, is predicated on a determination to let natural processes unfold with minimal intervention.

The new emphasis on minimal intervention into the natural cycles occurring within park boundaries left little justification for the time-honored traditions of permitting nearby residents to harvest

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26 GMNP, File 6222, Volume 1, [Firefighting and Equipment], Freeman Timmons, chief park warden, to superintendent, GMNP, May 20, 1977.
27 GMNP, File 6222, Volume 1, [Firefighting and Equipment], "Horse Sense from Wajax," May 17, 1978.
renewable resources. At Riding Mountain, for example, the cattle grazing and timber cutting that had been indulged in by local residents since the creation of the park in 1929 were gradually terminated. Park wardens were patrolling for errant cattle within the park by the early 1970s. Local circumstances could, on occasion, interrupt the smooth application of uniform standards across the system. In Gros Morne, for example, local residents, some of whom had been relocated, when the park was created, now lived in several “enclaves” surrounded by park territory. Their homes were wood heated, and they had traditionally looked to the surrounding woods for their fuel. As well, they had used locally available wood in the construction of their fishing boats. During the 1970s, arrangements were worked out by which these harvesting processes could continue despite the presence of the park.

In 1975, Park Superintendent J. E. “Jim” Vollmershausen informed a provincial official:

It is not Parks Canada's policy to permit the cutting of wood within a park by enclave residents, however in view of the circumstances in this particular case we do not intend to create undue hardship by eliminating the supply of domestic wood to enclave residents until an alternative is found. In 1975/76 the cutting of domestic wood supplies will be permitted in the Alex’s Woods area. A permit will be required and applicants should contact the Chief Park Warden at Rocky Harbour.

The process continued. In the early days of the park, some commercial cutting was also permitted, under the supervision of the wardens, but this was ended in the late 1970s. In 1974, Curling Laing, a forester with the Newfoundland government, transferred to the Warden Service at Gros Morne. For a time, his skills in timber gauging and supervising wood-cutting operations served him well in his new career.

The prevention of poaching remained an integral part of the wardens' resource-conservation role in the decades following the Sime-Schuler report. In the newer parks, it was necessary to curtail lengthy traditions of sustenance hunting and trapping. Gros Morne witnessed an ongoing struggle in the 1970s and 1980s between the Warden Service and local residents who refused to acknowledge the park's preservation mandate. Traps were set and found; moose and salmon were poached; weapons were seized; and convictions were obtained in court. Only gradually did attitudes begin to change. Even today, for many local residents, the sole aspect of hunting in the park that is considered “wrong” is getting caught.

A more systemic problem for the Warden Service has perhaps been the growing incidence of trophy hunting and the commercial killing of animals for parts—bear gall bladders or ungulate horns prized

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30 GMNP, File 6282, Volume 1, [Timber], January 13, 1972 to February 12, 1980, contains some 28 documents dealing with the evolution of these issues that were essential to the livelihood of the small fishing communities that were nestled within the boundaries of Gros Morne National Park.

31 GMNP, File 6280, Volume 1, [Timber for Domestic Use], J.E. Vollmershausen, superintendent, GMNP, to Keith Payne, development co-ordinator, Newfoundland, August 21, 1975.

32 Warden Service History, oral interview # 67, Curling Laing, October 1990. Mr. Laing recalled little initial change in the basic roles and functions that he fulfilled as forester and warden, a view that perplexed the interviewer who was not then aware of the details of Gros Morne's early internal development.
for their medicinal or aphrodisiac properties in the markets of Asia. Such forms of poaching are often “high-tech,” well-organized and lavishly financed, and present a particularly difficult challenge to the limited resources of the wardens. In one incident in the mid-1980s, a wealthy California big-game hunter was convicted of poaching prize mountain-sheep specimens in a mountain park. The investigation revealed that he had chosen his kills after determining and recording the details of specific animals in various park herds. His expenditures were probably exceeded only by the costs of bringing him to justice. This celebrated case is of special significance, in part, because of the cooperation displayed not only between the agencies of the federal governments of Canada and the United States, but also among a number of provincial and state law and conservation branches. The increasing prevalence of trophy hunting led, as noted above, to new park regulations providing for substantially increased fines, as well as the traditional confiscation of equipment used by the convicted poacher. More recently, wardens in Banff and Jasper parks have begun a project to mark, invisibly and indelibly, the horns of some mountain sheep and goats with the intention of using the identification marks to prove poaching in court. It is not intended that all animals be marked, but that the knowledge that some individual animals can be positively identified will deter would-be poachers. Now, no one can comfortably display a poached big-game animal without wondering if its origins can be scientifically traced. Nor are big-game animals the sole target of poachers. In the early 1990s, U.S. authorities connected a collection of rare butterflies to the species flourishing in Banff National Park. Today, Edward "Ted" Pike, a lepidopterist from the University of Calgary, is preparing an inventory of butterfly species and habitats in the park. Soon, the wardens of Banff and Jasper will be on the lookout for butterfly poachers, armed with their conservation mandate, and a knowledge of where the insects and their adversaries are likely to be found.\footnote{Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, news story, September 15, 1993.}

The more positive aspect of the wardens' resource-conservation role, as it has developed over the past quarter of a century, has been in the area of more formal wildlife monitoring, such as that done by the Canadian Wildlife Service. While there was an established relationship between the Canadian Wildlife Service and the western parks since the 1930s, the needs of the new eastern and northern parks presented challenges that were met, at least in part, by the “new” Warden Service of the post Sime-Schuler era.\footnote{GBINP, recently sent to NAJ9800-1, Part 3, Eastern Regional Director J.E. Bryant, CWS, to Central Regional Director J. Jacques Sequin, National and Historic Parks Branch, February 23, 1971. Bryant admitted in this correspondence that the Canadian Wildlife Service was not at present able to respond to the needs of the eastern parks, as they had traditionally done in the west. He suggested that representatives of the two organizations meet to establish "ways in which we [CWS] might be more helpful."} In this respect, the Warden Service in Quebec, newly minted with the parks created in 1970, took a leading role—perhaps, in part, because they were unencumbered by the traditions and routines of a less scientifically oriented era. The mandate of resource conservation has been pursued initially through the compilation of flora and fauna inventories—working on the theory that one must know what one has in order to protect it. With increasing collections of information on park resources, wardens have worked to improve their understanding both of individual species and of interactions within park ecosystems. The new work ranged from a beaver inventory prepared by the wardens at Georgian Bay Islands in 1971 to aerial observations of Gros
Morne's caribou herd in the mid-1970s. In the 1980s, thanks to miniaturization advances in the electronic industry, it was possible to fit larger animals with radio collars, and track their movements and habitat through radio direction-finders. Other projects, such as the study of declining salmon stocks in the rivers of Atlantic parks, were begun in the mid-1980s in response to regional needs and problems.

At Forillon National Park on the Gaspé peninsula of Quebec, Chief Warden Yvan Lafleur worked in the early 1970s to establish inventories of all park natural resources and to set up an effective protective system of patrols throughout the Park. In 1972 alone, inventories were prepared of eight separate species that were common to the Park. This was the beginning of an aggressive program of resource-conservation activities that soon established Quebec's Warden Service as leaders in the field. By the early 1980s and under the supervision of Jean-Guy Chavarie, Forillon's wardens undertook a number of studies of the marine mammals and birds that frequented the Park's shoreline. Forillon also participated, in 1982, in an exchange program involving wardens Pierre Gauthier and Derek Tilson of Waterton Lakes. Gauthier would return to Forillon as a dog master in the mid-1980s.

As well as pursuing a vigorous program of resource-conservation studies and monitoring programs, Quebec Region's wardens also extended their mandate through the establishment of a region-wide district system, under which the Warden Service took responsibility for enforcing park regulations in historic parks, as well as within their traditional domain of the national parks. A similar transformation has occurred in other parks as well. When Ray Frey arrived as the first uniformed park officer in Northern Yukon National Park in 1985, he soon realized that his responsibilities encompassed more than the vast herds of caribou there. The Park was dotted with exposed archaeological remains, ranging from Gold Rush and mining artifacts to pre-contact Inuit sites, all preserved in the harsh climate and protected by a lack of visitation that could soon end. At Grasslands too, archaeological sites were sufficiently prevalent to fuel an effort to have the park declared a national historic site. Here too, the onus for day-to-day protection of cultural resources rested with the Warden Service. In the West, several mountain parks institutionalized this process with the designation of Cultural Resources Management officers, wardens whose duties include inventoring and monitoring the human heritage within each park. Mountain-park wardens have also been recruited in the struggle to stabilize the earth's ozone layer, with directions going out in 1992.

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36 GMNP, File 9875, Volume 1, [Wildlife - Fish], minutes from the Salmon Management Meeting, October 13, 1983.


41 Informal interview, Chief Park Warden Keith Foster, Grasslands National Park, Swift Current, Saskatchewan, January 24, 1994. In 1994, Kejimkujik National Park in Nova Scotia was declared a National Historic Site.
to monitor ozone levels from a number of remote locations. In this instance, the wardens' purview has far outreached park boundaries.

In 1973, the federal government introduced the Environmental Assessment and Review Process to provide a means of evaluating the probable impact of physical developments planned by federal departments and agencies, before they were implemented. Thus, before major engineering works such as dams or bridges were built under federal auspices, or with federal funds, an assessment would be made of any impact that the construction would likely have on the surrounding environment. The new Environmental Assessment and Review Process, formally recognized and integrated into Parks Canada policy in 1979, complemented existing park-conservation policy and served as a powerful tool in implementing the organization's long-standing mandate for conservation and protection. It was immediately clear that the wardens were the perfect group to administer the Environmental Assessment and Review Process within the confines of the parks. By 1980, Environmental Assessment and Review Process workshops had been added to the warden-training schedule, and wardens across the country were busy studying the "Environmental Assessment and Review Guide" that had recently been prepared specifically for Parks Canada. In mid-decade, the position of environmental-protection officer was established at some parks, with incumbents reporting within the existing resource-conservation unit framework. The Environmental Assessment and Review Process has quickly become the most potent tool in the modern warden's saddlebag. Because of the universal range of its mandate within the federal sphere and the prominence that it has been given in the development-evaluation process, the Environmental Assessment and Review Process has enabled a more measured response to be made to the continuing pressures for recreational and commercial development that all national parks experience. In the United States, recent pressures have led federal agencies, including the national park rangers, to consider the establishment of an informal "environment police" network to deal with a vast range of problems from pollution to conservation. In Canada, the Environmental Assessment and Review Process has enabled the Warden Service to widen its scope as well. Once considered the "guardians of the wild," wardens might be better described today as "guardians of the ecosystem," because their interests, if not their direct authority, now transcend park borders.

At the same time that the Environmental Assessment and Review Process was being introduced, park staff were in the midst of developing and implementing a complementary scheme of their own, the Natural Resource-management Process. Devised in the mid-1970s by the Natural-resource Conservation unit in Ottawa under the guidance of Director David Lohnes, the process was designed to guide wardens in their increasingly complex natural-science research projects, and was implemented in most of the national parks in the ensuing decade. The Natural Resource-management Process was designed to guide field managers in the maintenance and preservation of existing park resources, and consisted of several steps, the most important of which was the

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42 GMNP, File 5500, Volume 1, [Environmental Assessment and Review Process (hereafter EARP) Workshops], R.B. Bradbury, for superintendent, GMNP, to director, Atlantic Region, September 3, 1980; ibid., D. Le Sauteur, for superintendent, GMNP, to assistant deputy minister, July 7, 1981.

43 GMNP, File 5500, Volume 1, [EARP Workshops], R.H. Kendall, chief, Natural-resource Conservation, Atlantic Region, to Neil Munro, assistant director, Operations, April 12, 1984.
formulation of park conservation plans. Based on biophysical data gathered for each park, largely by the wardens, the ecosystem conservation plan attempted to lay out an integrated, reasoned course of action for the management of the various resources. In theory, budgeting for future resource-conservation activities in a park was dependent on timely completion and regular updating of these plans by wardens in the field. The process has been updated over time, as mandates evolved in response to continuing pressures from development in and outside the parks, and as the mandates reflected our growing understanding of ecosystem interrelationships. For the wardens, the Natural Resource-management Process was a means of exercising new skills in the evaluation and management of park ecosystems. Ultimately, it enabled them to progress from single-species management to a comprehensive ecosystem-management perspective, and it guided their evolution from a technical to a scientific approach.

Public Safety/Search and Rescue

One of the recommendations of the Sime-Schuler report was that the public-safety and rescue role that the wardens had built up over almost two decades should be continued as a major Warden Service function. As the numbers of visitors increased in the 1970s, so too did the need for an organized response to a growing range of emergency situations. By 1974, the use of the helicopter in mountain-rescue efforts was firmly established. The guidelines, directed by the Department of Transport at the companies that supplied aerial services to the parks on a contract basis, granted belated permission to conduct mountain-emergency rescues under certain conditions. All pilots and rescue personnel were to be thoroughly trained in rescue techniques, and were to maintain their proficiency through regular training exercises. On a technical level, the policy required rescue-team members to be in radio contact with the helicopter pilot whenever suspended from a machine. The helicopters that were used had to have sufficient power to hover out of ground-effect range during rescues, and the actual suspension equipment had to be able to support at least two and a half times the weight of any maximum anticipated load. As well, operations were to be conducted only in daylight using visual flight rules. Earlier ministry insistence that any helicopter-suspension system used should have a pilot-activated jettison capability was dropped, much to the relief of the wardens who would work at the end of the cable.

At the same time that modern technology was being adapted to rescue uses, members of the Warden Service were also working to improve the effectiveness of one of their oldest and most traditional tools, the dog. From the beginning, dogs had been companions to wardens on their solitary patrols. Our earliest photograph of Bill Peyto shows him with his horses and a border collie by his side. A good dog provided not only companionship to a warden on his long and solitary travels, but also served to warn of the presence of bears, especially grizzlies. The best warden dogs learned to stay close to their master and not wander far from the trail. Their keener senses ensured that the warden would never startle a bear up close or inadvertently find himself between a mother and her cubs. Ill-disciplined dogs that ranged far from the trail could pose a hazard to their master. If they themselves

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NEW HORIZONS

disturbed or angered a bear and then retreated to the imagined safety of the warden, they could easily draw the bear along behind them, thereby endangering both themselves and their master. More than one warden, however, recalled being saved from harm and possible death by the intervention of his dog to distract an angry, and all too close bear. In the 1930s, Warden Frank Wells of Jasper had trained especially bred dogs to hunt cougar in the park, and similar efforts had been carried out in Buffalo National Park to offset the perceived coyote threat there. By the early 1970s, dogs were being trained, not simply to serve as companions and "early warning systems," but also to play a concrete and valuable role in some search and rescue efforts. Specialized education and training had come to the canine world too.

The first warden dogmaster was Alf Burstrom at Jasper [Frontispiece figure]. His dog, Ginger, was a cross between a German shepherd and a coyote. Dogs and dogmasters, beginning with Burstrom and Ginger, received training at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police's kennels at Innisfail, Alberta. This was later broadened out into a co-operative arrangement by which Royal Canadian Mounted Police dogmasters were invited to warden winter-training schools. When the program was extended to Banff, the first dogmaster there, Jack Woledge, prepared a guideline of the dogs' capabilities and limitations, for the superintendents of other mountain parks who might wish to call them in on search and rescue missions. Their greatest strength lay in tracking, either for persons lost on ground not covered with snow or for tourists who had wandered into forest areas from regularly travelled routes. They could also conduct "free searches" for lost articles of clothing or equipment, that is searches that did not depend on tracking or following a specific scent. The dogs were not to be used in game searches, and they were not trained for aggression, that is to say, they were not to be used in tracking suspected felons such as poachers. From the first, the dogs were used in avalanche searches, where their keen senses could detect victims buried in the snow. Woledge's initial admonition was to "remember both dogs are young and just trained. Do not expect them to perform miracles. Also remember they are only part of a rescue team, they alone cannot solve our problems but together we have a greater chance of success." In this co-operative, almost symbiotic, role, they have carried on the tradition established by their ancestors, when the Warden Service was just beginning. Today dogmasters and their partners perform search and rescue work in a number of parks, including Forillon on the Gaspé. Warden and dog undergo training together and form an inseparable pair. German shepherds are the breed of choice for their intelligence and keen senses. However, all dogs share much of their masters' work and leisure routines. At Forillon, for example, dogmaster Pierre Gauthier shares his work and his home in an enclave within the park with his German shepherd.

Training has remained the key to maintaining effectiveness throughout the search and rescue program. Established to develop and hone skiing and climbing skills in the mountain parks during the 1950s, search and rescue training has spread to every park. When Jasper's Alpine specialist, Willi Pfisterer, was asked to prepare a public safety plan for Kluane National Park at its establishment in the early 1970s, he used the opportunity to bring mountain-rescue specialists from the mountain parks to practice with local staff in high-altitude rescue techniques. A boon to Kluane's

fledgling Warden Service, Pfisterer's plan also honed the skills of those wardens with search and rescue experience in the Rocky Mountains parks. The result was the development of a high-altitude rescue capability using powerful Alouette helicopters and an 80-meter wire winch that wardens could access from inside the machine. The latter technique was essential, given the cold temperatures encountered at such heights.

Today, park wardens can conduct rescue missions with confidence and expertise virtually anywhere within their vast domains. By the mid-1970s, climbing training had developed, to the point where it was routinely carried out in unfamiliar terrain, often accessible only by helicopter. Such were the circumstances of a Jasper training course directed by Willi Pfisterer in 1975. In the summary of his report, Pfisterer wrote:

The course was about as realistic as one can get. The weather was cold and unpredictable and we all travelled and climbed in an unknown area. Most of the participants are technically quite good climbers, but still very short on experience. The multitude of circumstances and consequent dangers are still startling to most of them, but they are learning very fast.\(^\text{46}\)

By the end of the decade, training programs, often in the form of regional workshops, were in effect throughout the parks. In 1979, for example, a workshop on water safety, and marine search and rescue techniques, was held in the Atlantic Region. In this instance, wardens from all the regional parks were able to meet with representatives of the Canadian Red Cross and a water-safety group, Canoe Nova Scotia, to discuss the problems accompanying the growth of recreational back-country canoe trips within the national parks.\(^\text{47}\) At the same time, Atlantic Region's Warden Services manager, Mike Schintz, called on the expertise of Banff's Alpine specialist, Peter Fuhrmann, to teach climbing, and search and rescue skills, to the wardens of Gros Morne and Cape Breton Highlands parks.\(^\text{48}\)

In the previous decade, wardens from across the country had been sent to a wide range of training programs being operated in the Western Region, usually at Banff's Cuthead College or at the Palisades complex in Jasper. This effort by Schintz and Fuhrmann was one of the first to bring western mountaineering expertise to bear in eastern terrain and conditions. It took place in Gros Morne that August and resulted in plans to send several eastern wardens to the mountain parks for more intensive training.\(^\text{49}\) During the 1980s, Peter Fuhrmann, John Wackerle and a number of other

\(^{46}\) JNP, Warden Office, File 244-100 Training 1974-78, Box 2 return to Box 7, [WRO 6191], April 1, 1974 to August 14, 1975, W. Pfisterer, "Warden Training Progress Report: Rock Climbing Leadership Course, August 4-8, 1975." The six participants climbed three peaks in the Southesk area of Jasper National Park, none of which showed any sign of having been previously conquered.


\(^{48}\) GMNP, File 3748, Volume 1, [Public Safety/SAR/Accident Reports], M.J. Shintz, for director, Atlantic Region, to director, Western Region, January 2, 1979.

\(^{49}\) GMNP, File 3748, Volume 1, [Public Safety/SAR/Accident Reports], M.J. Schintz, for director, Atlantic Region, to director, Western Region, October 31, 1979.
Figure 7-7. High Altitude SAR Practice. The Mount Logan expedition 1973. Top left: Willi Pfisterer; top right Peter Fuhrmann; bottom row left to right: Art Cochrane, Ab Loewen, John Wackerle, Max Winkler, Bob Haney, Hans Fuhrer; Clair Isrealson. [Schintz Collection]
Banff wardens went to Auyuittuq National Park to deliver travel, survival, and search and rescue training, and, toward the end of the decade, Fuhrmann provided the same service at Ellesmere Island National Park. In 1988, Fuhrmann, Mike Schintz, and Dave Keagi of the Coast Guard, made the first comprehensive Visitor Safety and Hazard Assessment of the proposed Gwaii Haanas National Park on South Moresby Island.  

In 1980, the Natural Resources Division at headquarters initiated an examination of current search and rescue policy as the prelude to establishing new management guidelines for this warden function. Under study were four related issues: the feasibility of charging for rescue efforts; the restriction of high-risk activities in the parks; the establishment of visitor, insurance programs such as then existed in Switzerland; and the possible elimination entirely of park search and rescue services. Reaction from the parks was swift and strong. Chief Park Warden Dan Reive, based on his experience at Point Pelee, rejected all four initiatives, and recommended a continuation of existing policies and training levels. While no major changes resulted from this review, it was determined that the Warden Service should maintain closer ties and co-operation with other national and regional agencies that were oriented to search and rescue operations. Parks Canada is an active participant in an international alpine search and rescue organization, and a keen supporter of the National Search and Rescue Secretariat, a federal umbrella agency that was established to further communication among the many bodies providing search and rescue services in Canada.

The search and rescue capability, which had been largely restricted to the mountain parks, was extended eastward in the years following the Sime-Schuler report. The two to three wardens employed at Georgian Bay Islands in Ontario cottage country worked in close co-operation with the Ontario Provincial Police to hunt for lost boaters in the summer and missing snowmobile riders in the ice of winter. Defending the Eastern Massasauga rattlesnake, a protected species, represented a classic example of the wardens' twofold duty to protect park resources from visitors and visitors from the dangers of close encounters with nature. Tact, diplomacy and an unending effort to educate park visitors were the wardens' principal weapons in this ongoing struggle. Drowning, often the result of inexperience, lax safety measures and abuse of alcohol, was the main cause of fatalities in this island park, as it was in the treacherous waters off Point Pelee to the south. Similar patterns of emergencies occupied the wardens of other shoreline parks such as Forillon, Fundy and Cape Breton Highlands. Pacific Rim with its miles of rugged coastal trails and its unpredictable weather patterns posed special hazards to visitors. A twisted ankle suffered up the rock-bound coast in rough weather.

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52 PPNP, 3748-1, Vol. 5, Reive, to Chief Park Warden Andy Corrigal, SLINP, August, 18, 1980. Corrigal was the Warden Service field representative in the task force set up to reevaluate park search and rescue policy.


54 GBINP, Warden Office, File G, Public Safety, e) Visitor/Wildlife Conflict 1980-81, [July 16, 1979 to August 10, 1981]. By 1979, the wardens were distributing an information pamphlet to visitors on the Eastern Massasauga rattlesnake in an effort to protect both parties.
could put a hiker in serious distress. Here, park wardens depended on light zodiac boats for shoreline rescues and co-operated with the Coast Guard in serious and hazardous conditions. At Gros Morne, where sheer cliffs and rugged terrain enticed back-country hikers, injuries were often more akin to those traditionally faced in the western mountain parks. By the late 1970s, helicopters were being used to retrieve injured visitors from the park's more inaccessible locations. In the north, hikers and climbers venturing into Kluane's vast wilderness must, at times, have made the park's wardens reconsider the earlier rejection of a policy limiting hazardous ventures in the national parks.

In the past decade, both public-safety emergencies and law-enforcement incidents have been documented and recorded as park "occurrences" and, more recently, have been entered in regional electronic-data collections for more general analysis and as the basis for future policy guidelines. This melding, on "paper," of two emergency-response functions, which have traditionally been viewed as separate and distinct, will probably have little impact on the day-to-day rhythm of warden duties. It may, though, provide park managers with a more flexible means of analyzing trends as they develop, and responding to new needs and problems.

Changing Faces

In a general sense, the larger gender- and ethnicity-based changes that have occurred in Canadian society over the past quarter of a century are mirrored in the Warden Service. One could hardly expect otherwise in a workforce in which females now qualify as CF-18 fighter pilots and Native peoples have wrested a share in their natural heritage. The world of the mid-1960s in which job posters for wardens in Kejimkujik National Park specifically called for male applicants is long gone. Long before they were accepted as wardens, however, women played key roles in the day-to-day activities of the Warden Service, usually as wardens' wives, or unpaid "silent partners" as Anne Dixon has called them. Wives of two of the earliest wardens, John George "Kootenai" Brown of Waterton Lakes and Lewis J. Swift at Jasper, shared their husbands' workloads and the primitive living conditions of the mountain parks early in the twentieth century. When Tom Staples, eastern division warden and gatekeeper at Rocky Mountains Park, died suddenly in 1916, Chief Game Warden Sibbald offered the latter post to Tom's wife, Annie. She served as gatekeeper, wearing a navy blue uniform complete with official Canada buttons, on into the 1930s and became a local figure of some note. In the same era but at Nemiskam National Park, Ed McHugh served as the first and only park warden, assisted by his wife, Florence, in all phases of park work. Florence took charge of the Park for two years, when her husband died in 1936, making her the only warden's wife to be responsible for a national park.

57 FRC Edmonton, BNP, File E85-86/147, Box 31, W-2, Volume 1, April 18, 1927 to December 6, 1932. The park staff list in April 1927 noted Mrs. Staple as gatekeeper.
The 1930s and 1940s saw another generation of warden wives. If the real pioneering days were over, life was still pretty primitive in the back-country districts, and on many of the highway stations as well. These wives made long, hard trips on horseback, in rain and snow, often with a small child in front on the saddle. Usually, the child would be strapped to the mother, so that her hands were free to guide her saddle horse, and lead a pack animal. They forded dangerous rivers, and rode cautiously around grizzlies that wandered the mountain trails. When they arrived at some quiet little one-room cabin, far away in a distant valley, they climbed stiffly from the saddle to help unpack the horses, light a fire in an old wood stove and fetch a pail of water from the nearest stream.

If Mrs. Warden thought that she had done well to survive the summer, learning to ride and pack, “jingle” the horses and cook over an open fire, the coming of winter brought new challenges. Now, she and her husband hit the trail at daybreak, struggling over the frozen mountain passes on foot and down the wintry valleys. Those long hours in the saddle seemed like child’s play compared to pushing snowshoes for 12 miles a day. As if winter travel wasn’t difficult enough, packing a small child along, as many warden parents did, was a real test of endurance. Babies would be packed in a backboard or “papoose bag.” Toddlers were pulled on sleighs.

Throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, warden wives continued to be the unpaid assistants of their warden husbands, still accompanying them on back-country patrols. In the highway stations, they assumed a more independent but still unpaid role, as they acted as telephone dispatchers, gate controllers, information providers, weather recorders and public-safety officers.

Women were first accepted into the Warden Service on a seasonal basis, and grudgingly by some, in the early 1970s—specifically in 1973 with the hiring of Jan Cadieu as a seasonal warden at Yoho. In 1974, four more female seasonal wardens were taken on strength, one each in Banff, Yoho, Wood Buffalo and Auyuittuq parks. By the following decade, 30 or more young women were on strength with the Park Warden Service across the country. This first generation of women wardens “proved themselves by succeeding in the more strenuous and demanding areas of their work such as back-country patrols, and search and rescue activities. By their efforts and example, they helped to dissolve the stereotypes regarding “women’s roles” and made it easier for future wardens, male and female, to work together for the common good of the parks. They provided for others the role models that they themselves never had. By their very presence, they also added a wider perspective to what had traditionally been a male enclave. There are now some women serving as

58 Some of the retired wardens interviewed in the course of research for this study expressed concern over this change in the Warden Service and in society at large. There were, it was often argued, some roles that were not suited to the female psyche or physiology, and that of warden was one. No specific examples were offered, though, of women failing to “measure up” once on the job. Also suggested as a likely problem was the issue of enforced intimacy on lengthy joint patrols of wilderness areas—an argument similar to that made in opposition to women sharing law-enforcement “stakeout” details, or serving on board naval vessels at sea. Ultimately, such problems are ones of perception as well as substance, and shrink to solvable proportions, as attitudes change. One of the first female wardens recalled being told by a chief park warden in the mid-1970s that he would not hire a warden “who had to squat to pee.” A recently retired park manager, when queried regarding gender bias in the Warden Service, observed brusquely that one does not need a penis to carry out a warden’s duties. It would seem certain that the physiology of prejudice is fading.

59 Warden History, oral interview with Bette Beswick, Calgary, October 21, 1997. Bette thoroughly describes the learning process involved and marvels at how much attitudes have changed over two decades, since her introduction into the Warden Service.

60 Warden History, oral interview with Kate Stefanuk, December 18, 1997.
permanent and senior wardens in the national parks, but their numbers remain far below any semblance of gender equality. However, women now are actively recruited for the Warden Service, and they made up perhaps a third of the warden-training program held at Jasper's Palisades in the spring of 1993. In the United States, women became rangers in 1969, but were initially refused permission to wear either the distinctive ranger stetson or the ranger badge of office.61 By 1996, one in five U.S. National Park Service rangers were women.

Native peoples, too, have traditionally played only a peripheral role in the national parks in general and, more specifically, in the Warden Service itself. This too has recently changed. They were usually excluded from traditional hunting and trapping areas with the creation of individual parks and were frequently the objects of park antipoaching programs. The exception was Wood Buffalo National Park, where Natives retained most of their ancestral hunting rights, when the Park was established in 1922. In the half century prior to the changes that followed the Sime-Schuler report, one can identify few Native wardens.62 Natives did come to occupy one significant role in the administration of the parks. Beginning in the 1930s, they often formed the majority of the fire crews that worked, usually under the direct supervision of wardens, in the mountain and prairie parks during the spring and summer of each year. Occasionally, as at Waterton Lakes just after World War One, they assisted in park predator-control campaigns and, at Wood Buffalo, they often served as guides for the initial complement of park wardens.

It was not until the late 1960s that national, employment campaigns began to target Aboriginal candidates. Such efforts have continued sporadically, encouraged perhaps by the development of northern park reserves, where the negotiations for these reserves depended on Aboriginal acceptance and participation. The introduction of the concept of joint management for new northern parks in 1979 set the stage for further Aboriginal involvement. Recruitment targets have been hindered, over the years, since educational requirements for wardens changed. Whereas in the early 1950s completion of grade 10 and an ability to ride a horse were seen as sufficient qualifications, by the 1970s, recruits usually required technical school or university training in wildlife or natural-resource management. First Nations people from rural communities usually lacked these credentials. One solution was to provide training to likely candidates. In the early 1990s, a National Aboriginal Training and Development Committee for Resource Conservation was established to encourage the employment of Aboriginal people within the national parks. The resulting Training in Partnership Project provided advice and assistance to Aboriginal recruits. Another approach was to create a lesser category of warden. The “patrolman” category appeared in the Warden Service in the 1970s and was specifically aimed at recruiting Aboriginal candidates who lacked the normal educational requirements for entry into the Warden Service. Patrolmen carried out many of the duties of the regular wardens—they could be termed assistant wardens—but lacked peace-officer status. They were employed in the northern parks and in the “south of 60” parks with neighbouring First Nation

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61 Polly Wells Kaufman, National Parks and the Woman’s Voice (University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico: 1996), pp. 139-42.

62 J. W. Gladstone who served in Waterton and Banff parks in the 1920s and 1930s was a Native warden as was Pierre Gladue who guarded the buffalo of Wood Buffalo National Park at its inception. Considering the nature of the work performed and its locale, it is clear that Aboriginals were not sought out by park administrators.
Figure 7-10. The Chief Warden, Warden and Patrolmen of Pukaskwa National Park, 1972. [Schintz Collection]
communities such as Gwaii Haanas and Pukaskwa.

The patrolman classification was used to good effect at Pukaskwa. The establishment of Pukaskwa National Park on the northeastern shore of Lake Superior in central Ontario, of Kluane in the Yukon and of Nahanni National Park on the river of that name in the Northwest Territories in the early 1970s marked the beginnings of a changing relationship between the parks system and Native peoples. Pukaskwa was created in territory that was long the traditional habitat of Ojibwa hunters and trappers. While these activities were deemed incompatible with park philosophy in the late 1960s, an effort was made to bring Natives into the workforce of the park, both as labourers building trails and visitor facilities, and as wardens protecting the resources of the park. Natives remain a notable presence in the administration of Pukaskwa and have helped to shape its development over the years. Meanwhile, in the 1970’s aboriginals Rick Staley, Ron Charbis and Chuck Hume were full-time wardens at Kluane National Park Reserve. At Nahanni, the effort to encourage Native involvement was hindered by the small numbers of Natives living near the park, and by the gulf that extended between their subsistence style of life and the technical demands of park work. Federal employment programs north and south of the 60th parallel provided some encouragement to Native candidates in the 1970s, but often such assistance was too short-lived to result in permanent employment opportunities.

Northern park reserves now in the first stages of evolution have become part of a more general land-settlement process between the federal government and Native groups. In several instances, agreements have been arranged in the hope that Native peoples can provide resource-protection services as wardens, while their culture maintains its hunter/gatherer traditions. If successful, these ventures will provide an opportunity for Native and non-Native peoples to co-operate in preserving vast stretches of our shared natural heritage. The advance here over earlier efforts is that Native employment opportunities are being written into larger land-settlement agreements, and thus are not dependent on the vagaries of federal job-creation programs. To date, success has been limited, because few Native candidates possess the educational background and technical skills now required of park wardens, and the upgrading of such skills is not a simple process in the far north.

One such example is the career of Auyuittuq National Park Reserve warden, David Kooneeliusie, a native of Nunataaq on Cumberland Sound near Pangnirtung. He joined the Warden Service in 1973 after two years of vocational training at Churchill and several factory jobs in southern Ontario. The warden career offered him an opportunity to work on the land at home. After several years at southern parks such as Forillon and La Mauricie, and at a law-enforcement course at Jasper, he returned north. Over the following decades, he has taught northern survival skills to his southern partners, and explained the nature and purpose of national parks to the northern community. Sakiasie Sowdluapik, eldest son of an Inuit hunter, followed a similar career path. He too brought basic survival skills and a knowledge of the land to his position as an Auyuittuq warden, and received further training in climbing, search and rescue techniques, and other warden functions at

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Kluane, Banff and Jasper. Amie Nashalik also joined the Auyuittuq Warden Service in the 1980s. He too saw the warden’s work, with its frequent patrols and emphasis on conservation, as a means to continue working in the outdoors. Again, he melded Inuit land skills with the duties of guarding a new national park reserve.

Park managers remain committed to this co-operative venture and are determined to see it succeed over time. They see the Native wardens and patrol persons now active in the northern parks as a precursor of what will become, in a sense, the joint stewardship of some of the last wilderness areas on the continent.

**Esprit de Corps: The Story of a Wooden Horse**

With the implementation of the Sime-Schuler report, the wardens began a march into new territory, but they brought with them the sense of camaraderie and shared purpose that they had nurtured for half a century. The social "glue" that bound them together during this uncertain period is perhaps best exemplified in the anecdote of "Packy," the little pack horse that enlivened warden schools and social gatherings from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s.

In 1963, Warden A. S. "Andy" Anderson lived at Windy Cabin in Banff Park and, as part of his outfit, had a saddle horse of which he was particularly proud. Another Banff warden, Ed Stewart, perhaps tired of listening to Andy brag about his horse, created a wooden replica of the animal. To add insult to injury, he put a pack saddle and boxes on the little figure, thereby relegating it, and by inference, the original horse, to the lowly status of pack horse, rather than prized saddle horse. Ed then presented his masterpiece, which stood about two feet tall, to Andy.

Andy, appreciating the humour, took to packing the mannequin around in the back of his own vehicle, when he was not out riding the original model. In this manner, "Packy" arrived at the Palisades Training Centre, Jasper National Park, for a large warden school in the fall of 1963. Here, the little horse was much admired by all. It was also about to embark on a career as the focal point of intrigue and skulduggery exceptional even in the annals of the Warden Service.

The first hint of trouble arrived the morning that Andy woke up to find his tiny horse missing. On going out to search, he discovered the errant replica chained and padlocked to the flagpole in the centre of the parade square at the school. The Jasper wardens, it seemed, had taken a proprietary interest in Packy and were determined to keep him.

As the school progressed, a rumour began to circulate to the effect that the Yoho wardens were planning to cut the flagpole down on the last night of the school, a traditional time of conviviality and exuberance, and take the pack horse home with them. When word of this reached the ears of

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64 Warden History, oral interview with Sakiasie Sowdluapik, Pangnirtung, November 27, 1997.
66 Most of the following information comes from personal communication with retired Warden Mike Schintz and from the latter's conversations with Andy Anderson, another former warden and a principle figure in the unfolding drama.
Jasper Chief Park Warden "Mickey" McGuire, he made it clear that, whatever happened to Packy, the flagpole was not to be touched. The immediate result was that Packy was unfastened forthwith.

No sooner was he loose, however, when some individuals from Riding Mountain National Park absconded with him. They transported him into Jasper, to the train station, where they made hurried arrangements for the horse to be shipped express to Riding Mountain. That would have seemed enough intrigue for one school, but more was yet to come.

Somehow, the wardens of Prince Albert learned of this latest manoeuvre and rushed into town, where they persuaded a bewildered station agent that there had been a change of plans. Packy was shipped to Prince Albert instead.

For the next 20 years, the little horse travelled the country, showing up at schools and festive occasions, only to spirited away again under circumstances that became ever more ingenious, as time went on. In 1969, for example, Riding Mountain's wardens outwitted their Prince Albert counterparts and, once more, regained temporary possession of the little pack horse. Their superintendent, R. H. "Dick" Kendall, did not miss the opportunity to poke a little fun at Prince Albert National Park and its wardens, while extolling what he perceived to be the superior motivation and abilities of his wardens at Riding Mountain. He wrote to his Prince Albert counterpart, John Malfair, of the "great pleasure" with which they:

received today the Jasper pack horse kindly stolen by the Prince Albert Wardens from the Park Warden School held at the Palisades Ranch. The Riding Mountain National Park Wardens being of high character and anxious to uphold the normal process of law and order forestalled this operation.
NEW HORIZONS

With scarcely suppressed glee, Kendal continued:

As you know, we, in Riding Mountain, are of charitable character. I lean towards considering this manoeuvre as an indication of the high skill and ingenuity of the Riding Mountain Wardens. Less magnanimous people might take the view of the fact, that the pack horse arrived here rather than in Prince Albert, as a measure of the normal incompetence encountered in Prince Albert National Park. Not that they would blame the Prince Albert Wardens. Anyone who has to work in that foggy, no man's land of scrub and bog could hardly be expected to be too enthusiastic. However, one has also to consider the feelings of the pack horse. Given the choice, he obviously preferred to come to a real National Park.

I do agree, however, that it would be unfair if Prince Albert were to go without any horse whatsoever. We are, therefore, enclosing a small token of the high esteem in which this Park and, particularly, the Warden Service hold you and your Park.

In 1984, when Andy Anderson retired from the Warden Service as chief park warden of Banff, he was presented with his little pack horse at his retirement dinner at the Banff Springs Hotel. It seems, however, that the nomadic life was in Packy's blood and that he was not destined to come home. He was last seen heading west on the run, under the arm of a Yoho warden. Though Packy's public appearances have become very rare in recent years, the social atmosphere and friendly rivalry that led to his travels and adventures continues to thrive, wherever wardens meet.

Retrospect and Prospects

At first glance, there would appear to be little common ground between the men and women of the Warden Service of the 1990s, and the handful of mountain men and former trappers who fought railway fires and tracked poachers in Rocky Mountains Park in the second decade of the century. Indeed, much changed in the intervening three quarters of a century, both in the circumstances surrounding warden work and in the very nature of warden duties. Wardens who once lived in back-country cabins, alone or in isolation with their families, now usually reside in small communities abutting their park. Now, warden families also enjoy the social, cultural and educational amenities of community living. No longer do wardens require permission even to leave their districts for supplies. No longer do the wardens have districts, and this administrative change, inaugurated in the late 1960s and early 1970s, is the single most significant alteration in the structure of everyday warden life. The warden and his family have experienced social change similar to that which spread throughout rural Canada in the twentieth century. Technological innovations in forms as diverse as radio, road networks, electrical generators, television and helicopters have irreversibly changed their lives.

The separation of work and family signalled by the demise of the district system has meant an end not only to isolation but also to the intermixing of duties that evolved when a warden's family lived

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67 R. H. Kendall, superintendent, RMNP, to Superintendent Malfair, PANP, Wasagaming, Manitoba, June 4, 1969, copy supplied by M. J. Schintz, Black Diamond, Alberta. It is perhaps best not to speculate on the nature of the enclosure mentioned in the last paragraph.
at the district station. Spouses who once were virtually unpaid employees, answering the forest telephone and issuing permits while the warden was on patrol, now lead lives relatively unaffected by park routines.\textsuperscript{68}

At the same time that the districts were being abolished, the Warden Service (and the rest of the civil service) was unionized, bringing yet more change to daily routines and concepts of work. The idea of being always on call was replaced by the commitment to a five-day, 40-hour week. The end result, stressed by many retired wardens who had worked in both systems, was an erosion of the sense of responsibility that a warden had felt for "his district." The warden's function had been viewed not so much as a job but rather as "a way of life" suitable for those who wished a healthy and active outdoor existence. In making this change, wardens have, in practice, simply entered mid-twentieth-century industrial society with its stress on collective agreements, overtime and a general view of work as merely a segment or portion of one's life. For many wardens, though, it signalled an irreparable loss. While one can justify the changes as being practical, even inevitable, much was lost in the transition to modern times. A part of the romance of the Warden Service, and its enduring mystique, had become history.

Change has come as well to the actual work performed by wardens over the years. Initially, Howard Sibbald was concerned with two pressing problems: suppressing fires sparked by passing coal-burning trains and, less frequently, lightning strikes; and preventing the destruction of game animals by hunters, trappers and four-legged predators within the federal preserve. To meet these goals, the wardens built trails and cabins, strung telephone lines, maintained firefighting equipment, shot predators, and mounted their lonely patrols through the wilderness. Gradually, the wardens took on more and wider duties—maintaining the parks and their infrastructures—often as not simply because they were on the spot when things needed to be done and because they were mostly "self-starters" willing to "take charge" in any given situation.

By the 1930s, warden equipment included Caterpillar tractors for opening fire roads, and wardens had begun ungulate-slaughtering programs to compensate for the absence of effective predator activity in the parks. After the Second World War, and largely in response to the pressures of steeply rising visitation, wardens embarked on an ambitious public-safety program that was centred on a finely honed and efficient search and rescue capability. In the same years, wardens turned from slaughters and predator control to become collectors of information, creators of data inventories and monitors of the vast natural resources within their domains. From the limited vistas of the mountain parks, the Warden Service had grown, with the parks system itself, to encompass a wider role in many varied settings.

If much changed for the Warden Service since its official creation in 1909, much about it remained essentially untouched. Today's wardens remain dedicated, as were Sibbald's men, to preserving

\textsuperscript{68} It should be noted that some wardens remain in government accommodations within their park or live in enclaves surrounded by park territory. In such circumstances, their families are, at times, drawn into the communications network and the work routine. Now though, this is the exception rather than the norm, and park administrators no longer take for granted the unpaid assistance of the warden's family.
Canada's national parks. The emphasis within that mandate has shifted over the years from facilitating recreational use to protecting "special places," but the fundamental role of the warden as "guardian of the wild" remains. Only the tools and the circumstances have altered. Also untouched is the esprit de corps, which has bound members of the Warden Service over the years. As in the past, their skills and knowledge coupled with their status as peace officers—now reinforced by their distinctive forest green uniforms—have given them a distinct identity within the larger bureaucracy. They are further bound together by ongoing training programs and the sharing of rigorous, sometimes hazardous, duties. Though not recognized as a separate entity on any organizational chart, the Warden Service is the most clearly defined and easily recognized group within Parks Canada. The old motto remains apt: "When in trouble or in doubt, call the Warden Service out."

History tends, by its very nature, to dwell on the past and to suggest how that past has helped to mould the present. We have seen how the strands of past experience have been woven to form the cloth of today's reality for the Warden Service. Do those strands provide any patterns for its future? One can only respond with assurance: "perhaps," for such patterns appear but dimly and reside largely in the eye of the beholder. Since the soul searching of the late 1960s, the Warden Service has evolved in several functional directions—a refinement of the public-safety/search and rescue role, a reluctant reinforcement of the warden's role as law-enforcement officer, and a determined effort to strengthen the warden's function as monitor of natural resources. Uncomfortable with these disparate paths, park managers have recently begun another examination of the wardens' role—a second Sime-Schuler study.

Perhaps the examiners will conclude that the conflicts are more apparent than real, that uniformed peace officers charged with protecting the natural environment should logically have dual jurisdictions—one for protecting visitors from nature through a rigorous search and rescue program, and another for defending nature from visitors by enforcing park regulations. Their monitoring role then becomes but an extension and refinement of the original warden patrol duty, and the essential foundation on which their other functions are based. As threats to the environment grow on a global scale and as interest in conservation increases, it may well be that the balance of roles worked out within the Warden Service over the past three quarters of a century will serve as a guide for other agencies with similar concerns and mandates. Bill Peyto might be amazed at the complexity of warden work today, but he would instantly appreciate its value.