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Where the Mountains Meet the Prairies: A History of Waterton Lakes National Park

by Graham A. MacDonald

1992

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Where the Mountains Meet the Prairies

A History of Waterton Lakes National Park

Prepared by:
Graham A. MacDonald
Historical Services,
Western Regional Office,
1992

Canada

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'We divided our holidays evenly between riding and boating. One day we would ride to a lake high in the mountains - to Upper Carthew, Lower Carthew, Bertha Alderson, or Crypt. Next day we would row to the end of Cameron Lake. Almost always we had these lakes entirely to ourselves. These were days when that part of me that revelled in solitude, the nearness of growing things, and the earth itself, was fed to repletion.'

- Annora Brown, *Sketches from Life*. 1981.

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Introduction

On the Name Waterton

As with the names of many National Parks in the Canadian Rocky Mountains, the immediate significance of the designation 'Waterton' is not immediately apparent to many travellers. The bestowing of place names on landmarks and territories in newly 'discovered' lands has long been a favoured pastime of explorers and settlers of European background. Often the choices have reflected sentimental, patriotic, logical or even ribald associations in the perception of the landscape. All of these motives may be noticed in the many place names in Waterton Lakes National Park. For example, the 'Dardanelles' and 'Bosporus' channels separating Upper, Middle and Lower Waterton Lakes, can logically be defended owing to the geographic similarity of the lake and river formations with their larger namesakes in the Sea of Marmara near Constantinople. But the granting of these names during the First World War at just the time the British Navy was attempting to wrest those strategic waters away from the Ottoman Empire, also suggests more patriotic motives. Simi-larly the name Vimy Ridge, which is attached to the prominent series of highland peaks in the south central portion of the park, is derived from an important event in Canada's World War I military history, and honours local Alberta soldiers killed or returned from the front.[1]

The name 'Waterton' has been associated with the park ever since Lieutenant Thomas Blakiston, then a member of John Palliser's British North American exploring expedition, emerged from the South Kootenay Pass in 1858 and so named the chain of lakes he found straddling the Canadian-United States border.[2] A man of great curiousity and a naturalist of the first order, Blakiston had a penchant for bestowing place names in honour of those he considered to be his masters, or those to whom scientific patronage of the day suggested an appropriate response.[3] By choosing this name he recognized one of England's most productive, although eccen-tric, naturalists, Charles Waterton, (1782-1865).[4] The place-name has persisted over time, not only for the lakes but for the park which now surrounds them.

Not all have been in agreement with the use of this name. John George 'Kootenai' Brown, whose later career is almost synonomous with the early administration of Waterton park, favoured retaining the competing name "Kootenai" in order to reflect the local significance of the lakes which constituted part of the home territory of that tribe.[5] Canon S.H. Middleton, long a promoter of the park, displayed a certain hostility toward the name as well:[6]

> The name "Waterton Lake Park" has no affinity with the glorious beauties of nature it represents. It is the most anemic title of all Canadian National Parks .'Banff', 'Jasper' 'Yoho,' 'Kootenay', 'Glacier' are all terms of euphony and description. There is something in the name. But the word 'Waterton' is weak, insipid, and lacks the appeal of romance. The mystic background of the Indian is ignored and tradition is not sustained.

This was a curious judgment for one as well informed as Canon Middleton, but undoubtedly, as historian Donald B. Smith has observed, his somewhat romantic view of the wilds of North America helped shape his outlook.[7] Canon Middleton was not alone in holding such views; but those who shared his opinion could not have looked far into the story of Charles Waterton, for in the biographical details of that curious life are to be found the very stuff of scientific courage and romance.

Born in 1782 in the relatively well-to-do circumstances of the English rural gentry, Charles Waterton was brought up in the bucolic surroundings of Walton Hall, Yorkshire, an ancestral home which he eventually turned into a bird sanctuary. As 'the squire' was possessed of an exaggerated sense of humour (which he occassionaly mixed with science), along with remarkable eccentricity, posterity has not been as kind to him as might be warranted. Typical of his love for an athletic prank was his climb to the top of St. Peter's in Rome, where he left his gloves on the lightening conductor as proof of his visit. His fervant Roman Catholicsm probably contributed towards keeping him out of respectable English scientific circles. He was something of an outsider then, and a self-made naturalist, recalled now largely because of his contributions to ornithological studies and to general knowledge about the natural history of South America.[8] In recent years, Calgary physician J.R. Maltby has outlined the important contributions made by Waterton to the practice of anesthesia through his studies of 'curare', the resinous and bitter substance derived from certain South American plants and utilized by Native tribesmen in poisonous arrows.[9]

Complaints concerning the appropriateness of the name 'Waterton' would probably not have gained the approval of one of the greatest students of the western Canadian landscape, George M. Dawson. During his geological surveys of the Rocky Mountains carried out in the early 1880's, he made special reference to what he took to be a break with, rather than a denial of tradition in the names recently being employed in the Waterton area:[10]

Plate 1-1

Charles Waterton

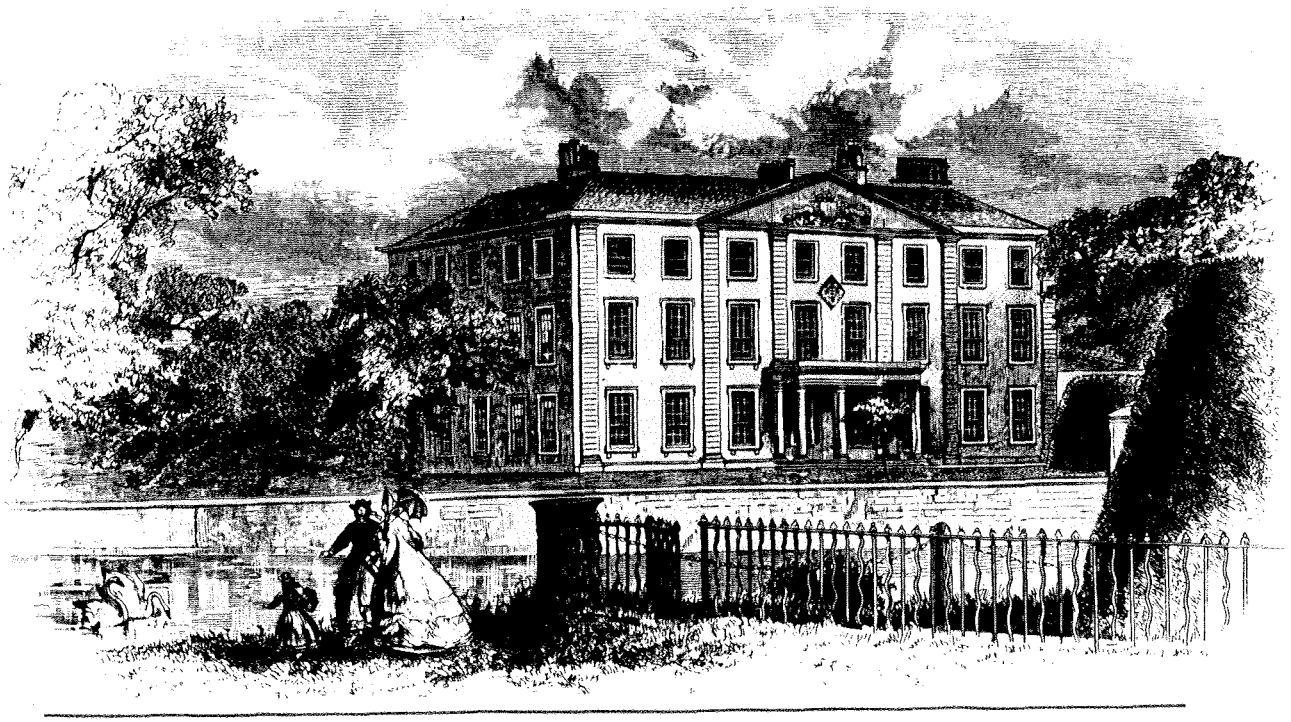


Plate 1-2 Walton Hall, Charles Waterton's Estate in England.

> Waterton Lake (Or Chief Mountain Lake, sometimes erroniously called Kootanie Lake) is nine and a half miles in total length...
> The Waterton River has appeared under this on the map for about twenty-five years, but of late some confusion has arisen owing to the circumstance that settlers recently entering the country have re-named it the Kootanie, and that this name has never appeared on maps.
> There is nothing to be said in favour of this change, and the fact that another and much larger river on the west side of the range has long been known by the latter name, renders its introduction here particularly inconvenient and misleading.

In the passage above, Dawson raises another name which was often attached to the Waterton Lakes - that of Chief Mountain. It appears as an alternative name on the official map included with the Paliser Expedition Report and on a number of other maps. The late nineteenth century fur trader, James Willard Schultz, married to a Blackfoot woman, recalled some of the names familiar in his time:[11]

> Since arriving in the country, I had heard much about two large beautiful lakes, called by the Whites Chief Mountain Lakes; by the Blackfoot tribes, Puhktomuksi Kimiks, "Lakes Inside." We did not know then that in 1846, Father Lacombe,S.J., assisted by his faithful guide Hugh Monroe, had set up a cross at the foot of the lower one of the lakes with prayer and christened them St.Mary's lakes.

The references here are to the Upper and Lower St. Mary's Lakes in Glacier National Park, south-east of Chief Mountain, and to Father S.J. Lacombe, rather than Father Albert Lacombe who came to the British west in the 1850's. There was some confusion over the proper identification of Chief Mountain Lake well into the 1850's when surveyor James Doty was under-taking to establish the basic limits of United States territory on the eastern slope of the Rockies.[12] Following the first Riel resistence in Red River in 1870, William Francis Butler was sent further west to assess the small pox situation, and on the map which accompanies his famous book of 1872, The Great Lone Land, Waterton Lake is clearly identified as Chief Mountain Lake. (Map 2-7).

The preferred name for the lakes remained somewhat ambiguous in the decades between 1880 and 1910. Two years after Dawson's report, William Pearce, the federal Superintendant of Mines, suggested that the Waterton Lakes area, among others, would be worthy of consideration as a park reserve for the public. Pearce used the name 'Waterton' in his proposal.[13] F.W. Godsal and J.G. Brown in their continuing advocay for park establishment, were just as likely to use the name 'Kootenai' as 'Waterton.' Brown, for reasons which are perhaps obvious, was a strong proponent of retaining the name 'Kootenay', being of the opinion that 'modern officialism' was misguided having 'ignored the wisdom of the ancients' by renaming the park 'Waterton'.[14] Long-time park employee and local historian, E.K. Goble, born on the Waterton River in the Glenwood area, recalled the use of the name 'Kootenay Lakes' during his youth around 1910. Goble was also of the opinion that George Brown was the main influence behind the local use of the place-name 'Kootenai.'[15] The idea that the name 'Waterton' was somehow inappropriate for the park had not completely disappeared even in the 1950's.[16]

Since the history of Waterton is, at one level, the history of a gradual refinement of park manangement philosophies towards an ethic favourable to the conservation of all species, there is something abidingly appropriate about the early choice of the name Waterton to honour this special landscape. Charles Waterton had stumbled upon certain principles well ahead of his time. For example, with respect to his experiment in converting the family estate, Walton Hall, into a bird sanctuary, he explained that the 'chief way to encourage birds is to forbid the use of firearms in the place of their resort. I have done so here, and to this precaution I chiefly owe my unparalleled success.'[17] Charles Waterton also did not fail to understand the need to alter attitudes towards wildlife in England among those ancient forerunners of the North American warden service, the traditional English gamekeeper. His thinking was once again advanced. His head gamekeeper 'did not take kindly to the eccentric order that not even birds of prey should be killed.' He was only persuaded otherwise when the Squire caught him in the act of shooting at some Tawny owls:'I threatened to strangle him if ever, after this, he molested either the old birds or their young ones'.[18] It was only in the 1920's that staff of the National Parks Branch of Canada started to seriously question past policies with respect to predator control in the lands under their administration, thus finally falling in step with Charles Waterton.

Whatever the merits may have been of naming the park and its main lakes after Charles Waterton, the recognition of other place names more reflective of Native cultural history, local traditions, and significant general achievements, is also evident throughout the park. A listing of the origins of many of the place names in Waterton in contained in Appendix I.

Endnotes

1. See Chief Mountain, *"Kootenai Brown"* Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald 1954, Ch.8

2. See Irene Spry, ed. *The Papers of the Paslliser Expedition, 1857-1860.* Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1968, pp. 577-78; and Bruce Haig, *In the Footsteps of Thomas Blakiston,* Lethbridge: Alberta Historical Trails Society, 1980.

3. One of the peaks named by Blakiston, bears the name Galton, after Sir Francis Galton, who happened to be a member of the Executive of the *Royal Geographical Society* in 1856, the body which approved and funded the Palliser Expedition. Cf. Spry (1968), p. xxii

4. See Richard Aldington, *The Strange Career of Charles Waterton* New York: 1949; Alan C. Jenkins, *The Naturalists: Pioneers of Natural History.* London: H. Hamilton, 1978, Ch. 8

5. See William Rodney, *Kootenai Brown: His Life and Times, 1839-1916,* Sidney, B.C. Gray's Publishing Ltd. 1969, pp. 195-98; and Chief Mountain, *"Kootenai" Brown"* (1954) p. 41

6. Chief Mountain, *"Kootenai Brown"* (1954), p. 41

7. Donald B. Smith, *Long Lance: The True Story of an Imposter.* Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1982, Ch.8

8. These comments are based on information provided Jenkins, *The Naturalists:* (1978), Ch. 8; J.R. Maltby, 'Charles Waterton, 1762-1865) - Curare and a Canadian National Park' *Canadian Anaesthesia Journal*, 29:3 (May, 1982); 'Proceedings of Symposium Held to Commemorate the Bicentenary of Charles Waterton, Walton Hall, June 5, 1985' *British Journal of Aneathesia* , 55:3 (March, 1983);

9. J.R. Maltby, 'Charles Waterton (1782- 1865): Curare and a Canadian National Park' Calgary: Foothills Hospital: Dept. of Aneathesia, n.d.; and 'Proceedings of a Symposium' (1982)

10. G.M. Dawson, *Report on the Region in the Vicinity of the Bow and Belly Rivers..* Montreal: Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada.1884, p. 21c f.

11. James Willard Schultz, *Blackfeet and Buffalo: Memories of Life Among the Indians.* Edited with an Introduction by Keith C. Seele.Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, p.70

12. *Report of James Doty. A Survey,* 1854. WLNP. Library. "... but my survey shows that the Chief Mountain Lake and its environs, as well as the tract of fertile country extending south to the Marias Pass, belong to the United States"

13. See Fergus Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks,* Vol.1 Ottawa: Parks Canada. 1973, p. 31

14. See Chief Mountain, *"Kootenai Brown* " (1954), p.41

15. E.K. Goble, *Waterton Park History.* Manuscript.1981, p. 145

16. NA. RG 84 Vol 226 W. 326

17. Quoted in Jenkins, (1978), p. 65

18. Ibid.

Chapter One

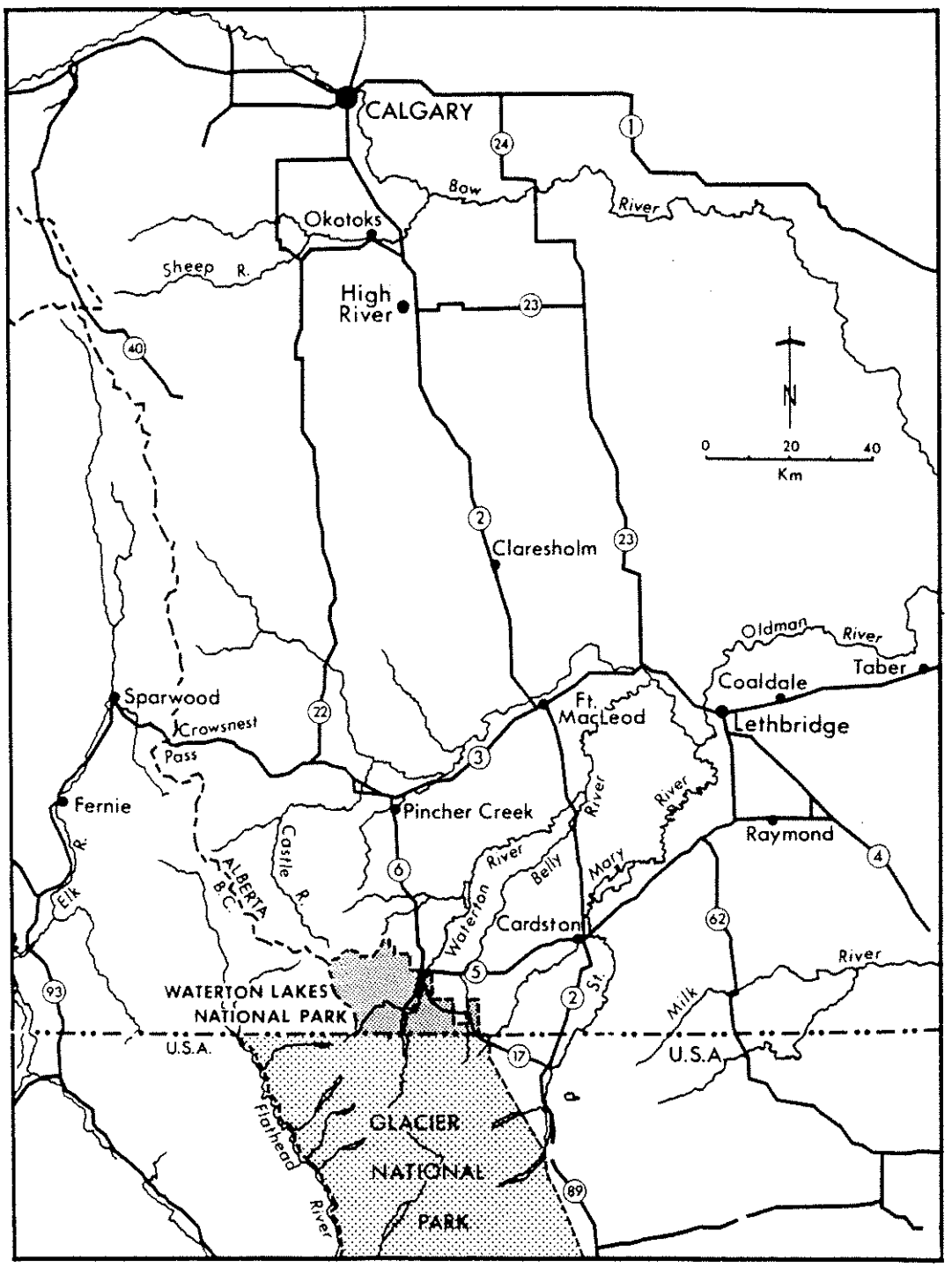
Ancient Ways at Waterton

During the first half of the twentieth century, archaeologists have tended to downplay the general prospects for discovering ancient site locations in areas of dramatic relief. Nevertheless, with much of the great cordillera of Canada defined as National Park lands, opportunities to investigate high country for prehistoric remains became more frequent, particularly after Word War II. At Waterton, the possibilities were sensed by one student of archaeology who had the great advantage of having been raised in the area. This led the Professor of archaeolgy, Richard G. Forbis, to comment in 1968 that Brian Reeves 'is well on his way to giving the lie to the old notion that the mountainous regions (even pretty ones) are vitually devoid of prehistoric cultural remains.'[1] The reference was to the body of archaeological knowledge which B.O.K. Reeves and his associates had been developing since 1964 at Waterton Lakes National Park.

European-style observation and inspection of that area is certainly very recent relative to the great antiquity of human use of the mountains and prairies by generations of Native peoples. While little systematic inspection had been attempted during the first half of the twentieth century, work by amateur archaeologists on both sides of the international border did add something to our understanding of ancient lifeways in the Waterton-Glacier region. On the Canadian side, these early efforts were advanced in the mid-1950's when Eric Harvie's new Glenbow Foundation took an active lead in sponsoring systematic survey work in Alberta.[2] One of the first sites inspected under the Glenbow program was at Hillspring Reservoir on the Waterton River, this being a 'salvage' operation undertaken in advance of the construction of the Hillspring Dam.[3] After 1964 such emergency field studies were supplemented by the National Historic Parks Branch and the University of Calgary when these institutions started to fund regular interdisciplinary field studies in Waterton Lakes National Park and at other locations in Alberta.[4] (Map 1-1)

After a quarter of a century of study at Waterton, the current view suggests that the earliest occupations date to about 10,000 years before the present time. Reeves has argued that climate 'provides the over-riding controls on the location of past Native settlement in Waterton.' This is owing to the regularity with which two climatic systems oppose each other because of the mountains: the so-called 'Arctic

The Regional Context of Waterton. Lakes National Park



Map 1-1

Canadian Parks Service

Continental', and the 'Pacific Maritime.' The regular interplay of cold arctic air in winter with warm 'chinook' winds coming through the Mountain passes from the Pacific, provides a favourable, if somewhat erratic, climate in which many groups of Native peoples have been able to survive over the centuries. The high amounts of precipitation and strong winds have, on the other hand, set 'definite limits on site location' with the result that 'sheltered locales' have been 'a requisite' owing to high snow buildups in certain areas of the valleys.[5]

Such conclusions as these have helped archaeologists predict the most favourable areas for investigation. Hence, knowledge of early human settlement at Waterton has increased greatly since the early 1960's when little site information from Rocky Mountain settings was available. As of 1991 over 240 sites have been identified in Waterton although only a few of these have actually been excavated in a rigorous way. This is in keeping with the general ethical position now adopted by many archaeological organizations which stresses the need for identification and protection of cultural remains as a first priority, followed by detailed excavation only when there is a strong argument for such investigation. Canadian Parks Service archaeologists have divided Waterton Park into a number of units for purposes of classifying and managing the ancient sites.

At Waterton, many new questions about the nature of ancient living conditions have been raised as a result of these investigations, but much has also been learned that is conclusive. In a recent comparative review of archaeological programs, it was noted that 'the Southern Alberta Rocky Mountains have a higher archaeological site density than valleys to the north.'[6] One reason for this involves the less acidic nature of the soils found in the southern ranges, a chemical condition favouring site preservation. Regionally, there have been other circumstances favorable to archaeologists working in the Belly and Waterton River watersheds, as opposed to the the rivers flowing eastward out of the much larger Glacier National Park to the south in Montana. The significant amount of dam and reservoir construction which has taken place on the eastern and western slopes of Glacier has curtailed opportunities for archaeology owing to raised water levels. The Belly, St. Mary's and Waterton River systems have been less affected by such modifications.

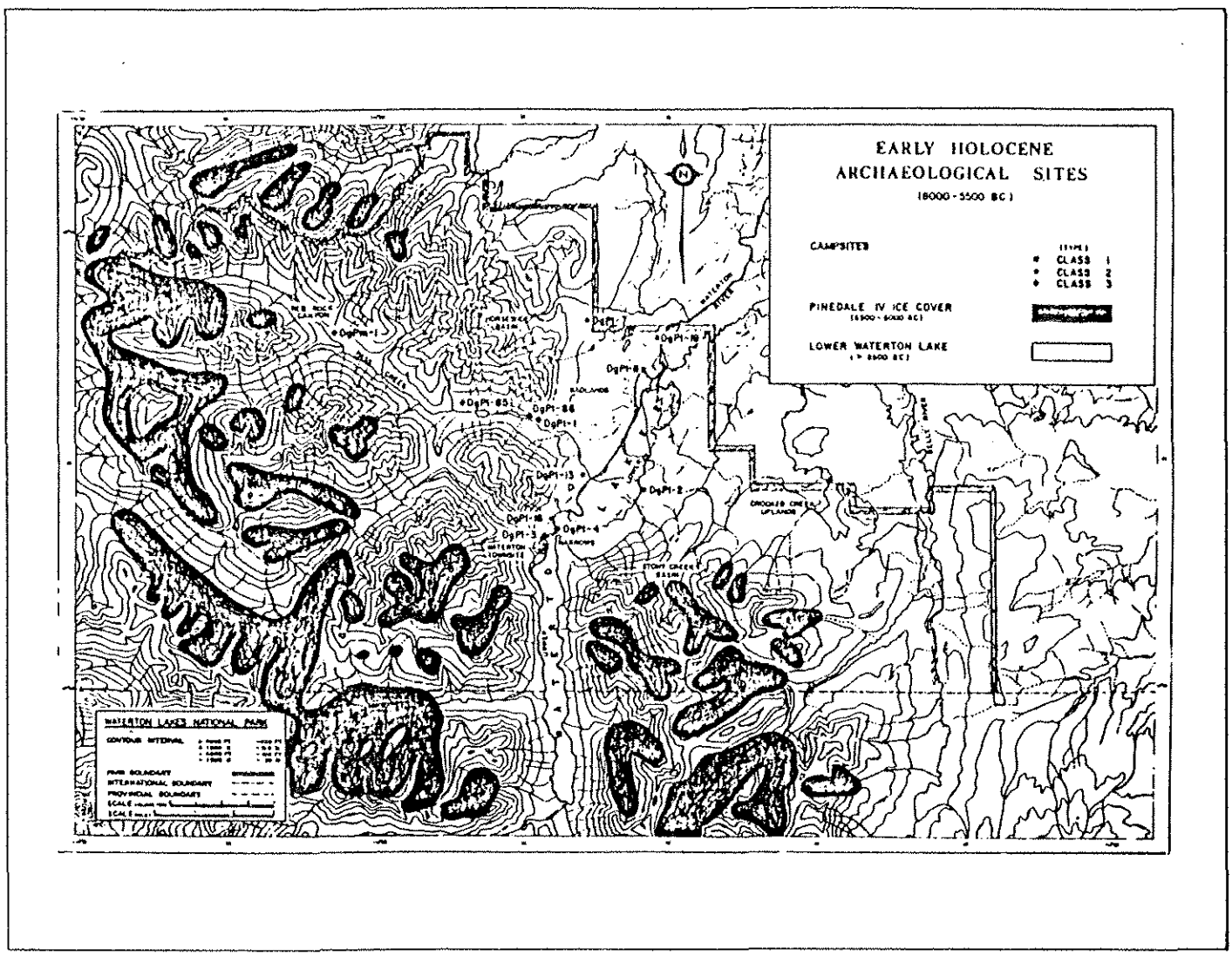
For the earliest known period in Waterton, the evidence is very scant, but the South Kootenay Pass running east to west through Waterton Park, the so-called 'Buffalo Trail,' has undoubtedly been used from very early times for purposes of travel and trade. From sites around Lake Linnet and along Red Rock Canyon, artifacts have been found dating to as early as 8000 B.C. For the following four thousand years, the sites tend to reflect cultural values associated with peoples who had mastered three distinct environments. Specifically these include:[7]

(1) peoples living in the great plateau of British Columbia and Washington;
(2) groups with a greater affinity for living in both the mountains and on the plains;
(3) those more firmly adapted to prairie conditions.

The identification of artifacts reflecting three such distinctive groups could mean a number of things, including the possibility that some were just brief visitors to the mountain regions. One element which tends to support this suggestion is associated with the interesting way in which the prairies intrude directly into the mountains. 'Where the Mountains Meet the Prairies' is a statement which has a good deal of meaning for both the contemporary and ancient worlds of Waterton. This vegetational pattern was well established shortly after the retreat of the last glacial sheets about 10,000 years ago. Waterton Park has long been characterized by a landscape which encouraged people to use precisely the kinds of artifacts which have in fact been found there. This includes items which demonstrate an interest in the hunting of bison; items more appropriate to a forest hunting and gathering kind of economy; and artifacts appropriate to a water-oriented fishing economy. Some of the oldest sites in the park are along the Blakiston valley and indicate a long history of bison slaughter and butchering. Also very ancient, but of a different character, is the 'Narrows' site where systematic archaeology has been undertaken. (Map 1-2). The evidence here suggests that seasonal fishing camps were established by about 6000 B.C. This location between Upper and Middle Waterton Lake was an ideal spot 'to intercept the spawning runs of Lake Trout and Whitefish.'[8] Waterton Park's reputation as a fishery goes back a long way in time. Some of the artifacts reflecting these different conditions and ways of life are illustrated in Plate 2-1.

The archaeological record also suggests great continuity in what has been called the 'seasonal round' of activities by which early peoples shifted their camps several times a year in order to make the best use of the resources available to them. Since these resources were the fruit of both prairie and upland, some archaeologists have described this way of life by the term 'Plains/Mountain Complex' The practitioners of this way of life are recognized as those who succeeded in fusing certain earlier traditions of the interior plateau and the plains into a viable mountain-based way of life.[9] According to this model it is argued that over time, resident groups did not necessarily become over-specialized, but instead adjusted to the opportunities of the moment. Thus, the large wintering site identified near the park entrance may have been one keyed to the movement of bison herds.The annual movement of bison in this part of the park was according to the following sequence. The herds often moved into the Blakiston Valley in spring, followed by a summer shift to the Alpine grasslands, a fall movement back to the lower pastures, and finally a move

Ancient Waterton.



After Reeves (1975)

Map 1-2

Projectile Points Taken From the Waterton Area

Plate 1-3

Early Prehistoric Points:

After Reeves (1970)

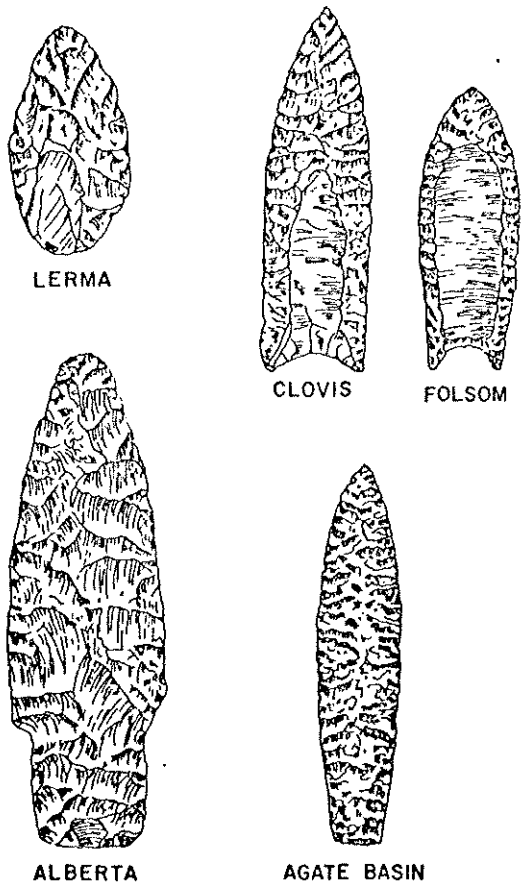
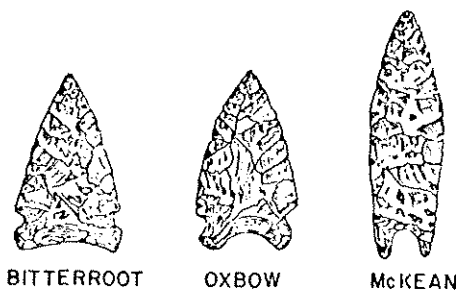
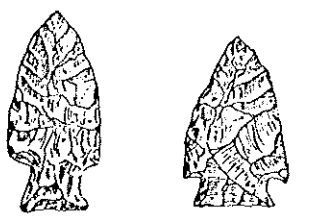


Plate 1-4





Later Prehistoric Points from Waterton

LATE PREHISTORIC ARROW POINTS

in winter to the relative shelter of the Waterton Lakes valley. Seasonal camps established for pursuit of the bison would not preclude others members of the band from prosecuting seasonal fisheries at the Narrows or in participating in various 'gathering' activities. Roasting pits in the Narrows area suggest that this site may have been an excellent one for intercepting big game as well as fishing. These pits may also have been used for cooking a much more diverse menu, for they are similar to the pits used to cook camas on the Western slopes of the mountains. Other plants widely used by early Native peoples include the prairie turnip, choke-cherry, buffalo berry, and saskatoon berries.[10]

Adaptation of this 'seasonal round' proceeded for several thousands of years, and was probably strengthened by climatic changes which brought on a prolonged period of warmer and dryer conditions on the prairies. While opinions vary, this 'drought' or 'altithermal' period probably lasted roughly from about 5,500 B.C. to around 2,500 B.C. There has been much lively debate concerning the extent and significance of this period on ancient Native populations and ways of life. Current thinking does not favour a view of uniform effects.[11] There is evidence to suggest that localized depopulation of the plains took place, and that the modern bison (*bison bison)* may have become dominant over the larger and now extinct form, *bison occidentalis.*[12] This would have implications for the extent of Native use of bison and the relative ease of their capture. The most interesting response to this general shift in animal ecology was the rise of the buffalo jump sometime in the last stages of the althithermal period of which the Head-Smashed-In site west of Fort McLeod is an outstanding example.[13] According to Anthony Buchner, there was a long-term trend throughout the Holocene period towards size reduction in the bison population. The dessication of the open prairie lands severely reduced the habitat of *bison occidentalis.* This, accompanied by the effects of human hunting, gradually led to the extinction of that great animal and a subsequent flourishing of smaller, more energy-efficient models, the ancenstors of the modern bison. These smaller animals reproduced in greater numbers and in the period of the altithermal, tended to crowd towards the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains where more reliable water and grazing was to be found. Within this general situation, few locations were more ideal than the Waterton area where 'the prairies meet the mountains' in a very direct way.[14]

With the return of cooler condition and increased rainfall, sometime after 2,500 B.C., long-term trends were set in motion which consolidated various ways of life on the prairies, on the great plateau, and along the great river valleys which flow westward from the mountains towards the Pacific Ocean. It may be that the dry conditions of the 'altithermal' helped to formulate these various Native traditions, as peoples accustomed to seeking their living on the prairies and in the dry desert

areas of the southwest, sought more hospitable environments by means of migration.[15] Twentieth century archaeology has continued to elaborate a great number of specific cultures throughout the greater northwest, well-adapted to specific local environments.

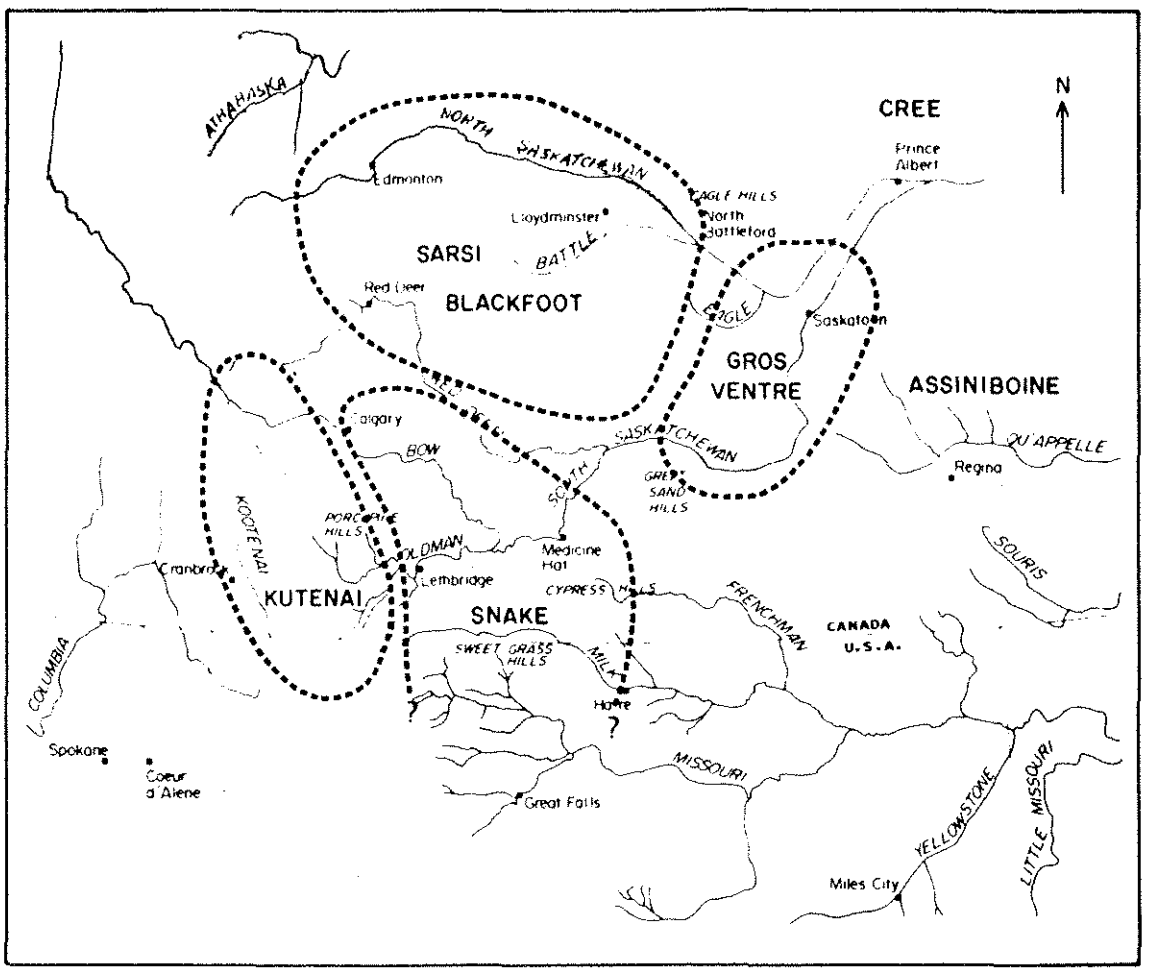
At Waterton, field-work has revealed long-standing seasonal pursuits appropriate to hunting, gathering, and fishing economies, supplemented by the regular pursuit of the bison. Until the mid-nineteenth century, Waterton Native traditions were such as drew more or less continually upon the available resources of both mountain and prairie.[16] If there was one occasion when the relative merits of prairie resources may have started to prevail somewhat, it could have been in the aftermath of the establishment of what Archaeologists call the 'Avonlea' tradition sometime after 200 A.D. Archaeologists have tended to identifiy this tradition as one marked, (perhaps for the first time) by the use of the bow and arrow. The relative decline of the use of the Narrow's fishery at Waterton in Avonlea times may indicate a developing preference for pursuit of the bison and greater seasonal use of the nearby prairie.[17] (Plate 1-5).

The long period leading up to the time of European contact was one marked by widespread use of the bison by many groups on the plains, and the precise manner in which these successions of people are related is not well understood. If the bow and arrow was the hall-mark of the Avonlea peoples, its modification and diffusion was a feature of the centuries between 200 A.D. and 1700 A.D. One definite trend in these centuries was the adaptation of several cultural groups to a way of life largely supported by the prairie environment, while others adapted to a more diverse economy based in the interior plateau river valleys and mountain ranges. Just what the ethnic make-up of these many groups was, and how they relate to later historic Native peoples is not yet clear.[18] The attempt to establish 'who was who' is an undertaking which must draw upon several kinds of evidence composed of artifacts in the ground, the legacy of Native legend handed down through oral tradition, the distribution of Native language speakers, and the written record left by Europeans. As one approches the time when European peoples started to make an actual appearance in the western half of the continent, it can be noticed that their influence on Native groups had long been felt. The spread of the horse, of European trade goods, fire-arms and diseases, served to scramble the pattern of Native land occupations in a way which has served to make all historical reconstruction highly tentative.

Jack Brink of the Archaeological Survey of Alberta has suggested that the probable occupation pattern of Native tribes in southern Alberta and south-eastern British Columbia around the year 1700 was that depicted below in Map 1-3. A cen-

Postulated Distribution of the tribes of the West in 1700

Courtesy: Alberta Historic Sites Service



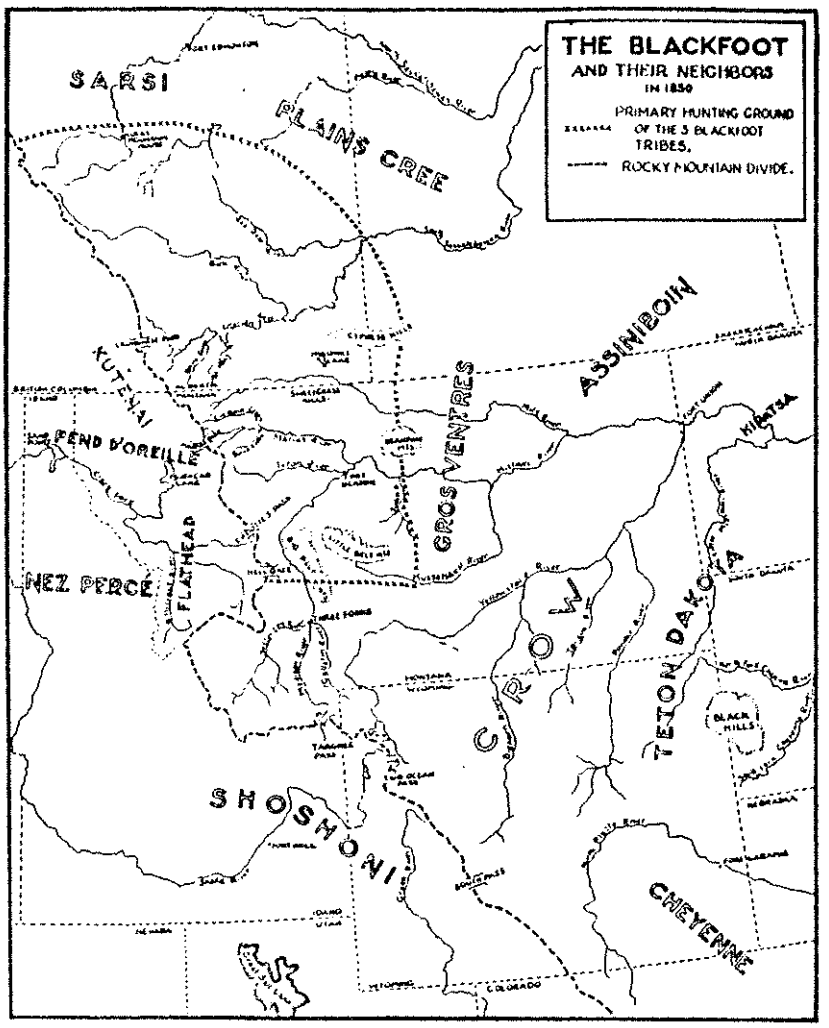
Map 1-3

tury and a half later, the pattern had changed considerably, with the Blackfoot having expanded much to the south, making the historic Kootenay and Blackfoot the most important Native groups frequenting the Waterton area. (Map1-4). We know that between 1700 and 1800 at least two severe epidemics of small-pox carried away large percentages of the resident Native populations, and the effects of these visitations may have been the most significant factor in the re-definition of traditional Native territories.[19]

For some time, another much more positive innovation had been gradually making its presence felt within plains and mountain Native societies, one advancing from the south. Since the early seventeenth century the horse had spread, or been led, northward from the old Spanish American heartlands of the southwest and Texas. The manner of this spread has been a subject of considerable debate over the years.[20] For horse acquisition by the Blackfoot, a likely explanation has been given by J.C. Ewers.[21] While Spaniards were reluctant to make fire-arms available to Native Americans, they were not reluctant to trade horses. Very early after the Spaniards became established in the southern United States, horses became a preferred trade item.[22] As in the lands of the northern fur trade, a somewhat similar process of 'middlemen' tribes (those with horses to trade) started to develop, based in the southwest. Over time, certain centres such as Santa Fe became important European sources of horses. The probable effect in terms of the spread of the horse to plains tribes is shown in Map 1-5 .

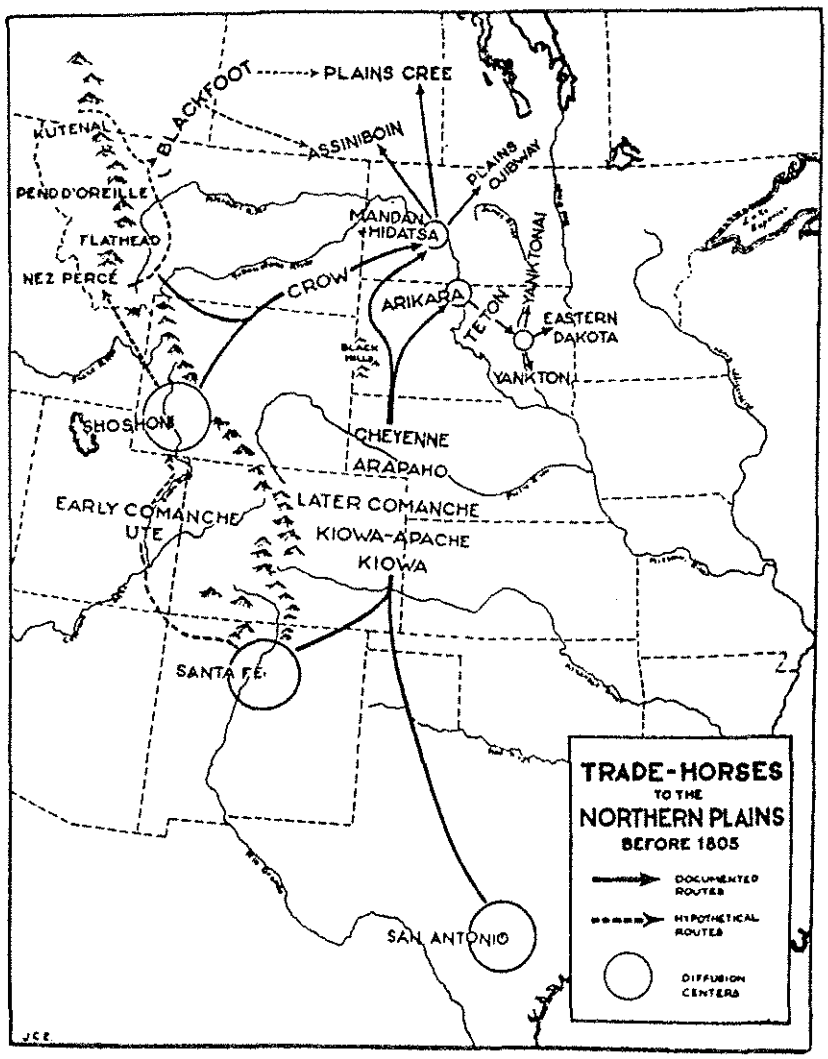
During this general period of horse diffusion, certain establshed Native centres, particullarly in the Mandan country of the Dakotas, took on added new roles of importance during the eighteenth century. In the words of Ewers, 'at the horticultural villages of the Upper Missouri the expanding frontier of the horse met the expanding frontier of the gun.'[23] This probably happened sometime after 1750, for when La Verendrye journeyed to the Mandan country and beyond in 1748, the horse and the gun appeared to him to be still absent amongst the sedentary farming tribes of the upper Missouri country. But the eventual coming together of the gun and the horse had an energizing effect on the Blackfoot, who may have obtained horses from at least two sources: the Assiniboine of the plains and the Kootenai of the southern Rockies.[24] Once possessed of these items, the Blackfoot rapidly mastered the techniques associated with both, for purposes of better prosecuting the bison hunt. Their increased mobility also allowed them to greatly expand their geographic zone of influence and keep unwanted people, European or Native, out of the western prairie zone. This double advance in hunting methods undoubtedly rendered obsolete the older technique of running bison over jumps such as those found in Wateron and on the prairies.

Map 1-4



The Blackfoot and Their Neighbours about 1850
After J.C. Ewers (1955)

Map 1-5



The Diffusion of Horse Culture on the Plains.
After J.C. Ewers (1955)

John Ewers has argued that plains groups such as the Blackfoot had their own trade priorities. In the beaver-scarce zone of the dry belt, perceived Blackfoot hostility may have derived partially from tribal anxiety to retain control of the bison lands and the conditions of long-established indigenous Native trading patterns.[25] The precise dynamics of this process are still the subject of enquiry, as is the nature of the longevity of the Blackfoot on the prairies.[26] What is certain is that by 1800 they had become a formidable force in the lands of present day southern Alberta and represented a barrier to any seeking to enter the Waterton country.[27]

The people whom the Blackfoot sought to isolate from the first fur-traders to approach the southern Rockies in the late 1700's were the Kootenay who resided on the western slope of the mountains. These people also made periodic use of the eastern slopes and the nearby prairie, but there place of origin is a matter of debate.[28] James Hector made the following observations in the late 1850's about the locale known as 'Kootenay Plains.' near Rocky Mountain House on the eastern slope.[29]

> This plain, which is 7 or 8 miles long and 2 to 3 wide is called the Kootanai Plain, as at the time that the Kootenai Indians exchanged their furs with the traders of the Saskatchewan forts, before there was any communication with them from the Pacific coast, an annual mart was held at this place, to which the Kootenai Indians crossed the mountains, while the traders came from the Mountain House.

The cultural place of the Kootenay Indians is better understood now than in the 1930's, for in that decade even such a distinguished scholar as Diamond Jenness had little to say about the Kootenay language except that it was 'their own.'[30] There still remains much mystery about this group however. Harold Driver's impressive maps of Native Culture Areas in North America, printed in the 1960's, retained a distinct blank in the zone around Waterton Lakes National Park with respect to language and general affiliation of the Kootenay peoples.[31] In the 1990's there is still no clear consensus on the ultimate affiliations of the Kootenay language, although some have claimed for it a Uto-Aztecan base, which might give it some connection with the Shoshoni and other language groups of the great basin.[32] Only the most fleeting glances of the Kootenay and the Blackfoot can be gained for the years before 1800. That the Waterton area was an important border zone between the two groups and an area of periodic resort for both is certain.

Endnotes

1. R.G. Forbis to John Rick, July 3, 1968. NA. RG 84 Vol. 2226 W. 320.

2. H.M. Wormington and Richard G. Forbis, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Alberta, Canada.* Proceedings no. ll. Denver: Denver Museum of Natural History 1965, pp. 1-4;

3. Ibid., pp. 143-4

4. For a summary of work done in the park as of 1989 see *Waterton Lakes National Park Management Plan Review.* Calgary: Canadian Parks Service, 1989.

5. B.O.K. Reeves, 'Early Holocene (ca. 8000 to 5500 B.C.) Prehistoric Land/Resource Utilization Patterns in Waterton Lakes National Park, Alberta.' *Arctic and Alpine Research* 7:3 (1975), p. 239

6. *Waterton Lakes Management Plan Review.* Calgary: Canadian Parks Service, 1989, p. 52

7. Reeves, 'Early Holocene' (1975), p. 245

8. *Waterton Park Management Plan. Review.* (1989), p. 58; and see L. Milne-Brumley, *The Narrows Site in Waterton Lakes National Park, Alberta.* M.A. Calgary: University of Calgary, 1971.

9. Reeves ' Early Holocene' (1975), p. 245

10. Cf Alex Johnston, *Plants and the Blackfoot.* Sir Alexander Galt Museum, Occ. Paper no. 15. Lethbridge: Lethbridge Historial Society, 1987; and Reeves, 'Early Holocene' (1975).

11. Cf. Roderick J. Vickers, 'Alberta Plains Prehistory: A Review' *Archaeological Survey of Alberta.* Occ. Paper no. 27. Edmonton: Alberta Culture,1986, p.54

12. Cf. W.R. Hurt, 'The Altithermal and the Prehistory of the Northern Plains.' *Quaternaria* 8: (1966), 101-13; Waldo R. Wedel, 'The Prehistoric Plains' in J.D. Jennings, ed. *Ancient North Americans:* New York: W.H. Freeman, 1983, pp. 221-24

13. Cf. B.O.K. Reeves, ' Head-Smathed-In: 5500 Years of Bison Jumping in the Alberta Plains' *Plains Anthropologist,* 23: (82), 151-74

14. Cf. Anthony P. Buchner, *Cultural Responses to Altithermal (Atlantic) Climate Along the Eastern Margins of the North American Grasslands, 5500 to 3000 B.C.* Archaeological Survey of Canada. Paper No. 97. Ottawa: National Musuems of Canada. 1980, pp. 204-8

15 See on this general topic, Richard D. Daugherty, 'The Intermontane Western Tradition' *American Antiquity,* 28:(2) (1963), pp. 144-50

16. Cf. *Waterton Lakes National Park.Management Plan Review.* (1989), p. 51 f.

17. Cf. L. Milne-Brumley, ' The Narrows Site: A Fishing Station-Campsite on the Eastern Flanks of the Rocky Mountains.' in A.H. Stryd and R.A. Smith, eds. *Aboriginal Man and Environments in the Plateau of Northwest America..* Calgary: The Student's Press, 1971, p. 103; *Waterton Lakes National Park Management Plan Review.* (1989), p. 59

18. Vickers, 'Alberta Plains' (1986), pp. 101-2; Jack Brink, 'Dog Days in Southern Alberta' *Archaeological Survey of Alberta.* Occ. Paper no. 28. Edmonton: Alberta Culture: 1986.

19 Brink, 'Dog Days' (1986), pp. 29-33; La Verendrye, *Journals and Letters.* Toronto:Champlain Society, 1927, p. 258; Claude Schaeffer, 'Plains Kutenai: An Ethnographic Review.' *Alberta History,* 30: (4) ,(1982), pp. 7-8

20. See Frank Gilbert Roe, *The Indian and the Horse*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1955, Part I.

21. See J.C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*. Smithsonian Inst. American Bureau of Ethnology. Bull. 159. Washington: 1936, pp. 7-19

22. See Jack Forbes, *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, Ch.2

23. John C. Ewers, *The Horse*, (1936) p. 24

24. See. Roe, *The Indian and the Horse.*, (1955), Ch.5.

25. J.C. Ewers, 'The Influence of the Fur Trade Upon the Indians of the Northern Plains' in: *People and Pelts: Papers of the Second North American Fur Trade Conference.* Winnipeg: Peguis, 1972, p.2

26. Cf. Jack Brink, 'Dog Days'(1986).

27. Cf. Brink,'Dog Days' (1986); Hugh Dempsey, *Indians of Alberta,* Calgary: Glenbow, 1988; Claude E. Schaeffer, 'Le Blanc and La Gasse: Predecessors of David Thompson in the Columbian Plateau' *Studies in Plains Antrhopology and History,* no.3. Browning: U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Museum of the Plains Indian. 1966.

28. Claude E. Schaeffer, 'Plains Kutenai: An Ethnograhic Evaluation' *Alberta History,* 30: (4) (1982), 1-9; Brink , 'Dog Days'(1986), pp. 28-34

29 Geographic Board of Canada. *Place Names of Alberta.* Ottawa: 1928, p.73

30. Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada*. 6th Ed. Ottawa:National Museum of Canada. 1966, p. 18

31. Harold E. Driver, *The Indians of North America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. Map 37

32. Jon Whyte, *Indians in the Rockies*. Banff: Altitude, 1985, p. 25; but see also J.G. Jorgensen, *Western Indians: Comparative Environments, Languages, and Cultures of 172 Western American Indian Tribes*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman 1980, pp. 56, 76

Chapter Two

Kootenay and Blackfoot Economy in Transition: The Persistence of Native Traditions in the Waterton Country: 1780-1880

i

The post-1760 North American fur trade prospered through the discovery and sequential exploitation of prime fur habitats. The main ranges of the Rocky Mountains, while not devoid of beaver, were not considered the most favourable locales, and so the expansion of the fur trade after 1790 tended to be across the mountain passes and into the plateau regions of the Snake, Columbia and Frazer River valleys. The Americans responded to the lead of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-6 and this led to the appearance of the 'Mountain Men' by land, and the arrival of the 'Astorians' on the west coast by sea. For the British and Montreal fur trade, it meant a frantic search for reliable routes across the mountains and new approaches to the west coast, also by sea. The rugged topography of the Waterton-Glacier region played a part in this larger sequence of events, on the basis of a number of passes which provided a way through to the hunting grounds. The park was part of travel corridor rather than a beaver hunting ground.

ii

Explorers and Traders in Search of the Upper Missouri and the Pacific: 1780-1812

1. Any systematic review of the history of European-inspired cartography of the western half of North America will show a consistent gap in the region around Waterton-Glacier Park. This area remained obscure for a number of reasons, not least of which was the strong barrier to entry represented by the Blackfoot Confederacy in its territory east of the Rocky Mountains. The fur traders from Montreal and England had, since about 1775, been steadily establishing fur posts inland from the Canadian Shield country, from bases around Lake Superior and southwest from Hudson Bay. The most natural lines of transit were along the great prairie river systems which had their sources in the Rocky Mountains. Through this process, a continuous motion seemed to be induced amongst the western prairie tribes, some of whom had as yet never encountered a European trader, although by

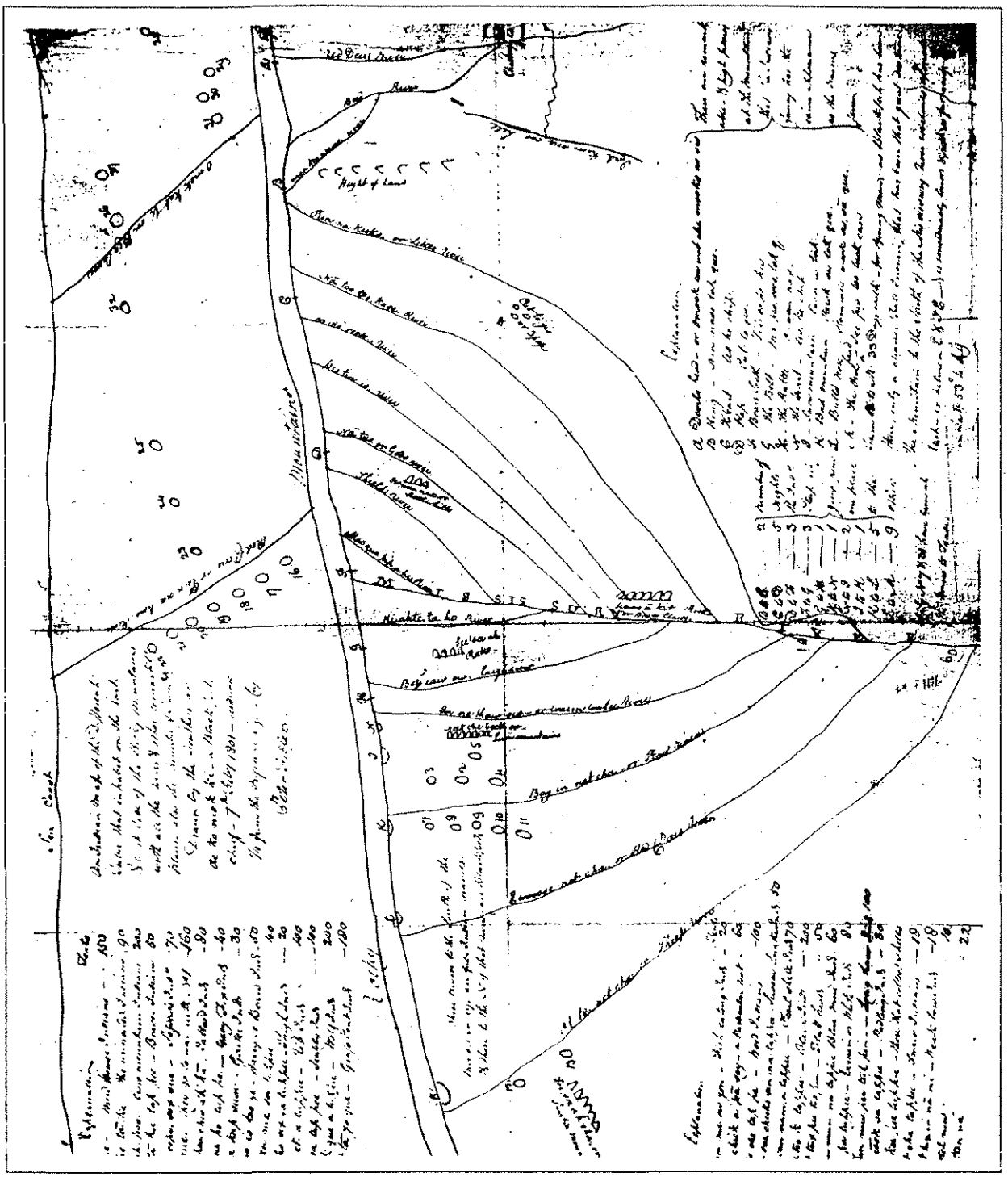
that time most were aware of the advantages of European trade goods.[1] This motion was partly a response to a newly-kindled desire for such goods or to a related wish by tribes to define for themselves a 'middleman' position with respect to other Native groups. It was also a response, as we have seen, to the spread of diseases. The expansion of the Cree, (who traditionally occupied a great arc of land south of Hudson Bay) out onto prairies, has been viewed as one major expression of this ferment.[2] The argument has been advanced that many of the Native groups who first gained access to European goods often became anxious to prevent rival or traditional enemy tribes from obtaining these items directly. Thus, the Cree expansion represented a kind of vanguard of the Europeans, undertaken to safeguard their own favoured position in the trade ring. The European traders from the north and east gave consistent access to powerful trade goods such as fire arms.[3] With the establishment in 1795 of Fort Augustus (near present-day Edmonton) by the Nor'westers, and Edmonton House shortly thereafter by the Hudson's Bay Company, traders became aware that the large territory to the south controlled by the Blackfoot would not to be penetrated easily. The traders became aware that good furs were likely to be found on the western slope of the great divide and in the great valleys of the Columbia watershed. Ways around the Blackfoot barrier were thus immediately sought.

It was appropriate that the first European, in all likelihood, to see Chief Mountain was a man with surveyor's credentials. This great peak, which lies just south of the Alberta-Montana boundary, has been a landmark of longstanding for Native peoples, traders, travellers and cartographers; and it appeared on European-style maps first through a Native rather than a European hand. The Ac ko mok ki Map was prepared at Chesterfied House in 1801 by a Blackfoot Chief of that name and at the request of Peter Fidler. It was one of several maps commissioned by Fidler to help him fill in gaps in territories which he had not actually visited. In 1792-93 he viewed Chief Mountain from a distance of roughly seventy-five miles, probably at a point between the Porcupine Hills and the Headwaters of the Oldman River. According to close students of the map, perhaps 'more than any other European trader, Fidler recorded and gratefully acknowledged the often indispensable geographical information communicated to him by the Indians in the course of his extensive travels.'[4] (Map 2-1)

This map played in important part in the ensuing rush by the Americans and the British to establish the actual location of the headwaters of the Missouri River and the character of the continental divide in the vicinity of the 49th parallel. Fidler's information was rapidly absorbed by the great Arrowsmith firm of cartographers, and that company's 1802 map quickly came to the attention of President Thomas Jefferson of the United States. It was timely from the American

The Ak ko moki Map c. 1801

After Peter Fidler. Hudson's Bay Company Archives



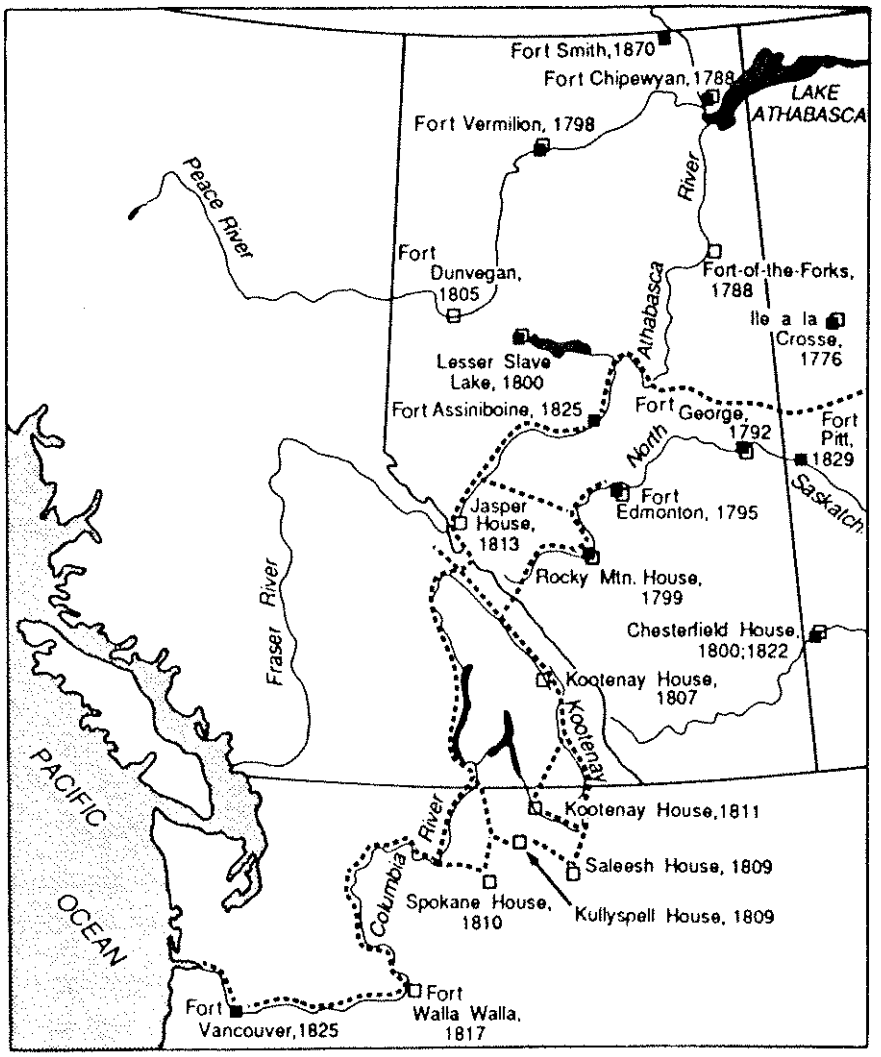
Map 2-1

perspective, for one year later Napoleon offered up the territory of Louisiana, the northern limits of which no one was entirely sure, for purchase to the Americans. For fifteen million dollars the United States then purchased some 830,000 square miles of territory. Upon enquiry to the French of just what they were getting, the Minister Tallyrand claimed ignorance, and suggested that the United States receive the land as the French had received it from the Spanish some years earlier. He told the American negotiator Livingston that 'I can give you no direction. You have made a noble bargain for yourselves and I suppose you will make the most of it.'[5] Jefferson was of a mind to do just that, and the first tangible initiative was the financing of the important Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-6 to the upper Missouri country and beyond.

At about the same time, David Thompson, on behalf of the North West Company, made a first attempt at the establishment of a fur trade presence among the trans-Mountain Kootenay who lived primarly in present day south-eastern Biritish Columbia, Idaho and north-western Montana. In 1800 he sent two French-Canadian traders named La Gasse and Le Blanc to winter with Kootenay who had come to trade at Rocky Mountain House. The two men moved down the eastern slope of the Rockies and crossed the Waterton country in order to visit with the Kootenay Indians in their home territory.[6] Blackfoot hostility to the presence of these traders among their traditional enemies led to the deaths of the two French Canadians in 1805 and the subsequent retreat of the Nor'westers. Thompson then pursued other strategies focused on a more northerly route through the mountains via the Athabasca Pass.[7] The Hudson's Bay men and Montreal fur traders hence-forward, travelled north around Blackfoot country and then re-approached the continental divide from the valleys of the Snake, Columbia and Kootenay Rivers.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the English traders found competition at the mouth of the Columbia River where John Jacob Astor of New York had established his Pacific Fur Company by way of Cape Horn. These 'Astorians' gained only a short-lived position at the mouth of the Columbia on behalf of the American trade for their initiative was ill-timed, coming just on the eve of the outbreak of the War of 1812. Fort Astoria could not be adequately supplied and in late 1813 it was sold to the competing Nor'wester's who renamed it Fort George.[8] For the next ten years the Columbia country was hotly contested by the old rival firms as well as by a host of independent and very mobile American free-trading 'Mountain Men.' The English traders were more inclined to develop fixed posts and by 1814 David Thompson had established several posts south-west of the Waterton country. (Map 2-2).

Map 2-2



David Thompson's Travels, 1805-07, and Distribution of Fur Trade Posts in the Far West

After Howad and Tamara Palmer. Alberta: A New History Edmonton: Hurtig, 1990

It will be recalled that in the same years that Le Blanc and La Gasse were attempting to establish a foothold on the western slopes of the Waterton country, the American exploring expedition led by Merriweather Lewis and William Clark had made its way from St. Louis into the upper Missouri. The latter party achieved a successful crossing of the Mountains to the Columbia River, and advanced to the Pacific. On the return trip from the coast, Lewis's portion of the party came into conflict with the Blackfoot, with the loss of two lives.[9] To the north, the Blackfoot had also been jealously guarding the mountain passes through which Thompson might have crossed over. News of the altercation between members of Lewis and Clark's expedition and southern Blackfoot worked its way north to the Piegan and in 1807 a war call against the American traders may have been given, drawing many of the northern warriors south. This gave Thompson his chance and in 1807 he began the series of journeys across the divide that proved so fruitful in terms of fur trading and exploration. He was shown the way across the Athabasca Pass by local men of the country and over the next four years Thompson established several posts, including Kootenay, Kullyspell, and Saleesh House (Flathead Post).[10] Over the years Thompson had done much to put the region on the map.[11]

The initial skirmish with the Lewis and Clark expedition seems to have set the tone for future American-Blackfoot trade relations. It was not until the 1830's that American persistence succeeded in establishing better diplomatic understandings with that tribe, followed by success in out-competing the Saskatchewan traders.[12] In the first decade of the nineteenth century however, British, Montreal and American fur traders alike had all encoun-tered, in the Blackfoot, a significant social and economic barrier to the expansion of the trade into the southern plains and Rocky Mountains.

iii

Native Economies in the Waterton Region: Adjustments to Euro-American Trade and Politics, 1814 - 1846

(a)

The area west of the great divide being productive fur country led to a situation whereby the fur traders carried the main burden of attempts to establish sovereignty on behalf of their respective jurisdictions during the first years of the nineteenth century. Traders associated with the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company gained a substantial and more lasting series of footholds throughout the Oregon Territory (and the lands which constitute the present-day state of Washington, Idaho and north-western Montana) than did their American

counterparts. In Anglo-American politics, the years between 1818 and 1846 were dominated by questions of the final settlement of an international boundary line between United States and British territory. American 'Mountain Men' as well as British traders had started to move into the the valleys of the Columbia and Snake where the beaver was 'hunted close' and where competition was waged by British and Americans in a manner reminiscent of the pre-1821 competition in the Athabasca country.[13] Men such as Peter Skene Ogden had to make their mark while they could, for it was not clear how much longer the HBC would have a free hand to work the lands of the lower Columbia. The English case for rights to the territory received a series of diplomatic setbacks until a boundary line was finally agreed upon in 1846.[14] In the frontier situation, the HBC tended to ignore national land questions in the interests of hard competition, even if returns were low.[15] Wider company policy sought to foster conservation measures in the older fur trade areas to the north, and close working of the Columbia and Snake was designed to produce short-term gains while the older areas regenerated.[16]

Working the western flank of the Rocky Mountains was hard and frustrating work, as Peter Skene Ogden's journals reveal.[17] The work force was drawn from all quarters and it lacked some of the discipline which had characterized the trade in the north. The Blackfoot were a persistent source of concern, even on the western slopes. When in 1824 Alexander Ross was assigned to begin a trade initiative south into the Snake Country, he replaced Finan McDonald 'that tough old Northwester' who had known the Snakes since he had come there with David Thompson in 1807. McDonald had experienced 'Saviral Battils' with the Piegans, had lost Michel Bourden, the leader of his trappers, and five of his men, had suffered badly by having his horses stolen, and had killed about seventy Indians. His parting comment was made famous: 'when that Cuntre will see me agane the Beaver will have Gould Skin.'[18]

Ogden took over leadership of the Snake Country from Ross in 1825 and for several years ranged widely from Spokane and Flathead Houses, south along the great divide. It is certain that the mountains within present day Glacier and Waterton were worked for beaver, but most likely this was done by Native peoples, rather than by the European traders. In Olga Johnson's words: 'The Kutenais and Flatheads were learning rapidly enough the tricks of trapping.'[19] There were a few exceptions such as Hugh Monroe, a Montreal -born trader whose special relationship with the Blackfoot after 1816, made him one of the earliest Europeans to reside in the Glacier-Waterton area.[20] Flathead Post was the closest one to Waterton-Glacier, but the severity of Winter in the Mountains suggested to George Simpson in 1824 that there was little to be gained from staffing Flathead House after November, where 'only idleness could occur.' Winter trapping would take place further south in

the Snake country.[21] The general strategy on the west side of the great divide then, was to gain access to the Kootenay trade at lowland areas along the rivers and lakes. Fur taken by the Kootenay could then work its way into the hands of the Columbia traders, or by means of a trans-mountain trade, into the hands of the Blackfoot who acted as middlemen traders as well as trappers.

(b)

Following the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company with the Nor'westers in 1821, little new headway was made in establishing trading posts in Blackfoot territory.[22] From the first decade of the nineteenth century until the 1860's the dry prairie lands of southern Alberta and Montana remained largely in the control of the skilled horsemen of the Blackfoot Confederacy. It would be an error to assume however, that the members of the Blackfoot Confederacy, composed of the Piegan, Blood, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre and the Athapascan-speaking Sarcee, were not interested in participating in the fur trade. Rocky Mountain House, first established in 1799, was a favoured trading station for members of the Confederacy. Following the amalgamation of the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company, the newly-appointed governor of the Northern Department, George Simpson, turned his attention to, among other things, questions of strategy for the plains trade, using the talents of seasoned traders such as the former Nor'wester, John Rowand, Hugh Monroe, (the Blackfoot adoptee), and mixed-blood 'Jimmy Jock' Bird, all of whom enjoyed the confidence of the Blackfoot. The 1820's proved to be very productive in terms of the plains trade.[23] Simpson was content to minimize the actual incursion of fur trade establishments into Blackfoot lands, although the evidence seems to suggest that the Blackfoot were actually anxious to have more trade establishments in their territories.[24] In order to bring the southern parts of present-day Alberta more fully into the fur trade system, Simpson financed the Bow River expedition in 1822-23 under the direction of former Nor'wester Donald Mackenzie. The party explored the Bow and Belly River valleys down as far as the Marais River valley, the area where the Lewis and Clark party had run afoul of the Blackfoot in 1805. While a post was built a few miles below the forks of the Red Deer River and the South Saskatchewan, beaver did not appear to be numerous in the country to the south and the company, fearing the mood of the Blackfoot, decided to withdraw from the territory and retrench on the North Saskatchewan.[25]

Rowand was put in charge of the Saskatchewan District in 1823, a position he held for thirty years. It took some time for Simpson to appreciate the advice of Rowand, who favoured keeping Rocky Mountain House open for the Piegan trade.

Plate 2-1

A Kootenai Indian.

After Carl Bodmer

Plate 2-2 John Rowand

Glenbow Alberta Archives

During the 1820's, in which Rowand had his way, the Piegan lived up to their promises and provided good supplies of beaver.[26] Simpson was won over. In 1828 he reported to the Governor and Committee at York Factory that ' ...it is not only the riches of the Hon'able Company's Territory we are collecting, but those likewise of the United States and of the unappropriated countries on the West side of the Mountains.'[27] In the words of historian David Smyth, the 'beaver trade with the Piegan Indians in the late 1820's was by far the company's most valuable.'[28] The earlier hostility of the Piegan to the attempt by David Thompson to send traders directly through Blackfoot territory and through the South Kootenay Pass, had been based on a healthy sense of tribal self-interest, one which by 1830 had borne fruit for both the fur company and the Blackfoot.

In these years, there may have been an inner awareness amongst the HBC leadership, including Rowand, that the battle with the Americans, who were making great progress on the upper Missoui, could not be won on purely economic grounds. There was an internal dynamic to some of the events in the Missouri fur trade, born of past actions by the nothern fur traders themselves. George Simpson paid a price for his rigorous post-1821 labour reorganization of the new Hudson's Bay Company. A former Nor'Wester, Kenneth Mackenzie, was not appropriately recognized in the aftermath of the amalgamation, so he left his old employers and formed the Columbia Fur Company. As American fur interests were now anxious to staff their enter-prises with experienced men, Mackenzie sold his interests in 1827 to John Jacob Astor of New York, who in turn re-organized it as the Upper Missouri Outfit of his American Fur Company. Astor then put Mackenzie in charge. This set the stage for the final episode of what David Smyth has called the 'Struggle for the Piegan Trade.'[29] Mackenzie had his work cut out for him. After establishing Fort Floyd (Fort Union) at the confluence of the Yellow-stone and Missouri, he then set about a task upon which many had foundered: establishment of a post in southern Blackfoot territory. With the assistance of an experienced fur trader known to the Blackfoot, Jacques Berger, Mackenzie achieved his purpose by 1831, having obtained an invitation from the Blackfoot of the Marais to come and estalish a post.[30] Returns to the American Fur Company from the 1831 season were excellent, and the effects were felt on the Saskatchewan. Rowand convinced his superiors that the American challange had to be met directly, and so once again, in 1832, an expedition was sent to the Bow valley in order to establish a post near present day Morley, known as Bow Fort or Piegan Post. Even the enlistment of Hugh Monroe, ('Rising Wolf') could not save the project for the economics of the fur trade were radically altering. The real or perceived hostility of the Piegan to a post so far into their territory led the Hudson's Bay Company to abandon Bow Fort in 1834, after which it was promptly burned by the Natives. A greater reason for the burning of Bow Fort might derive from the ambiguous policy which the

Hudson's Bay Company continually exercised towards the Blackfoot. The desire to have them come to Edmonton House, when clearly many Indians wished to trade at a post closer at hand, led to some odd policy decisions. John Harriot, who was in charge of Bow Fort, was given instructions to trade only with the Piegan, but to compel other tribesmen to go to Edmonton. There might have been short-term savings to the company implied in this policy, but when the real battle was with the American traders, who were now enjoying great efficiencies of trans-portation costs along the Missouri, the policy must be seen as one at odds with itself and a source of confusion to many Native traders.[31]

The long-lived and pragmatic 'Jimmy Jock' Bird sought to persuade the company that its only chance to meet the mounting American competition was to build a post at Chief Mountain on the headwaters of the Marais River. George Simpson agreed, but Rowand did not, and in the end, Simpson deferred to Rowand.[32] As late as 1834 then, with the failure of Bow Fort and the still-born nature of the Chief Mountain proposal, the British fur trade had still failed to establish any lasting foothold in southern Albrta. There is some creedance in Paul Sharp's observation that 'hard feelings prompted recrimi-nations from both sides of the unmarked international boundary,' and 'the northern plains, naked of beaver and home of the implacable power of the Blackfeet, became a neutral ground, a barrier behind which the two rivals reached an uneasy truce. By 1833, men spoke of a "gentleman's agreement" born of necessity, not of respect' [33]

The record in the period up to the signing of the Oregon Treaty of 1846 suggests that there were three main blocks of power involved in the fur trade in the mountain zone of the 49th parallel: the Hudson's Bay Company; the American organized companies and free traders; and the Blackfoot, who acted as trappers and agents within the lands they controlled on the east-side of the mountains, and periodically at selected areas on the western flank. [34]

(c)

In the post-1814 period of international fur trade competition on the prairies and the Columbia, the Waterton-Glacier region remained, if not unused, then uncontested by the various interests.[35] The ancient 'seasonal round' of activities carried on by Native peoples in Waterton was easily adjustable to the requirements of the greater fur trade. Kootenay and Blackfoot alike learned how to participate in

the venture, making use of the European traps, working the land for beaver when it suited them, and up-grading their material existence with other trade goods:[36]

> The beaver, weasel, muskrat, all of these small residents of their land,they had been accustomed to watch for fun as often as they killed them for meat and fur; and their legendary personifications were as familiar as their present selves. Now when a small animal was sighted, it was apt to look to the native woodsmen less like a fellow creature, and more like a price; in the gleam of eye and fur could be seen the gleam of a musket barrel or a brass kettle or a hank of beads; on the forest air the trapper could almost sniff the potent fragrance of the White man's tobacco, waiting in ropes to be clipped off for his pipe. Even bears, who already seemed a little less awesome, because of their vulnerability to bullets, the Indians began to regard not so much as reverenced fellow beings, but more as wearers of hides for which the traders might give good exchange.

But at what price to the ancient ways of life with their seasonal rhythms? Olga Johnson has hinted towards an answer in almost poetic terms.[37]

> Bucking the elements was nothing new to the native mountaineers. But the traders seemed to expect that a man should set his traps and walk his line on schedule, even when he was over-hungry, or ill-fed. Suppose he and his companions were not in the mood for hiking that day; suppose they were in the mood for horse-racing or gambling. Suppose there was company in camp, a new wife in the lodge, or a little son ill unto death. How could they bring the furs to the post at a specific time if these intruders set dates that coincided with a traditional tribal festival, or a regular seasonal buffalo hunt? To rush and worry, always to be frustrating the natural flow of a man's impulses, to break the nerve of tradition leading back down through the years through all the ancestors, wounded the spirit or soul "that substance with which a man is lined." What ailed the spirits of these White fur men that they insisted on overworking, quarreling, cheating, suffering such hardships and losing their lives in the mountains, to possess animal skins which, apparently, neither they nor their people needed to keep them warm.

Missionarie Surveyors, and the Collapse of the Old Order: 1840-1880.

The times were indeed changing in the 1830's. European demand for the beaver was in decline in the face of the rising popularity of silk and other fabrics of choice.[38] On the eastern slope of the Rockies, the Blackfoot especially were able to adapt their bison-oriented way of life to the new American fur trade on the Missouri, where after 1830 the demand for the bison hide steadily replaced the demand for beaver.[39] Having severely limited European settlement in their hunting grounds, the Blackfoot moved easily in these changing, market-oriented fur-trade worlds.

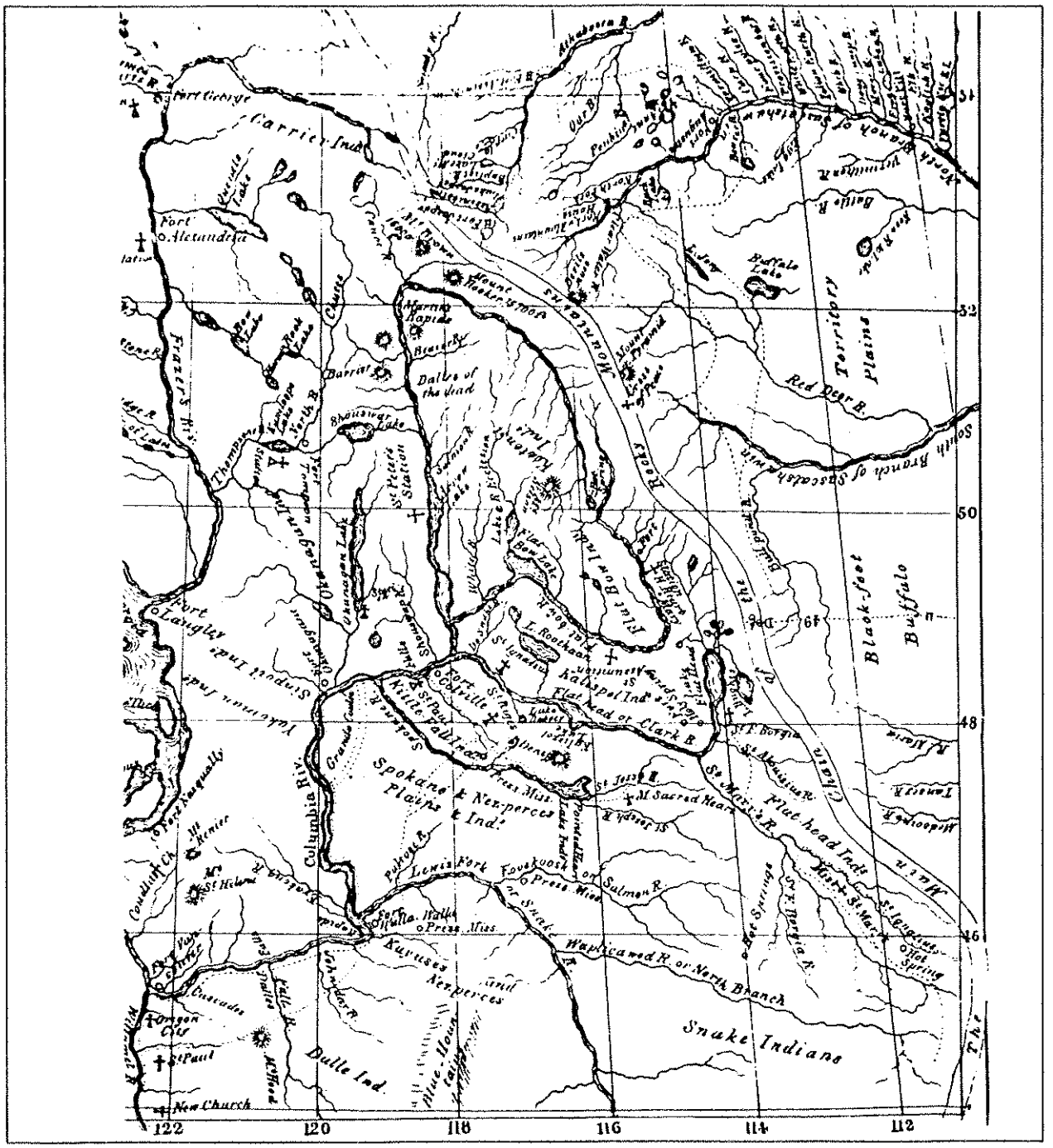
The 1840's heralded great changes for many Native groups west of the great divide and on the northern edge of Blackfoot territory. In this decade, Missionary activity increased rapidly, both in British and American territory. The most successful were the Rocky Mountain Missions in present-day Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana initiated in 1841 by the Belgian Jesuit, Pierre de Smet. This missionary ranged widely, visiting Rocky Mountain House in 1845 in the company of two Kootenay Indians, with a view to arranging a general peace treaty between the Blackfoot and the tribes of the western plateau. De Smet travelled by a prudent route, leaving Pend d'Oreille Lake, moving north to Bonner's Ferry, up the Kootenay River through the Tobacco Plains, and then to Lake Windermere. From there the party moved across the Mountains and on to Rocky Mountain House and Fort Edmonton.[40] A map survives from that trip published in 1846, showing many of the places he visited and also the extent to which the country around Waterton was still 'terra incognita.' A small cluster of lakes north of Flathead Lake is indicated on De Smet's line of the 49th parallel, suggesting an image of the Waterton Lakes.(Map 2-3).The De Smet peace diplomacy was not a success, but the Rocky Mountain Missions to the Kootenay and Salish tribes on the western slope and in the plateau continued to prosper in the absence of protestant competitors.

Aside from providing us a record of mission activities, the early Missionaries often left accounts of the local way of life and economy. De Smet has left us an account of the role played by fishing in the economy of the Kootenay during the 1840's:[41]

Map 2-3

The Travels of Fr. Pierre De Smet in 1846

Courtesy: Alberta History



This map appeared in De Smet's text for 'Oregon Missions and Travels Over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46' De Smet journeyed to Rocky Mountain House and made an excursion south to the Fort McLeod area and then turned north again crossing the Bow around the mouth of the Highwood River and then relocated his route back to Rocky Mountain House.

> I arrived among the Arcs-a-plats in time to witness the grand fish festival, which is yearly celebrated; the men only have the privilege of assisting there at. Around a fire fifty feet long, partially overlaid with stones of the size of a turkey's egg, eighty men range themselves; each man is provided with an osier vessel, cemented with gum and filled with water and fish. The hall where this extraordinary feast is celebrated is constructed of rush mats, and has three apertures, one at either extremity for the entrance of guests; the middle one serves for transporting the fish. All preparations being complete, and each man at his post, the chief, after a short harangue of encouragement to his people, finishes by a prayer of supplication to the Great Spirit, of whom he demands an abundant draught. He gives the signal to commence, and each one, armed with two sticks flattened at the extremity, makes use of them instead of tongs, to draw the stones from the embers,and put them in his kettle. This process is twice renewed, and in the space of five minutes, the fish are cooked. Finally, they squat around the fire in the most profound silence to enjoy the repast, each trembling lest a bone be disjointed or broken - an indispensible condition of a plentiful fishery. A single bone broken would be regarded as ominous, and the unlucky culprit banished from the society of his comrades, lest his presence should entail on them some dread evil.

Another significant glimpse of the Kootenay Indians comes from the pen of Lietuentant Charles Wilson, the Secretary of the British Boundary Commission party of 1858-1861. Wilson was an astute observer, and after his duties on the Boundary Survey were finished he prepared a lengthy manuscript on the Native people encountered by the survey party along the forty-ninth parallel.[42] Wilson noted in his 1865 presentation to the Ethno-logical Society of London that the 'Roman Catholics have a well organized mission, long established in the country, and their priests have penetrated to the remotest tribes.'[43] Upon arriving in the country of the upper Kootenay, west of Waterton, Wilson observed:[44]

> From the shortness of the time spent in the Kootenay country but few particulars could be learnt about this very interesting tribe, which speaking a widely different language and walled in by high ranges of mountains is entirely isolated, and has had far less intercourse with the whites than any of the surrounding tribes.

About the Kootenay, Wilson stated:[45]

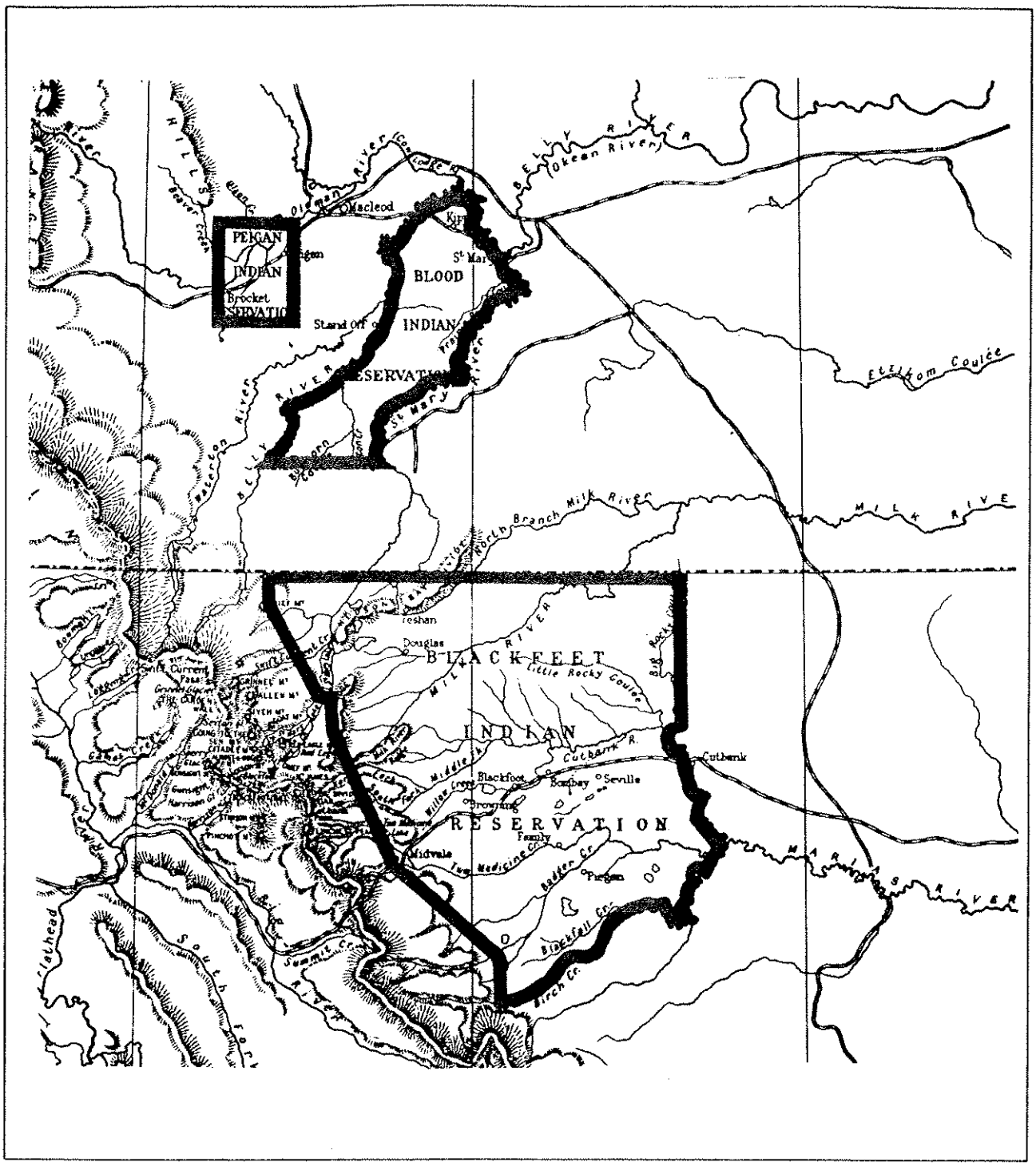
> The Upper Kootenays live principally on buffalo meat, to obtain which they make each year two excursions to the plains; one in spring, the other in autumn, crossing the Rocky Mountains either by the Kootenay or the Boundary Pass. Deer, bear, elk, and the mountain goat, are taken in the winter when the deep snow on the mountains drives them down to find shelter and food in the narrow valleys. The Lower Kootenays live on deer, fish, and berries, seldom visiting the plains for buffalo, and to this may be ascribed the fact that, though living so close to the Kalispelms, no one could be found amongst them who spoke the Salish language,whilst amongst the Upper Kootenays, who are in the habit of hunting in company with the Salish, most of the men talk it.

Wilson confirmed the observations of his contemporary, Thomas Blakiston, who had approached the same territory from the east in 1858. Concerning the interest and capacity of the Upper Kootenay as livestock herders. Wilson noted that:[46]

> Several of the Kootenays have small herds of cattle and patches of cultivated ground, and one of the chiefs called 'Joseph' had a small farm on the waters of the Kootenay, with a band of seventy horses and thirty head of cattle.

While the Palliser expedition and the boundary survey parties were exploring new lands in the vicinity of the 49th parallel in 1858, the Indians of Montana and Idaho had already been subject to the pressures of American expansion. The 1840's provided a kind of lull before the storm as far as Native peoples south of the 49th parallel were concerned. In 1855 Isaac Stevens negotiated a treaty with the confederated Salish and Kootenay Indian tribes on American territory.[47] This same process also brought the Blackfoot of Montana under treaty. (Map 2-4). Prior to the signing of the Blackfoot Treaty, Stevens sent James Doty on an excursion into

Map 2-4



The Blackfoot in the last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century: Reserve Distribution in Southern Alberta and Montana

After Walter McClintock, The Old North Trail (1910)

southern Alberta in order to contact any Blackfoot Chiefs accustomed to hunting on American territory, and invite them to the negotiations.[48] It was this expedition of Doty's which led to some longstanding confusion on the part of many later map-makers about the location of Chief Mountain Lake as distinguished from Waterton Lake.[49]

In British territory meanwhile, the Methodist Robert Rundle had made some fledgling initiatives towards the Blackfoot as early as 1846, but with no more success than had attended Father De Smet's efforts. It was not until the mid-1860's that the missionary movement finally started making some minor headway with the tribes of the great confederacy east of the Rocky Mountains.[50] This was through the efforts of the enterprsing Oblate, Father Albert Lacombe, the 'man of the good heart' as the Blackfoot called him.[51] It would not be until 1879, following the signing of Treaty Seven that Anglicans established a mission presence south-east of Fort MacLeod in the vicinity of the Blood Reserve on Omoksene (Big Island) in the Belly River.[52] The Blackfoot were slowly being surrounded on all sides by settlement of various kinds and over the next twenty years, with the final extinction of the bison, the Blackfeet too would turn towards sedentary agriculture and grazing. (Map 2-4) (Plate 4-10)

V

The End of the Bison Economy: Lines on the Land: 1855-1880

The two great imperial powers, Britain and America, had commenced, by means of the Oregon Treaty of 1846, to settle their long-standing differences over the proper positioning of the boundary between their two jurisdictions. The entire Rocky Mountain ridge was in 1850, from a European point of view, still 'terra incognita' except to a handful of fur traders. It was into this undefined middle ground that the members of the British North American Exploring Expedition (the so-called 'Palliser Expe-dition'), stumbled in 1858, on assignment for the Royal Geographical Society and the British Crown. The Hudson's Bay Company lands were under intense scrutiny by Royal Commissioners in England and there was a general felt need to get better information on the lands south of the Saskatchewan River.

While members of Palliser's expedition were still working their way across the prairies, the United States and British governments appointed a Commission to survey the border between British and American territory along the 49th parallel between the Pacific coast and the continental divide, in accordance with arrangements agreed upon in the Oregon Treaty of1846.[53] The American party was organized in 1857, and began its work in that year. The British selected Colonel John S. Hawkins of the Royal Engineers in England as the co-ordinator of its survey team, which also included Captain Robert W. Haig as Senior Astronomer and Charles W. Wilson as Secretary. Henry Bauerman, whose name persists in Waterton, was appointed as geologist. The British portion of the Survey was completed by 1862, but the drafting and production of maps was not wound up until 1869. Because many of the original commission reports went astray until 1898, a definitive publication of the Boundary Survey was not produced until1925.[54]

In 1861 The British survey party finished its assignment in the country just west of Cameron Lake, where on the Great Divide at Akamina Station (Long. 114 03 28.41 West of Greenwich), they erected a "Pyramid of Stones" to mark the eastern terminus of the line from the Gulf of Georgia.[55] On July 31st,1861, Charles Wilson recorded his impressions of the place where they erected 'the final monument on the boundary' and where they found that others had already been:[56]

Plate 2-3

Thomas Blakiston

Plate 2-4

Captain Charles Wilson

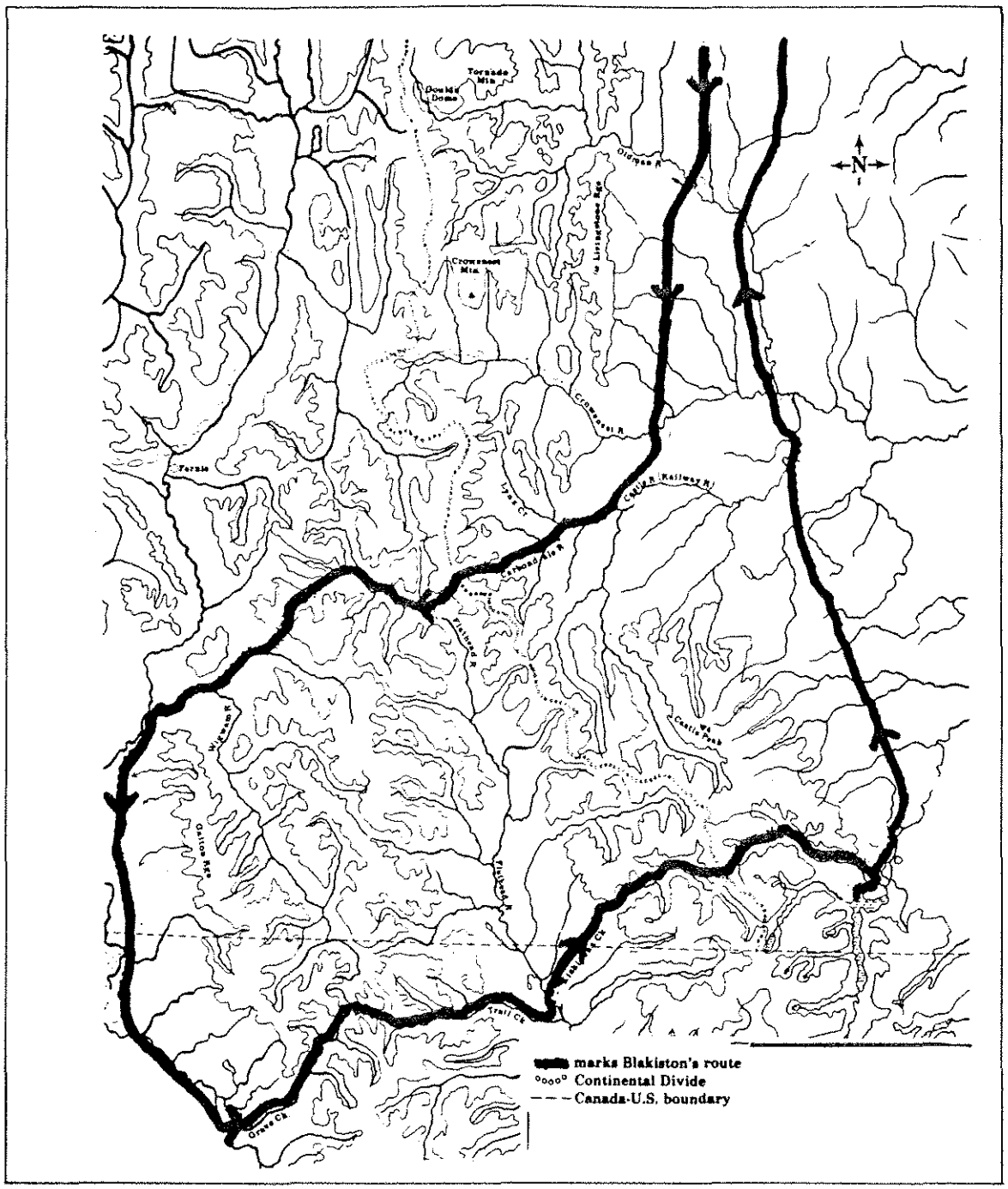
> Leaving the grassy ridge , we commenced a fresh ascent and after a good climb over bare rock where hands and feet were well employed, a steady eye needed and an occasional halt to watch the course of a stone sent rolling by the foot into a little lake some 1500 feet below us, we stood on the narrow shoulder beside the cairn of stones which marked the end of our labours and here we found tokens of previous visitor in the shape of sundry Anglo-Saxon names engraved on the stones, to which truly English record we refrained from adding our own.

While the boundary surveyors had been working their way eastward along the 49th parallel, Thomas Blakiston, having separated from the main body of the Palliser expedition, defined a course south- westward into the very heart of Waterton Lakes National Park. In 1858 he criss-crossed the present park lands via the middle and south Kootenay passes, the latter commonly known as Boundary Pass.(Map. 2-5) It was in the course of these border explorations that Blakiston gave several geographic place names to locations in the park. Most significant among these was the name Waterton which he gave to the large lake which on other maps sometimes bore the name of Chief Mountain Lake or Kootenay Lake.[57] (Maps 2-6, 2-7, 2-8)

The signing of treaties by Indians south of the 49th parallel in 1855 cleared the way for an influx into Montana of miners, bison hunters, and merchants of many stripes. Signficant mineral strikes had been made in Idaho as early as 1861 and rumours of precious metal had circulated around Montana for many years.[58] In 1864 the American Fur Company sensing the final collapse of the fur and skin trade, sold out to the North West Fur Company, thus abandoning the upper Missouri field to free traders.[59] By 1865 Fort Benton had begun to take on a signficant character as a frontier entrepot, and it would be from that rough town that commercial probes, legitimate and illicit, would be made into British territory by means of the Whoop-Up trail.[60] (Map 2-9).

There was a gap of about ten years between the completion of the first phase of the North American Boundary Survey and the commencement of the second. After 1865 when the establishment of the Whoop-Up Trail into the Lethbridge area from Fort Benton had become increasingly well-used by traders and wolfers, there developed some urgency for a final definition of the boundary. This second phase of the boundary survey was charged with establishing the line between the Lake of the Woods and the continental divide, and was authorized in 1870. The British party started its work in 1872 under the direction of Major Cameron who was assisted by Captain Samuel Anderson, Lieutenant Galway, Lieutenant Rowe and

Map 2-5

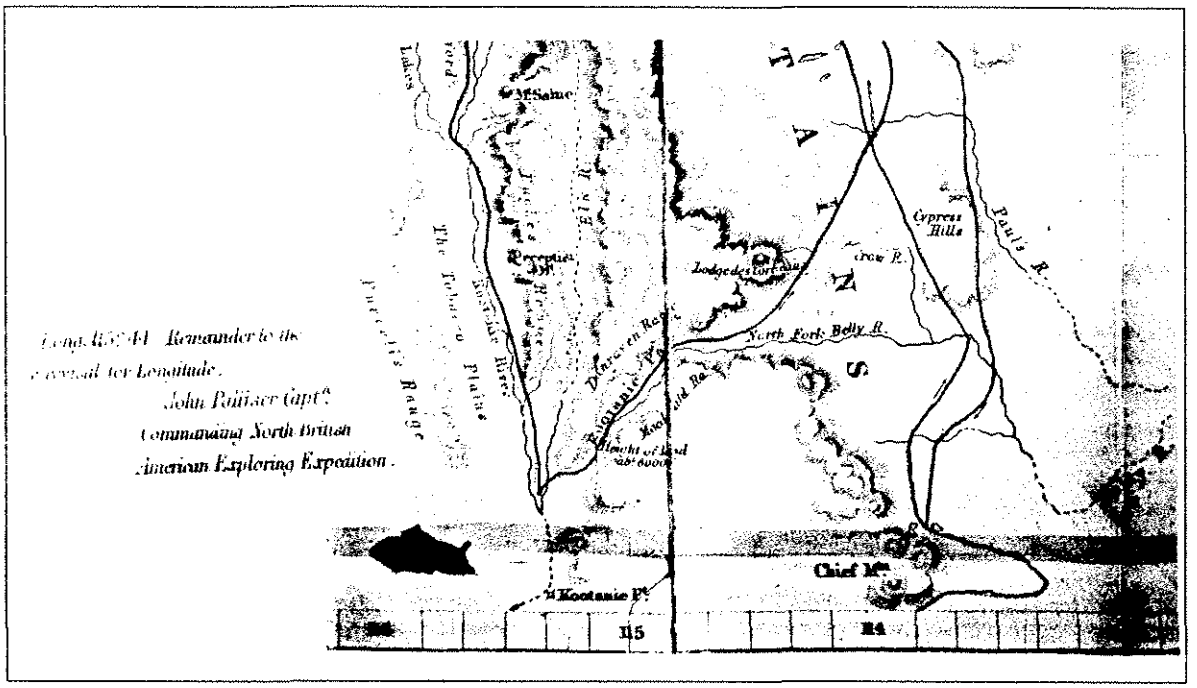


Thomas Blakiston's Route through the Waterton Country, 1858.

Adapted from Bruce Haig (1982)

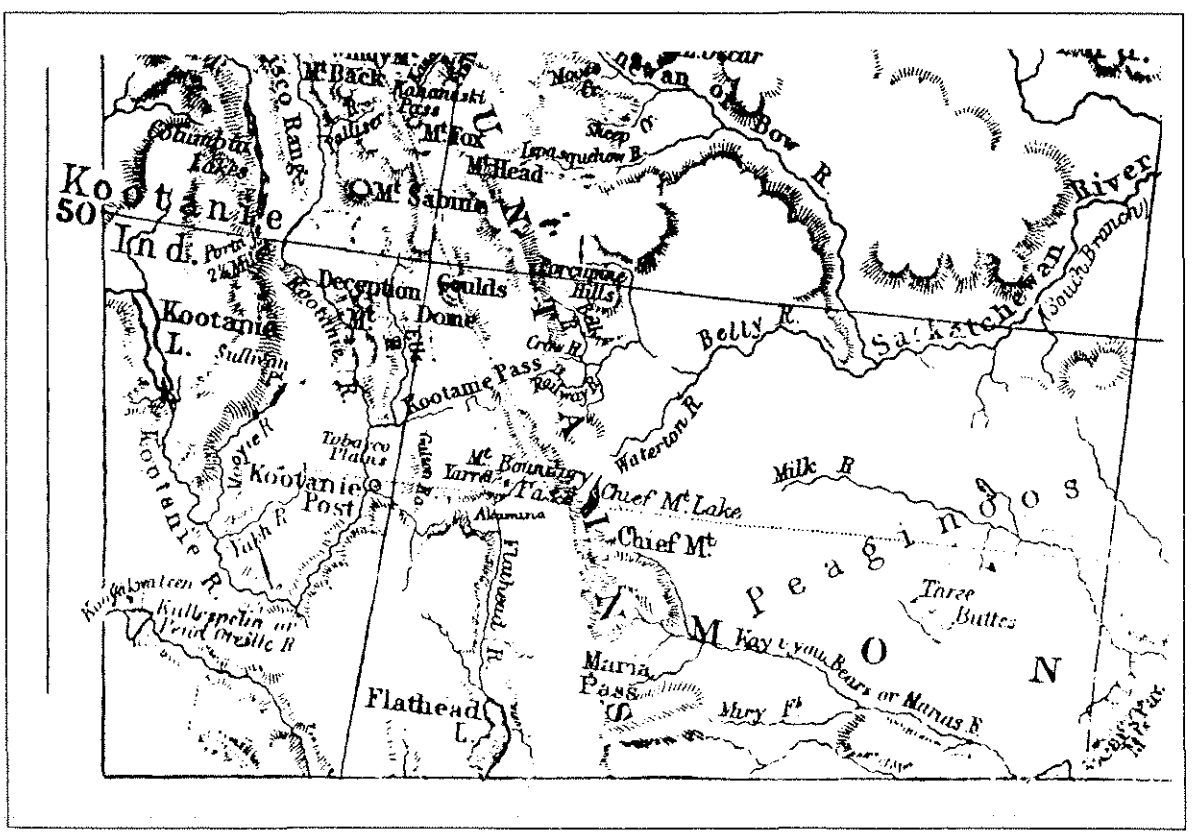
Map 2-6

Palliser's Map of 1859 (Detail)

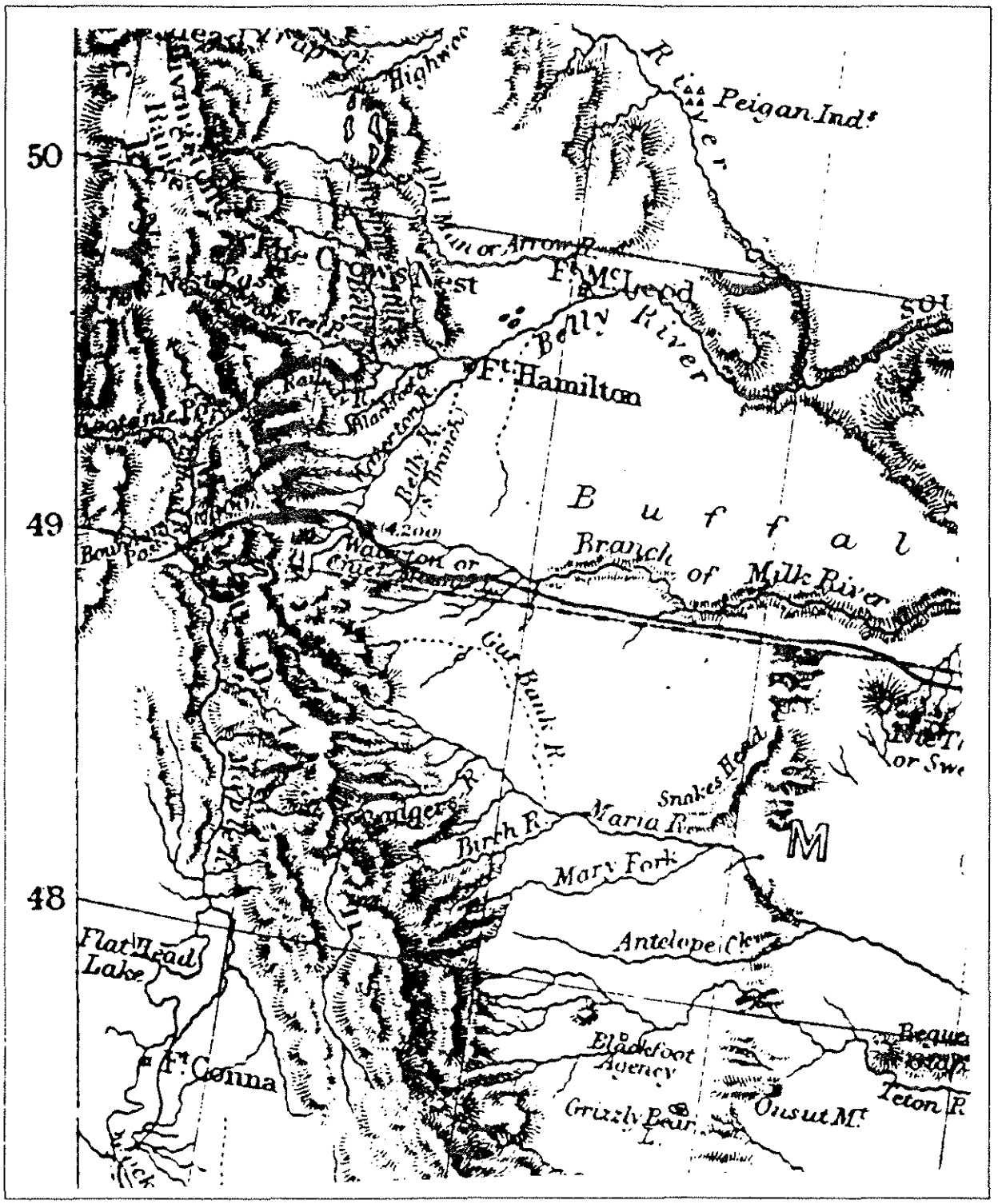


Map 2-7

Map from Butler's Great Lone Land (1872)

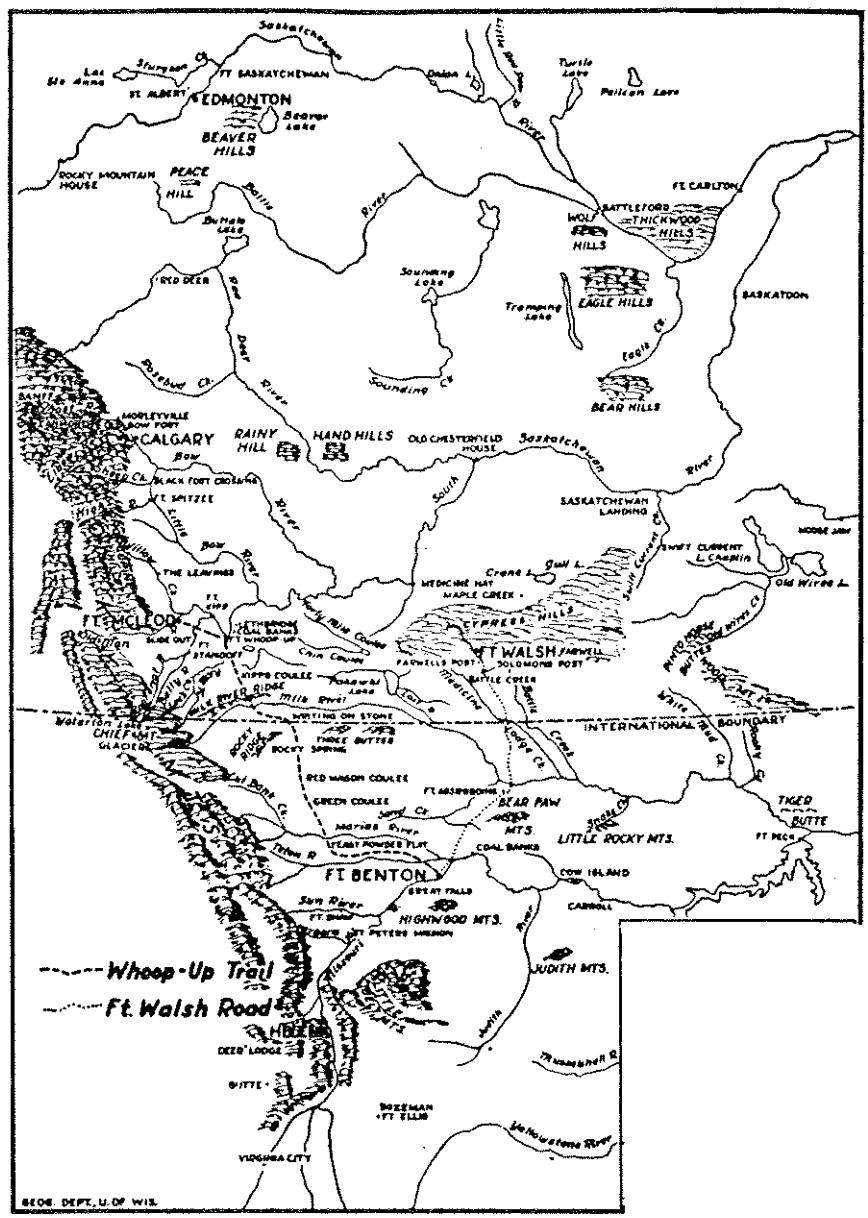


Map 2-8



The Route of the International Boundary Surveyors, 1872.

Map 2-9



The Whoop-Up Trail

Source: Paul Sharp, Whoop-Up Country (1960)

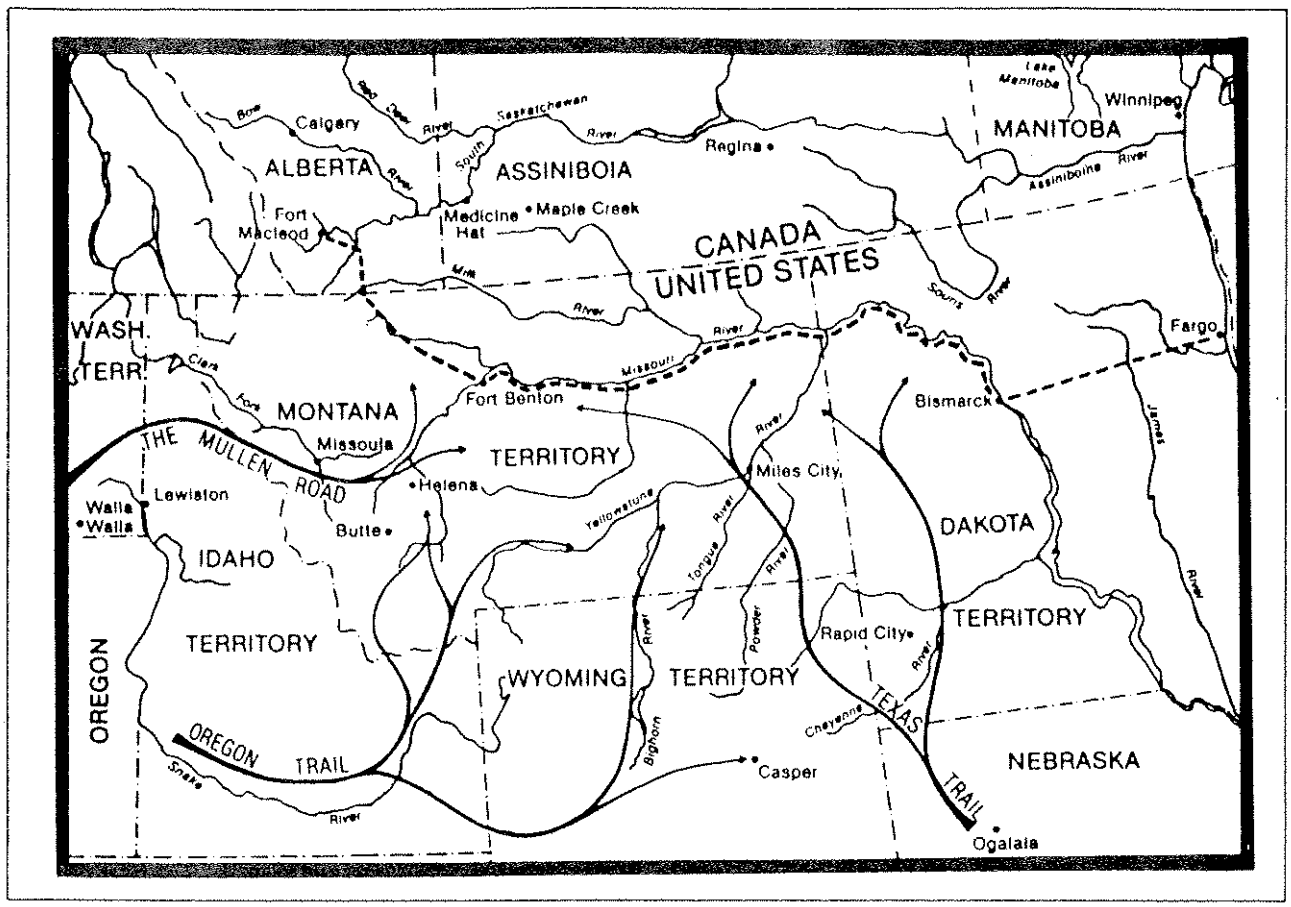
Captain Featherstonhaugh. Many of these names have persisted as geographic place names in modern Waterton. Scientist George Mercer Dawson joined these military men to assist in the work. By 1874 the survey party had arrived at at the western side of the Waterton country where it located the boundary cairn put in place by the members of the 1857-61 survey.[61] In addition to the actual task at hand, the surveyors reported on the qualities of the natural resources of the region, thus stimulating the federal government to send out further evaluation parties to the Rocky Mountains in the early 1880's. G. M. Dawson would be one of those to return to look at the land in greater detail.

The reputation for lawlessness and illicit liqour-selling to the Native peoples associated with the Whoop-Up Trail, came to a head at about the same time the Boundary Surveyors were completing their work. In the spring of 1874 the newly formed Northwest Mounted Police was dispatched from Fort Dufferin on the Red River in order to establish Fort MacLeod in the heart of Whoop-Up country. The troop followed the trail established two years earlier by the Boundary Commission party. This 'Great trek' west by the Mounted Police also marked the practical beginnings of the ranch industry in southern Alberta, some 235 head of cattle having been driven west from Manitoba as part of the cavalcade of 1874.[62] From that time on, cattle was driven into southern Alberta from Montana, particularly after the signing of Treaty No. 7 by the Blackfoot in 1877. (Map 2-10)

The fixing on the ground of the approximate boundary line by 1874 allowed for the commencement of land surveys on either side of the border. On the Canadian side, the long-standing British Imperial practice of extinguishing Native title by means of treaties, in advance of any granting of title to intending settlers, became a public task of the highest priority. The so-called 'Numbered' Treaties of the northwest territories had been unfolding sequentially from the Lake of the Woods country westward since 1871. The Blackfoot and Sarcee came to terms in 1877 at Blackfoot Crossing and in the words of historian Hugh Dempsey:[63]

> It was a picturesque scene,as revealed through the paintings of Mounted Police surgeon Richard B. Nevitt and through the word pictures of men like Cecil Denny and Richard Hardisty. Yet, it was more than just a colourful event, for behind the facade of scarlet tunics, feathered headdresses, and eloquent speeches, was the tragedy of a dying nomadic culture.

Map 2-10



The Coming of the Cattle Industry to Alberta from Montana

The dotted line suggests the route taken by many early ranchers en route to Alberta. Following rail travel to Bismark, steamers were taken to Fort Benton and an overland route to Fort McLeod. The solid lines show early cattle drives into Montana.

After Simon Evans (1978)

The disposition of reservation lands established by treaty in Southern Alberta is shown in Map. 2-4. Of great significance to Waterton Park was the land set aside for the Blood Indians of the Blackfoot Confederacy.

vi

Early Settlement in the Waterton Country

John George 'Kootenai' Brown (1839-1916), was one of the earliest of European background to settle in the present territory of Waterton Lakes National Park. Brown was a figure about whom legend continued to build during his lifetime, and well after. Born of a military family in County Clare, Ireland in 1839, he was orphaned in the mid-1840's during the course of the great Irish potatoe famines. He was then raised with great care in his grand mother Bridget Sohpia's household.[64] His grandmother's persistance with the war office finally obtained a commision in the military for young Brown and initial service in India, where he became friends with his Irish compatriot, Arthur Vowell. The life of the military in the days of the Indian Mutiny did not appeal to either Brown or Vowell, and in 1859 the two men headed for the west coast of America via the Isthmus of Panama. By the early 1860's, they had reached the Cariboo Goldfields of British Columbia, and after winning and losing a fortune, the men went their separate ways in 1862. Vowell went to Victoria and Brown on to the Wild Horse Creek area of the Kootenay, where he took another crack at fortune hunting. He did a variety of jobs over the next few years, ending up in 1865 as a constable in the employ of Gold Commissioner Peter O'Reilly. The Wild Horse Creek area was essentially an American enclave in British terrtitory. A man with Brown's experience in the military was seen as valuable to those charged with maintaining law and order. Brown was at New Westminster briefly where he was entered on the civil service payroll and then assigned to the Wild Horse Creek area. It was not long before Brown resigned his post on account of reduced wages, and took up prospecting once again. The bloom was off the rose in the East Kootenay goldfieds however, and Brown successfully sold his claims and headed eastward towards the plains, a journey which took him through the South Kootenay Pass and past the Waterton Lakes. His next twelve years on the prairies were packed with more adventure than most experience in a lifetime. It was a period when he effectivley became a member of the Metis community and in which he was willingly captured by the rough and tumble of prairie life. He had married Olivia D'Lonais, a woman of considerable beauty, fathered two children, become expert in the ways of the languages and customs of prairie and mountain peoples, and had learned how to live

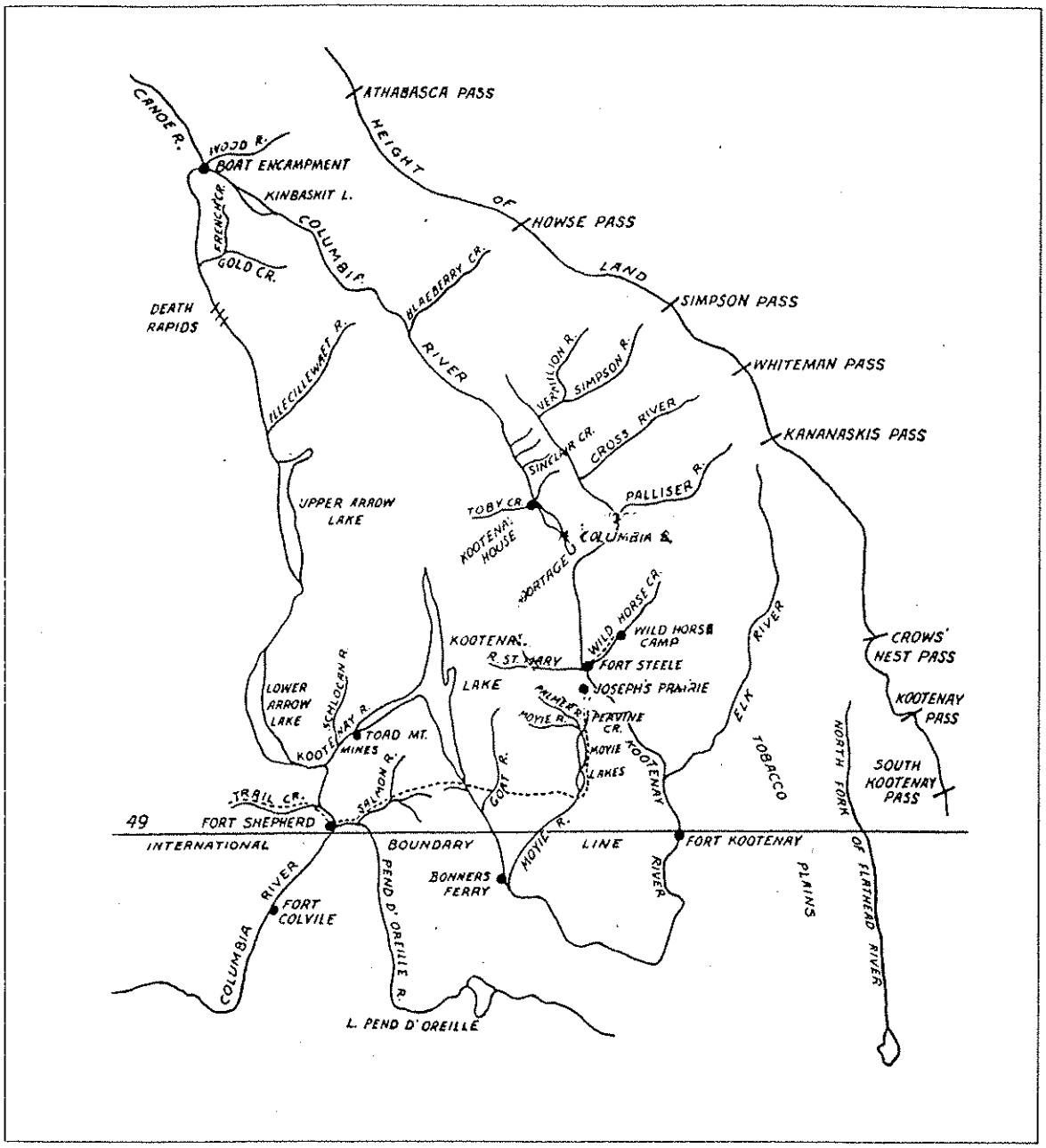
dangerously. It was at the end of this period, in 1877, following his rather inglorious exit from the Montana country where he had just been acquitted on murder charges, that he re-entered the Waterton country to settle down once and for all.[65]

In 1877 he arrived at the spot on Waterton Lake which he had seen over a decade earlier en route out of the Wild Horse Creek area, and to which he had vowed to sometime return. He was preceded there only by H.A. 'Fred' Kanouse, a trader, who had built a cabin on the eastern shores of Upper Waterton Lake about 1874. Kanouse had been frequenting the Bow River and Old Man River country since 1871 and according to L.V.Kelly he then established Fort Warren in the foothills, 'where he had established trading relations with the Kootenay.'[66] This cabin of Kanouse's may have been Fort Warren or Kootenay Post.[67] A fatigued and harried Brown decided to settle his family there, safe inside Canadian territory.

There was still a good deal of wildness left in Brown but, as explained by his biographer, the recent events in Montana had altered Brown's outlook. His latest violent experience had almost cost him his life and it became the catalyst perhaps, which prompted Brown to begin a lengthy evaluation of his life, one which culminated twenty years later in his formal application to join the Theosophical Society of America.[68] Brown's early experiences in India, (so potent a formative influence on Helena Blatavsky, the founder of Theosophy), the gradual abandonment of his own cultural hearth in Ireland, his broad exposure to a wide variety of outlooks and ways of life, his not infrequent altercations, all of these things had worked to invalidate many of the values of his inherited past. Even the 'get-rich-quick' schemes which had driven him through life with such mixed results had lost much of their appeal. In 1877 the 'greening' of J.G. Brown had scarcely started, but it had begun.

Brown appears to have quickly worked out an arrangement with Kanouse, for in late 1877 he gained use of the cabin for his wife Olivia (or Olive) and their two daughters.[69] Shortly after, Brown established his own place on the western shores of Middle Waterton Lake, which he operated, with Kanouse, as a trading post and a headquarters for his guiding and hunting expeditions. The two men operated a varied trade with Kootenay, Piegan and Blood Indians, involving whiskey, furs, and general trade goods. With the rapid change in the land situation for the Indians after 1877, the trading operation of Brown and Kanouse was short-lived. By 1882 the partnership had been dissolved, Kanouse spending most his time in Fort MacLeod, where he undertook some ranching.[70] Brown, in order to help sustain his family, undertook some farming on lands at the foot of Blakiston Creek, By 1882 a few other settlers had started to show up along the Belly and Waterton Rivers. W.A. Henry obtained a lease to graze cattle on the grasslands

Map 2-11



The Wild Horse Country of "Kootenai" Brown

surrounding the Lower and Middle Waterton Lakes, while the area to the north became part of the lands leased to the large Cochrane Ranch interests. F.W. Godsell, who became a good friend of Brown, had established his South Fork Ranch by 1883. 'Kootenai' Brown was not long alone in his chosen paradise.[71] It was just as well perhaps, for in 1884, his wife Olivia died not long after the birth of their third child, leaving Brown devastated. He placed his children in better hands and then chose to become swallowed up in the frontier events of 1885 which became so momentous for the Canadian west.[72]

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31. Smyth, 'Struggle'(1984), pp. 13-14; Warren L. Hanna, *Stars Over Montana: Men Who Made Glacier National Park History.* 1988, p.10

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Chapter Three

Settlement, Railways and Natural Resource Use Conlficts: The Birth of a National Park Policy: 1878-1930

i

In the Wake of Railway Enterprise: fire and mining-altered landscapes.

Following the circuitous transfer of Rupert's Land to the Canadian Confederation in 1869, the Macdonald government in Ottawa soon had to give consideration to the question of practical administration of that vast new northwest territory. The Department of the Interior was established in 1873 in order to carry out the many tasks required. As a Department its actions were guided by a number of new pieces of legislation, particularly The Dominion Lands Act of 1872. Since transit links were still poorly developed, and the trans-continental railway still just an idea, the federal government gained a certain period of grace in which to carry out essential resource inventory and land survey in advance of immigration. The resistance by Riel and his followers at Red River in 1870 gave a strong warning to the federal Government that it had to be scrupulous in its land surveys and dealings.[1] We have seen that after 1865, the movement of Americans from south of the Canadian border, reinforced this awareness and led to the formation and deployment of the North West Mounted Police in 1874.

The next decade on the prairies was one of acute adjustment for Native and Metis peoples who had to come to terms with (1) the decline of the bison, (2) the conditions imposed by the 'numbered' treaties concluded between 1871 and 1877, and subsequent Dominion Land Laws, and (3) the psychological reality associated with mounting social change. At the beginning of this period the transcontinental railway was still just a 'national dream' but when in 1885 Lord Strathcona drove the last spike in the Canadian Pacific Railroad at Craigellachie, British Columbia, he also signalled the beginning of a heightened pace of landscape change in the West. The signs of change were visible on several fronts, economic, social and environmental. The year 1885 is remembered for the manner in which these forces of change coalesced in the second Metis resistance centered at Batoche, the first gesture towards the establishment of a National Park system, and the final eclipse of the bison.[2]

By the time of the completion of the CPR, Dominion Land Surveyors had already been busy working across the 'fertile belt' of the prairies. As early as 1883, William Ogilvie had extended the fifth meridian as far north as the Athabasca River from Edmonton. In that year some 1,700,000 acres of ranch land were already held under lease.[3] This included a large block between the Waterton and Oldman Rivers under the control of Senator Cochrane who, in advance of the coming of the railway, had started the Bow Valley Ranch in the vicinity of modern Calgary.[4] Other railway enterprise was not long in following. By 1891 Calgary and Edmonton were linked by rail and over the next ten years a number of new lines were constructed in southern Alberta, spawned by an interest in coal and irrigation development.[5]

This was still the age of railroad wood and coal burners. Over the next thirty years across the prairies and in the heavily wooded lands of the Rocky Mountains, fire took a great toll, often a result of the cinder-spreading engines.[6] The only precedent in the Canadian West, in terms of landscape impact, had been that of the gold rushes to the Fraser and Cariboo country of British Columbia after 1858, where many a bruised watershed was left in the wake of the fortune-hunters.[7] G.M. Dawson during the course of his geological surveys along the Columbia River south of the Kicking Horse Pass in the 1880's, remarked on the contrast between traditional Native fires and those of a more recent variety:[8]

> Notwithstanding the evidence previously mentioned of the occasional occurrence of forest fires in ancient times in these mountains, it is only with the historic period for the region (probably not before the beginning of the century) that such fires became common, and during the past few years their frequency has increased in a greatly accelerated ratio. The effect of such fires is most disastrous. Large quantities of valuable timber are destroyed and whole regions become so blocked with tangled burnt woods and wind fall as to be practically inaccessible, while the fine mountain scenery is seriously marred. These destructive fires in most cases arise through sheer carelessness or wantonness and the most stringent measures should be taken to prevent them.

In language reminiscent of his father, scientist and theologian J.W. Dawson, the younger Dawson editorialized that 'as the class of persons most careless in this respect is generally that least desirable to retain in any country, the authorities

would find the respectable portion of the community in full sympathy with them in any measures adopted to check this evil.'[9]

Dawson then, saw a need for strong controls in the back-country, and was impatient with suggestions that the Indians were largely at fault. While admitting that the bad example being set by European-style enterprise might have made some Native peoples 'more careless than before' he observed that they would not 'willingly destroy their own hunting grounds.' To be specific, he stated:[10]

> the best evidence of their care is found in the fact that, while along the North Kootenai Pass (which so far has been scarcely used, except by Indians), the woods are generally unburnt, those in the vicinity of the parallel Crow Nest Pass,which has now been for a few years a route used by whites, are entirely destroyed and represented only by bleaching or blackened trunks.

In eastern Canada this issue had been recognized for some time as there had been a somewhat longer acquaintance with railway enterprise and ill-considered agricultural settlement fostered in essentially forest areas. Quebec had instituted a fire-ranging system by 1874 and Ontario passed its first Forest Fire Prevention Act in 1878.[11] In these years the memory of such vast forest conflagrations as the 1871 Pashtigo, Wisconsin fire, were still fresh in the mind. Following an influential series of meetings of the American Forestry Congress in Cincinnati and Montreal in 1882, a fire-suppression mentality settled upon many of those most instrumental in establishing forest conservation policy in both the United States and Canada.[12] The total suppression of fire as a guiding principle in forestry circles would subsequently have a long and vigorous history.

Such was the emotional climate surrounding those who in 1885 promoted the passage of an amendment to the Dominion Lands Act designed to establish a series of forest parks on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains.[13] Branch rail networks were developing rapidly and by 1898 the Kootenay mining district of British Columbia was accessible by rail through the Crows Nest Pass route north of Waterton Park.[14]

In 1903 the Federal Government passed The Railway Act, legislation which contained regulations concerning the prevention of fire applicable to the private railway companies. These regulations were amended a number of times over the next decade by the Railway Board of Commissioners and the Board eventually brought federally owned railways under the regulations.[15]

Between 1880 and 1914 losses of prime forest to fire caused by railway enterprise and relatively uncontrolled mine rushing activity had been severe in the Rocky Mountains region. The actions of those who worked for the development of a federal 'Forest Park' policy after 1885, need to be viewed in this context

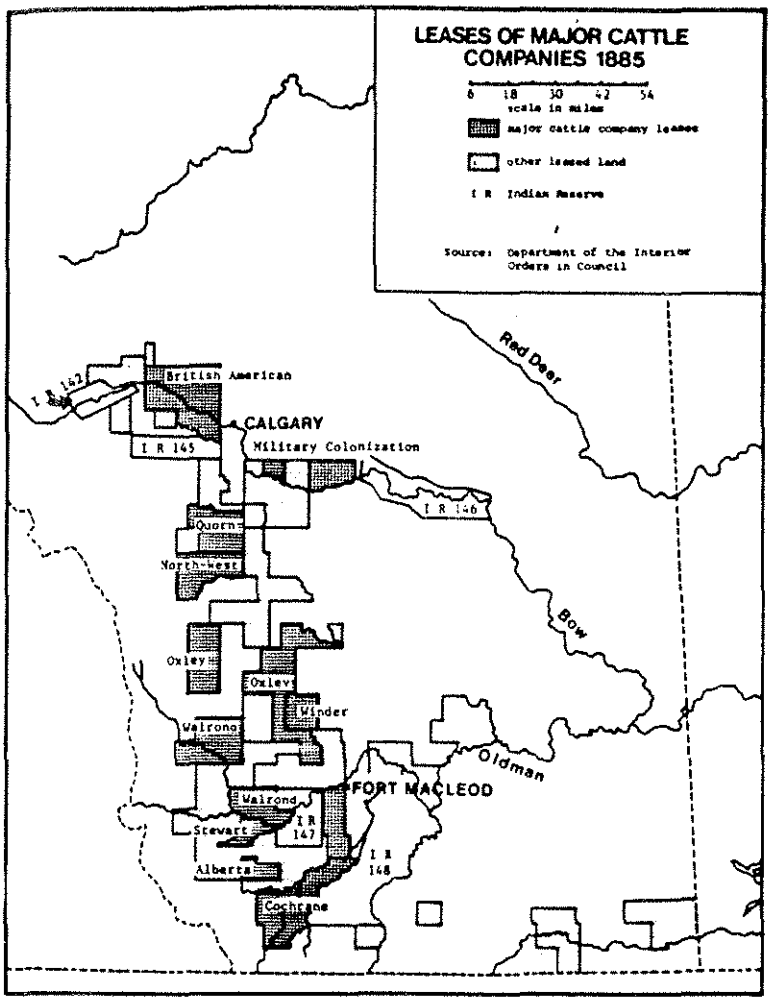
ii

The Rise of the Cattle Industry in the Waterton Lakes Region

Grazing on public lands in the West was sanctioned early through the regulations provided under the Dominion Lands Act. By 1876 pubic grazing had commenced and the 1881 regulations provided for terms of lease of twenty-one years for ranches of up to 100,000 acres at a cost of 1 cent per acre. The pattern or ranch leases and land use in Southern Alberta in 1885 is shown in Map 3-1. By 1885 the Cochrane interests had established ranch lands in the vicinity of Waterton Park.[16] In the early 1880's however, there were only a few individuals such as 'Kootenai' Brown, actually making use of the future parklands for agriculture and grazing purposes.

More intending settlers entered the region during the 1880's, so that by 1891 the ranching community had experienced social strains in the wake of 'squatting' farmers seeking to establish themselves on the large ranch leaseholds. Historian David Breen has outlined the manner in which the North West Mounted Police adjusted their work routines to the needs of the ranchers, generally with success in terms of the maintenance of law and order.[17] At the same time, the federal Department of the Interior, under the strong direction of William Pearce, worked hard to adjust the character of the original ranch leaseholds in a way which would suite the cattlemen and intending settlers both. The main policy advanced towards this end was the so-called 'Stock-Watering Reserve System' put in place by Pearce in 1886 and expanded in 1892.[18] The essence of the policy was such as to prevent in law, squatters from taking up favourable positions on essential water sites and grazing bottomlands considered essential to the livestock raisers. Pearce had become convinced that Palliser's dry triangle did exist and that government policy should promote the best use of land in the southern regions of Alberta and Saskatchewan, land which in his view favoured grazing. There was considerable opposition to the Stock-Watering Reserve System, but the cattlemen were well organized in both the West and in Ottawa, and the system put in place by Pearce survived the defeat of the Conservative Party in 1896 and was essentially left in place by the Laurier administration.[19] The introduction of the new system of stock grazing reserves and revised system of grazing leases received mixed reactions from cattlemen and

Map 3-1



Lease Ranch Lands in Alberta and the
Cochrane Ranch Lands in the Waterton Area

After Simon Evans (1978)

intend-ing settlers alike. The forces behind the large British-owned, Walrond Ranch remained hostile to any changes in the status quo, and on occasion violence threated to break out in connection with the Walrond methods of ranch operation.[20] Others such as F.W. Godsal, an enterprising rancher from Cowley in the Castle River area directly north of Waterton, took a much more conciliatory approach. Godsal had been one of the founders of the South Western Stock Association in the early 1880's, but he quickly came to see the need to deal creatively with the stream of intending settlers.[21] Godsal left a memoir of the way in which he met the post-1886 conditions:[22]

> My lease was about the first to be invaded by settlers, and I saw that it would be impossible to keep them off. The Government at Ottawa had not foreseen how rapidly settlers would flow in when the C.P.R. was built. I therefore accepted the inevitable and told Ottawa that I would throw open about nine-tenths of my lease, (keeping what I had under fence) provided they would reserve from settlement certain springs and watering places on the river which were essential to my cattle on the range, and to everyone else, including the settlers themselves.

Godsal's recollection is almost a direct summary of what the new stock grazing reserve system, brought in by Pearce in 1892, sought to achieve through an appeal to common sense and public interest. It is in this context of developing water conservation law and land use controls that one may view the contemporary establishment of the large forest reserves in the 1890's. Setting aside much of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains as forest reserve was the apparent solution. It was an initiative in which the public-spirited Godsal again played a large part.

iii

Establishment of Dominion Forest and Park Reserves and the Waterton Lakes Forest Reserve, 1895.

The initial suggestions that a recreational park reserve should be set aside around the Waterton Lakes appears to have originated with William Pearce, the ubiquitous Superintendent of Mines for the Department of the Interior. On noticing the success of the park reservation at Banff Springs Pearce made the following observations in his 1886 Annual Report:[23]

> There are many other points in the Rocky Mountains which, in the near future, it would be well to reserve, among which may be mentioned the vicinity around the lakes which rise near the 49th Parallel and empty by the Waterton River into the Belly River.

The original reservation of the Hot Springs at Banff, as a 'public pleasuring ground' had been made through use of Section 78 of The Dominion Lands Act of 1878. In 1884 this same act was amended to allow for the establishment of a system of 'Forest Parks', the main intent of which was to withdraw lands from public use in order to conserve the forest cover of the upper reaches of the Rocky Mountains, thus assuring a good future water supply in the great rivers flowing out of the Cordillera. The word 'park' then, was being used in two distinctive ways by 1885. In 1886 members of the federal government thought it desirable to enlarge the size of the 1885 reservation at Banff Springs, largely, but not entirely, on the basis of its recreational merits. Hence a special piece of legislation was prepared and passed in 1887, The Rocky Mountains Park Act.[24] This was the first piece of Canadian park legislation in the modern sense, but it did allow for many activities which, over the next forty years, gradually became disallowed. In Lothian's words, this early act 'provided not only for the preservation of the landscape' and the 'protection of wildlife' but also permitted 'the working of mines within the park, the pasturage of cattle under permit and management of hay lands.'[25]

William Pearce's suggestion for additional park reserves did not generate action for a number of years. In 1893 however, Pearce had his memory jogged by Frederick Godsal who had written to Pearce in order to re-kindle interest in the park reserve idea:[26]

> I believe that some years ago in an official report you recommended that the Crow's Nest Pass, Kootenay or Waterton Lakes, etc. should be reserved as National Parks. I wish now in the strongest manner to urge upon the Government the adoption of this suggestion without delay.

Pearce agreed and sent Godsal's suggestions on to his colleagues in the Department of Interior for consideration. Some opposition was met at the upper levels of the administration, but it was overruled by the Minister, the Hon. T. Mayne Daly, who in 1894 initiated the establishment of a park reservation around Waterton Lakes.[27] The reserve came into law the following year when the greater portion of two Townships was set aside as the Waterton Lakes Forest Park.[28]

It is interesting to note that the Waterton Forest Park Reserve was established during the brief span of MacKenzie Bowell's administration. Since his term in office there have not been many voices lifted in praise of Canada's fifth Primeminister. Nevertheless, Bowell served Canadians in many capacities after his entry into politics in 1867. In 1890 he was the Minister of Customs, and in that year made a tour of inspection of facilities in Alberta and British Columbia. 'Kootenai' Brown played an important role as packer and guide for the official party and for the NWMP escort which travelled by horseback through the Crowsnest Pass into British Columbia. It is likely that Bowell learned much of the views of the locals about the need to set aside lands in the Waterton area. In William Rodney's words:[29]

> What is certain is that the journey through the mountains certainly helped to creat a receptive climate of opinion in the minds of Bowell and his companions so that when the time came for action, impediments at the political level were minimal.

This seems to be an accurate judgement, for Daly did not hesitate to support the legislation favoured by Pearce and his colleagues in the Pincher Creek area. Six years later 'Kootenai' Brown was appointed Fisheries Officer for the Park Reserve, thus becoming the first civic employee associated with what was to become Waterton Lakes National Park.[30]

iv

Early Boundary Changes at Waterton and the Passage of the Dominion Forest and Park Reserves Act of 1911

It has been noticed that J.G. Brown was among those who were most active in arguing for the establishmment of a special public reserve at Waterton during the last decade of the nineteeth century. Over the next decade or so, Brown, Godsal, and other Pincher Creek area residents, came to agree on the value of an extended and more closely defined park establishment, and in so doing they were participating in a wider general discussion about how parks should take on a somewhat different character from that defined in the original legislation of 1887.[31] It will be seen that the passage of the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act of 1911 was, in Craig's words 'an attempt to distinguish between park reservations and forest reservations.'[32]

One way to comprehend the pre-1911 view of parks in Canada is through the word 'recreation.' The Rocky Mountain Parks Act of 1887 had been passed mainly with a view to reserve for purposes of healthy public recreation, the hot springs areas at Banff. Such a reservation was conceived within a world of relatively unrestricted development however, one in which developing railway transportation through the mountains was the very backbone. The early park reservation at Banff was merely one type of reserve among many others allowed under the Dominion Lands Act, particulalry after the amendments of 1884 which, we have already seen, were passed to allow the establishment of 'Forest Parks' for the better control of water resources, fire protection and the conditions of use.[33] The Rocky Mountain Parks Act provided some scope for 'recreation' values to dominate the normal range of activities sanctioned as allowable within the Forest Reserves. Under Section 4 the Minister of the Interior could define the conditions for:[34]

> (d) The working of mines and the development of mining interests within the limits of the park, and the issuing of licenses or permits of occupation for the said purpose; but no lease, license or permit shall be made, granted or issued under this or the next preceding paragraph of this section which will in any way impair the usefulness of the park for the purposes of public enjoyment and recreation.
> (e) Trade and Traffic of every description.

These clauses, and others, in the Rocky Mountain Parks Act suggest the high degree of discretion allowed the Minister of the Interior in the pursuit of his many mandates, discretion which did not go unnoticed by some members of the house during the bill's passage.[35] But the clauses also defined the beginnings of a park ethic centered upon the word 'recreation.'

The large forest park reserves created in the 1890's, such as Waterton, had been done so under the 1884 Dominon Lands Act Amendment, and hence these reserves did not enjoy even the discretionary protection which had been extended to the Rocky Mountains Park (Banff) under the special act of 1887, cited above. In Lothian's words: [36]

> Essentially it was a forest reserve without special supervision or protection. Its timber was available to settlers under permit and prevailing regulations permitted prospecting for petroleum and the reservation of potential oil-producing lands

Developments in the new Waterton Lakes Park Reserve of 1895 were minimal in its first fifteen years owing to the relative isolation of the park from the travelling public. Attempts at oil development in and around the park, along with a growing interest in the possible uses of Waterton Lakes as a source for irrigation, meant that the Department of the Interior, with its many mandates, continued to see land use in terms of the best overall public use. This attitude was expressed in 1906 when Liberal-Conservative M.P. John Herron sponsored a new name for the park unit called the Kootenay Lakes Forest Reserve. For the next five years or so, the land reserve was under the control of the Superintendent of Forestry in Ottawa. On Herron's recommendation, 'Kootenai' Brown was nominated for the position of Chief Forest Ranger, an appointment which was approved, but not until 1910.[37] A year later this reversion to the name 'Kootenay' with its emphasis on the words 'forest reserve' was once again reversed through the formal establishment of Waterton Lakes National Park under the new Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act.[38]

The creation of a distinct identity for National Parks, as opposed to Forest Reserves, owes much to the work of Frank Oliver, who in 1905 re-placed Clifford Sifton as the Minister of Interior. By 1908 Oliver had esta-blished a unit for administrative control of the parks under R.H. Campbell, the Superintendent of Forestry, soon followed by the creation of a new office in Banff known as the Commissioner of Dominion Parks. Three years later, Oliver introduced in the House of Commons the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act. About this bill, Oliver argued that while the purpo-ses of the forest reserves and forest parks were in some ways identical, they were also quite different. The forest reserves were withdrawn from occupation, while allowing certain controlled resource uses; the forest parks on the other hand had been established mainly as public 'pleasuring grounds.' By 1911, this distinction still held, but under the force of an increased chorus of arguments from Godsal and others who sensed a greater need to protect wildlife, there now seemed to be an even greater reason for establishing a firmer legislative basis for National Parks. This was done in the 1911 act.[39]

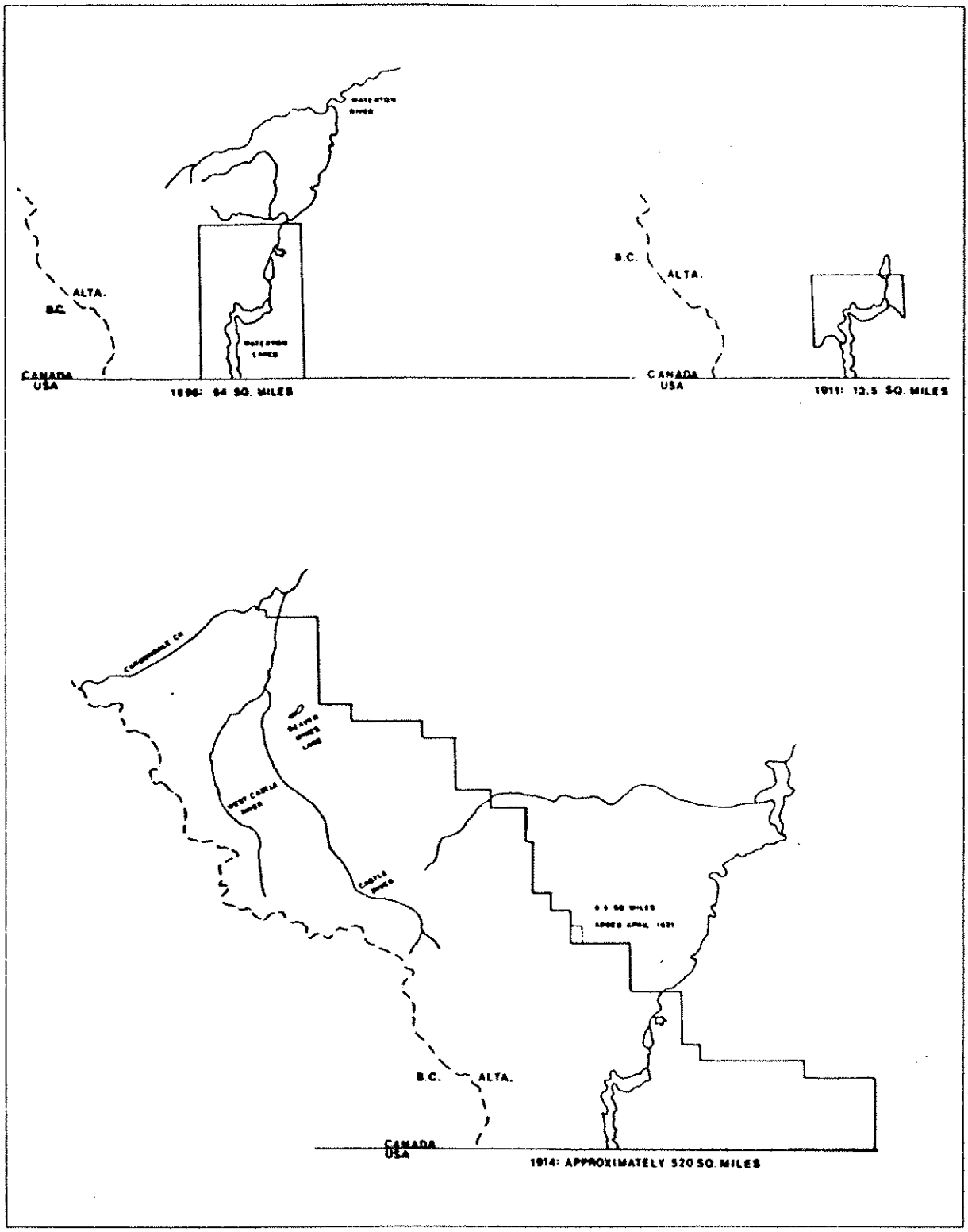
Events seemed to be moving in the direction favoured by park proponents until the passage of the new act by the out-going Liberal Government in Ottawa. The act ironically reduced rather than increased the size of Waterton. This seemed a retrograde step in the eyes of many, regardless of the rationalizations offered.[40] On the other hand, the new act had successfuly led to the establishment within the Department of the Interior of a separate division called the Dominion Parks Branch. Its new director, James B. Harkin, was destined to play an important role in the development of the National Park system over the next twenty-five years.

The 1911 collapsing of the boundaries took place just shortly after the United States had established the very extensive Glacier National Park directly to the south, the northern limits of which, abutted on the Canadian-United States Boundary.[41] Canadian policy appeared to be moving in a direction opposite to what was required. The Commission of Conservation, established in 1909, moved to exercise its influence by putting pressure on the government to review the reduced boundaries. Under the leadership of Howard Douglas and James B. Harkin in the newly established Dominion Parks Branch, and with the assistance of other interested parties and agencies, Waterton was eventually expanded once again in 1914 to its largest historic size of 423 sq. miles (1095.5 sq km.).[42] (Map 3-2) By this time, the park's name had also reverted back to 'Waterton' from 'Kootenay.'[43] Under Harkin's leadership, the arrangements of 1911 were significantly changed. The Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act was amended in 1913 so as to allow additions to the park system from lands other than those defined as forest reserves.[44]

The Government meanwhile, had given some consideration to the practical problems of administration of those lands which were now taking on a more distinct identity as parks in the current sense. In 1909 the first formal system of public wardens was established by Order In Council. The Minister of Interior was now empowered to appoint 'game guardians' who were to wear the badge of office while on duty. In the Commission of Conservation 1916 Report on Fish and Wildlife, F.H.H. Williamson of the Dominion Parks Branch submitted a review of game preservation in the parks in which he noted about post-1914 Waterton:[45]

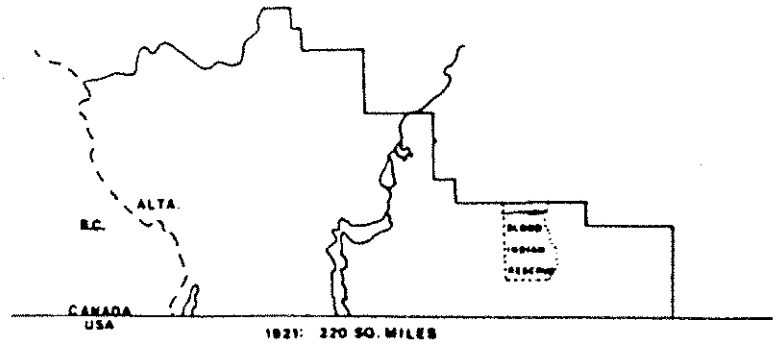
> Before this park was increased in area, a two-mile strip of unprotected territory lay between it and the United States Glacier park on the south. With the United States sanctuary on the one hand and the Waterton Lakes Park on the other, one can realize what a hunter's paradise this strip was prior to that

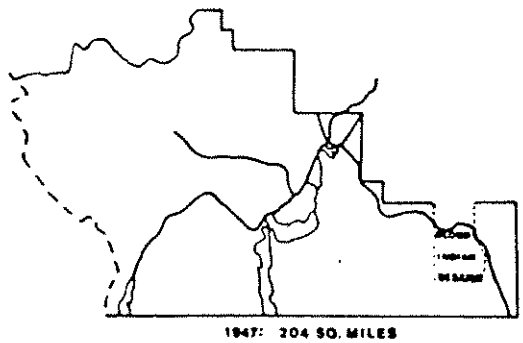
The Changing Shape of Waterton Park: 1895-1914

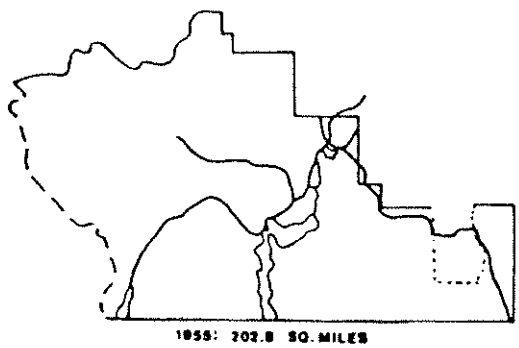


Map 3-2

The Changing Shape of Waterton Park: 1921-1955







Map 3-3

> date. United States authorities, the Campfire Club of America and others have pointed out the dangerous nature of such a condition of affairs for years. As our park has been extended to the boundary, there now exists a great international sanctuary, the first of its kind, of over 1,800 square miles in area, in which the wild life of that portion of the Rockies enjoys absolute protection.

Historian Ian Getty noted about the three year period when the park had been so severely reduced in size, that its presence within the larger system of forest reserves still allowed for some control; that is, 'Kootenai' Brown was still able to exclude hunters by trespass laws in the Forest Reserve. In practice however, there were too few wardens to do the job.[46] Following park expansion after 1914, there was a clear need to review warden service staff requirements and to obtain the the services of a younger man as supervisor. 'Kootenai' Brown, who was the first to recognize that time had now passed him by, gave way to Robert Cooper as the new Park Superintendent in 1914, but stayed on the payroll to assist in the new organization.

By the outbreak of World War I in 1914, a much expanded national park was in place at Waterton. Over the next few years development and visitation was limited by the constraints of war. Just as the old order was passing in the world at large, so too was it passing in the park. The grand old veteran of the Canadian-American frontier West and the symbol of the park, John George Brown, died in 1916 and was buried along the western shore of Lower Waterton Lake next to his first wife, Olivia. (Map 6-1). In that same year, a joint inspection of the expanded territory was carried out by game wardens and a Dominion Forestry official, which led in 1917 to the joint administration of Waterton. The area north of Yarrow Creek became a game preserve under park administration, while forests and grazing were administered by the Forestry Branch. With the return to peace in 1918 the Dominion Parks Branch embarked on a re-organization of operations and a review of land requirements. The outcome was another signfiicant boundary change in 1921. In Lothian's words: 'the northwesterly part of the park which had been under dual administration, was withdrawn and later incorporated in the Rocky Mountains Forest Reserve. The resulting park area of 220 sq. miles remained intact until 1947 when 16 square miles of burned-over timber land at the southeast corner of the park were withdrawn.'[47] (Maps 3-3; 5-1) Many of the recent improvements in the north end, such as the Elk Lodge Warden Station, were turned over to the Forestry Branch in the fall of 1921.

v

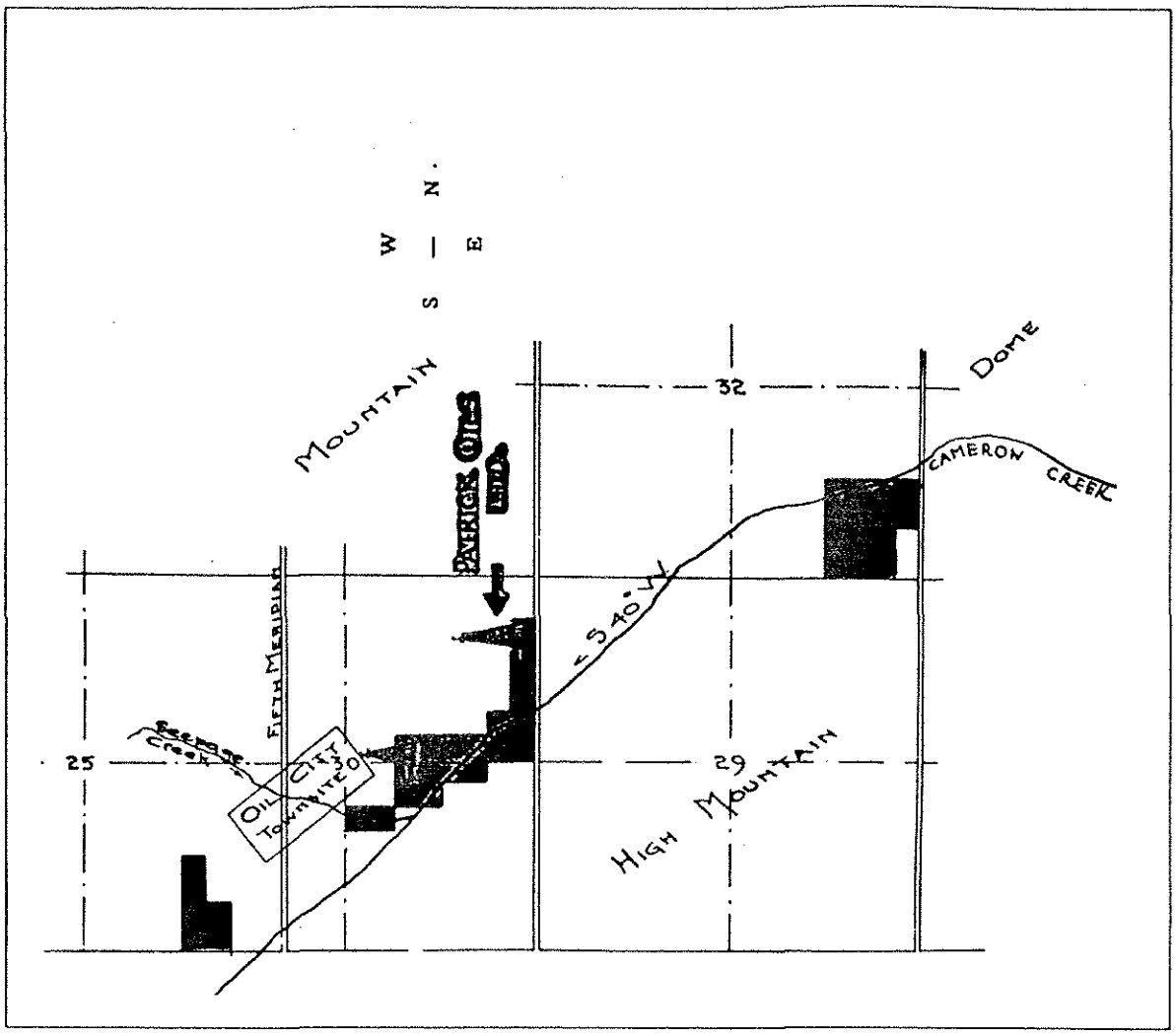
The 'Oil Rush' to Waterton after 1889

Native peoples in the vicinity of the park, particularly the Kootenay and Stoney, had known of the 'stinking waters' on Cameron Creek for many years. 'Kootenai' Brown and others were quick to learn of it and of its past and potential applications. Brown was one of the first to gather the dark substance by soaking it up with fabric bags and then using it as a general lubricant, as a medicine for horses, and perhaps as a fuel.[48] The interest of industrialists in the prospects for systematic oil production dates to 1887 when one of the Baring Brothers, associated with the influential London Banking firm, was escorted to the Cameron Creek area by local rancher and future M.P., John Herron. Baring voiced the opinion that it was good oil country.[49] Such statements eventually helped induce R.C. Selwyn of the Geological Survey of Canada to come to Southern Alberta to undertake an assessment.[50]

Interest was such that in 1891 William 'Smooth Bore' French and William Fernie, (a developer of the Fernie Mines), decided to obtain old drilling equipment from Petrolia, Ontario. They tested to a depth of 230 feet, striking only water.[51] A more concerted effort was then mounted after 1896 by Allan P. Patrick, a Dominion Topographical Surveyor. He had become acquainted with French who then directed him to lands along Cameron Creek. By 1901 Patrick had formed the Rocky Mountains Development Company with John Lineham and Arthur Sifton as main associates. The company took out a lease facilitiated by an 1898 order in Council permitting the reservation of land for the prospecting of oil and their sale.[52] (Map 3-4).

The subsequent history of 'Oil City' was something of a comedy of errors with respect to the business relations which obtained between the associates and some of their employees. The desire of some individuals to out-do their partners led to the destruction of much of the drilling equipment and a jamming-up of the well.[53] The drilling, undertaken in 1902 by the experienced men from Petrolia, produced a good, but temporary, flow of some 300 barrels per day taken from a depth of about1,020 feet (311 metres). Three other holes had been drilled by the end of 1907 but with little to show. Another site was drilled in 1906 at the foot of Cameron Falls in the present Waterton Townsite by the Western Oil and Coal Company, also with disappointing results.

Map 3-4



The Oil City Site in Township I Range 30 W of 4.

Patrick Oils Ltd. Prospectus.

The smell of oil had been sufficient however, to bring in a horde of speculators to the Waterton area. By 1905 more than half of the forest park reserve had been reserved for petroleum exploration.[54] This brought the old group of conservationists together once again for purposes of an appeal to officials in the Department of the Interior. F.W. Godsal put the case once again for the park:[55]

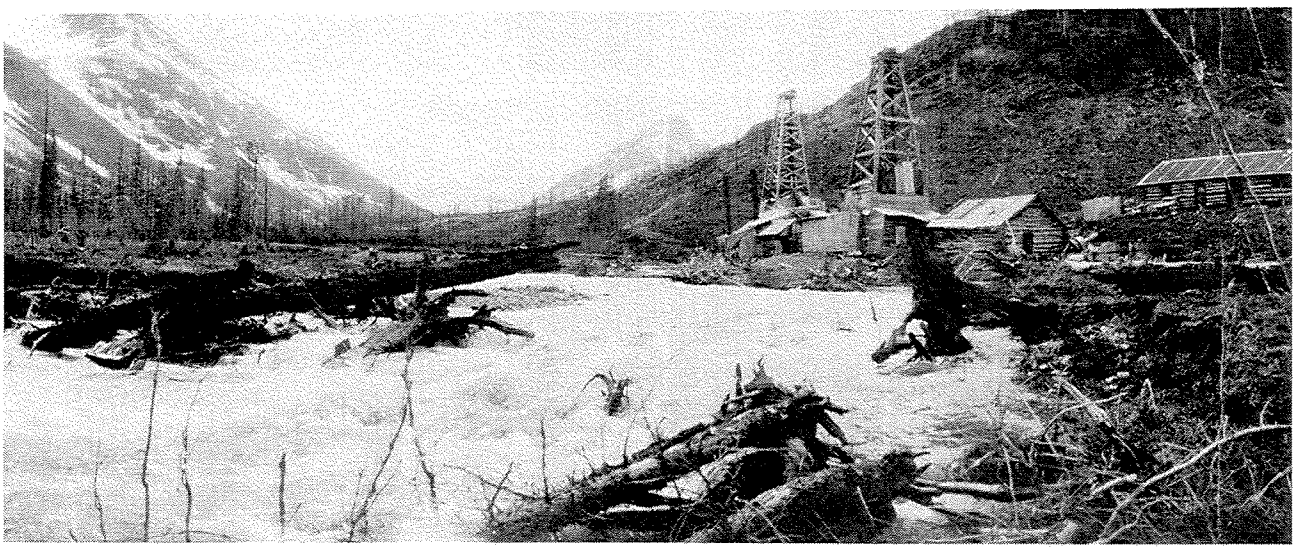
> ...I doubt if the reserve is large enough for purpose as the land around is very very stoney and quite unfit for agriculture or settlement. It can be enlarged without hurting anyone. Further, if parties are allowed to bore for oil there, which personally I regret, but perhaps scenery must give way to money making, very careful restrictions should be insisted on...

In response, the Department of Interior commissioned Chief Forest Ranger W.T. Margach of Calgary to undertake an assessment. His report recommended some protective measures, but took a contrary view of the need for park expansion. The oil potential was in his opinion, and many of his colleagues, sufficient reason to maintain the status quo. With new legislation concerning forest reserves pending, no action was taken.[56]

While these adjustments in park legislation and administration were proceeding, the actual source of concern, the oil rush, was dwindling away. By 1905 most of the interest had vanished, although it would return. It is doubtful if Oil City produced more than one genuine resident, Ernst Drader, son of William Drader, a driller from Petrolia. In a reminiscence, Drader stated that he was born at Oil City: 'Kootenai Brown's wife, a Cree woman named Nichemus was with my mother when I was born and was my God Mother, when I was baptized in Pincher Creek by Father La Combe in 1907.' Most of the traces of Oil City disappeared shortly after when a fire burned most of the buildings in 1910 'except this standard rig and cabin I was born in.'[57] Nevertheless, when R.A. Daly came to compose his masterly geological survey report on The North American Cordillera in 1914, the oil rush had left its imprint on the place names of Waterton. One of Daly's maps shows Cameron Creek as 'Oil Creek.' (Map 3-5)

The 'oil boom' in Waterton was short lived, but it did provide a certain stimulus to the development of a townsite around the Waterton Lakes. Happily for the park, the oil drilling experiments which took place at the foot of Cameron Falls proved no more productive than had those at Oil City. But with the rush of new

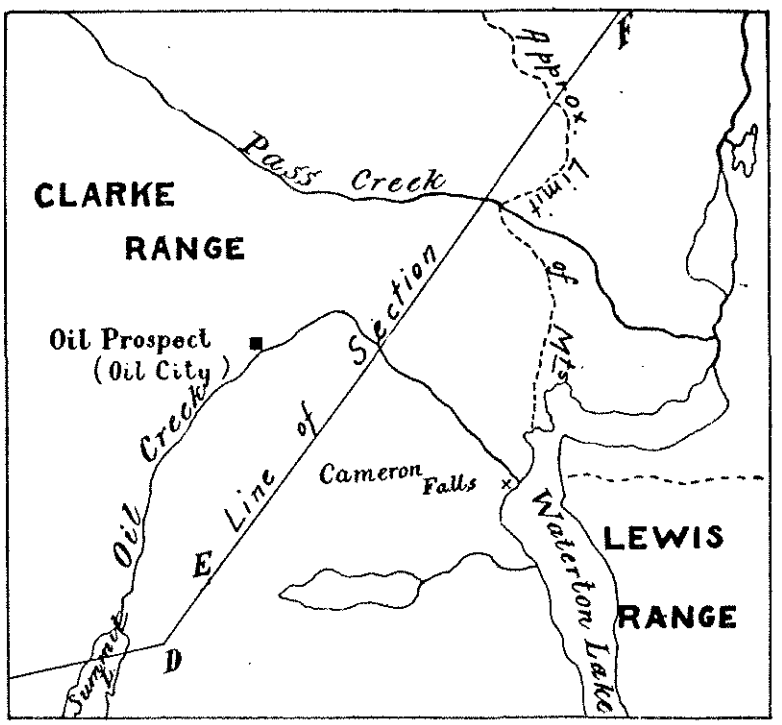
Plate 3-1



Cameron Creek in Flood at Oil City. c. 1919

Glenbow Alberta Archives

Map 3-5



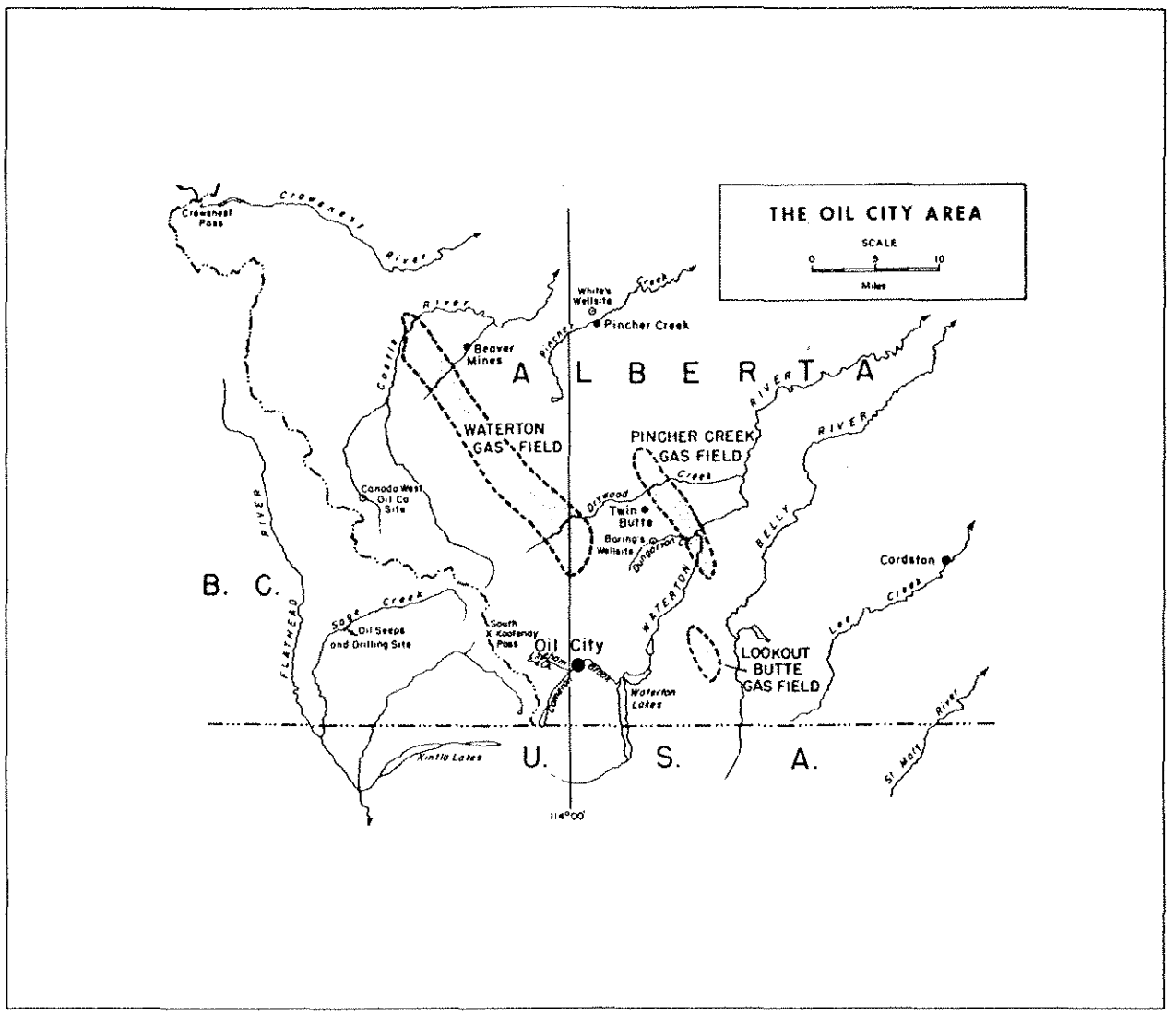
'Oil Creek' Area. Waterton Lakes
After R.A. Daly, (1912)

settlers into Alberta in the early years of the century, there was no shortage of those ambitious to make use of the mountain regions for oil or any other productive purposes. As late as 1914 Superintendent Brown expressed concern about a return of the oil hunters and sought direction from his superiors:[58]

> I beg to inform you that there is quite an "oil boom" in this district, and land is being taken up all round by prospectors.I have heard that it is the intention of some parties to come on the park to bore for Petroleum and more, that in the event of my preventing them they will hold the Parks Department responsible for all delays. What am I to do?

The reply from headquarters confirmed that Brown had the power to refuse all such interests through the powers of the park legislation. Over the next half century, there would be much drilling activity for oil in the Turner Valley area, and gas fields became important north of Waterton. (Map 3-6)

Map 3-6



The Expansion of the Gas Industry North of Waterton

After de Mille (1969)

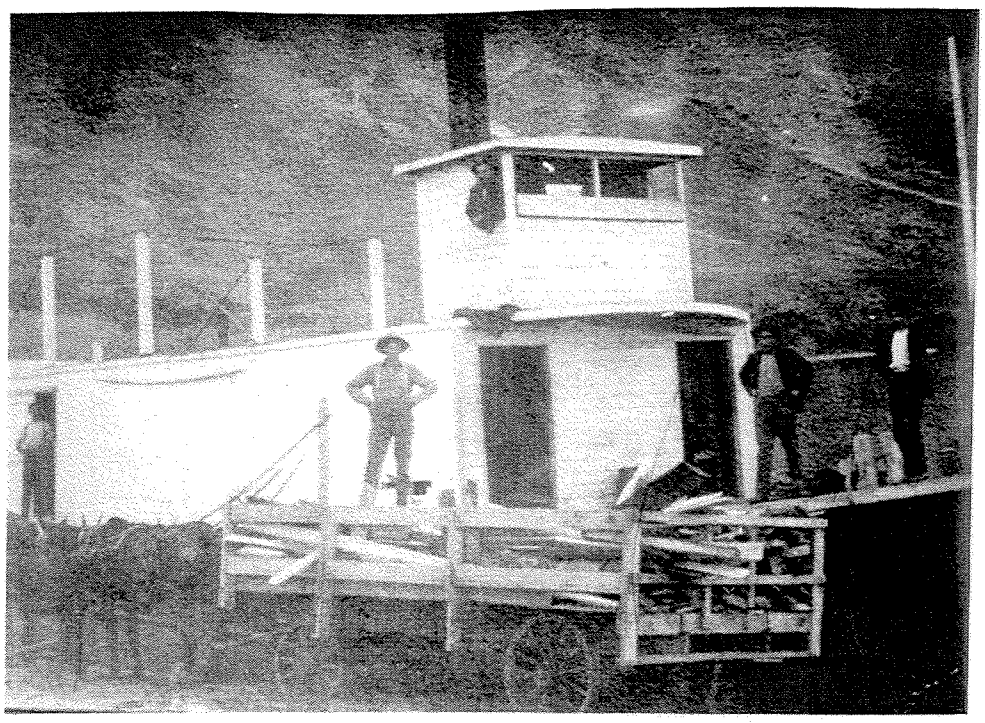
Waterton Mills and the Early Mountain Lumber Industry

While the interest in oil was declining along Cameron Creek, other resource possibilities came to the fore in the first decade of the twentieth century. The most important centre of development in the years 1906 to 1911 was at Waterton Mills on the north edge of Maskinonge Lake where Waterton River starts to form. This was the setting for a short-lived but lively episode in the lumbering history of Waterton Park. As such, it suffered from bad timing in almost all respects so that by 1912 this lumber venture had all but closed down. The Waterton Mills story was also one of steam-boating on the Lakes, as the proprietors made an effort to combine lumber enterprise with tourist sight-seeing excursions by means of the Gertrude, the company's sternwheeler. In the words of local historian Leo Stutz, this idea 'proved to be more a dream than a planned reality.'[59]

According to Stutz, The development of Waterton Mills, began with the incorporation of The Waterton Oil, Land and Power Company in Montana in the year 1906.[60] At that time, Glacier National Park in Montana had not yet been founded, and timber exploitation was quite legal in the lands south of Waterton Lake. The new company was controlled by the Hanson Brothers who had an interest in some 200 million feet of lumber on the United States side, which could be best brought to market by floating the logs through Waterton Lake, milling them at the north end, followed by shipment to American and Canadian markets. To this end the Waterton Mills were built and commenced production in 1907. Forty-five men were employed and the mills had a capacity for sawing 25,000 feet of lumber per day. Henry Hanson located at the Mills with his family and also applied for permission to open a post office which took the name Waterton Mills. Another mill for Lethbridge was in the planning stage (Plate 3-4).

Central to the success of this scheme was efficient movement of the logs down the lake to the mills. The first launch was underpowered and designer P.G. Peterson was sent back to the drawing board to come up with a larger craft. This resulted in the construction of the Gertrude, a 60 horse-power, 100 foot-long paddle-wheeler which drew a mere eight inches. She was 'designed to navigate the shallow river sections between the lakes during high water periods.' The Gertrude was launched successfully and carried out its tasks. In the first year business had not been as brisk as hoped, but prospects looked good when an Idaho firm placed an order for some 2,000,000 feet of lumber.

Plate 3-2



'The Gertrude'

Plate 3-3

'The Gertrude' on Upper Waterton Lake.

Glenbow-Alberta Archives

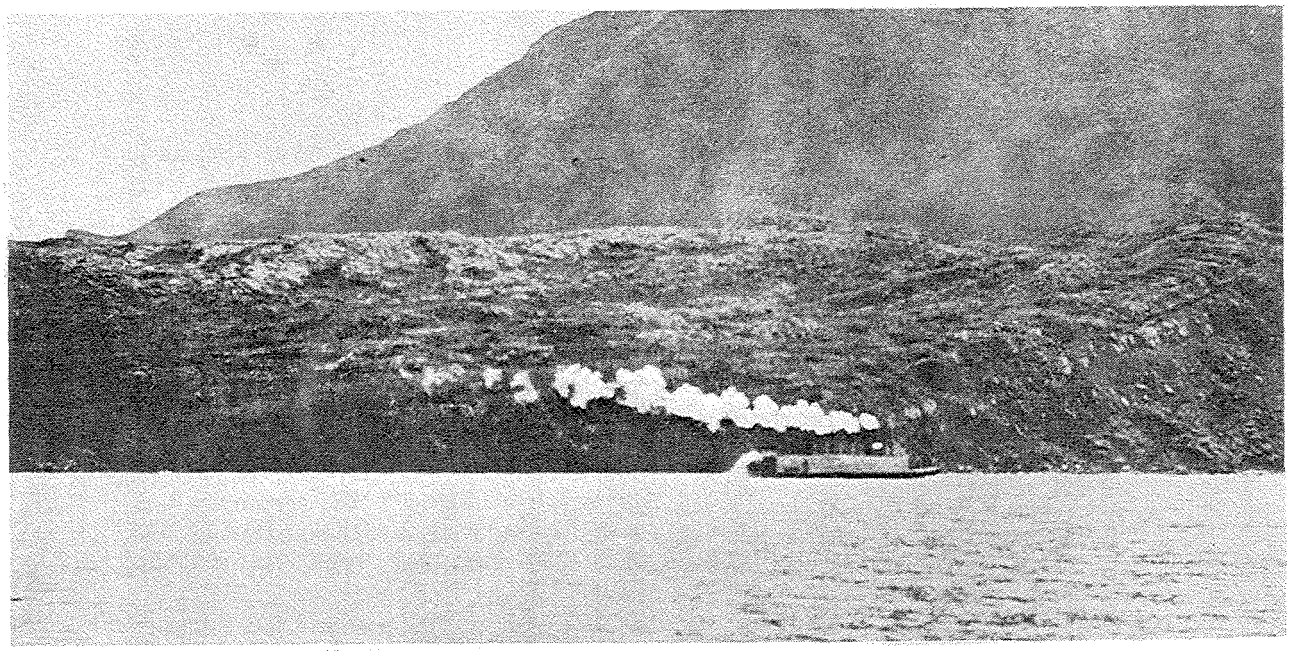
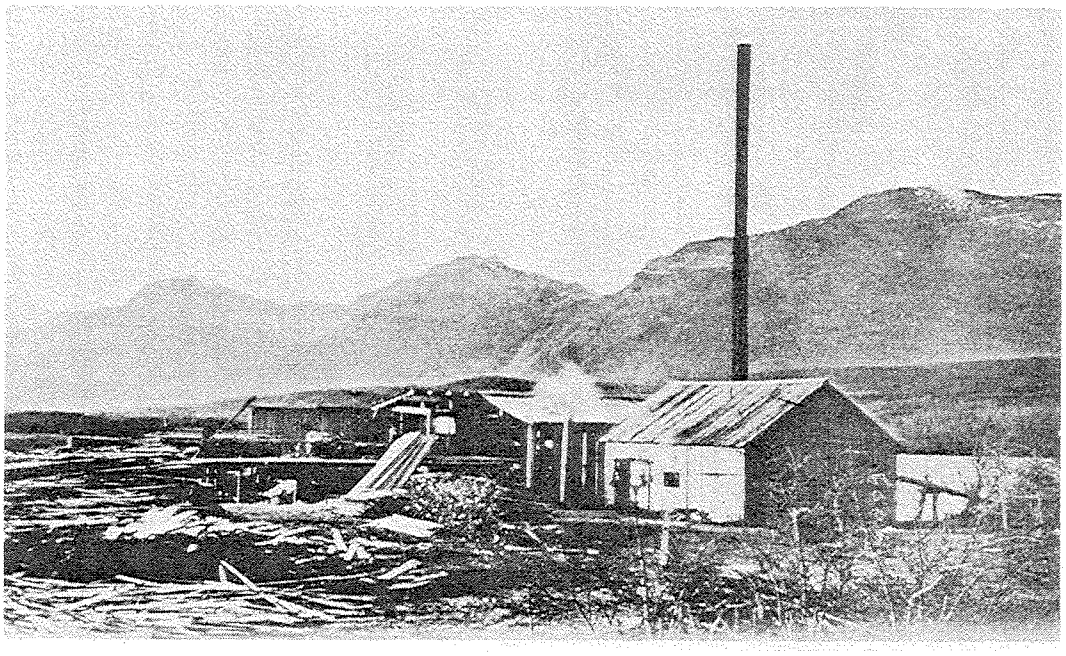


Plate 3-4



Waterton Mills. c. 1908

Glenbow Alberta Archives

In the summer of 1908 the first element of 'bad timing' hit the Hanson Brothers when one of the largest floods in memory swept through the area. The mills were damaged, the log boom destroyed, and logs strewn along the Belly and Waterton Rivers, all the way to Lethbridge. The important contract was ruined and in the next two years new orders were few. The second aspect of Hanson's 'bad timing' now started to emerge. He had leased the Waterton Mills site from the Hudson's Bay Company, but in 1909 the federal government began negotiations to purchase the property. This was followed in 1910 by the re-classification of the Kootenay Lakes Forest Reserve into Waterton Lakes Park. While the Hanson's attempted to retain control of their lease, the Parks Branch was not accommodating, taking the view that the Hansons were probably more interested in running commercial tourist operations in the park. In that same year, the last of the 'bad timing' blows landed. The United States established Glacier National Park, thus putting into question the Hanson's source of lumber. This was the last straw and by 1911 it was over. The company was 'in such financial straits that its chattels were auctioned by the sheriff and in 1911 most of the buildings at Waterton Mills were seized and sold.'[61]

A certain amount of acrimony ensued between the owners and the Parks Branch for the next few years, during which time the Gertrude functioned with mixed success as a tourist excursion craft. After 1916, when Hanson had removed from the park, he leased The Gertrude to W.O. Lee and Sons. Lee operated a summer tent village and used The Gertrude as a tea room and restaurant. Following the reorganization in the Dominion Parks Branch in 1918, the new officials decided that The Gertrude was inappropriate in the park setting and ordered it removed. This being impractical, the craft was then scuttled in the centre of a bay which then became known as Steamboat Bay. Later this highly accurate name was changed to Emerald Bay, thus removing the last surface memory of this colourful episode in park history.[62] In more recent times however, with the rise in popularity of scuba diving, The Gertrude has been visited regularly by devotees of this sport.

vii

The Image of Waterton as a Sport Fishery

One of the strongest elements of continuity in the history of Waterton concerns the human pursuit of fish. While a certain waxing and waning in the use of the fisheries is evident in the archaeological record, the taking of fish has nonetheless been a long and regular occupation over the last 8000 years. It will be recalled that the area around the Narrows between Upper and Middle Waterton Lakes has been examined by archaeologists and reveals a longstanding Native fishery operating in relation to seasonal runs of trout and whitefish.[63] (Plate 3-5). As the record approaches historic times, there is ample evidence that Native peoples of various western plateau-based cultures continued to make use of the fisheries, most significantly of salmon, but also other species.[64]

The quality of the fishing around Waterton was well known to the Boundary Survey parties of the 1860's and to settlers of the later 1870's, such as J.G. Brown, who made part of his living from guiding activities. British surveyor Charles Wilson recorded in his Diary for July 26, 1861, his delight in the fishing to be found around the Waterton Lakes. Survey party members normally survived on a staple of bacon and were always anxious for a break in the dietary routine.[65]

> We used to think we had capital fishing in the Cascade Mountains, but this year has quite beaten anything we have seen before; the streams are literally alive with the most delicious trout of all weights, from about 4 oz. to 2 1/2 lbs and they are the most ravenous fish I ever met with. The greatest catch was made by Dr. Lyall (our surgeon), who caught 9 dozen in about four hours.

With the rise in popularity of the park during the forest reserve years, the natural fish stock became depleted, some parties having been recorded taking 500 fish in one day.[66] By 1920 artificial stocking programs were introduced based on fish supplied by the hatchery at Banff. Waterton also received fry from a hatchery in Glacier National Park in Montana.[67] In 1923 Commissioner Harkin was moved to observe that 'Waterton Lakes Park probably ranks first as a fishing resort.'[68] This was a consensus view for in 1920 the Dolly Varden had been selected as the most appropriate symbol for Waterton's automobile bumper sticker.

Plate 3-5

Prehistoric fish net sinkers from the Narrows Site.

In 1924 petitions from the Pincher Creek area and the local Board of Trade were received in Ottawa, arguing in favour of a local hatchery. Harkin was in agreement with the suggestion and sought the support of the influential local federal politician, Senator W.A. Buchanan. As a result, in 1926 Department of Fisheries officials approved a hatchery for Waterton. An important site prerequisite was a good supply of fresh water, and a location near the park entrance on Spring Creek was selected. Along with the main works, a handsome dwelling for the hatchery superintendent was designed by Oland and Scott, the builders of the Prince of Wales Hotel. These new facilities opened in 1928.[69] (Plate 3-8) Other support facilities had to be constructed. In 1929 tenders were let for construction of rearing ponds, troughs, and for an ice-house/garage facility. G.E. Bailey, previously with the Banff Hatchery, was appointed as the first Hatchery Superintendent with W.C. Cable as his assistant.

In 1931 the Department of the Interior assumed administration of the hatchery. In 1937 the fish rearing facilities were enlarged when the park superintendent initiated construction of new rearing ponds and a supervisor's cabin in Block 35 of the townsite, south of Cameron Falls. Others who helped run the hatchery until its closing in 1960 were Art Colbeck and Ken Goble.[70]

From the beginnings of the hatchery, there were problems associated with beaver activity along Spring Creek. Beaver dams slowed the water flow and tended to encourage silting in the sluices. This silt could be sufficient to kill the fry in the hatchery. A number of methods were employed to solve the problem including live-trapping and beaver relocation, but both were time-consuming, costly, and ultimately not very effective. Relocated beaver tended to need a good deal of time to readjust to a new environment. In 1929, following an eradication program, beaver quickly returned to the top of the sluices. In Ian Getty's words 'the presence of the beaver continued to plague the hatchery until it was closed permanently.'[71] This took place in 1960 when the National Parks Branch decided to consolidate fish hatchery operations at Jasper. The fish hatchery buildings at Waterton were then used for other purposes, but the rearing ponds were kept active for some years, and were useful as holding areas for fish about to be transplanted to the Lakes of Waterton or as displays for townsite visitors.

Whatever the technical difficulties associated with the hatchery, the program of stocking Waterton's Lakes (and many other bodies of water on provincial lands in southern Alberta,) was a success. Rainbow, cut-throat and brook trout were the fish most sought by anglers. Some of the interior high altitude lakes such as Crypt, Lone, Lost and Lineham, were regularly stocked as well, providing many visitors with excellent back-country angling.[72]

Plate 3-6

Angler at Cameron Lake

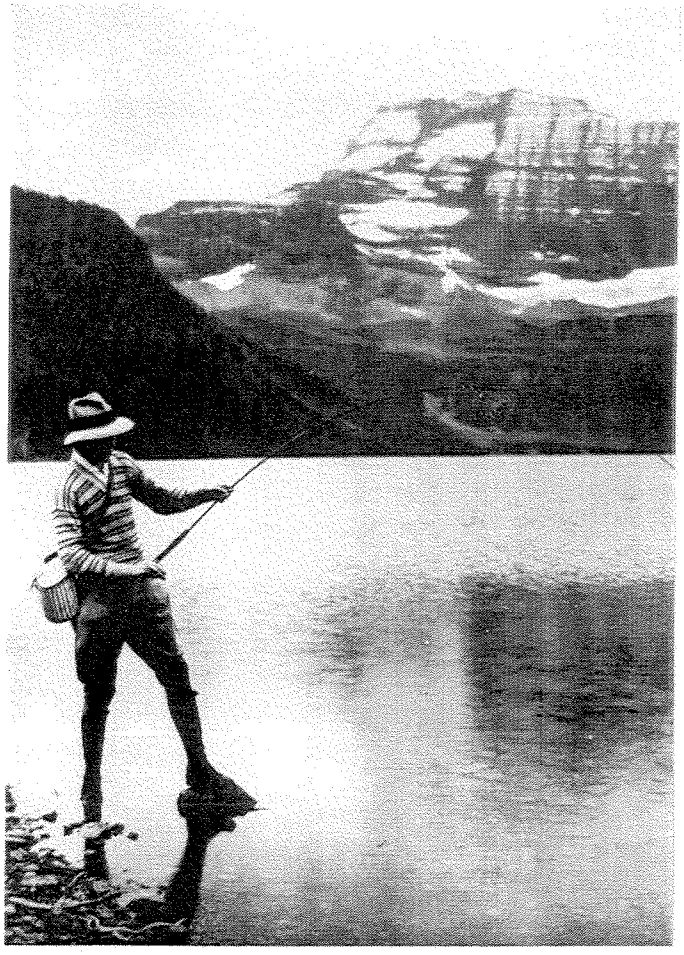
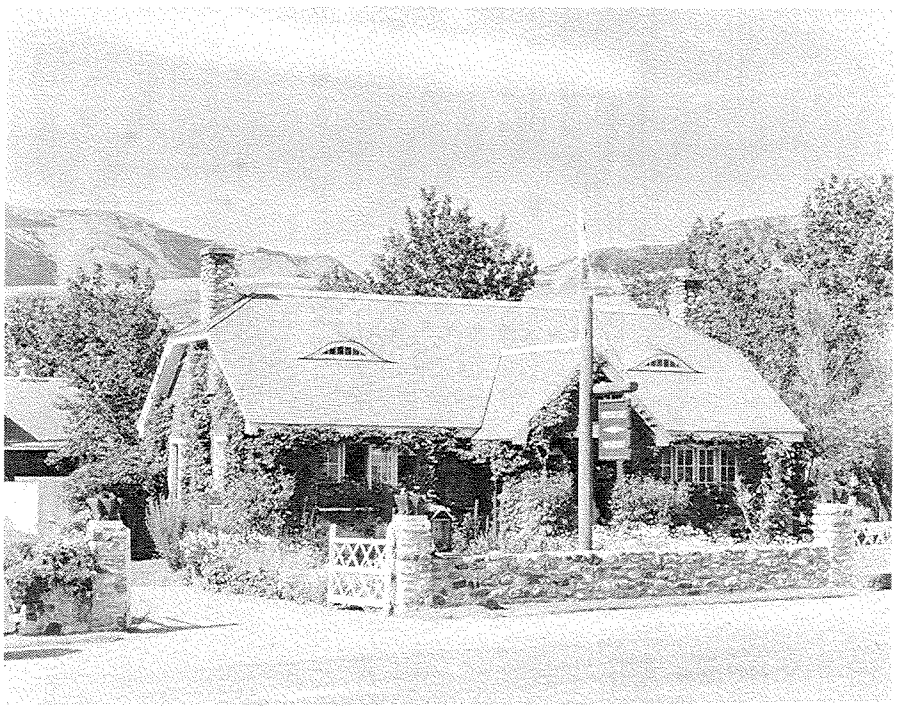


Plate 3-7 Early Camping at Waterton Forest Park. c. 1897

Plate 3-8



The Fish Hatchery Building. Waterton Lakes National Park

Waterton Park, Grazing and the Irrigation Lobby.

The success of the sport fishery was a function of the relative scarcity of large bodies of fresh water in southern Alberta. The thought that such prime sources of water in southern Alberta were going unused, in a larger sense, had crossed the minds of many in the dry grazing belt. It was also on the minds of officials within the far-away Reclamation Branch of the Federal Department of Interior in Ottawa.

In 1925 M.O. Malte, Chief Botanist of the National Herbarium, came to Waterton to undertake a study of conditions in the park. He compared his observations with those he had made in 1911. It was his opinion that while the upland zones were relatively unchanged, the lowlands had been greatly reduced in complexity owing to overgrazing.[73] These observations merely confirmed the direction of previous policies with respect to grazing in the parks. A file on grazing leases in the Rocky Mountains Park had existed since at least 1907, and the regulations exercised under the Dominion Lands Act provided a basis for the discretionary granting of leases by Park Superintendents. In 1908 Howard Douglas, the Commissioner of Dominion Parks based in Banff, went on record as opposing grazing leases in parks for reasons which we would today call 'ecological.'[74] Regulations to establish guidelines for grazing in parks were developed in 1914 as part of the new Dominion Parks Act.[75] In Getty's words: 'The Superintendents were directed to decide what areas should be grazed and Wardens were to ensure that the cattle did not exceed the permissable number, or wander outside the designated areas.'[76] Over time Ottawa did receive notes of complaint from camping parties in the Pass Creek Valley in respect of cattle crowding around tents and 'messing up everything.'[77] Adjustments to the general grazing regulations after 1914 often focused on the new question of controlling diseases which might be spread from domestic animals to park wildlife.[78]

While in theory no exclusive rights were to be granted to ranchers, those closest to the park were given preference. There were naturally charges of favoritism and lack of regulation enforcement.[79] By 1918, Chief Warden H.E. Sibbald felt the situation required the appointment of a warden as Grazing and Timber Inspector 'with full authority to deal with the ranchers.' R.C. McDonald was so appointed to enforce the regulations which allowed for a maximum of 3000 head of cattle in the park. This attempt to keep a close record of all the cattle in the park was, in Getty's opinion, 'a failure.' In 1919 a newly appointed warden expressed the view that the park was severely over-grazed: 'the result is that all the

winter range for the elk and deer has been badly eaten off' and that once domestic stock entered an area the wild game tended to disappear.[80]

This was not a surprising reaction given the severe drought conditions which prevailed in 1919 throughout southern Alberta. Local guide and rancher Andy Russell, has recorded the events of his childhood and the family decision to relocate to Pincher Creek after nearly forty years in the Lethbridge area.[81]

> We left the prairies as a result of the summer of 1919. Nobody who ever lived through that summer will ever forget it. The last moisture that fell in March soon dried up under the relentless sun and the endless chinook wind coming across the Rockies as though bent on taking anything wet with it on its journey eastwards.

With dead cattle strewn all across the prairie in the aftermath of that summer, the pressures to open moist lands of any kind to grazing were strong.

The year of 1919 which finally drove the Russell family toward the mountains was merely the most recent in a run of dry years. An influential Royal Commission on Economic Resources and Development had recently been tabled. One of the Commissioners was none other than William Pearce, father of the 1894 North West Irrigation Act, and now an advocate of CPR interests. Although a strong proponent of parks, Pearce also favoured the use of mountain water storage as a source of irrigation water.[82] Accordingly, in November of 1919, an engineering crew from the Reclamation Branch was sent to the Narrows between Upper and Middle Waterton Lakes to assess the feasibility of a storage dam which would back up the upper lake. Their report was favourable, and a dam construction project gained wide-spread support from the citizens and commercial interests of southern Alberta. In his defence of the project, P.H. Peters of the Reclamation Branch made the following points: (1) Southern Alberta required a sure irrigation supply for dry years (2) residents had petitioned for the project, (3) Waterton had the capacity to irrigate the largest bloc of land and (4) the cost of construction would be low.[83] These were all sound arguments, not easily cast aside.

Initially, Superintendent Bevan could see some advantages in the dam project, but Commissioner Harkin, while also seeing the logic of the proposals, urged caution. Harkin developed two strategies: (1) a protracted paper, policy-war with his colleagues in the Department of The Interior and (2) pursuit of what may have

been one of first systematic public participation campaigns on behalf of the park position. The first approach involved several lengthy commentaries on the Reclamation Department's proposals.[84] The second was more difficult to achieve. The proponents were well organized along interest-group lines, and so Harkin now sought, through Superintendent Beven, to quickly muster an identifiable park-clientele. The supposedly neutral position of civil servants had of course to be respected. Bevan was instructed first to seek out alternative sites for the dam outside of the park. A further opportunity occurred when L.E. Dimsdale wrote a letter to the Lethbridge Herald on November 3rd 1921, strongly promoting the park status quo. Beven then sought to obtain petitions from those who were in agreement with the Dimsdale position.[85]

An external factor proved to be the one which ultimately shifted the focus of attention. In 1922, United States park officials started to object to the entire scheme because of the potential effects on the levels of Upper Waterton Lake on the United States side. The *U.S. National Parks Service Bulletin* for March 6, 1922 stated that the Waterton Dam would do 'irreparable damage to broad shores and magnificent valleys covering the floor of the Kootenay Valley at our end of the lake at a point which is the key of the entire future development northward of Glacier National Park.'[86] Canadian surveyors from the Reclamation Service were denied entry into Glacier National Park, and a reference to the International Joint Commission was being considered by the Americans.[87] This potential action, along with the public statements being made by influential American conservationists such as George Bird Grinnell, persuaded the Reclamation Branch to withdraw its proposal.[88] With the return of rains in 1923, and in light of the American objections, the irrigation scheme faded. Projects of this kind were not proposed for another fifteen years.

ix

Tourism and Wildlife: J.B. Harkin Defines a New Policy for the Future:1925.

With more than a decade of park experience behind him, Director J.B. Harkin had managed to resolve a substantial number of resource conflicts and he started to reflect on the larger meaning of the parks. The Narrows dam proposal, among many others, had given him cause to think about the vulnerability of the parks, and the lack of a visible constituency. He had expressed such thoughts in a letter to A.O. Weese of the *Ecological Society of America* in 1924.[89] Harkin could look with envy to the United States where the *American National Parks Association* had already come into being. The Narrows Dam issue had also brought American

and Canadian Park administrators into contact with each other as they came to see their common interests in trans-border situations. The influential U.S. park official Stephen T. Mather visited Waterton in 1924 in order to consider the general prospects for integrated road developments between Montana, Alberta and British Columbia.[90] This broadening of horizons by park officials was to bear fruit.

Many of Harkin's midnight reflections concerned topics over which the parks branch had some control. The question of predator control for example was reviewed during the 1920's. In the later twentieth century we can only note with some amazement the list of predators which was still current in Harkin's day and which warden's had standing orders to eradicate. This list included the following.[91]

> Puma, wolf, coyote,lynx, bear (if nuisances),
> gopher, porcupine, eagle, hawk, woodpecker
> and blue heron (for eating geese eggs)

After 1919, under new Park Superintendent G.A. Bevan and Chief Warden Herbert Knight, the predator eradication programme was pursued with some vigour in response to pressures from the ranching community.[92] The Director became uneasy with this policy which encouraged a number of abuses, including payment to warden's for the pelts taken from predator species. Harkin looked askance at recent practices: 'we were in the winter time virtually paying them a salary to carry on a general trapping business.'[93]

Influenced by discussions with such informed back-country men as Henri Riviere, an Alberta provincial game warden, Dominion Entomologist Gordon Hewitt, Rudloph Anderson, a zoologist with the Geological Survey, and Hoyes Lloyd, who had been hired by the National Parks Branch in 1918 as Chief Ornithologist, Harkin began articulating new policy much more favourable to the conservation of species, without prejudice.[94] In 1924 a new predator list was issued which saw many of the previously listed birds removed from the list. This was followed by a statement released by Harkin on Jan 31, 1925 articulating a comprehensive philosophy of the conservation of species.[95] Not all were impressed by this new direction. Alberta rancher, A.E. Cross was prepared to debate the possibilities inherent in any scheme of restoring the 'balance of nature.' The policy was pursued however, and W.W. Cory released a new statement concerning the status of predators in the National Parks in May of 1925.[96] By 1928, the Department had banned the use of traps by wardens and cancelled the right of wardens to retain the furs of predators for sale.[97] This followed on some eight years of mixed approaches to coyote eradication by wardens and deputized or hired locals and ranchers. In the 1921-22 season for example, nine ranchers and one wolf

hunter(Riviere), were made honorary wardens and in the 1922-23 season, the program was repeated with 118 coyotes killed by the ranchers and 22 by the wardens.[98] By the 1930's connections were being made between past predator policy and the developing elk problem. At the National level in both the United States and Canada, policy was evolving in almost perfect step and by 1930 both countries radically revised the outlook on predators in the parks.[99] It took some years to consolidate the non-consumptive view of wildlife in the National Park system, but the actions taken in 1925 by J.B.Harkin and his associates were fundamental to that process.

The mid-1920's revisions to wildlife policy came on the eve of important changes to the image of Waterton as a tourist mecca. The construction of the Prince of Wales Hotel in 1927 imparted to Waterton some of the flavour of those larger mountain parks to the north more favourably located on the transcontinental railways. At the same time, lengthy negotiations were coming to a conclusion concerning the transfer of land and natural resource ownership and administration from Ottawa to the Province of Alberta.[100] C.J. Taylor has discussed the role played in these neogtiations by debates over future national park policy and what that policy should include with respect to the control of water rights in the parks. The scope of the debate went back to 1919 when a new draft National Parks Act had already been produced. The old promoter of parks, William Pearce, had meanwhile altered his loyalities somewhat, in that he had become an employee of the CPR and a strong proponent of southern Alberta development. He now favoured even greater public control of water resources for the general economic good. His main adversary became J.B. Harkin of the Dominion Parks Branch, who staunchly defended an extension of the authority of the Parks Branch over resources under its jurisdiction. Harkin had his work cut out for him, for his advocacy put him up against a number of Albertans who held contrary views concerning the desirable scope of powers to be given to national parks. Included in this groups of Albertans was R.B. Bennett, M.P., the man destined to become Prime Minister in 1930. The new National Parks Act came into being in 1930, the same year as Bennett's political victory, and of the Natural Resource Transfer agreement. As a part of the process, previous federal park legislation was codified and given new form and powers. Harkin's days were numbered however, surrounded as he was by a new political regime, some of whose members had long memories.[101]

Endnotes

1. It is relevant that Riel and his followers acted first against the attempt by a federal land survey-or, Adam Clark Webb, to survey lands in the Red River Territory. Cf. *Canada Sessional Papers,* 1870, V. Dennis Memorandum. Oct. 11, 1869.

2. See Frank G. Roe, *The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in its Wild State.* 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, Ch. XVII

3. Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971, p. 25

4. See James J. McGregor, *A History of Alberta* Edmonton: Hurtig, 1972, p. 130; Roberta J. Forsberg, *Chief Mountain: The Story of Canon Middleton.* Whittier: 1964, p. 54

5. See R.F.P. Bowman, *Railways In Southern Alberta.* Historical Society of Alberta. Whoop-Up Country Chapter. Occ. Paper no. 4 Lethbridge: 1973.

6. See John H. Archer, *A History of Saskatchewan*, Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980, p. 107; Clyde Leavitt, *Forest Protection in Canada, 1912.* Toronto: Commission for Conservation, Canada Bryant, 1913, Part I.

7. For a series of visuals demonstrating the severity of landscape alteration brought on by the gold rush to British Columbia see N.L. Barlee, *Gold Creeks and Ghost Towns*. Burnaby: Western Heritage Supply, 1970.

8. G. M. Dawson, *Preliminary Report on the Physical and Geological Features of that Portion of the Rocky Mountains between Latitude 49 and 51 30.*. Montreal: Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada 1886, pp. 33b, 36b.

9. Ibid, p. 37b

10. Ibid. p. 37b

11. See Alexander Kirkwood, comp. *Papers and Reports Upon Forestry, Forest Schools, Forest Administration and Management... to Accompany the Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Parks.* Toronto: Warwick, 1893. p. 206 f.; Donald Mackay, *Heritage Lost: The Crisis in Canada's Forests*, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1985), Ch. 3; Richard S. Lambert and Paul Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth: A Centennial History*. Toronto: Ontario Dept. of Lands and Forests, 1967, pp. 156-63; Aubrey White, ' A History of Crown Timber Regulations' in: *Report of the Ontario Department of Lands Forests and Mines*, no. 3 (1907), p. 207 f.

12. Cf. Lambert and Pross, 'Renewing' (1967) pp. 162-3

13. Cf. Fergus Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks*, Vol.II Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977, p.11

14. Cf. Harold Innis, 'Settlement and the Mining Frontier' in *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement,* Vol. IX. Toronto: MacMillan, 1936, Chapters 5 and 6.

15. Cf. Leavitt, (1913), op.cit. .pp.12-13

16. Cf. David H. Breen, *The Canadian Prairie West and the Ranching Frontier, 1874-1924.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

17. Ibid. Ch. 3

18. Ibid. p. 78

19. Ibid., p. 81

20. Ibid., pp. 70-74

21. Ibid., pp. 34-5

22. F.W. Godsal, 'Old Times' *Alberta Historical Review*, 12:(4) (Aut.1964), p. 23

23. Cited in Fergus Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks*, Vol.1 Ottawa: Parks Canada. 1973, p. 31

24. 50-51 Victoria Ch. 32 (1887)

25. Lothian, *History,* Vol. 2. (1977), p.11

26. Letter. F. W. Godsal to Wm. Pearce Sept, 12, 1893. Waterton Lakes National Park Library.

27. Lothian, *History*, Vol.1 (1973), p. 32

28. P.C. 1621 May 30, 1895; and Cf. Van Kirk, (1969), p.25

29. Cf. Rodney, 'Kootenai Brown' (1969), pp. 163-5

30. Ibid., pp. 181-2

31. It is difficult to assign the main credit for the park establishment to any one personality. The main correspondence has been cited, but that correspondence undoubtedly reflects a general tendency of discussion and interest in the Waterton region dating back to the early 1880's. See also,. Middleton "*Kootenai Brown*". (1954). Cf the discussion in R. Craig Brown, ' The Doctrine of Usefulness: Natural Resource and National Park Policy in Canada. 1887-1914' in J.G. Nelson, ed.*Canadian Parks in Perspective*. Montreal: Harvest House,1970, pp. 46-62.

32. R. Craig Brown, 'Doctrine' (1970), p. 59

33. *Dominion Lands Act, 1884.* (Amendment) 47 Vic. Ch. 25

34. *An Act Respecting the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada. 1887.* 50-51, Vic. Ch. 32. Sec. 4 (d)

35. R.Craig Brown, 'Doctrine' (1970), p. 52

36. Lothian, *History,* Vol. 1 (1973) p. 45

37. Ibid.. p. 46

38. Canada. Dept. of Interior. Order in Council. 8 June, 1911; Lothian, *History,* Vol. III, (1979), p. 42

39. Cf. Lothian, *History,* Vol. II, (1977), pp. 11-12

40. R.H. Campbell, Superintendent of Forestry, to to F.K. Vreeland, Camp-fire Club of America, New York. Cited in Lothian, *History,* Vol.1 (1973), p. 47

41. Cf. John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, Press, 1961, Ch. IX

42. P.C. 1165. June 24, 1914.

43. Lothian, *History,* Vol. III, (1979), p.42

44. Lothian, *History,* Vol. II, (1977) p. 15

45. Commission of Conservation. *Conservation of Fish, Birds and Game.* Ottawa: 1916, p.128

46. Ian L. Getty, *History* (1972), p. 111

47. Lothian, *History* Vol. 1 (1973), p. 47

48. Rodney, 'Kootenai Brown' (1969), pp. 168-9

49. GA M2637. Extract from the Diary of Fred Forster, Pincher Creek. Dictated by W.R. Cochrane, Aug. 20, 1962.

50. A.R.C. Selwyn, 'Notes on the reported discoveries of oil in the vicinity of Pincher Creek and in the South Kootenay Pass, Alberta' in: *Summary Report for 1891.* (Ottawa: Canada. Geological Survey. 1892).

51. Diary of Fred Forster, op.cit.

52. Patrick Oils Ltd. Prospectus ; Lothian, *History* Vol.1 (1973), p.45

53. Ernst S. Drader, Cutbank, Montana, to Mrs. G.R. Annand, Waterton. Nov. 11, 1963. Waterton National Park Library. Park Story Files.

54. Lothian, *History* Vol.1(1973), p. 46

55. Ibid., p.46

56. Ibid.

57. Ernst S. Drader, Cutbank, Montana, to Mrs. G.R. Annand, Waterton. Nov. 11, 1963. Waterton Lakes National Park Library. Park Story Files

58. NA. RG 84 Vol. 2201 Townsite Development and Oil and Gas Development. W 29. John George Brown, Waterton, to A/Chief Super. Dom. Parks, Edmonton. June 8th, 1914

59. Leo Stutz, 'The Gertrude and Waterton Mills' *Alberta History,* (Spring, 1984), p. 20.

60. The following account draws heavily on Stutz, (1984).

61. Ibid., p.22

62. Ibid.

63. Cf. L. Milne-Brumley, *The Narrows Site in Waterton Lakes National Park, Alberta,* University of Calgary: M.A. 1971.

64. Cf. Ch. 2, Sec. iv.

65. G.F.G. Stanley, ed. *Mapping the Frontier: Charles Wilson's Diary of the Survey of the 49th Parallel, 1858-1862.* Toronto: Macmillan, 1970, p. 157

66. Getty *History* (1972), p. 171

67. Lothian, *History* (1981) Vol. IV, pp.19-20

68. Cited in Getty, *History* (1972), p. 171

69. Getty *History* (1972), pp. 176-7

70. Lothian, *History* , (1976) Vol. IV, p.20

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Getty, *History* (1971) p. 200

74. Ibid., p. 123-4

75. Lothian, *History*, Vol. 11 (1977), pp. 12-14

76. Getty, *History*, (1971), p. 124

77. Ibid. p. 127

78. Lothian, *History*, Vol. II, op.cit. p. 35

79. Ibid. p.125

80. Ibid. p.126

81. Andy Russell, *Memoirs of a Mountain Man*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1984, p. 3

82. Cf. Getty, *History*, (1971), p. 136 f.

83. N.A. RG 84 Vol. 2206 ; Getty *History*, (1971), pp. 114-15

84. Cf. Getty, *History*, (1971), p. 140 f.

85. Ibid., pp. 142-3

86. Cited in Getty, Ibid.

87. Waterton File N.21 H. Knight to Commissioner, March 9, 1922

88. Getty (1972), p.123

89. N.A. RG 84 Vol. 87 W 41 no. 2. Harkin to A.O. Weese.

90. Getty (1972), p.155

91. Getty (1971), p. 160

92. Ibid. p. 123

93. Ibid, Ch. 4

94. Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginnings of Preservation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978, pp. 157-8

95. Getty, *History*, (1971), p.163

96. N.A. RG 84 vol. 75 U 300 no.3. W. W. Cory, Memo May 20, 1925.

97. Getty, *History,* (1971), p. 164 f.

98. Ibid.

99. Victor H. Cahalane, 'The Evolution of Predator Control Policy in the National Parks' *Journal of Wildlife Management* 3:3(July, 1939), 229-37

100. Cf. Chester Martin, *Dominion Lands Policy.* Lewis H. Thomas, ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973. pp. 189-90; 204-26; Sylvia Van Kirk, *The Development of National Park Policy in Canada's Mountain National Parks: 1885 to 1930.* M.A. Thesis. University of Alberta, 1969.

101. Cf: C.J. Taylor, *A History of National Parks Administation. Part One: The Harkin Era.* Ottawa. Canadian Parks Service. Historical Research Division. 1989, Ch. 3.

Chapter Four

Waterton During the Years of Depression and War: 1930-1945

The New Mandate of 1930 and Park Organization

J.B. Harkin had been experimenting with and considering new policy since 1925, particularly with respect to the predator list and wildlife conservation. The need to consolidate policies and legislation on behalf of the National Parks was considered pressing because of the on-going Federal-Provincial negotiations designed to turn control of lands and natural resources over to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, an issue which had been outstanding since the creation of those provinces. In the words of one of the closest students of the negotiations: 'Like the siege of Troy the last phase of the "Natural Resources Question" had taken almost exactly ten years.'[1] The process was significant for National Parks, for once Dominion Crown lands were under the control of the western provinces, new park establishment would become much more cumbersome. The passage of the Natural Resources Transfer Act and the new National Parks Act in 1930, coincided with changes in political power in Ottawa. In that year the Conservative party under R.B. Bennett replaced MacKenzie King's Liberals.

In early 1930 Prime Minister W.L. MacKenzie King stated in the House of Commons, with too much force perhaps, that his government would not give 'a single five-cent piece' in relief assistance to any provincial government that was not Liberal.[2] It was a statement seized upon by the Alberta millionaire and politician, Richard B. Bennett. He used the pronouncement to great effect in the 1930 federal election campaign and led his Conservatives to victory. In September of that year Bennett called a special session of Parliament as a response to the mounting economic devastation brought on by the 1929 stock-market crash. He asked Parliament to grant twenty million dollars 'for relief of unemployment in constructing, extending or improving public works and undertakings.'[3]

With the exception of the very first years of the great depression, park visitation at Waterton did not decline but continued to grow. Automobile boosters and their clubs, which had been so active on the prairies in the 1920's, continued to

hold their own. The general record of road improvements in the parks and elsewhere during the depression was one of considerable achievement. The Canadian Government had already built the Banff-Windermere Highway in 1923. Following this, the United States Government then set a new standard, well before the onset of the depression, with the development of the 'Going-to-the-Sun' Highway in Glacier National Park between 1925 and 1932. This outstanding scenic road became a measure for southern Alberta tourism advocates in their promotion of similar improvements.. Road developments in both countries were greatly enhanced by the unemployment and relief acts of 1932 in Canada and Franklin Roosevelt's 'New Deal' legislation of 1933.[4]

ii

Relief Programs and Camps

By 1932, the Bennett administration had initiated a wide-ranging system of relief work camps across the land, many of which were located in National Parks.[5] The social conditions in the camps, the terms of employment, and the political motives behind the camp programs, have been matters of interest to historians of the post-war generation.[6] At Waterton, we know that at least eight relief camps were in operation during the mid-1930's.[7] (Map 4-1).These were oriented towards single unemployed males, as the park did not want to encourage the influx of entire families and the increased programs which would be implied.[8] Wages in relief camps were normally twenty cents per day, the workers being provided with meals and accommodation.[9] Before long the routine of the work camps across the country started to wear thin, and the workers dubbed themselves 'the Royal Twenty-Centers.'[10]

The general slow down in the economy curtailed the initiatives for private development in the National Parks throughout the 1930's, but under the relief camp program much road-building, campground development, and other general park improvements were undertaken.[11] Formal relief work in Waterton commenced in 1931 when some 170 men were employed on various park improvements including the main campground and additions to the golf course.[12]

In 1932 there were two camps along the Akamina Highway in the southwest portion of the park. Work on the Akamina Road project had been underway since 1924 and this link was completed by relief labour in 1932 'resulting in a marked improvement to this popular thoroughfare.'[13] At least five Camps were established

in the southeast portion of the park from which work commenced on a project which was to greatly increase visitation to Waterton Park - the Chief Mountain Highway.[14] Clearing of the right-of-way for this important link with Glacier National park began in 1932 and the road was opened to the public in 1936.[15]

There were camps established for the youth of the country as well. The Conservation Corps sponsored youth camps along Blakiston Brook in which timber cutting and road clearing were the main activities.[16] In addition to road clearing and building, relief labour was used in park-operated saw-mills. In 1932 some 80,000 feet of lumber was processed at park-based mills.[17] Some of the camp names familiar from those days were: McNeilly's camp at the mouth of the gorge on Cameron Creek, and Crandell Mountain Camp. The present campground located at the north end of Crandell Lake is a vestige of one of the old relief camps.[18]

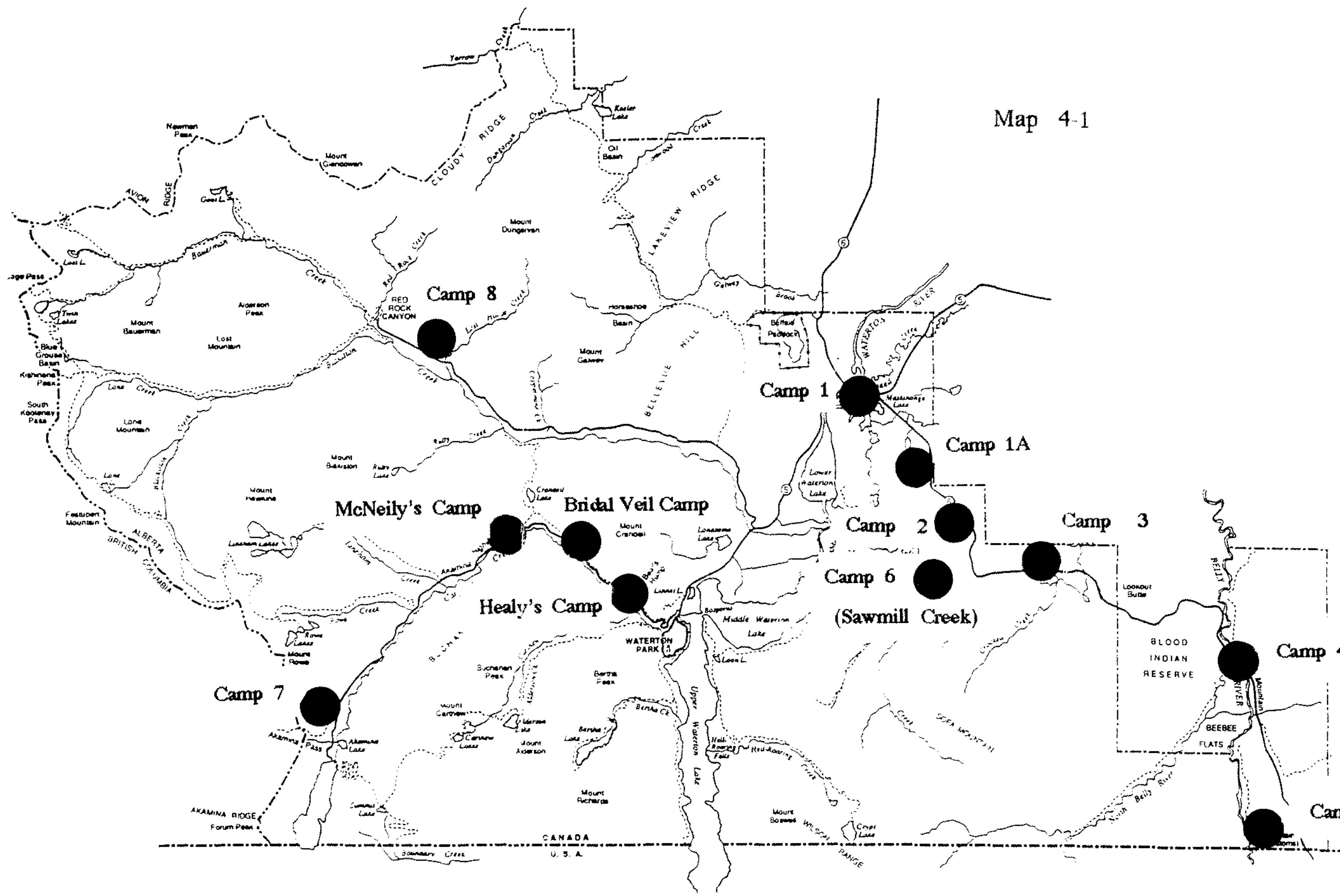
As the depression dragged on, work proceeded on the Red Rock Canyon (or Pass Creek) Road. Superintendent Knight reported in his annual report for 1935 that 'a few improvements were carried out on the Park roads but new work was necessarily limited on account of shortage of funds.'[19] In this same report, Knight reported on the progress made along the new Belly River Road (later called the Chief Mountain Highway) which linked Waterton with the east side of Glacier National Park in Montana:[20]

> The new Belly River Highway was completed with the exception of some two and a half miles of surfacing. This work was carried out under the Public Works Construction Act, under the supervision of the Engineering Divsion.

Knight's 1936 reports evaluated the work done on the Akamina Road with the assistance of Relief labour and indicated the social benefits proviced:[21]

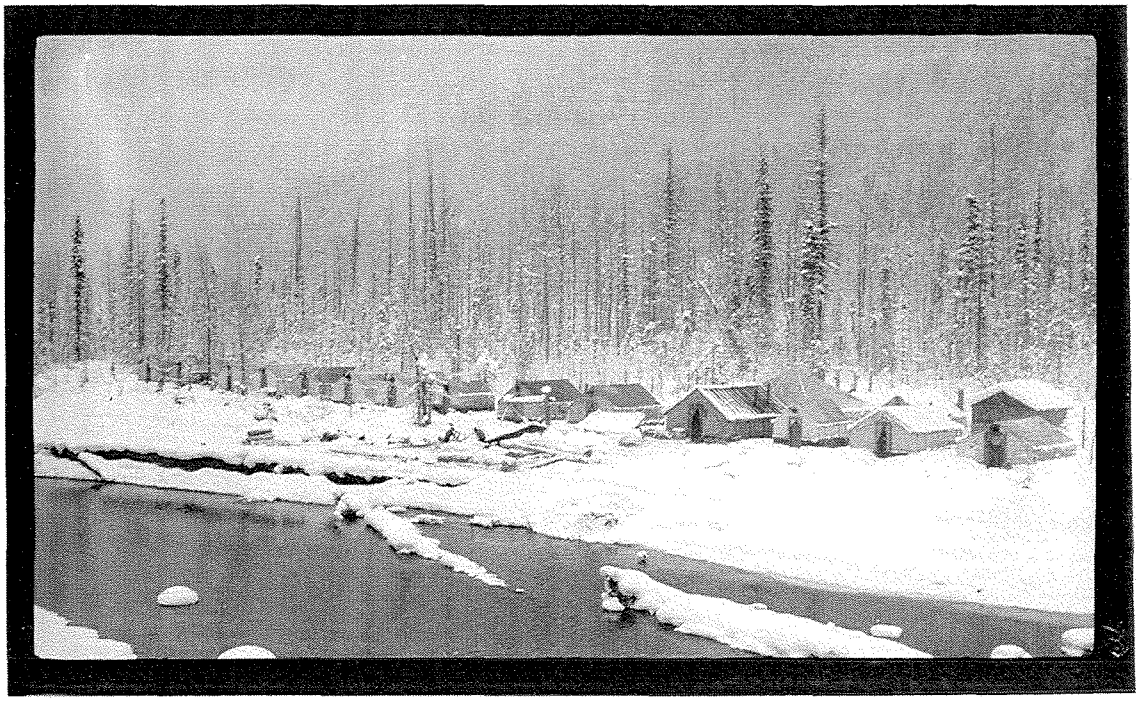
> Relief work on the improvement of the Akamina Road was provided for fourteen persons with forty-four dependents, the total number assisted being fifty-eight.

Map 4-1



The Distribution of Relief Camps in Waterton. 1930's.

Plate 4-1



Relief Camp on the Akamina Road. 1930's

Plate 4-2

Road Improvements by Relief Labour

Plate 4-3 Stoney Creek Relief Sawmill. 1933

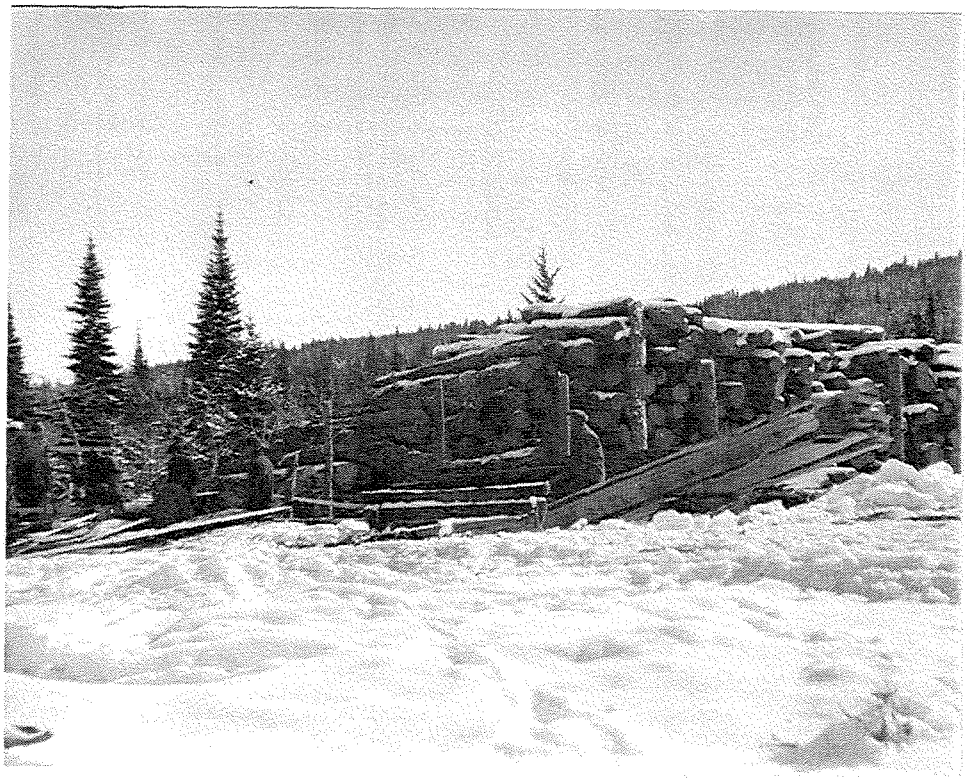
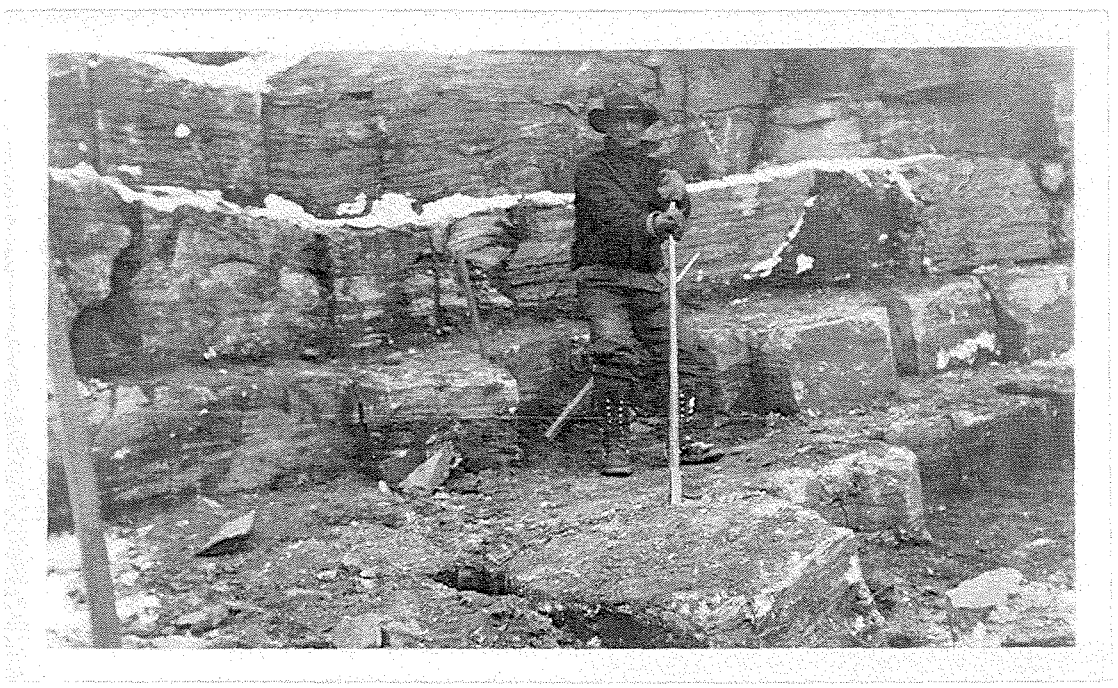


Plate 4-4 Quarry Worker. Mile 5. Akamina Highway



iii

Life in the Camps.

On Februay 20, 1933, the Chief Engineer at Banff J.M. Wardle, sent to Headquarters, copies of correspondence and a petition from Relief Workers in Waterton, which had been previously forwarded to General J.S. Stewart, M.P. The petition had raised a number of issues with respect to wages and conditions in the camps.[22] Subsequently, Wardle's Office co-operated with Knight in undertaking a systematic inspection and review of the camps by way of response. Engineer C.M. Walker was instrumental in carrying out the review, and in his report of May, 1933, he found little substance to the kinds of complaints presented in the petition.[23] Some improvements of a general kinds were initiated however, and from photo-graphs and official reports which were produced as part of the inspections carried out by the Banff Engineering Office, it is possible to gain an impression of just what it was like to live and work in the park camps. From a report on the Akamina Road Project for exmple, the basics of camp architecture, provisions and routine was outlined as follows:[24]

1. Types of Quarters Provided.
   Tents with board floors, with stove in each tent.

2. Meals.
   Breakfast: Cereal, bacon and eggs,hotcakes,syrup, tea and coffee
   Dinner: Soup, two kinds of vegetables, beef or pork, pies or puddings.
   Supper: Hot or cold meat, two kinds of vegetables, macaroni and cheese, cake, jam, pies.

3. Beds.
   Wooden bunks, two men to a bunk.

4. Bedding.
   Palliasse* and hay, three blankets per man.

---

* A straw mattress

5. Heating.
Wood stove in each tent.

6. Sanitation.
Each camp has a covered privy, chlorinated daily.

7. Lighting.
Coleman lanterns and Cold Bals Strom lanterns

8. Recreation.
Reading matter and games were received for the camps through the good offices of the "Lethbridge Herald" and other people too numerous to mention.

9 Provision for Commissary Supplies
Each timekeeper has a commissary consisting of boots, rubbers socks, underwear, mackinaw coats, mitts, gloves, soaps, tobacco writing paper, etc.

10 First-Aid, Medical and Hospital Arrangements
Each camp has a First Aid man. Dr. Giles is in charge of camps for medical attention, care of injuries, etc. A small bunkhouse at Headquarters has been made suitable for use as a Hospital.

11 Additional Information.
All local relief workers reside in cottages within the townsite.

These standards were held up as the ideal, and undoubtedly they were not always achieved. The camps varied somewhat in their facilities, according to their functions. In reply to a questionnaire in 1935, Superintendent Knight indicated that at Camp 2 'the men are in the permanent log buildings and the canvas has been moved to Camp 4.' Buildings at Camp 2 included: a bunkhouse, a cookhouse, and office, a Roothouse, Blacksmith Shop, Wash House, a canvas stable, permanent latrines and a small meat storage house.[25]

Camp No. 1 in the Waterton Bridge area was the real hub of activity and co-ordination for the park camp program. C.M. Walker reported in February of 1933 that:[26]

> The permanent buildings at this camp consist of a warehouse, office, hospital, washroom and root-cellar. With the exception of the hospital building (which by the way, is the frame office building erected during construction of the Waterton River Bridge three years ago) these buildings were quite satisfactory

At about this time, C.K. LeCapelain, a National Parks Engineer at Banff (who would later become Waterton Superintendent) took an interest in the adequacy of facilities at Camp No. 1. In late 1933 he argued that he thought it 'advisable to erect a building at the Headquarters camp No. 1' in order to accomodate 'men going to and from town and the further camps.'[27] He noted also that:[28]

> Last winter there was a tent camp at Camp No. 1 for some months which served the purpose of a stop-over place. After this was moved, the men in transit were accomodated in the hospital and storehouse which I think you will agree with me as not being advisable to do this winter. Mr. Walker during his visit to the Waterton Relief Camps commented adversely on the disorder of the hospital building, which I may say was due to the fact of it being at the time crowded with men in transit.

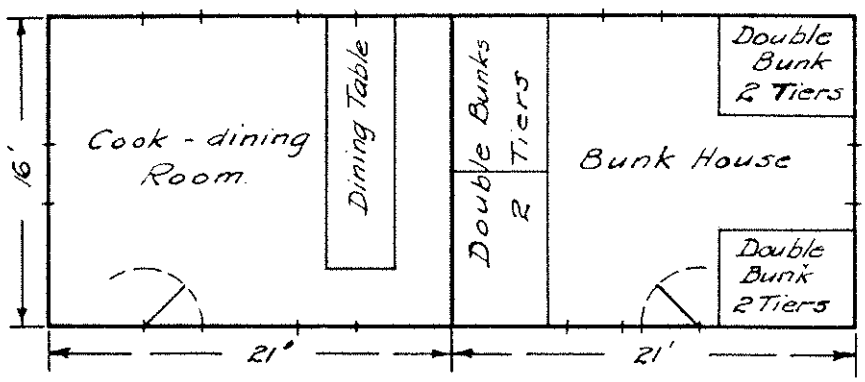
A floor plan of Le Capelain's proposed cabin for the men in transit is reproduced in Plate 4-5. The general details of a camp as recalled by Frank Goble are reproduced in Plate 4-6.

While the superintendent occasionally expressed an interest in having more men to carry out more work, the number of labourers employed at Waterton, owing to its relative isolation, was not as great as at some of the other National Parks. In his 1933 report to J.B.Harkin, Wardle remarked that:[29]

BELLY RIVER HIGHWAY
WATERTON LAKES PARK
ENGINEERING SERVICE

Sketch of proposed log building to be erected at Camp No 1 near Waterton River Bridge as stop-over place for men going to and from Lethbridge and further camps on same project.

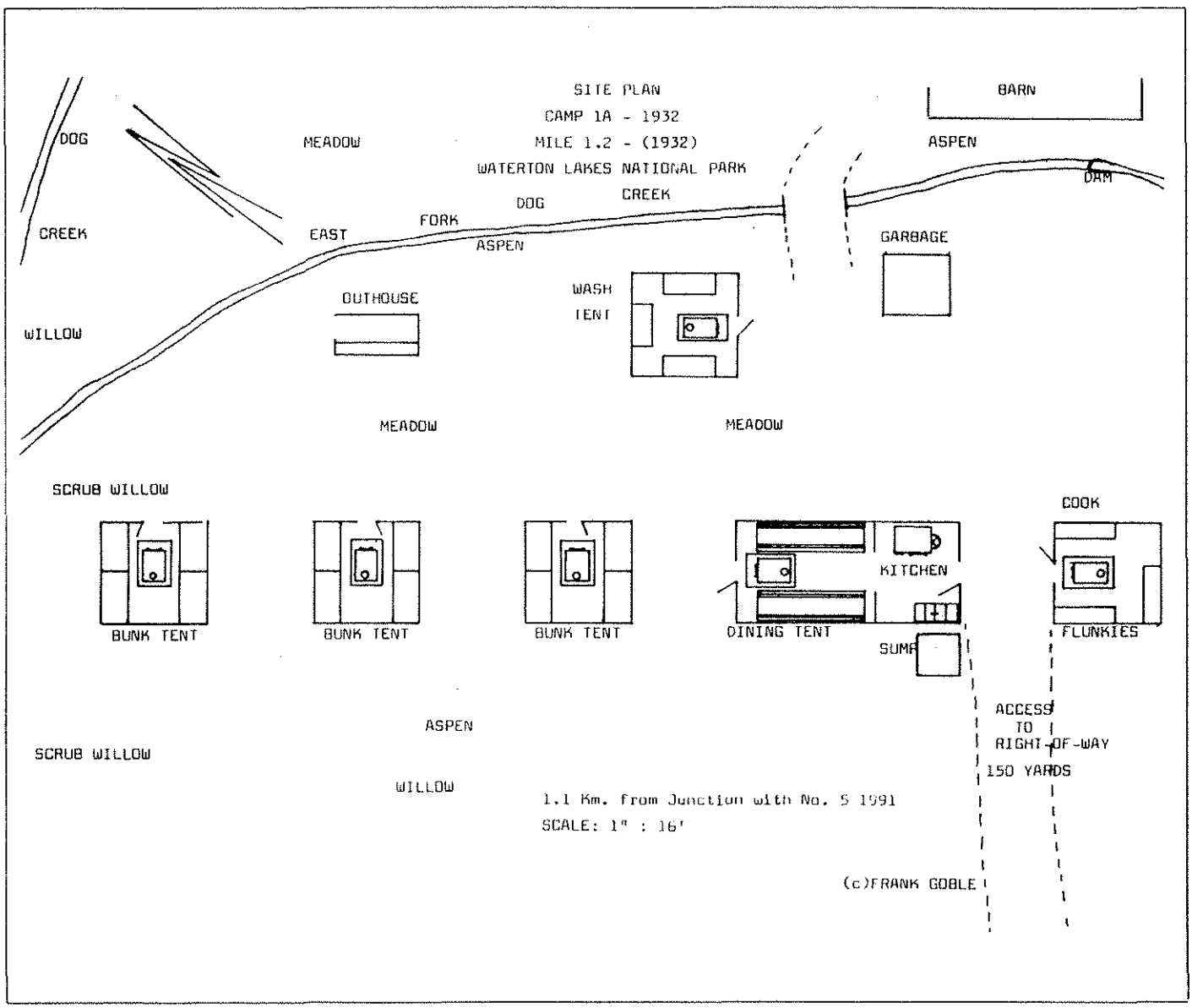
Scale 1" = 10'



Roof to be half-pitch

Floor Plan for a cabin to accomodate unemployed men in transit to the camps

Plate 4-6



Layout of Camp 1a

Courtesty: Frank Goble

> On account of the small number of men in each camp, and the scattered camps, it would be impossible to supply the same recreational facilities at Waterton as at Riding Mountain or Prince Albert Parks. The men, however, are supplied with sufficient reading material and games, such as checkers, to keep them interested. The meals are uniformly good and well served.

It was a desparate time for a large number of Canadians, and inevitably frictions developed in the camps and also between the men and the park administration. The petition of early 1933 can be seen as a reflection of men much aggrieved by general circumstance more than by the immediate ones. A sympathetic humanity informs most of the correspondence of the parks personnel charged with carrying out a difficult program under trying financial circumstances. In the end, a great deal of park improvement was completed by these work forces, the fruits of which are silently acknowledged by modern tourists travelling the parks roads or using many of the recreational facilities. Most of the known camps with their numbers or names are shown on Map 4-1.

iv

Developments in Forest Communications

With the passage of the National Parks Act in 1930, the mandate for forest and wildlife protection was clarified and stengthened. By 1936 the remaining compo-nents of the Department of Interior had been parcelled out to a number of Federal agencies and the old agency dismantled. The Wardens in the National Parks Bureau, who previously maintained a somewhat ambiguous place with respect to colleagues in some of the other divisions, were now presented with a clearer work program which over-lapped much less with the duties of those in other land management agencies.

Adapting the developments in new communications technology to forest conditions in national parks had been an on-going process since 1914 when telephone lines were first run from headquarters to the various warden cabins.[30] A system of warden districts was well defined in Waterton by 1919 and, following adjustments to the boundary in 1921, a network of cabins and communications was created and refined over the next thirty years. The plan of districts reflected the

geographic realities of a given park. The cabins were placed where they might most effectivley control general access by tourists or potential poachers. 'From 1930 onwards a greatly expanded system of roads, trails and telephone lines helped improve communications between warden stations and park headquarters.'[31] The basic grid of forest telephone communications, and the distribution of Warden Cabins, as developed in the 1920's and 1930's can be noticed in Plate 4-7. As early as 1937, K.B. Mitchell of the warden service discussed the possibilities of short-wave at the warden school session held in Banff that year.[32] A short-wave system was still some years away despite the cumbersome nature of existing arangements. The Superintendent for Waterton reported in 1941 that:[33]

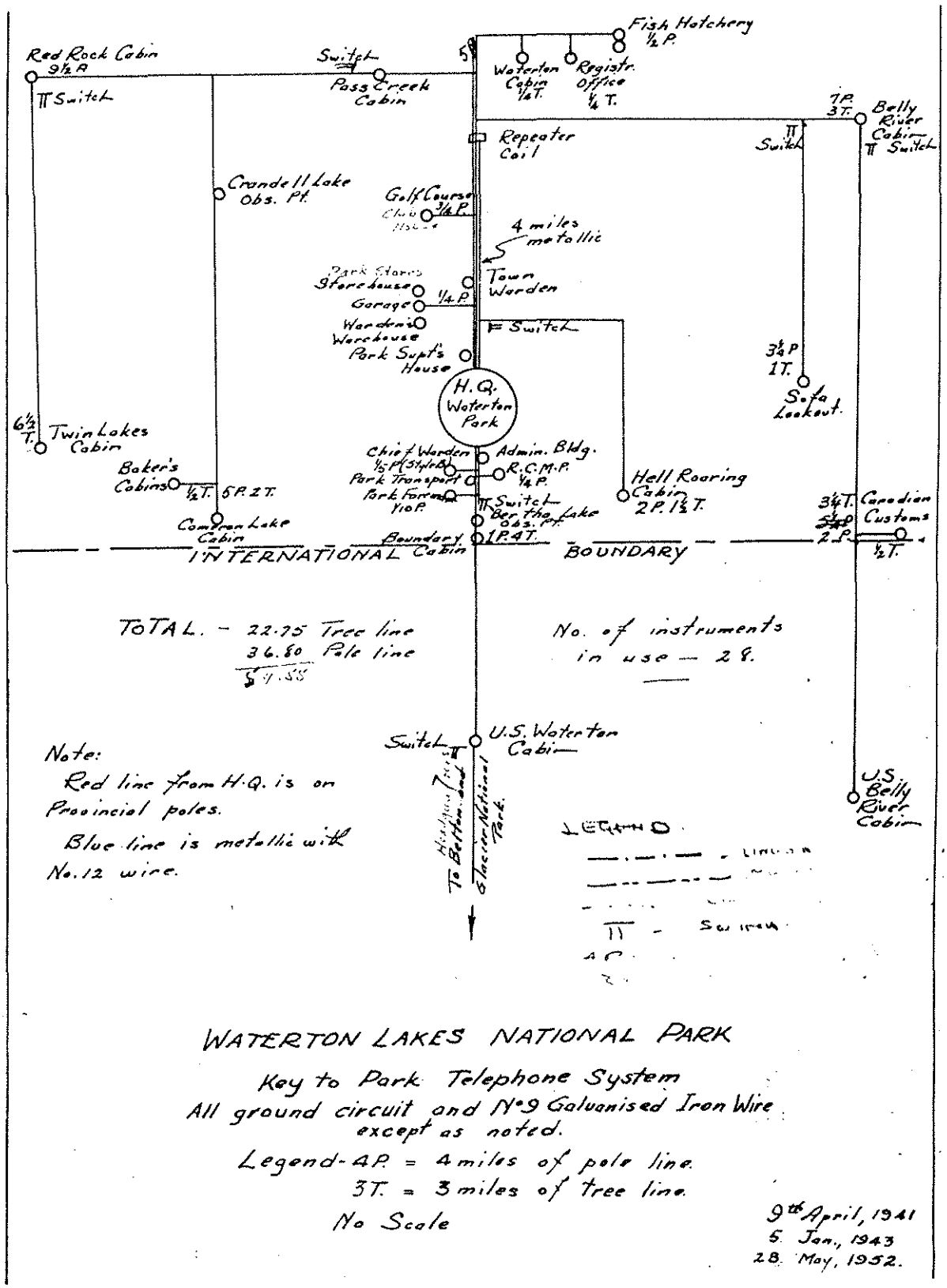
> Telephone service was maintained as well as can be expected with our set-up. However, as reported to you before, the reception on our forest telephone system is not satisfactory; and it will take a major expenditure of possibly $1,000.00 to put it in good condition. During the summer months our system is overloaded when hooked up with that of Glacier Park and there is a loud alternating current hum due to the wire in the Townsite being on the electric light poles.

Reports such as these reveal that a good deal of energy had to be given over to telephone line maintenance and construction during the 1920's and 1930's.[34]

For the Parks staff, capitalizing on World War II advances in technology had to wait until the 1950's. The forest grid system was still in place in 1952, but after that date, up-grading of forest remote communications was rapid.

The re-tooling of forest communications went hand in hand with the progressive centralization of warden facilities in the townsites and the abandonment of the old district warden cabin system. This centralization gained momentum after the tabling of the Glassco Commission Report on Government Organization in 1962. The general recommendations of the Commission were reviewed by the National Parks Branch which then commissioned a special study on the how the recom-mendations might best be applied to the the parks service generally, and to the warden service particularly. The results of this study led to the work carried out at Prince Albert Park under Jim Sime which resulted in the reforming of warden duties and operations.[35]

Plate 4-7



WATERTON LAKES NATIONAL PARK

Key to Park Telephone System

All ground circuit and No 9 Galvanised Iron Wire except as noted.

Legend - 4P. = 4 miles of pole line.

3T. = 3 miles of tree line.

No Scale

9th April, 1941
5 Jan., 1943
28 May, 1952.

The Forest Telephone Network. c. 1942

v

The End of the Grazing Lease System and a New Irrigation Lobby.

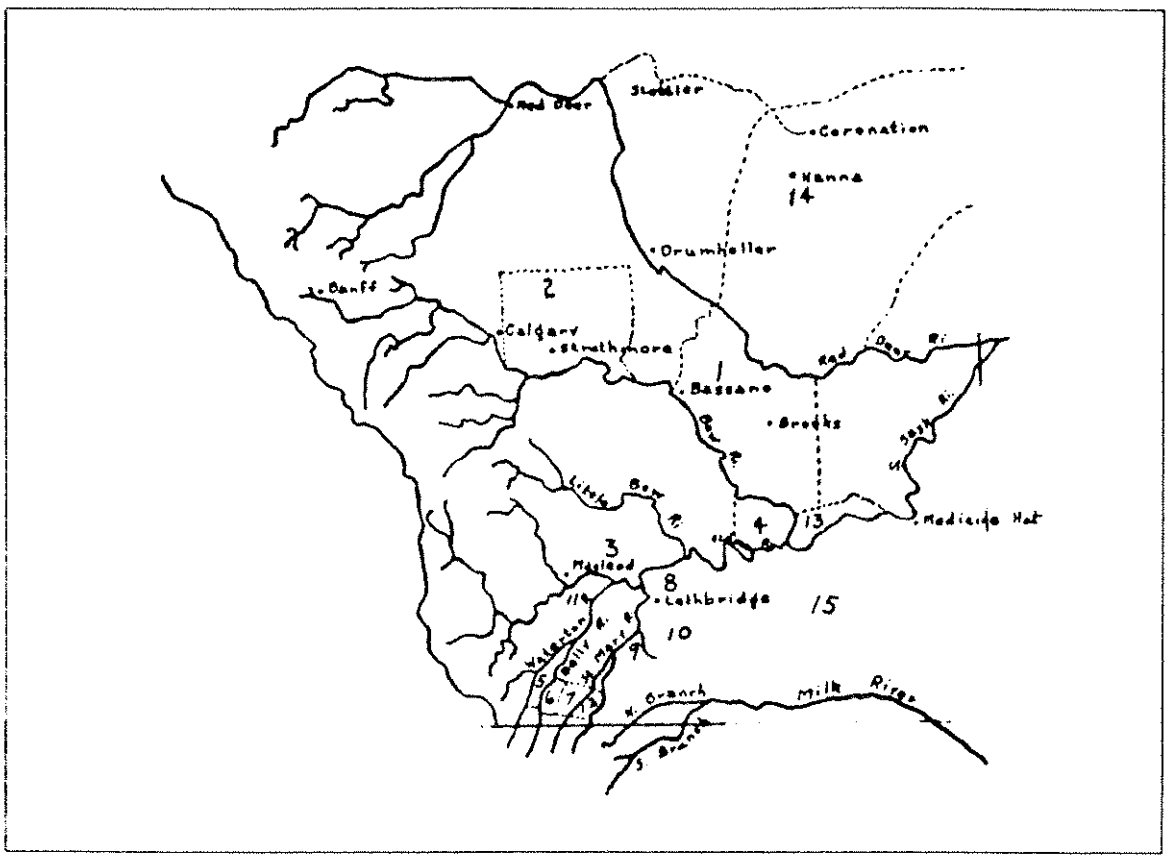
The economic dislocations of the 1930's which had brought such a rash of closings and foreclosures on the prairies, did not immediately produce pressure for irrigation schemes. The basics of the farm economy had first to be dealt with. Nevertheless, throughout the dry dust-bowl days of the 1930's Waterton must have resembled a land of plenty to stricken ranchers. From the diary kept by Warden 'Bo' Holroyd, some details of those using the park for grazing in the 1930's can be learned:[36]

15.5.33	Counting cattle on Park for Jenkins Bros. and McKenzie Bros. Jenkins approximately 500 head McKenzie Bros. approximately 350 head.
15.5.38	J.S. Jacobs of Caldwell paid $56.00 for grazing fees for 15 horses, 40 cattle and permit.

As a concession to the conditions of the drought, the park had remained open to ranchers, and the question of grazing was not put to rest in Waterton until 1947 when grazing privileges were ended.[37] Between 1929 and 1942 revenue generated from grazing permits had been a fairly constant and substantial park revenue item.[38]

In 1939 there developed another movement to employ the waters of the Belly and Waterton Rivers at points north and east of the park for irrigation. It had taken some time for both settlers and corporate sponsors of prairie agriculture to discern the appropriate scale of land units such as might support the costs of irrigation. The failure of the farm economy owing to drought and inadequate corporate policies had started to turn around by 1935 when the Eastern Irrigation District was established.[39] This appeared to be a straightforward initiative without serious conflicts. The proposed projects of the District were put on hold during the war years, but they came to the fore quickly after 1945. The proposals inolved the systematic tapping of the waters of the Waterton and Belly starting at points well outside of the Park boundary. (Map 4-2)

Map 4-2



1.	E.I.D. Brooks.	150, 000 Acres
2.	W.I.D. Strathmore.	54, 000 Acres
3.	L.N.I.D. Lethbridge.	95, 000 Acres
4.	Canada Land Company, Vauxhall	40, 000 Acres
5.	United I.D.	34, 000 Acres
6.	Mountian View I.D.	3, 500 Acres
7.	Leavitt I.D.	4, 500 Acres
8.	A.R.I. Taber	105, 500 Acres
9.	A.R.I. Magrath	7, 000 Acres
10.	A.R. Raymond	15, 100 Acres
Misc.		4, 700 Acres

Irrigation Districts - South-western Alberta. 1946

Courtesy: Canadian Cattleman

In a near total-reversal of what had taken place in 1923, the United States raised objections of a much different order. The irrigation proposals on the table had no implications for the water levels in Upper Waterton Lake, and all of the proposed engineering work was to influence purely Canadian river flows. American interests, seemingly unconcerned with the mandate of Glacier National Park, sought a ruling from the International Joint Commission on the grounds that some compensation was owing to the Americans for the use of waters which had originated in the United States. The International Joint Commissioners received a reference in 1948. Quite logically, the Commisisioners then charged the Americans to demonstrate just how they might possibly make use of the U.S. portion of Upper Waterton Lake and the sources of the Belly River, for purposes other than those current. Engineering studies were mounted on the U.S. side which attempted to show that waters might be run out through a tunnel in one of the surrounding mountains in Glacier National Park, a proposal which was then shown to be geologically quite unfeasible.[40] The American position fell apart as the Chief Engineer for the United States, under cross-examination, was forced to conclude that the Americans never had, and never could, make use of the source waters. The American and Canadian representatives never did come to any formal agreement. This Reference to the IJC happily died a natural death brought on by a lack of logic in the Reference. The Commissioners finally took the position that there could be no basis for a claim. In Alberta, proposed irrigation works sponsored by the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration went ahead on the lower Waterton and Belly River.[41]

vi

Treaty Seven and Native Lumber Rights: The Confusion Over the Blood Indian Timber Limit 'A'

Since the expansion of the boundaries of Waterton National Park in 1914, the park map had included on its eastern side a clearly distinguished land unit identified as Timber Limit 'A', associated with the Blood Indians of the nearby Reserve. The proper nature of the title to this land was ruled upon in the courts in the 1930's, although it would be another forty years before all the legalities were sorted out.

The language of the 1877 Treaty No. 7, the so-called 'Blackfoot Treaty,' made reference to the provision of wood and water lands for the Indian peoples. As the original land allotment given to the Blood Indians was quickly seen to be inappropriate, given the continuing demise of bison herds, several adjustments to the Blood Reserve were made over the next thirty years, including assignment of a timber limit along the Belly River. One of the closest students of the history of the Blood Indians, Hugh Dempsey, has described the early circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Blood Reserve on the eve of the settling of Southern Alberta by ranchers and settlers.[42] The early years of Blood Reserve history is the story of several rounds of negotiations between Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney and the Natives for new lands.

The Blood Council decided early that the eclipse of the bison no longer justified their initial choice of reserve lands which they had made in 1877, those lands being mainly on the open prairie. What they now sought were lands of greater diversity, with a view to agriculture and self-sufficiency. Dewdney was agreeable to this and sought a formal release from the 1877 conditions. This was done in 1880:[43]

> I, Mekasto, or Red Crow, Head Chief of the Blood Indians, on behalf and with the consent of the Blood Indians included in said Treaty do hereby give up all our rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included in said Treaty, provided the government will grant us a Reserve on the Belly River in the neighbourhood of the Mouth of the Kootenai River.

The 'Kootenai River' was in this instance a reference to the Waterton River.

Plate 4-8

Chief Red Crow of the Blood Tribe

Source: Provincial Archives of Alberta

Plate 4-9

Illustration Taken from an 1886 Blackfoot-English Reader

50 *ETOMESKISKAKISIN*

LESSON XXXIV

1. Look! the cars are coming.
Sâtsit! istsi-enakâs epoxapoyaw.

2. They come very fast.
Ixka-ekkami-poxapoyaw.

3. They come from Winnipeg.
Mikutsitartay omortsipoxapoyaw.

4. The cars are full of people.
Matapix itortoyitsiyaw enakâsix.

5. Let us go to the depot.
Konnê-etâpoôp istsi-enakâs-api-oyis.

Source: Hugh Dempsey, 'The Fearsome Firewagons'

In: The CPR West. 1982.

Plate 4-10

Blood Indians carting grain. Late 19th century.

Source: Glenbow Alberta Archives

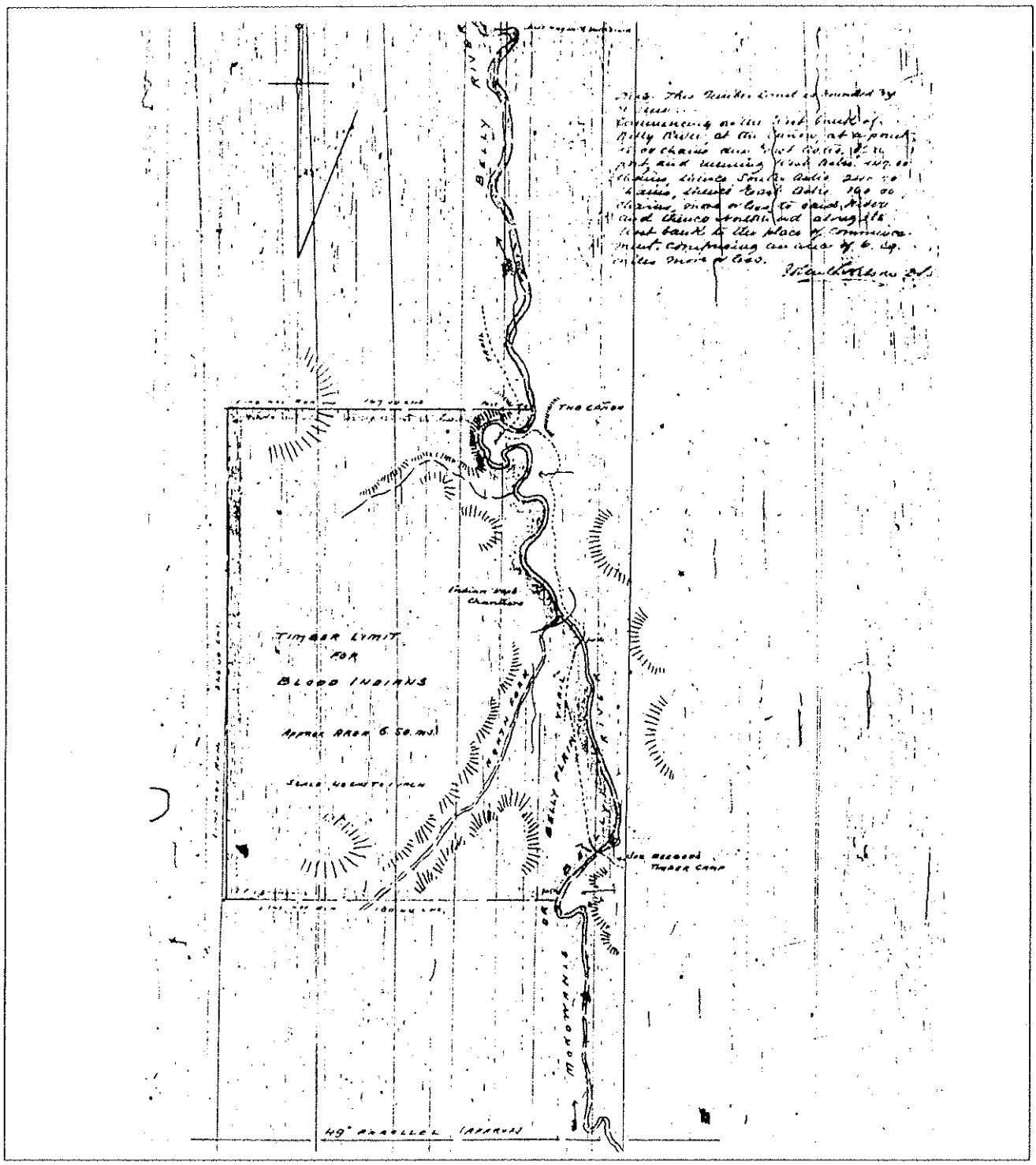
These were difficult times for the Blood people generally. Many were still in Montana where a last desparate chance to follow the old ways, giving chace to the buffalo, was still possible. At the time of the 1880 renegotiation there were about 800 people on the Alberta Blood Reserve. By the spring of 1881 this had changed to over 3,300, as a defeated, starving and measle-ridden body of Bloods arrived back from Montana. 'Fences were pulled down for firewood and seed was dug up for food by the new arrivals.'[44] By 1882 the Bloods were more-or-less reconciled to the need for a new accomodation with the land. In the interim, pending new surveys of reserve lands and the signing of a second treaty, the bands 'spread out along the river from the present town of Glenwood, where the Fish Eaters camped, to the northern-most point near Slide Out, where the Short Men and North Bloods settled.'[45] By March of 1883 the Head Men of the Bloods had been satisfied and the new treaty was ratified on March 2, 1885.

In preparing the official surveys for the new reserve, John C. Nelson made thorough appraisals of the qualities of the land. One of his consistent observations concerned the lack of a good wood supply on much of the Indian land, whatever the other virtues.[46] In this situation is be found the origin of the separate identification of Timber Limit 'A' established for the exclusive use of the Blood Band by an Order in Council in 1889.[47] In that same year, the Blood Indians gave up some 440 acres from their reserve.[48]

This arrangement for a wood supply in accordance with understandings made in the earlier treaties, was made in advance of the establishment of the Waterton Lakes Park Reserve in 1895. The timber limit located on the west bank of the Belly River was confirmed by a federal Order in Council on June 12, 1893 as being included as part of the Indian Reserves withdrawn under the Dominion Lands Act.[49] Another timber limit, number 776 (adjacent to Timber Limit 'A') was established in 1897, since much of the land in Timber limit 'A' had recently been swept by fire. (Map 4-3)

No particular conflict in these arrangement was noted until the extension of Waterton Lakes National Park's boundaries in 1914. At that time the boundaries 'enveloped' the Timber Limit 'A' lands.[50] With this new situation, park officials made the assumption that the timber limit lands were merely a limit, and not a part of the Blood Reserve as such. With the passage of time, the view of wardens and other park officials stressed the notion that all park regulations, with the exception of those respecting the right to take wood, applied to the members of the Blood community, a situation which led to a charges being laid in 1917 and 1934 against Indians for breaches of park regulations.[51]

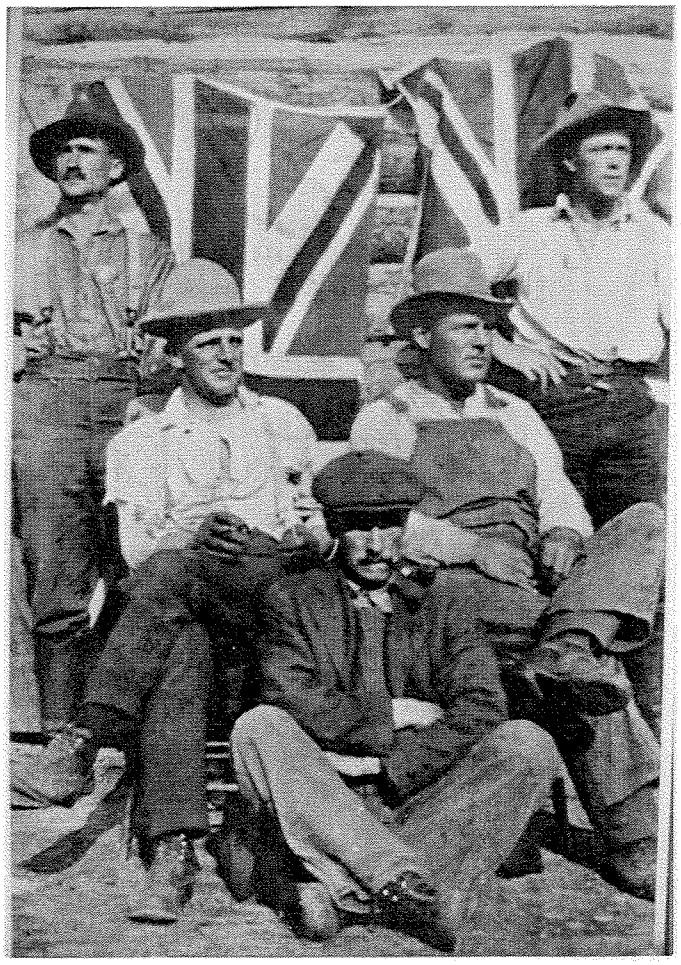
Map 4-3



Blood Indian Timber Limit A. c. 1887
Indian Affairs. R.G. 10 Vol. 3787. File 42074

Only with attempts to resolve these court charges through due process did the actual ambiguities of the ownership of Timber Limit 'A' begin to unfold. As early as 1917 Park officials had made requests to the Solicitor General for a ruling. A definitive judgement came down in 1936 in favour of the Blood Indians.[52] Thereafter, following lengthy negotiations and land exchanges involving the Province of Alberta and the two main parties to the dispute, a settlement was finally achieved. The negotiations and the clarification of title, also allowed for completion of the Chief Mountain High-way across what what was now clearly Indian Land. The Park Boundary slowly took on its current shape with the Blood Indian Timber limit clearly excised from the Park by the 1970's.[53] (Map 4-4)

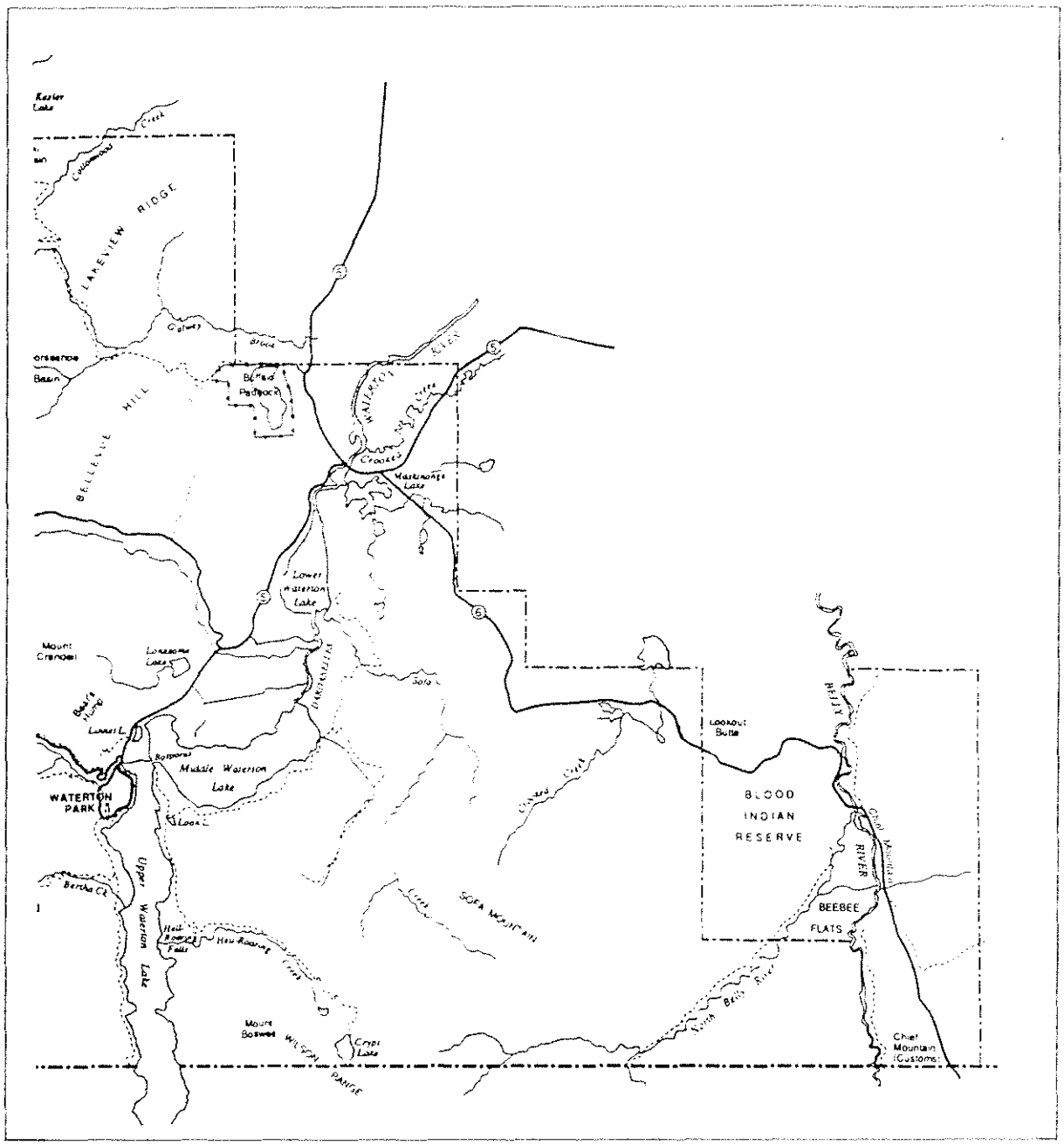
Plate 4-11



Members of the Waterton Warden Service, c. 1919

Front: Uncertain; Seated (L). J.C. 'Bo' Holryod; (R) 'Mac' McCallister
Standing: (L) Andrew Bower; (R) Steve Harwood

Map 4-4



Timber Limit "A" and Waterton National Park.
1980

Endnotes

1. Chester Martin, *Dominion Lands Policy*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973, p. 222

2. Richard Wilbur, *The Bennett Administration:1930-1935*. Toronto:McClelland and Stewart, 1973. p. 222

3. Cited in Wilbur, op. cit., p. 4

4. Albert C. Rose, *Historic American Roads*. New York: Crown, 1976, p.100; Josephine C. Brown, *Public Relief, 1919-1939*. New York: Holt, 1940, p. 156 f.

5. Lothian, *History* Vol. II, op.cit., p. 17

6. Cf. Desmond Morton with Terry Copp, *Working People: An Illustrated History of Canadian Labour*. Ottawa: Deneau and Greenberg, 1980; pp. 145-50

7. Banff National Park. *Engineering Services Files*. E.20-W. C.M. Walker to J.M. Wardle, 'Inspection Relief Camps - Waterton Lakes Park.' May 2, 1933.; Waterton Lakes National Park. H. Knight to J.M. Wardle, Sept. 7,1934

8. Waterton Lakes National Park Files. *Relief Programme: Single Homeless Men*. Winter, 1933-34.

9. J.M. Wardle Chief Engineer, Banff, to J. Harkin, Feb. 29, 1932. *Report of Unemployment Relief Camp Conditions*.

10. D.Morton, op.cit., p.147

11. Lothian, *History*, Vol.II, op.cit., pp.17-18

12. Leonard Gladstone, *History of Waterton*. Manuscript. Waterton Lakes National Park. 1965

13. Ibid.

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15. Ibid; and NA RG 84 Vol. 2210 *Parks, Roads, Buildings*.

16. Goble, (1981), p. 5

17. Gladstone, op.cit.

18.Goble, ibid.

19. Waterton Park Files. *Twenty Second Annual Report. Superintendent*.. Jan. 8, 1936

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21. WLNP. Files. *Superintendent's Report.* April, 1936.

22. J.M. Wardle to Herbert Knight, Feb. 20, 1933. Banff File E. 20-W

23. C.M. Walker to J.M. Wardle, May 2, 1933. Banff File E.20-W

24. Waterton National Park Files. *Report of Unemployment Relief Conditions. The Waterton Lakes National Park. (B). Akamina Road Project.* n.d.

25. Herbert Knight to J.M. Wardle, Jan. 20, 1933. Banff File E.20-W

26. J.M. Wardle to J.B.Harkin, March 18, 1933. Banff File E.20-W

27. C.K. LeCapelain, to J.M. Wardle, Nov. 6, 1933. Banff File E.20-W

28. Ibid.

29. J.M. Wardle, to J.B.Harkin, March 18, 1933. Banff File E.20-W

30. W.F. Lothian, *History,* Vol. IV, p. 75

31. Ibid.

32. P.A.A. 69.354/97. Memo. P.J. Jennings, Superintendent, Banff. June 19,1937.

33. Ibid. *Superintendent's Monthly Report.* June, 1941. Item 11.

34. Ibid. File W. 50-1. *Exerpt from Acting Controller's letter.* Calgary, Sept.19, 1941.

35. Lothian, *History,* Vol. IV, op.cit. p. 90

36. *The Holroyd Journals*, op.cit., p. 72

37. Ibid.

38. See WLNP. *Superintendent's Reports. Supplementary Report.* Jan 1, 1942 to March 31,1942. WLNP Library.

39. Howard Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig,1990), p.121

40. Cf. L.M. Bloomfield and G.F. Fitzgerald, *Boundary Waters Problems of Canada and the United States.* Toronto: Carswell, 1958. Docket no. 57. p. 177 f.

41. Ibid., p. 180

42. Hugh Dempsey, 'The Story of the Blood Reserve' *Alberta Historical Review*, 1(3):(1953), pp. 27-36

43. Ibid., p. 27

44. Ibid., p.29

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid. pp. 30-1

47. *Order in Council.* P.C. 1151 , May 17, 1889

48. Canada. *Treaties and Surrenders*, Vol. 3. Ottawa: 1912. No. 282. Sept. 2, 1889.

49. P.C. 1684 (1893)

50. Lothian, *History,* Vol.IV, op.cit. p. 124

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52. NA RG 84 VOl. 2165 W2 Part 2. Assist. Controller to Mr. Gibson. April 30, 1946

53. NA. RG 84 Vol. 2165 Est. File. W.2 Part 2 Vol. 2; and Waterton Lakes National Park. File W-206-776 Blood Indian Timber Limit "A" to 1969.

Chapter Five

Post-War Waterton: 1945-1990
Changing Ideas of Parks, People and Wildlife Management

> You must not know too much or be too precise or scientific about birds and trees and flowers... a certain free margin and even vagueness - perhaps ignorance, credulity...helps your enjoyment of these things.
>
> - Walt Whitman

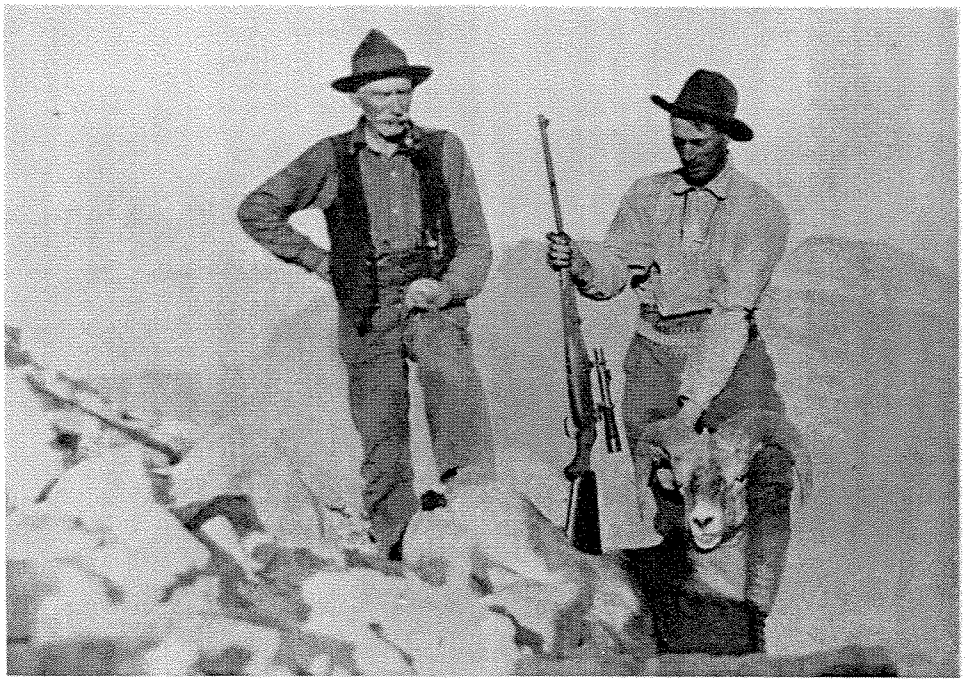
i

During the 1920's and 1930's the Glacier National Park area of Montana provided a focus of attention for a number of influential thinkers and advocates of wilderness conservation. The Superintendents at Glacier inherited a proud tradition of advocacy which stretched back to the early visits to the region by George Bird Grinnell, the many-faceted editor of *Field and Stream.* Superintendent Charles J. Kraebel was also in this tradition. In January of 1927 he sent a letter to The Director of the National Parks Service in Washington, attaching a copy of an article by the Naturalist at Mount Rainier National Park, entitled 'Call off the Dogs.' The article was a plea for a review of the predator control policies in the National Parks. Kraebel had already been thinking in these terms. 'Naturalist Schmoe...has touched briefly on a matter of no small importance.' He stated further that 'I have expressed the idea in various reports and correspondence during the past three years and am now executing it to some extent in Glacier by cessation of special efforts to destroy cougar and wildcats.'[1] With the confidence of a man with his feet on the ground, the Superintendent asserted that 'during fifteen years of forest life, I have become convinced of the importance of maintaiing the "biological balance" in the fauna of wilderness areas, and nowhere is this more important than in the National Parks which purport to be great museums of primitive natural conditions.'[2]

Kraebel's letter worked its way into the hands of the energetic forester and ecologist Aldo Leopold, who responded at length and in support of Kraebel's views.[3] Others, including G.B. Grinnell, were brought into the discussion with the

Plate 5-1a The Lee Creek Warden Cabin

Big Game Hunting in the Waterton Area. c. 1920. Plate 5-1b



result that by 1932, the U.S. National Park Service, (as in the National Parks Branch in Canada), had affected a radical shift in policy towards wildlife, one based strongly on ideas being advanced by ecologists. By the end of the Second World War, these ideas had taken hold in other segments of the wildlife biological community. Many of those in the public service, or advisory to it, started to put policies in place quite different from those which had prevailed before World War I.

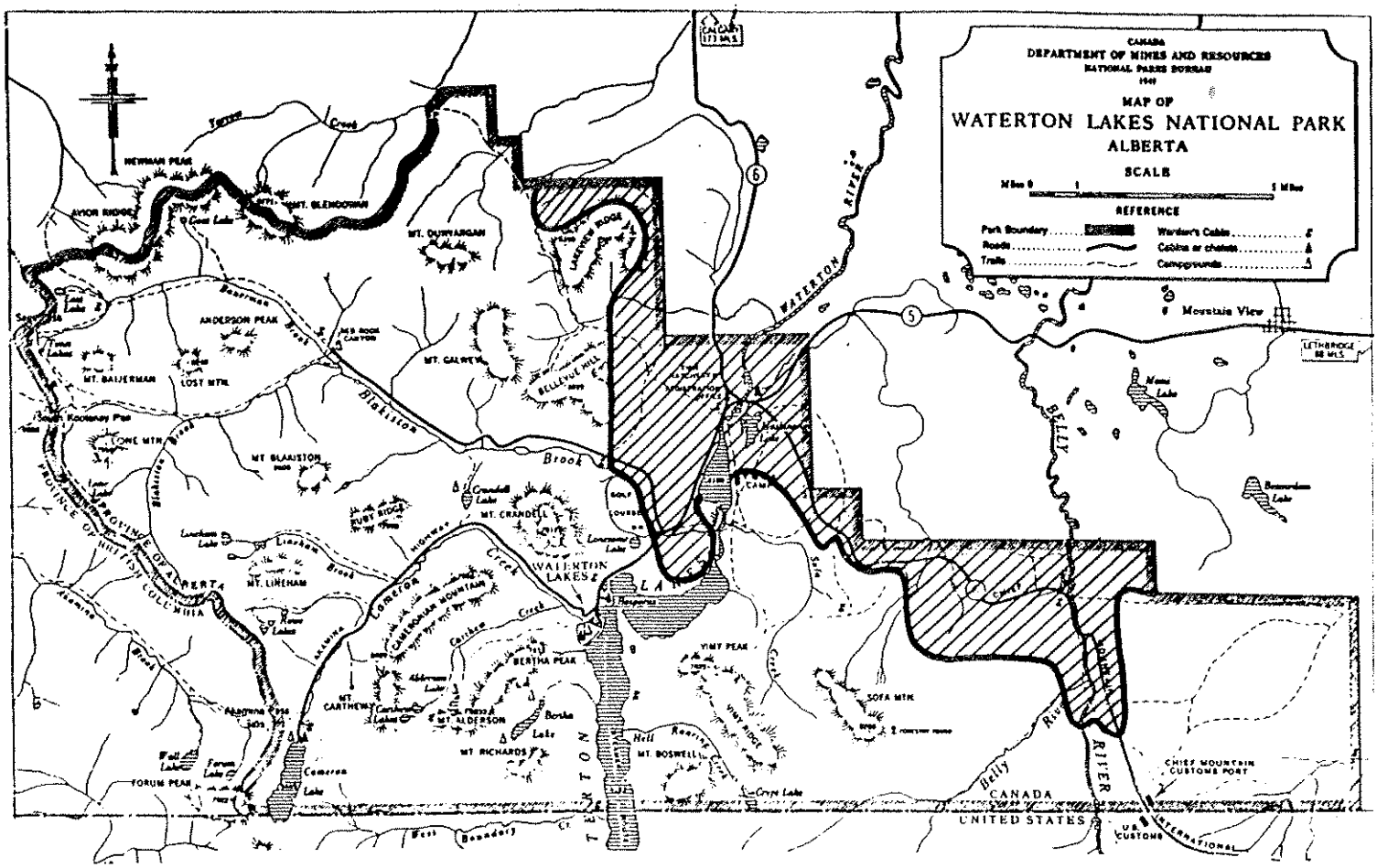
ii

Of Grazing, Fire, Elk and Wolves: Rethinking the 'Biological Balance.'

Systematic notations on the flora and fauna of Waterton have been made since the visit of Thomas Blakiston in 1857. The cumulative series of observations made since the 1860's allows for an assessment of the ways in which certain wildlife patterns have changed in the park over the last 125 years. During the Boundary Survey period of the 1860's and 1870's several outstanding naturalists visited the area including the famous American biologist Elliot Coues. Some of his catalogues provided the basis for descriptions of new forms.[4] In 1895 W.S. Spreadborough made a collection of mammals for the National Museum of Canada as did C.H. Young in 1922 and 1923. A larger survey of wildlife in the mountain parks was conducted in 1938 by R. M. Anderson.[5] These studies have provided a context for our understanding of wildlife populations over the last century. In the recent past, as in the long era of Native use, human actions were important in shaping the patterns of wildlife.

Predator control had been a tenet of an almost self-evident nature since the 1880's, either as a result of the independent actions of ranchers and farmers or through the official policies of government agencies. The early history of grazing in the park and changing views of predator control have already been described. The question of grazing in parks was not put to rest in Waterton until 1947 when such privileges were ended. Park administrators displayed a necessary ambiguity towards such extractive policies for financial reasons. Between 1929 and 1942 public revenue generated from grazing permits remained a fairly constant and important item in park returns.[6] The general pattern of livestock grazing as it existed in 1947 may be viewed in Map 5-1.

Map 5-1



Area of Waterton Occupied by Domestic Livestock, 1947.

Dept. of Mines and Resources. National Parks Bureau.

It was only towards the end of the Second World War that intimations of what might be called the modern 'ecological' view of wildlife management started to take hold. Important in this shift were the studies of wildlife biologists such as A.W.F. Banfield and Ian McTaggert Cowan. These scientists had been called in to address certain park wildlife issues in Waterton, particularly that of the rising elk population.[7] In the late 1940's Waterton was about to undergo its last major boundary adjustment, in which some sixteen sections on the eastern side were to be excised. An exchange of letters between the National Parks Branch and the Alberta Fish and Game Association took place in which the issue of habitat for deer and elk was raised as an issue.[8] The park position was that the sixteen sections in question were not considered to be critical habitat for elk and deer. The view of the Association on the other hand, was that 'These were wintering grounds of elk and deer long before they were leased to farmers in the vicinity.'[9] Both sides were perhaps correct, it being a matter of what particular historic time period was under discussion.[10] In response, Mr. Gibson for the Parks Branch reviewed the 1945 Waterton Park survey of Ian McTaggart Cowan and the 1947 survey by Banfield, concluding: 'it is not felt that a further investigation is called for at this time.'[11]

The larger context of the rise of the elk conflict has subsequently been outlined by George A. MacKenzie in his historical review of the fire ecology of Waterton Lakes National Park.[12] MacKenzie saw a connection between the rise of the elk population and the history of fire-suppression policy in the National Parks on both sides of the international border. In the early years of the twentieth century, elk had been unknown in Waterton. In 1912, twenty-nine elk were transported from Yellowstone National Park and released at Belton Montana. By 1940, 3,600 animals had become established in the winter ranges of Glacier National Park. Natural reforestation of old forest fire burns gradually decreased the area of winter range and the elk stabilized at about 1800 in Glacier.[13] By 1920, local rancher, photographer, and guide F.H. Riggall reported seeing a few elk drifting up the Belly River area.[14] By 1932, elk had started to move out of the park onto farm lands, leading to the resource-use conflict debates which culminated in the studies of Cowan and Banfield in the later 1940's.

The general proliferation of the elk in this period coincided with the war on the wolf between 1912 and 1925 and with the vigorous fire-suppression policy. The climatic and soil conditions at Waterton, despite the high winds, does not favour frequent large fires. MacKenzie indicates that there have been only two major fires since 1910: the Cameron Creek and Oil City fire of 1919 and the Boundary fire of 1935. The latter was started by lightning on the Glacier side and then swept up the west side of Waterton Lake threatening the townsite. These two fires accounted for 60% of the total area burned since 1910. The five other largest

fires consumed less than 400 acres.[15] The relationship of past fires to the rise of a twentieth-century elk problem was established by MacKenzie through a consideration of those trees which require a helping hand from fire in order to propagate.

There are two main species of tree in Waterton which are fire-generated, Aspen and Lodge Pole Pine. MacKenzie estimated the pattern of fire-regenerated areas of Lodge Pole Pine in the park since 1830 in the following table.[16]

% area of park with fire-origin Lodge Pole Pine: 1830-1965

Date	Area
1830 - 1870	12.8
1871 - 1890	23.3
1891 - 1910	36.1
1911 - 1965	15.1

Figures such as these, supplemented by historical data on the movement of elk, suggested that fire suppression since the early years of park establishment, has probably contributed to reduce prime elk grazing habitat. On the Stony Creek Flats for example, post-World War II figures suggest heavy over-grazing by elk among Aspen clones which had not been burned for many decades.[17] Similarly, several Lodge Pole Pine stands in Blakiston Valley undergoing successional change, led to degradation of the winter range of Elk.[18] MacKenzie concluded then, that the combination of the long-term elimination of predators with increased pressure of an increasing elk population on declining grazing habitat, produced the initial spill-over of Elk onto ranch lands around 1932. The general pattern and dates of fires between 1919 and 1980 may be reviewed in Map 5-2.

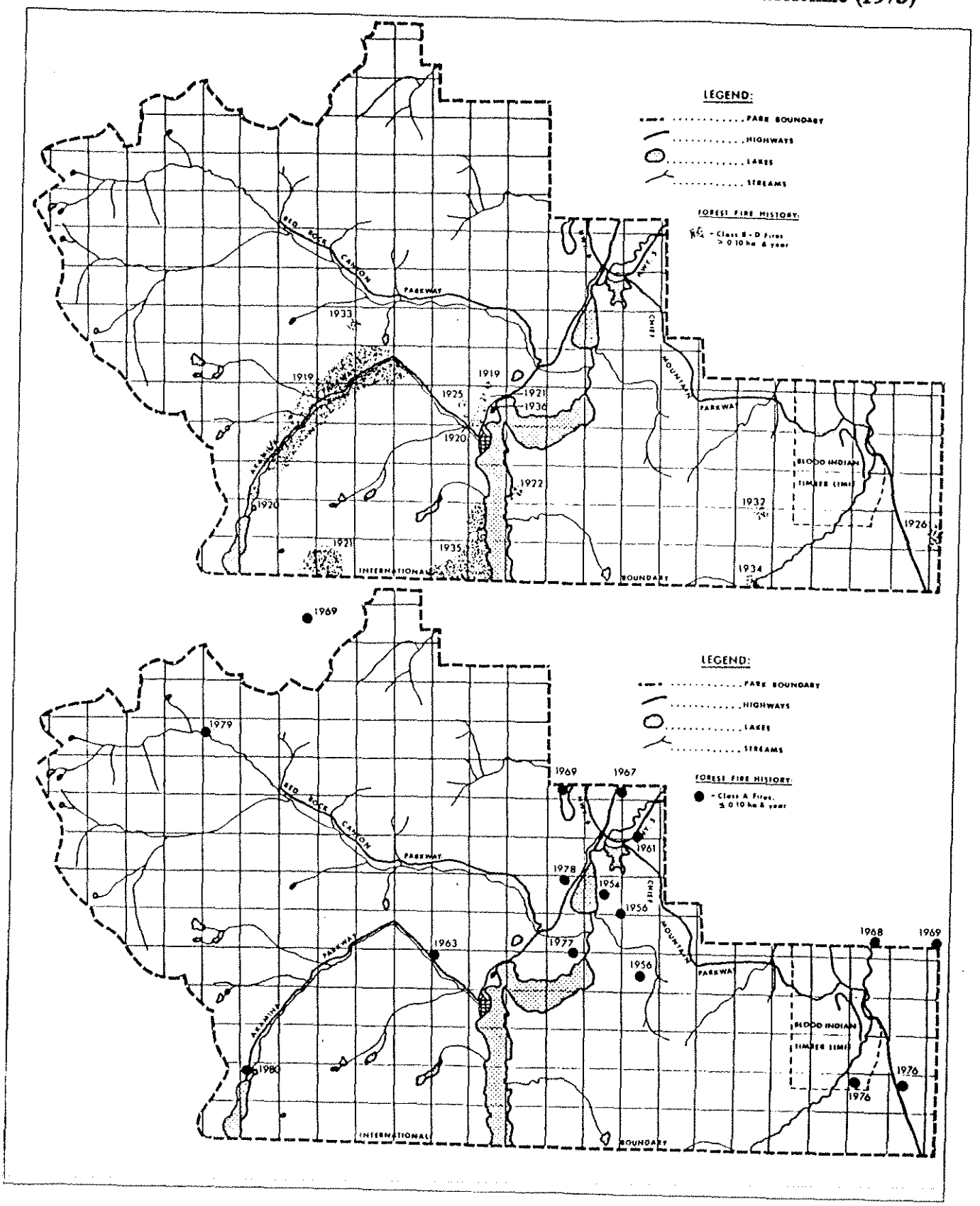
A.W.F. Banfield's Report of 1947 provided a number of general recommendations:[19]

> It would be naive to believe, that if no grazing of domestic stock were permitted in the park, the elk would cease their depredations on the surrounding ranches. In the long run however, with good natural ranges, population controls and salt blocks, the depredations of elk could be kept to a minimum.

Map 5-2

Forest Fire History of Waterton: 1919-1980.

Source: G.A. MacKenzie (1973)



By way of response, the policy most actively pursued over the next two decades was that of population control. An abattoir or 'slaughterhouse,' was erected in 1947 for the purpose of reducing the elk population.[20] Between 1947 and 1969, 1,577 elk were eliminated and the meat and hides distributed to the Indian Affairs Branch for local distribution to Native peoples. The abattoir was erected in 1948 in the Cedar Cabin area, but while awaiting funds for construction Superintendent H.A. de Veber chose to use an interim facility during the winter of 1947-48: 'It will not be possible to construct the abattoir building in time for the elk slaughter this winter, so it is proposed to erect temporary quarters for this winter using one of the sectional huts obtained recently from the internment camp at the Kananaskis Forest Experiment Station.'[21] The abattoir program was active over the next fifteen years but, despite construction of a new abattoir at the upper compound in 1962, it was unofficiallly suspended after the slaughter of 1963 in favour of greater attention to habitat management. Officials took the view that the National Parks should not be in the business of systematic slaughter of wild animals.[22]

Such an attitude has continued to inform the essential outlook of the natural resource management program in the National Parks. Cooperative arrangements and the coordination of policies with other contiguous owners and land management agencies has been viewed as the most desirable approach for long-term ecological stability. In the 1970's this attitude had become relatively orthodox, compared with the days of the 1920's when predator control was still an important aspect of park policy. It was seen to bear fruit in an important way with respect to wolves, a way which demonstrated the great advantage of the existence of the international park landscape. In 1985 wildlife biologists noticed that wolves from Canada had moved down into Glacier and denned. According to one writer this was the first re-establishment of wolves in the American West since the 1930's.[23] On the American side Robert Ream had spent many years pondering the relationship of U.S. Glacier National Park with the large wilderness areas to the north where wolves were to be found. The appearance of the so-called 'Magic Pack' of twelve wolves from Alberta and British Columbia territory moved Clifford Marktinka, Supervisory Biologist at Glacier, to remark that 'In reviewing the history of the park, I think this is the biggest thing that has happened there since the creation of the park itself.'[24] The 'Magic Pack', so named because it has sometimes been hard to locate, seems to have developed from the mating of a female named Kishnena and a black male wolf. The pair had first denned in Canada just north of Kishnena Creek. The seven pups of this first litter were resident in British Columbia and two subsequent litters in 1984 and 1985 expanded the pack to about twenty. At this time, perhaps in response to resource development on the Canadian side, the pack then moved down into Glacier. The 3,500 square miles of territory, rich in game, was considered an ideal wolf recovery area, although the sudden reappearance of wolves

represented something of an unknown with respect to effects on some of the other animal populations.[25]

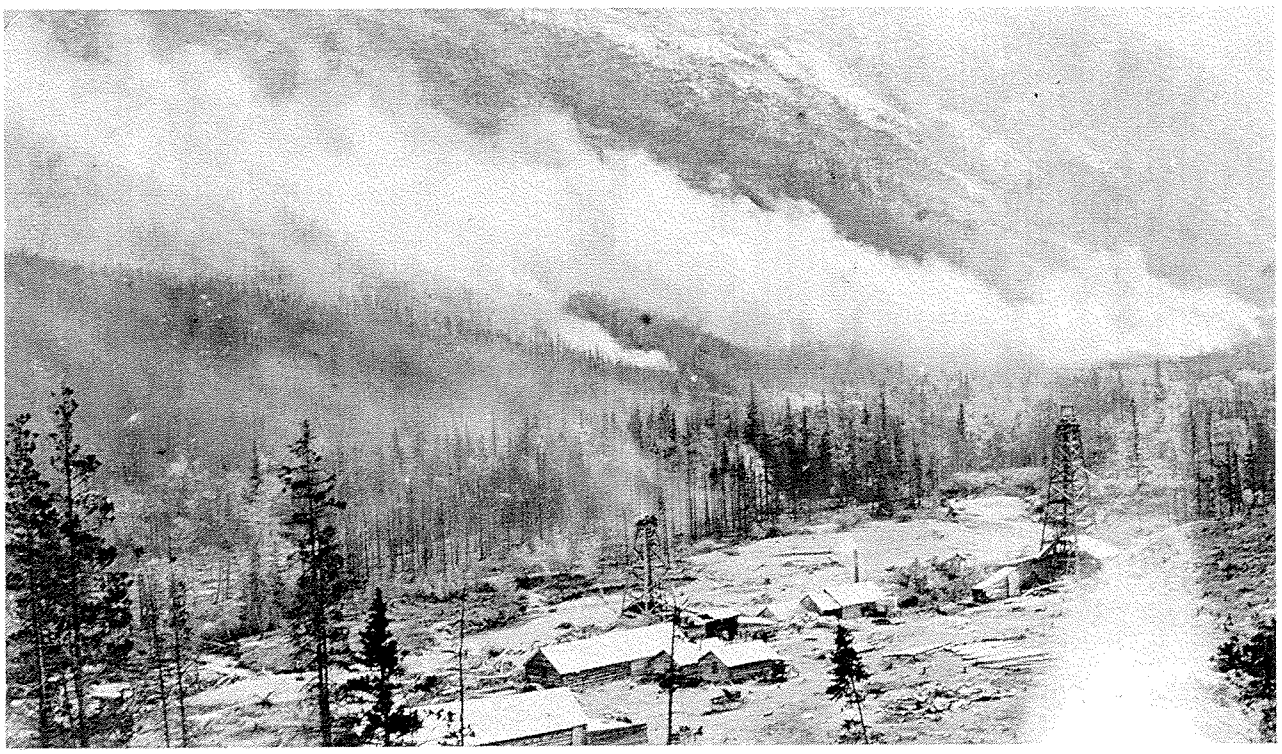
The rise of ecology as the source of a guiding managerial point of view, has not been one which always provides quick or definitive answers to wildlife biologists and wardens. The case of the 'Magic Pack' illustrates that any sudden new factor may alter years of previously achieved balance. Managing wildlife requires a slow trial and error process accompanied by the monitoring of decisions, some of which may involve trade-offs in terms of wildlife values. The most critical area of change to emerge in the 1980's in this respect, has undoubtedly been that of the rise of 'game ranching' an enterprise which has introduced many unkowns into the ecological equation. Significantly, the game-ranching idea tends to expand the decision-making arena into a much larger social and economic complex from the one in which wildlife managers have customarilly moved. (See Chapter Seven)

iii

Post-War Industry and Waterton

Oil, gas and mineral rights in Waterton Park were a matter of general commercial interest since the earliest days of park establishment. Such interests remained in the post-war period, but the passage of the 1930 National Parks Act gave greater capacity to the branch to resist such pressures. J.B. Harkin, as we have seen, served notice in 1925, that the parks were not for hire. The 1930's revival in exploring for oil around the old Oil City location was abortive, but provided a long-term stimulus to the National Parks Branch towards regaining title to all in-park patents. In the years after World War II the success of Turner Valley helped to maintain a certain stubborn interest in tapping any oil and gas potential in Waterton by whatever means might be acceptable to the government of Canada. In one 1958 instance, this led to a complicated proposal by which in-park subterranean petroleum resources would be drained off by an elaborate system of engineered networks introduced from outside of the park boundary. The proposal also suggested that the park would be given royalties, thus making it a silent partner in the petroleum industry. The response from officials in Ottawa Park Headquarters to this ingenious idea was decidedly negative, as it had been to other related proposals over the years.[26]

Plate 5-2



The Oil City Fire of 1919

Glenbow Alberta Archives

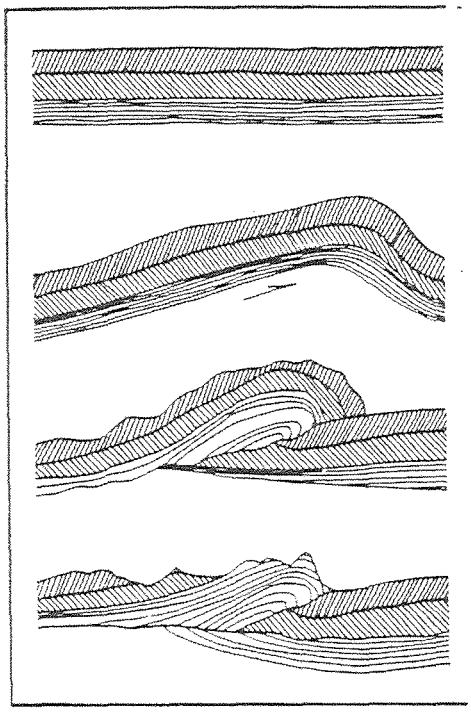
Following this latest of a series of consistent refusals by the federal government to allow any compromise with the regulations on mineral extraction in National Parks, the time seemed right to examine the long-standing myth of a resource bonanza in Waterton. In 1963 S.A. Kanik published an oil and gas evaluation based on a summary of current geological knowledge and a history of past performance.[27] In the course of this review, it became apparent why the history of oil extraction in Waterton had been essentially the history of commercial failure. The key was to be found in the dynamics of the famous rock movements, so visible at Cameron Falls, known to geologists as the Lewis Overthrust.[28](Plate 5-3). Great layers of ancient rock, responding to lateral pressure from the west, had been forced upwards at a slant 'overriding' rocks which were much younger in terms of geological time. (Plate 5-4). Thus, according to Kanik: 'The Rundle Group of Mississippian age comprises the main reservoir rocks of the oil and gas fields in proximity to the Waterton Lakes Park, and is composed of competent limestones and dolomite rocks.' Unfortunately for the oil interests, the 'Precambrian complicates the reservoir capacity' and since 'all the wells on the subject lots were drilled in Precambrian sediments, oil shows and small recoveries in them had apparently migrated along fault planes which the wells intercepted.' In other words, no truly coherent reservoirs of the type characteristic of major strikes had ever been tapped, even though in places oil escaped to the surface and appearing as seeps or as 'oil springs.'[29]

In the early 1960's then, the theoretical basis for an interest in an oil bonanza in Waterton had been thorougly discounted.It remained only to commemorate as a 'site of National significance' the original site of Oil City, and its apparent influence on the later discoveries in Turner Valley and other gas fields north of Waterton.[30] This commemoration effort coincided with the successful conclusion of a long effort at repatriation of the old Oil City, (or 'Lineham') properties in the park, completed by a purchase from the owners in 1961.[31] The oil industry meanwhile, had established a number of productive fields to the north of Waterton, based on geological sub-structures of an appropriate kind.

Plate 5-3

Development of the Lewis Overthrust at Waterton

After Heather Pringle (1986)



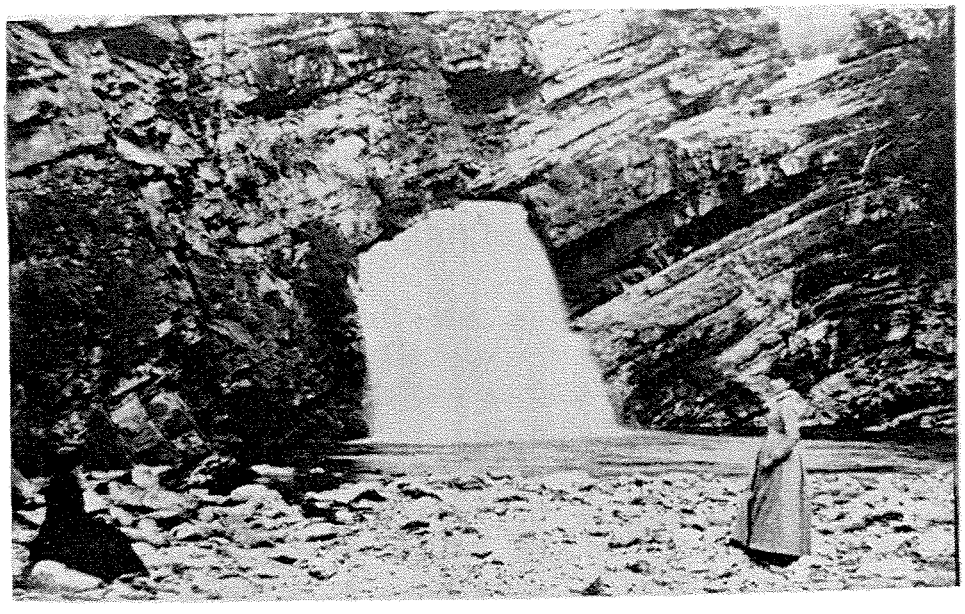
Flat-lying beds of sedimentary bedrock, later became the Rocky Mountains

Squeezed from the sides, the layers buckle upward to create a broad fold.

Continued compression then caused the fold to break, producing a thrust-fault. The left-hand layers slide up and over the right-hand layers

Erosion during and after the uplift, carves the folded and faulted mountain mass into peaks and valleys.

Plate 5-4



Visitors at Cameron Falls in the late 19th century

iv

Proposed Park Expansion: The Elusive Kishenina Country

When viewed on the map, the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park composes something of an incomplete whole with respect to watersheds and topography. The anomoly is even greater as one moves northwards from Waterton into country where both sides of the great divide have been set aside as great public reserves. The missing piece on the map is in the East Kootenay District of British Columbia, and for many years voices had been raised in favour of a 'rounding out' of the Waterton-Glacier country by means of an addition from the Province of British Columbia. Such an addition would have been sympathetic to the developing notion that parks should be conceived of and established as ecological wholes.

On September 7, 1948, Senator W.A. Buchanan of Alberta, long a promoter of the Waterton area, wrote to the Hon. J.A. MacKinnon, Federal Minister of Mines and Resources: 'For thirty or more years I have been hammering away, trying to get an arrangement made with British Columbia, to have the south-east corner of that Province turned over to the Dominion and added to Waterton Park.'[32] Over the years, the British Columbia position had been one of great caution, since it wished to complete a thorough resource inventory of the area, particularly with respect to oil and minerals. In 1948, Senator Buchanan was of the view that there were no real prospects in the south east corner of British Columbia, and that it was time to renew the Dominion interest in park expansion. The reports back to MacKinnon from civil service resource economists revealed that the East Kootenay country was still riddled with gas and mineral leases and that there was still considerable interest in British Columbia in the commercial exploitation possibilities.[33]

Federal representations continued to be made throughout the 1950's particularly following the coming to power of the Conservative administration of John Diefenbaker. The Hon. Alvin Hamilton, Minister of Northern Development, supported by Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, took a keen interest in forging an agreement with British Columbia for a National Park expansion. However these efforts were to no avail.[34] In Februrary of 1961, H.G. Greenway, President of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park Committee, wrote to the Hon. Walter Dinsdale, indicating support from Alberta and Montana Rotarians for road improvements. Dinsdale felt that, in view of past lukewarm responses from British Columbia, the issue should not be raised at that time.[35] In 1964 however, the Hon. Arthur Laing, Minister in the Liberal Pearson Government, did revive the matter but like his predecessors, failed to get an agreement.[36] The issue has been essenti-

Plate 5-5 Senator W.A. Buchanan.

Senator W.A. Buchanan in attendance at the conferring of honorary Chieftainship upon Premier Joey Smallwood of Newfoundland, May 12, 1950.

Smallwood is at the centre facing left and the Senator is behind him in standard hat. The Premier was made Chief Water Chief (So-Ee-Na) by Blood Chief, Percy Creighton. Also present:

Front Row, L-R. Honorary Chief Morning Star, E.R. McFarland; A.C. Holmes; Honorary Chief Morning Plume, Dan Boyle; Mayor L.S. Turcotte; Mrs Hind Bull; Honorary Chief Black Horse, Harold Routledge.

Second Row. L-R. Sgt. Allen; Chief Charlie Davis; S.H. Middleton; Chief Percy Creighton; (Smallwood) Chief Hind Bull; Chief Eagle Speaker; Mrs Davis.

Next to Senator Buchanan is Honorary Chief Big Snake, and to rear are: Mayor G.R. Davis, James Hartley and Herman Linder.

Glenbow-Alberta Archives

ally dormant since that time, but in a round-about way some of the old objectives have become partially realized in the absence of major road improvements. In 1986, British Columbia moved to set aside much of the desired land in the form of a public reserve known as the Akamina-Kishinena Provincial Recreation Area. There are some outstanding wilderness land-scape values associated with this reserve but it enjoys only limited protection from resource use, and the lower reaches of the reserve have already been subject to logging activity.[37] While the Canadian Parks Service and the U.S. Glacier National Park still favour the merging of the B.C. corner into a heritage classification complementing the Waterton-Glacier country, the interest in actual road links in no longer viewed as essential.

iv

People and Parks: Adjusting to Rising Park Use

Since the days of Superintendent Herbert Knight in the 1930's, there were various expressions of interest in park museum development and expanding the opportunities for public education and awareness.[38] Such ideas, expressed as formal park initiatives, had to await more opportune times from a financial point of view. The depression and war put severe limitations on development expenditures of all kinds, yet the statistics on visitation in those years revealed that an eager population of visitors was in waiting. Despite the economic difficulties, visitation had for many years been on an upward sloping curve with only minor setbacks. Superintendent C.K. Le Capelain's report on the general improvement in visitation in 1941, reflected the succcessful emergence of society from economic depression at precisely the moment before the severest limitations imposed by war was to curtail visitation and expenditure once again:[39]

Visitors. April 1st to Oct 28th:

	1940	1941
Canadian Cars	18, 641	19, 647
Passengers	70, 724	75, 827
U.S. Cars	12, 999	17, 779
Passengers	45, 700	59, 778
Other Cars	57	55
Other Passengers	154	109
Total Cars	37, 481	51, 697
Total Passengers	114, 578	135, 774

A positive note was also reflected by the Superintendent's reference to a film being made by Fitzpatrick Travelogue Films, scheduled for release my Metro-Goldwyn Meyer in 1942.[40] Noting that both the International Rotary and Kiwanis had chosen the Prince of Wales Hotel to hold major banquets, Le Capelain summarized the general positive trends of the last few years:[41]

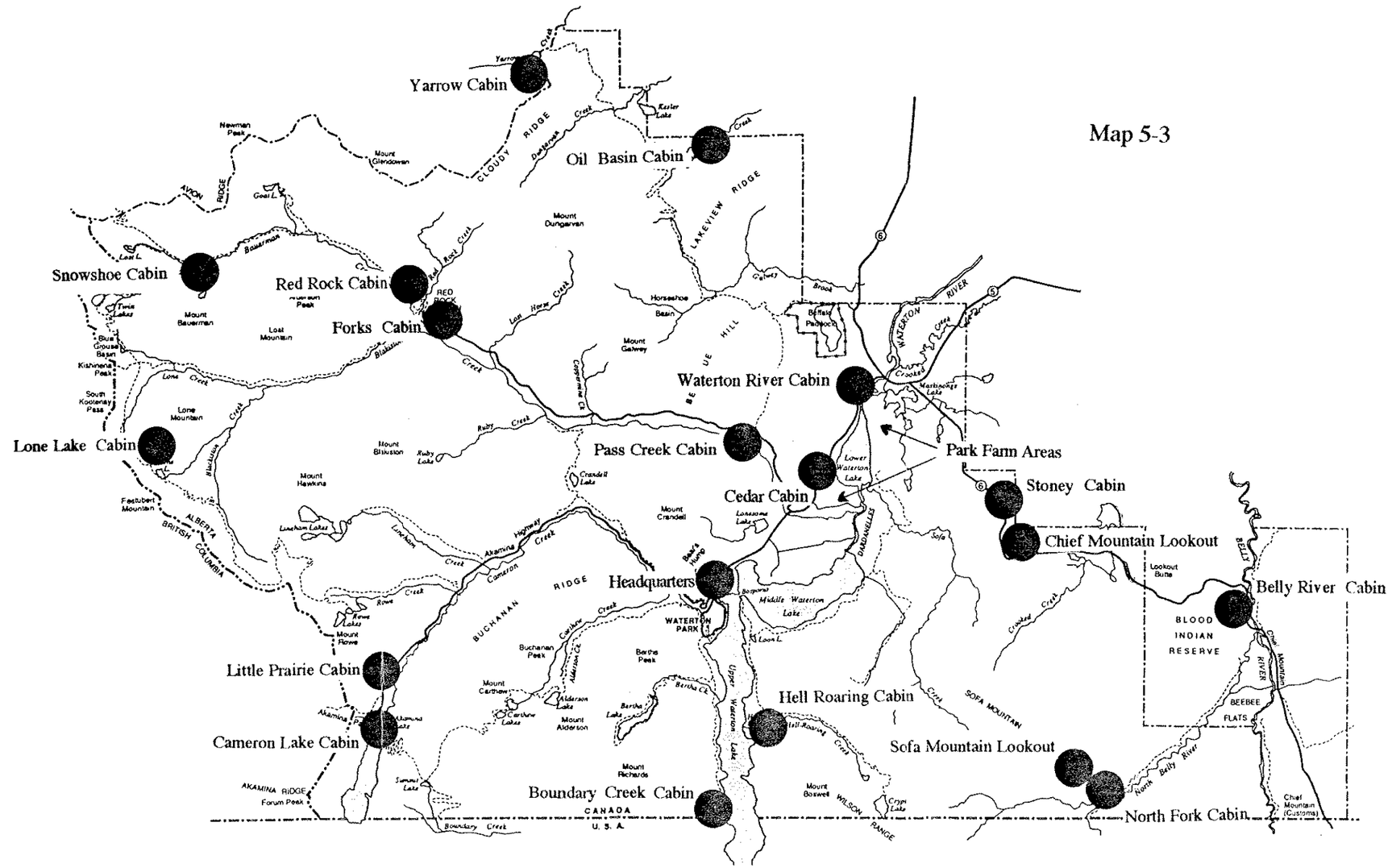
> It will be seen from the above that the International aspect of Waterton Glacier International Peace Park is getting to be an important item and contributes considerably to the large increase in American tourist traffic that we have enjoyed, which has arisen from 7,757 in 1935 to 59,778 registrations in 1941.

Similarly, the Superintendent stated that golf course revenues had risen to $1613.50 from $1296.50 in 1940 and that local Auto Bungalow Camp operator Erik Hagglund reported a successful operating season. To conclude his review of a generally good operating season, Le Capelain noted that there had been no fires and that one mile of new trail along Rowe Creek to Upper Rowe Lake had been completed.[42] The only sour note concerned the Children's Playground which had been 'in constant use' until it was closed in August, owing to a ban placed on gatherings of children under 18 years of age, due to an epidemic of infantile paralysis (polio).[43]

By 1941 Waterton had undergone a great deal of basic recreational development both in the townsite and in the greater park. A 1938 report tabulated on-going or completed work on a network of 42 trails throughout the park area.[44] (See Appendix 2). The road system had been substantially upgraded under the relief work program of the 1930's; the golf course had become a great success; and the townsite offered an increasing range of recreational activities. This direction continued after 1945 with notable increases in visitation by 1952 when consumers started to recover from the war effort. Special user groups such as the Boy Scouts had developed programs well beyond the townsite in areas such as Cameron Lake where the Association maintained a special campground.[45]

By 1950 a local sentiment had developed favouring road upgrading in order to become competative with the American system. A Brief presented by the Lethbridge Chamber of Commerce on 'Behalf of All the People of Southern Alberta' made a request for improvements and for greater attention to tourism promotion. [46] It was the experience of Waterton Lakes National Park residents during the summer of 1950, that many tourists were so disgusted with the roads leading to and within Waterton Lakes National Park that they returned immediately to the U.S. Statistics were provided by the Chamber through which it derived arguments in favour of upgrading Waterton to the level of Banff. Discounting some of the claims made in the Chamber's narrative as the product of exaggeration, the episode nevertheless reflected the general tide of rising expectations which started to mark public opinion in the 1950's.

Map 5-3



Historic Distribution of Warden Cabins and Facilities:
Waterton Lakes National Park

One instance of the post-war trends in recreation can be noticed with respect to skiing. In 1948 a survey had been conducted which sought to assess the potential for a downhill ski development. By 1953 a slope had been opened on the north side of Bertha Peak above the townsite. The Waterton Park Lion's Club constructed a rope tow and then lights were added for night skiing. In the late 1950's another rope-tow was put in place on Mount Lineham near the old oil city site. Studies of general feasibilty for more ambitious ski developments were conducted in the 1960's but the recurring conclusion of the parks branch was that the weather patterns at Waterton made skiing both unpredictable and hazardous. By 1977 ski operation leases were no longer being renewed by Parks Canada.[47]

In 1946 Superintendent H.A. de Veber raised the question of facility improvement and revived the previous interest in a museum.[48] Park interpretation was given a start between 1948 and 1950, when the future biographer of 'Kootenai' Brown, William Rodney, worked in the park as a 'publicity officer'.[49] In 1954 park officers took up this idea of a park museum, centered on the community shelter in the townsite camp-ground.[50] Over the next ten years discussions and staffing actions were conducted at National Park Headquarters with a view to increasing public interpretation and naturalist services. This movement was given a strong boost in 1958 following the visit of Northern Affairs Deputy Minister Gordon Roberton to Glacier National Park in Montana. There, Robertson was impressed with the scope and quality of the interpretive programs which in the United States had an organizational history going back to the early 1920's during the time of Stephen Mather.[51]

Robertson's 1958 tour corresponded with an on-going review of park facilities which resulted in the development of information bureaus, the operation of which was coordinated with provincial and non-government organizations. While museums were important in principle, Alvin Hamilton, as Minister, was anxious to cater to the needs of the travelling public as a first priority.[52] At Waterton this had led to the development of a new Information Bureau building on the main road into the townsite near Lake Linnet. The first coherent beginnings of a park interpretation program may be identified with a new program at the building in 1958. The Park Supeintendent noted in July,1958 that 'Mr Enright, a teacher from Calgary, commenced his duties on July 1st, as Public Relations Officer' and that his duties included the 'development of Information data about the park for staff guidance.' This was a position reporting to the Chief Warden. In that same report, it was noted that Leonard Gladstone who had served many years in the warden service, previous to a serious motor car accident in 1956, had been retained to work at the Information Bureau. Gladstone went on to prepare a valuable record of the park's history which he regularly updated until 1968.[53]

In Ottawa meanwhile, efforts were underway to more systematically bring ideas of ecology and natural history to the attention of the public. Partially in response to Gordon Robertson's observations, Dr. George M. Stirret, the former Chief Biologist of the Canadian Wildlife Service in Ontario, was appointed as Headquarters Chief Naturalist in 1959. Seasonal field naturalists were then regularly hired starting with Frank Sudol who served seasonally unitil 1965. The first full time naturalist, E.B "Buck" Cunningham was hired in 1965, and following Cunningham's transfer to Banff, he was followed by Kurt Seel in 1966.[54] After that date regular park interpretive programs continued to develop under the direction of the Park Naturalist. This tradition has continued with the eventual re-naming of the Chief Naturalist to that of Chief of Interpretive Services.

The 1960's reports of the Park Superintendent retained a topic heading for 'Museum' but no budget or reports of progress were included. As with many other parks, an outdoor amphitheatre in the group campground area carried the main burden of public education along with a series of organized guided hikes. A major initiative for a museum-interpretation complex was initiated in 1969 and a concept plan for a development overlooking Lower Waterton Lakes was acknowledged in the Departmental estimates for 1972-73. This project was cancelled by Headquarters however, and instead, a new indoor theatre was constructed in the townsite near Cameron Falls, close to the popular fish-rearing ponds. This facility replaced the outdoor amphitheatre which had been in service for many years in close proximity to the group campground.[55]

With the principle of 'public interpretation' firmly in place by the mid-1970's, agency attention started to shift towards the development of improved external relationships with the public. Once again, the United States provided a useful model where a wide variety of cooperating associations had been developing since the 1920's. Headquarters initiated a major review of the possiblities in Canada for similar approaches, a review which culminated in the tabling of the Mosquin Reports between 1978 and 1980.[56] On the basis of these reports an agency policy was adopted. Subsequently, on the strong guiding initiative of Waterton Park Superintendent, Bernard Lieff and Chief Naturalist, Duane Barrus, the Waterton Natural History Association was established in 1983, a citizen organization which now provides programs for the furtherance of park objectives in close co-operation with the park organization.[57]

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3. Aldo Leopold to Charles J. Kraebel, Jan. 18, 1927. Ibid. On Leopold, see Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*. Rev. ed. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1973, Ch. 11

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33. Ibid., E .T. Kenney, Minister, to Hon. James A. MacKinnon, Dec. 20,1948

34. N.A. RG. 84 Vol. 2210 W 60-3 Vol. 2

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36. Ibid. April 6, 1964 and following.

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54. Lothian, *History*, Vol. IV, op.cit. pp. 140-44; and personal communication from Rob Watt, Waterton National Park Warden Service, Feb. 1993

55. Ibid., p. 149

56. Cf. Theodore Mosquin, *Alternative Institutional Structures and Legal Requirements for A National Parks Cooperating Association.*. Ottawa: DIAND. 1978.

57. Canadian Parks Service. Central Registry Files. C. 4010-2. 1978-82. April 5, 1983.

Chapter Six

The Town of Waterton: 1900 -1990

> ' I remember starting a store at Waterton Lakes on what afterwards became my first homestead...In the store I had a partner, Fred Kanouse...Well, we started this store in a little log shack on the Lower Waterton Lake and our supplies were all hauled from Fort McLeod by I.G. Baker bull teams.'
>
> -J.G. 'Kootenai' Brown to W. MacD.Tait

i

Of Mills, Hotels and Motor Cars: The Birth of the Townsite: 1901-1918

The earliest non-Native places of residence around the Waterton Lakes were those put in place by traders Fred Kanouse and 'Kootenai' Brown. Unlike the present focus of the town, initial decisions by these first settlers and by those who followed up until about 1911,tended to favour locations on Middle and Lower Water-ton Lakes. These sites were better disposed to communication with Fort MacLeod, to natural water power for small industry, and to minimizing the difficulties of travel in winter. The major exception was the settlement activity of early oil drillers who settled along the Cameron Creek and in the present townsite.

Actual legal land disposition was a slightly different matter. A long-standing bit of Rupert's land lore held that the initials HBC on the Hudson's Bay Company flag stood for 'Here Before Christ.' So it was in the Waterton area. As a function of the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada in 1869, certain of the old lands were reserved for the company, and this included some property around the northern edge of the Waterton Lakes. Three parcels amounting to about a section and a half were under their control as late as 1921, at which time the Dominon Parks Branch commenced negotiations with the Company to gain those lands for the park.[1] By 1926 the negotiations had been completed successfully.[2]

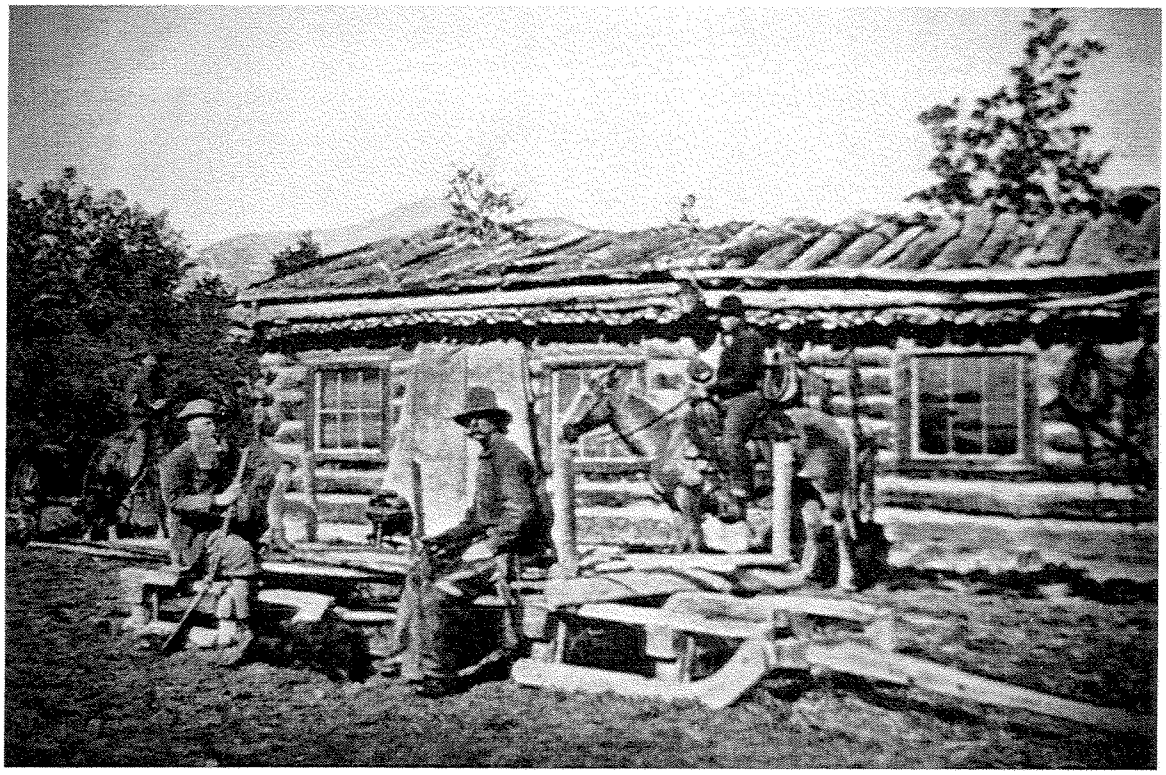
J.G. Brown at Waterton and the Early Townsite to 1918

In his years at Waterton Lakes, 'Kootenai' Brown appears to have lived in at least four different locations. Upon his arrival from Montana in 1877 he moved his family into a pre-existing establishment belonging to Fred Kanouse, which served as both dwelling and trading establishment. Brown eventually took this place over from Kanouse when the latter decided to undertake business and ranching in the Fort MacLeod area. Arthur Stavely Hill in his entertaining memoir of travels in North America, was a guest at Brown's cabin in 1883:[3]

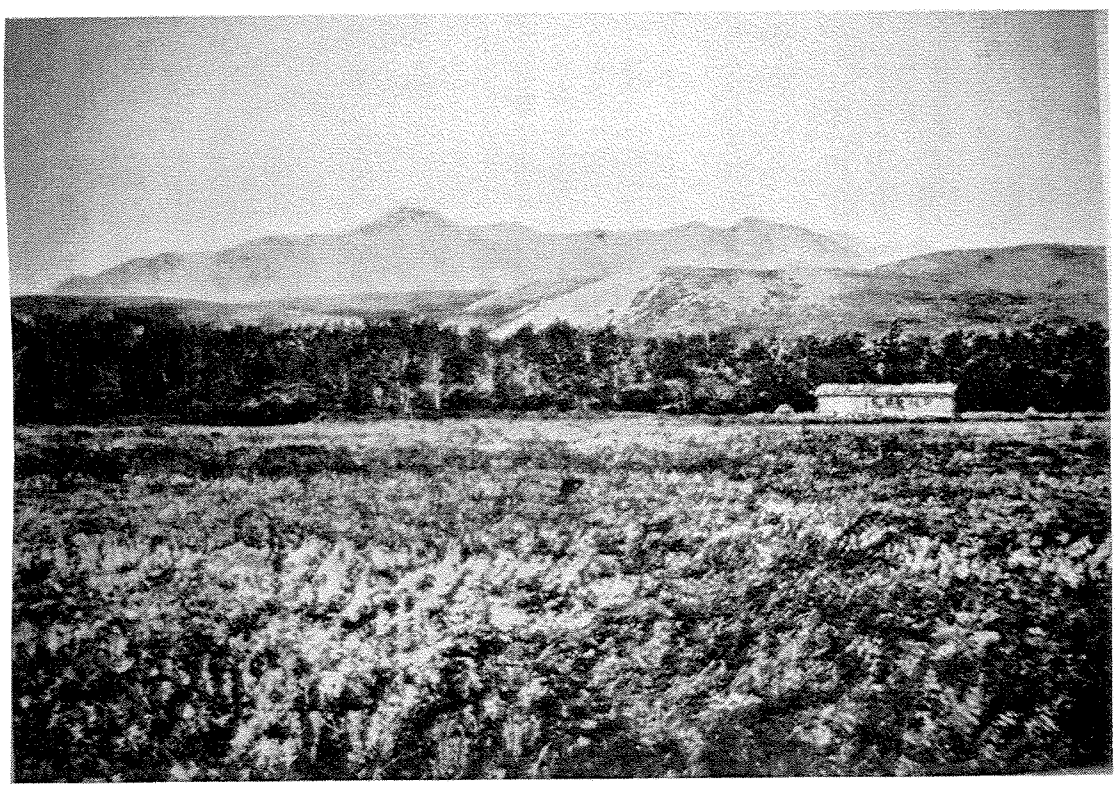
> Early in the afternoon of Monday, Sept 11, 1883, we arrived in sight of the house of Kootenai Brown, an old settler, who had been there for many years... Brown was occupier of the log hut belonging to Kanouse, in which he lived with a rather delicate wife and some children.

Brown was still occupying the Kanouse cabin in 1886 following his period as Chief Scout to the Rocky Mountain Rangers. Brown's biographer, William Rodney, refers to him returning 'to his cabin on the eastern shore of the middle Waterton Lakes' to resume his solitary life.[4] Brown was now a man of greater means nontheless, for he had been recognized for his services during the Riel troubles. Major Stewart, leader of the Rocky Mountain Rangers, had argued the case for his men in Ottawa, and in time members of the force were recognized as entitled for award of the North West Medal. They were also made eligible to receive 320 acres or $80.00 scrip money in payment. Brown opted for the land and was granted a half section in the south half of Township Nine, Range 25 west of the Fourth Meridian.[5] Brown did not do much with his land over the next five years, being too busy in the employ of the North West Mounted Police, work which took him far afield on many occasions. He had meanwhile taken a second common-law wife, Isabella - 'the Flash of Blue Lightning' - a Cree woman whom he presumably met in the Medicine Hat area when he was serving with the Rocky Mountain Rangers. While Brown had undertaken some small scale agriculture for his own needs, the labour involved and the rise of large ranching units nearby did not recommend farming as a viable way of life. He had experienced some illness as well as a broken leg in the years between 1885 and 1890 and this may have helped persuade him in late 1890 to sell his half section to a man named McArthur.[6] The following autumn he took out a new patent for land in the south-east quarter of section 31, Range 1, and 29 West of the Fourth Meridian. In Rodney's words, this new property was 'Much more advantageously located near the junction of Pass Creek and the Lower Waterton Lake.' This quarter section included a fine hay meadow and sufficient grazing for Brown's horses, and provided timber enough for a new cabin.[7] This area later provided the focus for the

J.G. Brown's residence and store, c. 1884. Plate 6-1
From: A.S. Hill, From Home to Home. 1885



The Landscape around Kootenai Brown's Homestead. 1884 Plate 6-2
From A.S. Hill, From Home to Home. 1885



park farm in the 1920's and 1930's.

Over the next ten years Brown's activities reflected three main interests: pursuit of his guiding business; an interest in the oil speculation; and increased work as a packer and guide in the Crowsnest Pass area. This last-mentioned was mainly after 1897, during the CPR railroad construction. activities. The arrival of the Mormon settlers at Lees Creek and in the Cardston area after 1887 provided the first tangible expression of what the future was likely to hold in terms of human pressure on wildlife resources.[8] Throughout these years, Brown's attempts to find a reliable source of game, first in the Edmonton bush country, and then closer to home in the southern Rockies, motivated a mounting interest in the schemes for forest reservation, previously described.[9] These interests were reinforced by the demands made upon him as guide, following the completion of the Crowsnest Pass Railway which opened up the mining country of Southeastern British Columbia. It was less as a guide to fish and wildlife that Brown's services were now being sought; but rather as a guide into the backcountry on behalf of mining and oil interests.[10] It came as something of a relief then to the aging Brown, when in 1901 he was appointed Fisheries Officer for the Department of Marine and Fisheries. His job was to look after the resources of the Waterton Lakes, a position he held until 1912, after which he was appointed as the first Superintendent of Waterton Lakes National Park.

Throughout the oil craze around Waterton, Brown became known to most of the speculators. J.B. Ferguson took an interest in Brown's quarter section on the Blakiston fan and in 1908 the two men came to an arrangement in which Brown sold the land for about $2,000.00. In later correspondence with the Parks Branch, Brown recalled that:

> There were 157 acres when I sold, since about four acres have been carried away by Pass Creek and the cabin is also gone. What few house timbers are left are no good. There never was a fence ofany kind and no improvements.

Following this sale, Brown took up a new homestead outside of the park boundaries east of Maskinonge Lake. It is this old homestead which was relocated to Pincher Creek in 1970, there to serve in a museum setting. After the re-purchase by the Parks Branch of the Ferguson property for inclusion in the park in 1912, Brown decided to move closer in to the Lakes once again. Rodney stated that in February, 1913:[11]

> Kootenai purchased a frame house from Jensen, the hotel owner, for the sum of $200.00 In May he 'moved from my homestead to the Jensen building' a change dictated by the need to be closer to the main developments in the Park...

It is in front of this building in the vacinity of Lake Linnet at the foot of Mount Crandell, that a number of photos were taken. (Plate 6-3). The building was later refurbished by the Parks Branch and continued to serve the administration.
(Plate 6-4) (Map 6-1)

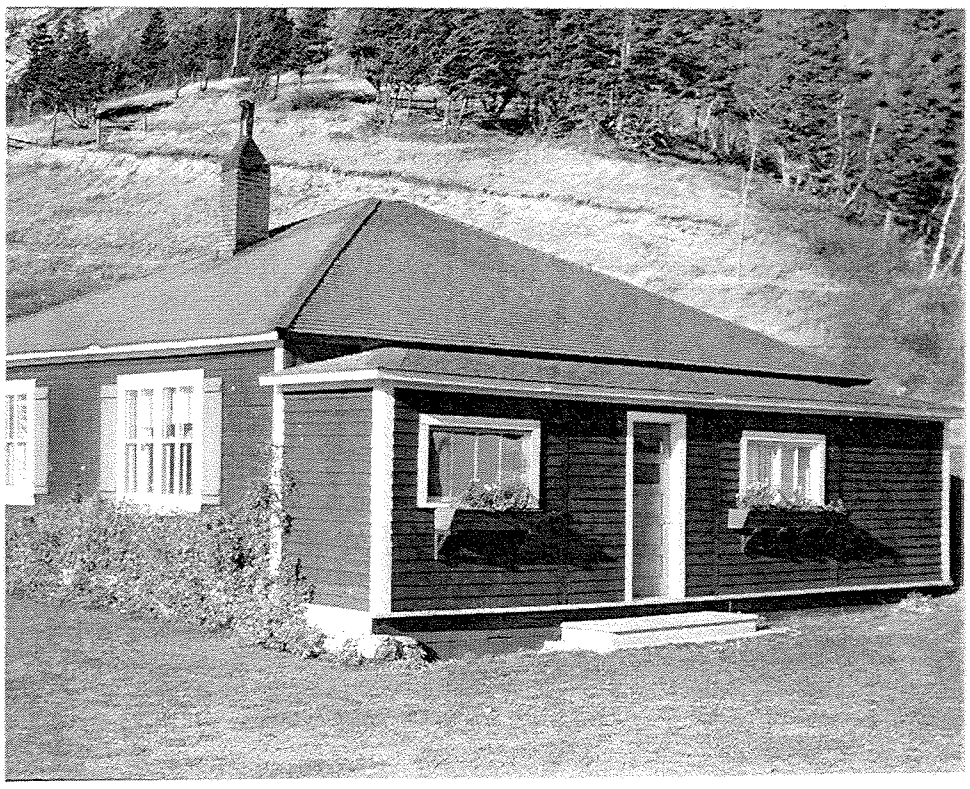
'Kootenai' Brown, by virtue of his birth-date and chosen circumstances, witnessed an unusual amount of change on the northern plains. He experienced first-hand the last of the old 'buffalo' landscape in which Native peoples still lived in something approximating the 'old way,' and in his old age he saw the dawn of the automobile era. Brown had not survived because of his inflexibility. His biographer has observed how much Brown loathed the new horseless carriages, although he was quick to see the virtue of gasoline launches. In 1911 he was still uncertain about the benefits of the automobile, but two years later he had adjusted to the inevitable. He wrote to his superiors, with some amazement, that officials of the Great Northern Railway Company of St. Paul, Minnesota had come all the way to the park 'in three days in an automobile.'[12] Despite his misgivings Brown even condescended to learn to drive and to be photographed sitting in the a horseless carriage, but years on the range could not easily be removed. He still appeared to be sitting tall in the saddle. (Plate 6-5).

The 'oil boom' in Waterton was short lived, but it did provide a certain stimulus to the development of a townsite around the Waterton Lakes. The first buildings in the present townsite date from unsuccessful drilling activity in the Cameron Creek area undertaken in 1903 by J.B. Feguson's interests. Following another unsuccessful drill, Feguson moved his outfit to the Cameron Creek fan, the present townsite, and established a base of operations. The complex included a bunkhouse, blacksmith shop, kitchen, stable and office.[13] Happily for the park, the oil drilling experiments at the Cameron Falls and along Cameron Creek proved no more productive than had those at Oil City. The present townsite was opened for private commercial and cottage development in the spring of 1911 following the survey of 150 lots along the lakeshore carried out the previous November. Among the first buildings was a small hotel erected in 1911 by Mr. J.F. Hazard.[14]
(Plates 6-8 and 9)

Plate 6-3 J.G. Brown's residence at the foot of Mount Crandell

Isabella Brown is at the right, rear. The Metis author Marie Rose Smith is standing to the left of Brown.

Plate 6-4



The Mount Crandell Residence, restored by the Parks Branch. 1920's.

Plate 6-5

J.G. 'Kootenai' Brown in an automobile, c. 1912.

Plate 6-6

'Chee-pay-tha-qua-ka-soon' - 'The Blue Flash of Lightning'
J.G. Brown's second wife, Isabella, outide of their cabin.

Plate 6-7

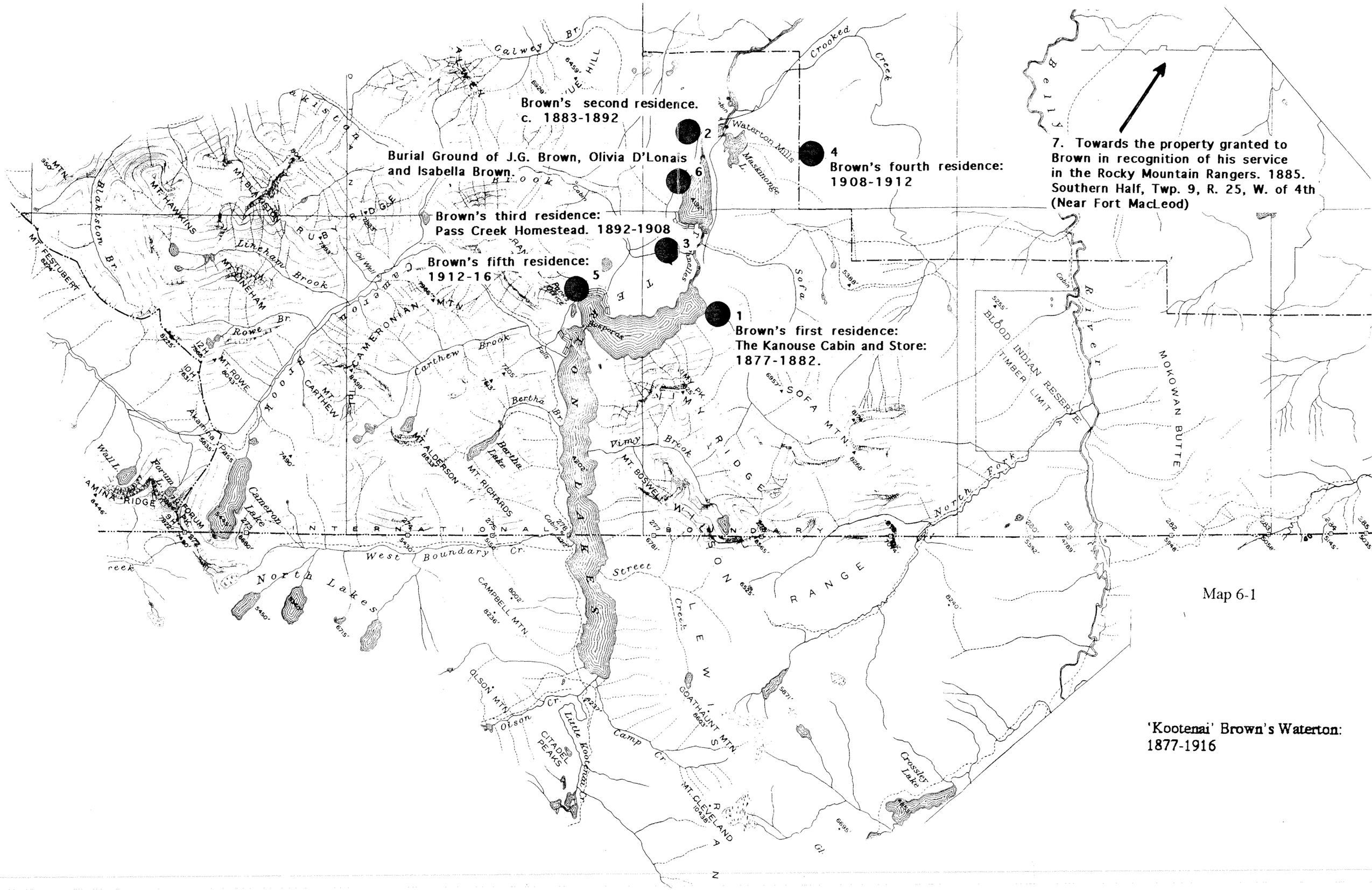
J.G. Brown as Park Official, c. 1912.

Plate 6-8

A. H. "Pop" Harwood. Range-Cook and Waterton's first Postmaster. c. 1910

Plate 6-9 John Hazzard,Waterton's first Hotel Operator. c. 1912

Source: Bert Riggall Coll.

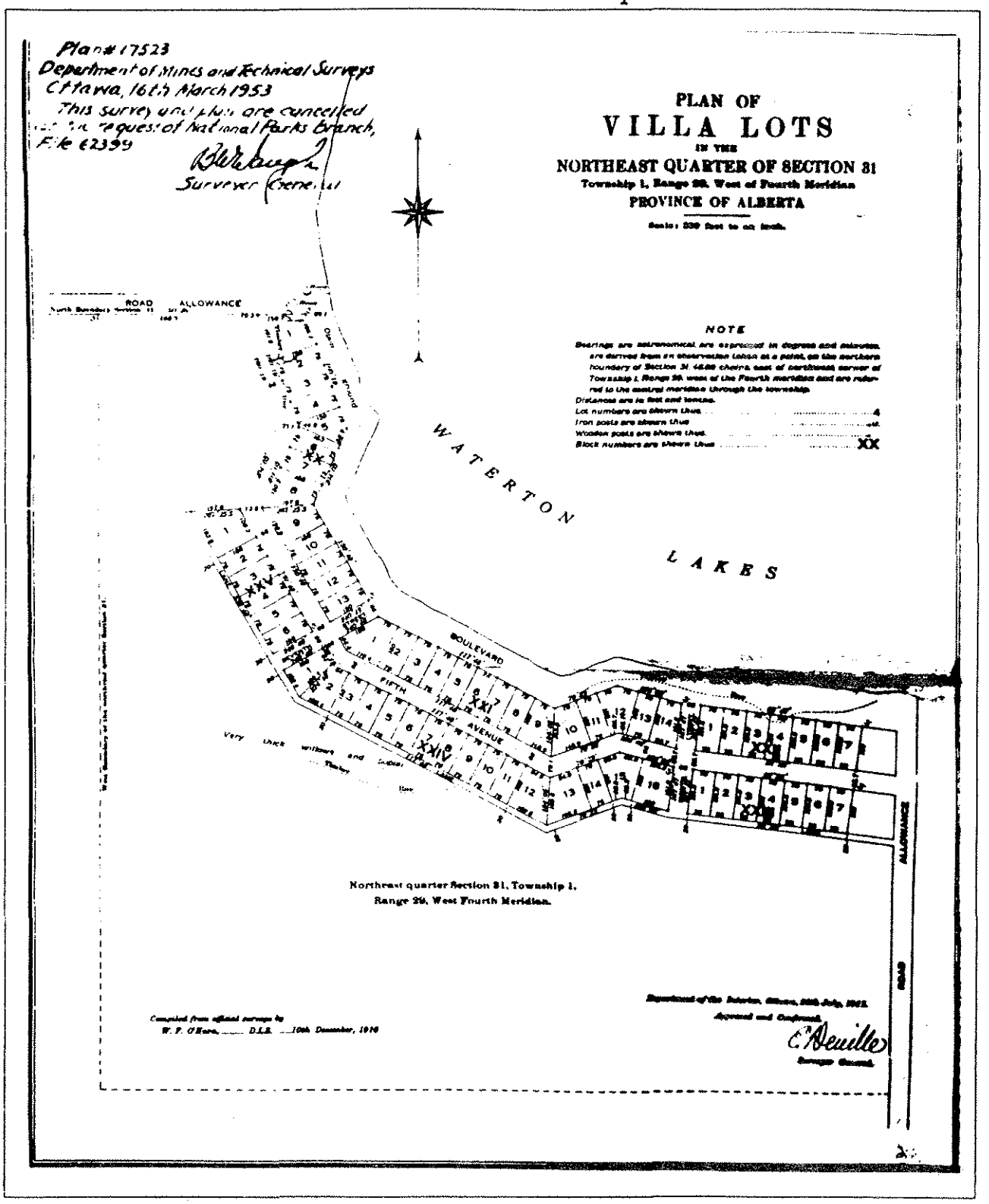


Map 6-1

'Kootenai' Brown's Waterton:
1877-1916

Such were the changes taking place all over North America. The coming of the automobile age was significant for Waterton for it altered the one major circumstance which had kept the park's image somewhat subdued within the larger developing national system. That is, its difficulty of access. That the first oil strike in Alberta should have taken place in park territory was highly symbolic of the growing car-dependency which so quickly changed the character of North American life and of life at Waterton. Automobile boosterism was not long in developing in the Waterton area.[15]

Map 6-2



Waterton Townsite: 1911
Dept. of Interior

ii

The Shift to Upper Waterton Lake: Townsite and Tourism Developments: 1918-1930

Along with the Kanouse-Brown dwellings and trading establishements, we have seen earlier that the most important centre of development in the years between 1906 and 1911 was at Waterton Mills on the north edge of Maskinonge Lake. At the onset of war in August of 1914, developments in the Cameron Creek fan on the west side of Upper Waterton Lake were few; (Map 6-2); but in 1918 a second survey of 80 villa lots was made. These lots were not thrown open until 1921, providing new lease opportunities for those who wished to build a seasonal camp or cottage. The delay can be attributed to the rise of the irrigation lobby in those years and the potential threat to the townsite which would have resulted from a proposed dam across the narrows between Upper and Middle Waterton Lakes. The superintendent wisely chose to curtail new lot leases and the issuing of building permits until this question was resolved.

The freeze on development was a considerable frustration to Canon Samuel H. Middleton who since 1915 had been attempting to finance the development of a church and school in the townsite for the people of the Blood Indian Reserve.[16] The slowdown in development was also of more general concern to national park administrators. As the authors of one recent report on the architecture of the townsite noted: 'Tourist revenues were a primary source of justification for national parks, and Waterton was clearly a weak link within the system before 1923.'[17] As part of a general reorganization and solution, George "Ace" Bevan was appointed as park superintendent in 1919. Bevan subsequently devoted much time to promoting new development in the townsite. Under his direction, new cottage lots were surveyed and a sawmill operation was established to facilitate building activity. New administrative facilities were also built, including a work camp and staff dormitory above Linnet Lake, and a new park heaquarters building on a lakefront lot in the townsite.

Many lots were taken up and buildings put in place according to the national park leasing rules over the next five years. A list of some of the support facilities which had grown up alongside the vacation tents and dwellings by 1926 included the following: [18]

(a) One Town Campground with three shelters, stoves and tables (35 acreas)

(b) The Golf Clubhouse	(c) A Community House
(d) Boat launches	(e) Dance Hall
(f) Three rooming houses	(g) One Service Station
(h) One Swimming Pool	(i) One Hotel with Chalets.
(j) One private boarding house.	(k) Three restaurants.
(l) Two bakeries	(m) One Tea Room
(n) Four ice cream parlours	(n) One Garage

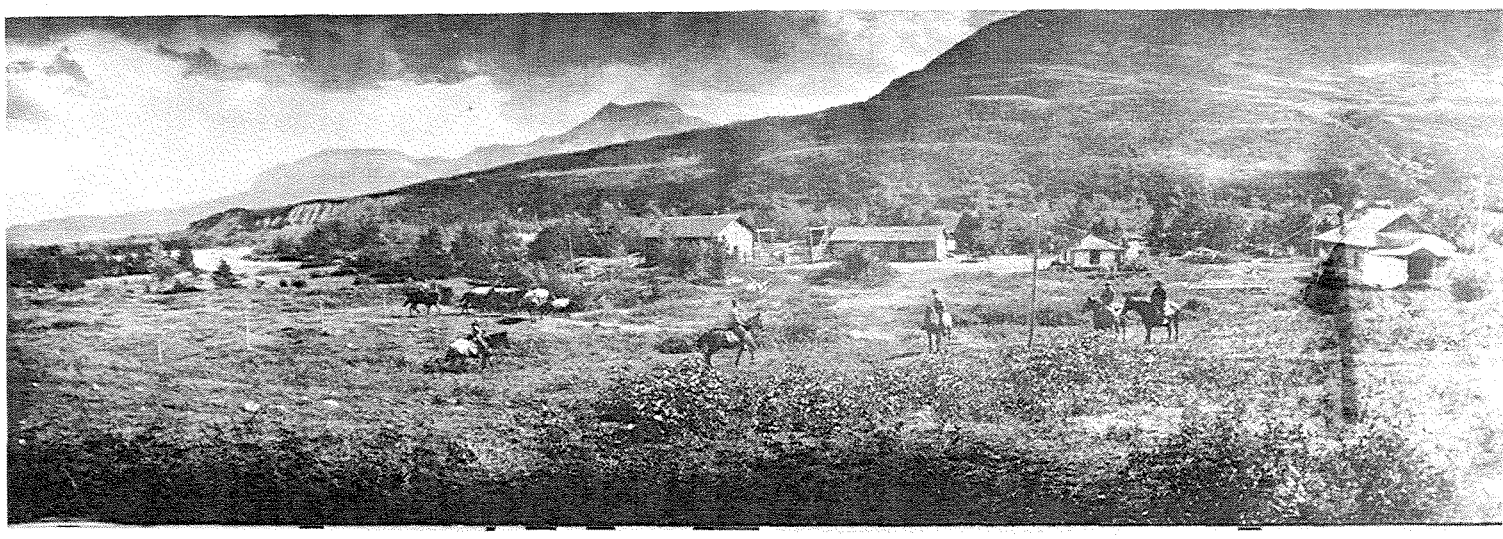
The building boom which commenced in 1921 led to a situation in 1923 whereby lakeshore lots facing the upper lake were in short supply. C.M. Walker was instructed to begin further surveys in 1924 so that by 1926 a new plan for[19]

The following year was an important one in park history. The decision to proceed with the building of the Prince of Wales Hotel had been taken in August of 1926 by the owners of The Great Northern Railroad of St. Paul, Minnesota. They were aware that their hotel facilities in Glacier National Park, Montana, had become 'saturated' and that a natural extension of their market lay just to the North in Waterton Park. The striking new alpine-style hotel opened in July, 1927 about two months behind schedule, remarkable enough given the frequency of the work-order changes made by the owners. In the words of one student of the building ' the princi-ple man-made difficulty arose from the personality of Louis Hill.'[20]

For the building contractors, Oland and Scott of Lethbridge, Mr. Hill's changes of mind represented serious constraints given the shortness of the desired deadline, the difficulties of site access, and the considerations that the architect had to give to high winds off Waterton Lake which on occasion rise to 160 mph. The designers worked with these winds in mind and the finished structure had a flexibility of 22.5 centimetres at the top. The late request for peaked dormers as a change order might have been tolerable, but then Hill decided to add two more stories after building construction was well under way. The building season in the fall of 1926 proved to be very wet accompanied by high winds which forced the standing frame of the building off the foundations by about 20 cm. Getting the frame realigned was difficult and some permanent effects were sustained. The finishing carpenters had many problems to contend with resulting from the frame.[21]

Neverthelss, the completed hotel seemed to please most people. As a gesture towards its Canadian location, Hill had passed through Winnipeg in order to purchase furnishings for the Hotel. The interior featured Indian Pictograph motifs.

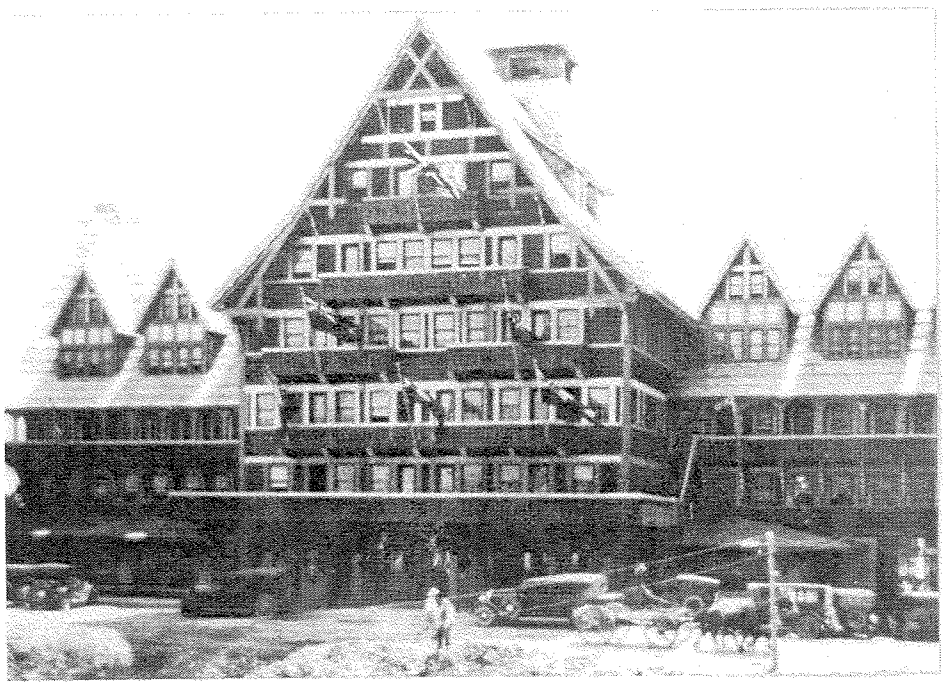
Pass Creek Warden Station. c.1920 Plate 6-10



Source: Bert Riggall Coll.

Louis Hill at U.S. Glacier National Park: 1920's. Plate 6-11

Plate 6-12



The Prince of Wales Hotel. c. 1930

More in keeping with the exterior however, the waitresses wore Alpine costumes. By many accounts the new hotel represented the 'largest frame building in Alberta.'[22] (Plate 6-12).

Many of the post-1923 developments in the townsite may be viewed in the context of an initiative taken in Ottawa Headquarters. In 1921 an internal unit known as the Town Planning Division had been established. Subsequently known as the Architectural Division, the staff members exercised a tight control on design standards for new park buildings. Thus, 'the development of of new facilities at Waterton Lakes was one of the first major priorities for this unit.'[23] The talented architect W.D. Cromarty was brought onto the scene in 1924 in order to prepare a general plan of development, and he was then appointed as acting park superintendent between 1925 and 1929 in order to supervise implementation. Architectural motifs were divised during his tenure and some of the parks most attractive buildings put in place through his influence.

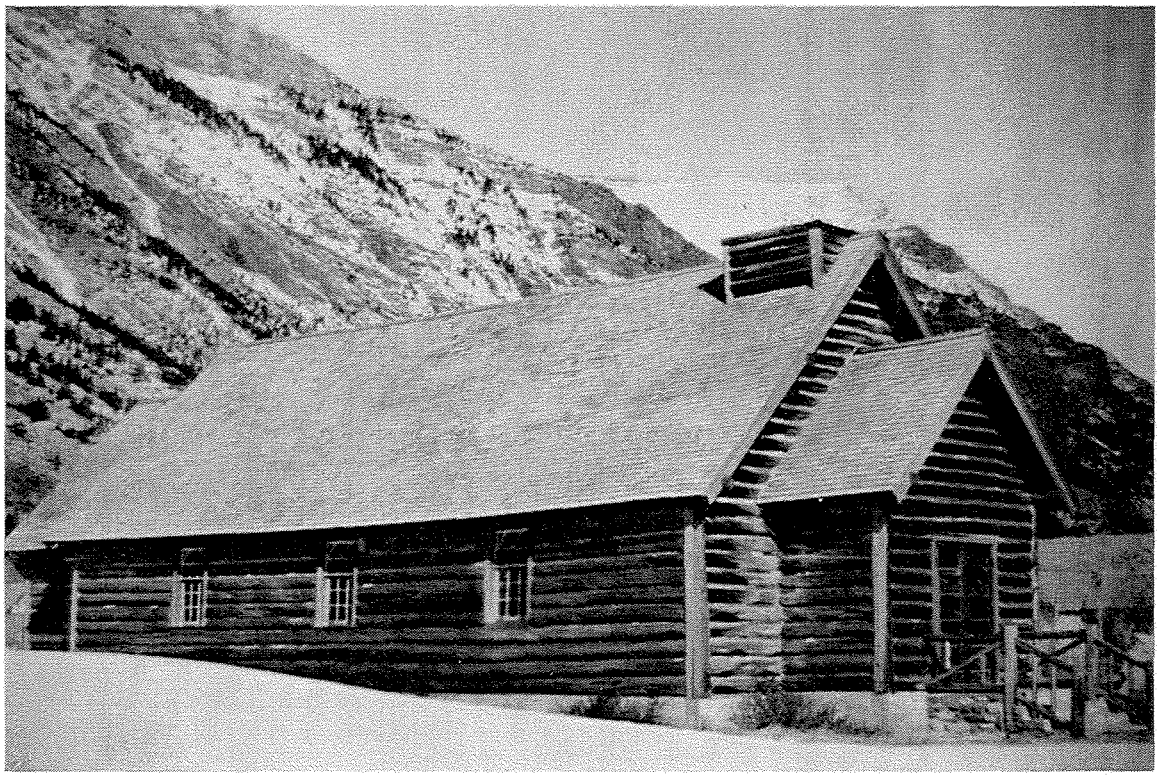
There were other factors influencing design in the closing years of the 1920's. Some of the new buildings reflected contemporary changes in the building trades in which brick was starting to replace wood. The RCMP residence was erected, a handsome house which still retains much of its original character. Wood was still an important component for many structures. All Saints Anglican Church was erected in 1928 followed by the Roman Catholic Church in 1929. J. and B. Morris took the contract to build the log Roman Catholic church which was later removed in the 1950's when the Franklin Motel was built, (a part of the future Windflower Motel Complex).[24] (Plates 6-13 and 14) The golf club house dating from the early years of the 1920's was also expanded in the later years of that decade. While not in the townsite proper, a very striking Fish Hatchery Building was opened in 1928 at the mouth of Spring Creek. This was another project completed by Oland and Scott with carpentry by Sandy Dunn.[25] (Plate 3-8).

Between 1921 and 1930 Waterton townsite underwent a considerable building boom. The resident population had expanded from a mere handful in 1921 to about 300 persons.[26] The architectural legacy of the old prairie frontier started to disappear rapidly in this decade, and indeed, it had been given a strong push as early as 1919 when fire swept through the log village of Oil City on Cameron Creek. (Plate 3-1) A number of older buildings were lost to fire in the 1920's in the townsite proper, and while what replaced them often reflected a pioneer rusticity, there was also a trend towards greater individuality, as befitted a growing summer tourist community.(Plates 6-16 and 17) Reflected in this 'roaring twenties' attitude

Plate 6-13

All Saints Anglican Church.

Plate 6-14



The log Roman Catholic Church. c. 1930

Plate 6-15

The RCMP Residence. c. 1930

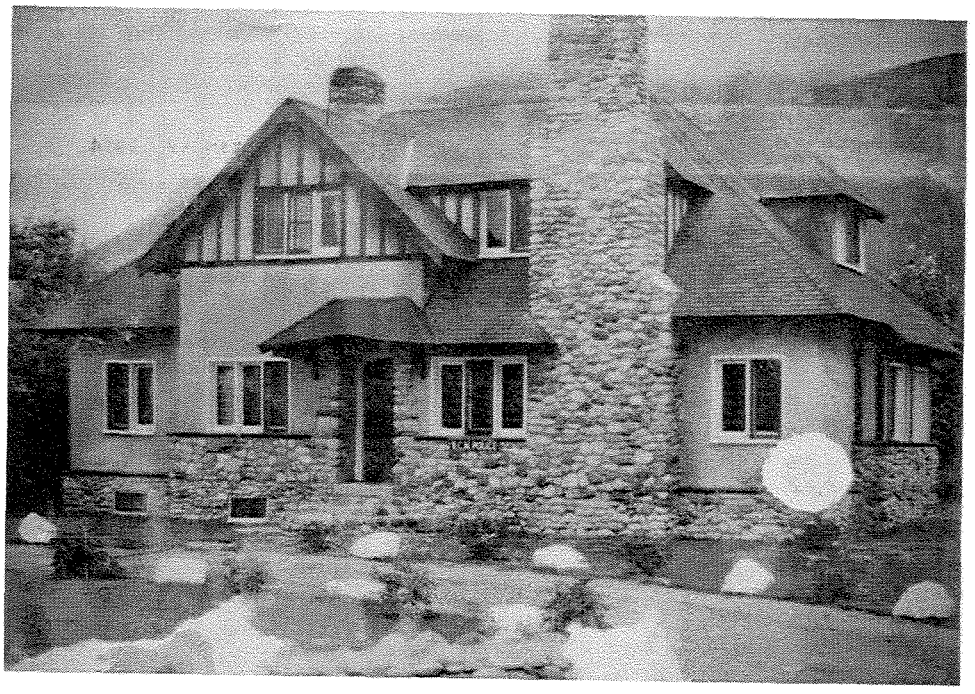


Plate 6-16

Summer Home, Waterton.

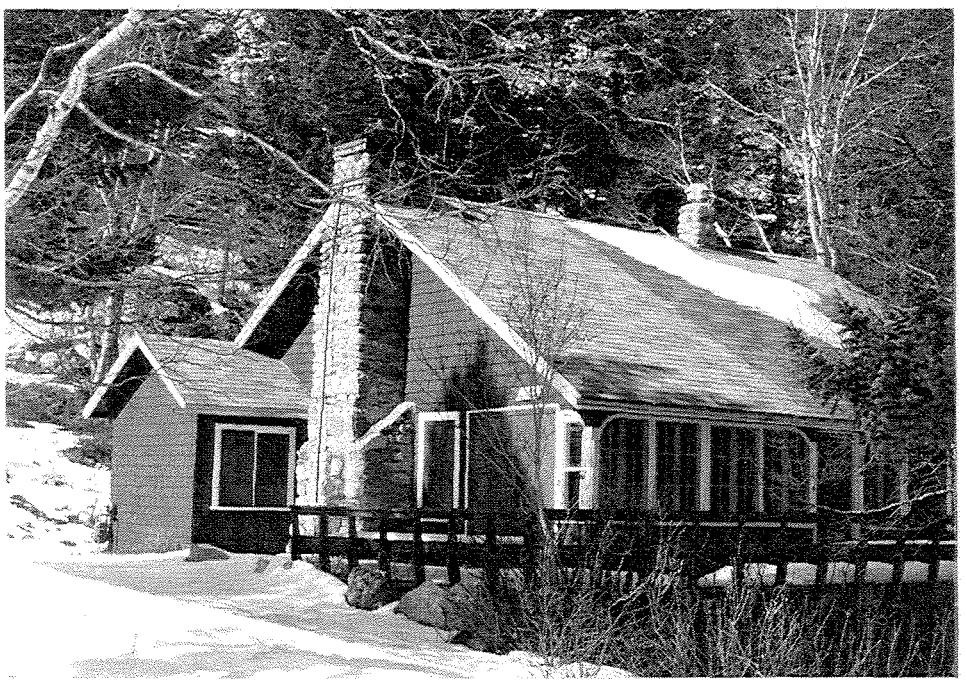
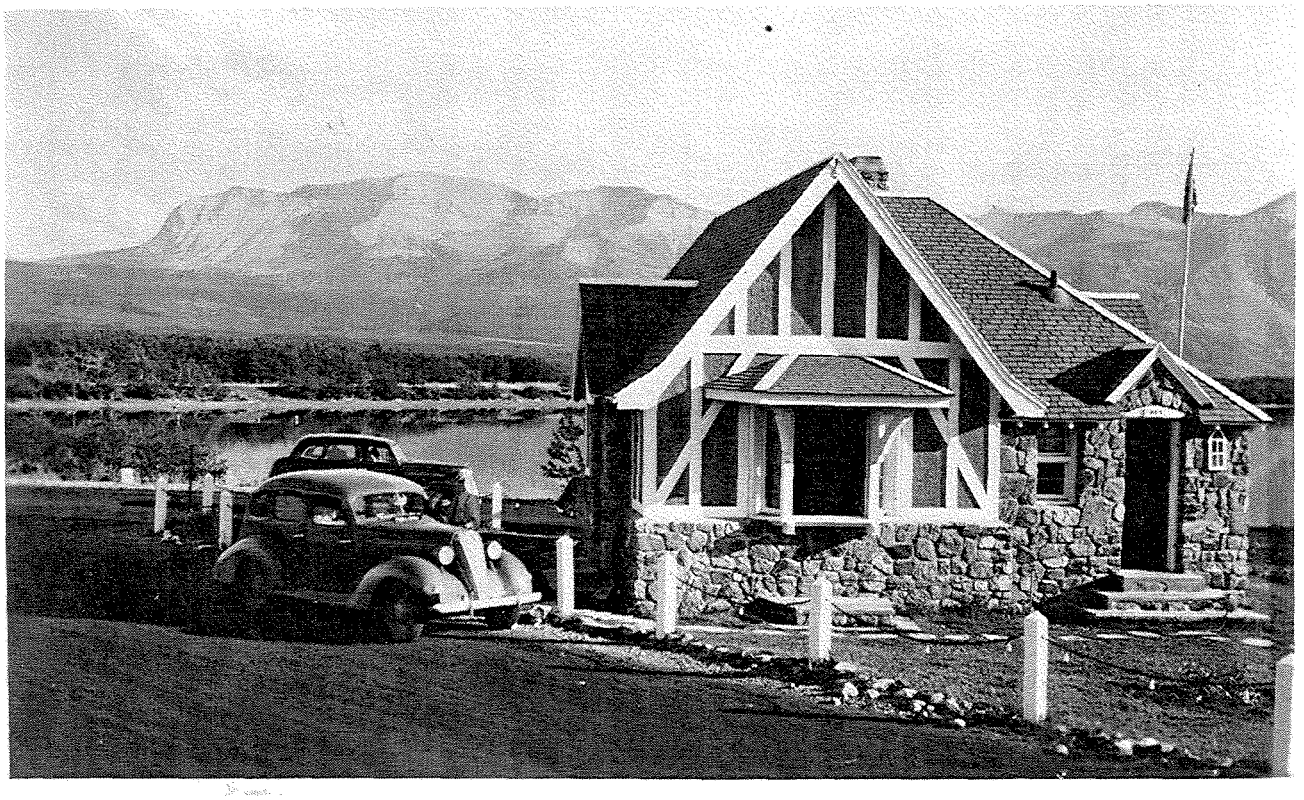


Plate 6-17 Golf Club House, c. 1930

Plate 6-18 Registration Kiosk. Waterton. 1930's



were certain strong expressions of alpine architecture of which the Prince Of Wales Hotel was merely the most flamboyant.

There was little that could be mistaken for a 'town plan' in the 1920's, but certain broad zoning guidelines were put in place, enforced at the discretion of the park superintendent. In 1919 for example, lots 1 to 9 in Block 26 had been reserved for official department purposes. After 1924 while 'Comarty inherited an existing townsite plan, he imposed a series of zones upon it.' That is 'commercial development was channelled onto Waterton, Mount View and Windflower Avenues.'[27] In the 1930's, park control of townsite design and layout became greatly strenthened, not through the use of official zoning, but through the general lacke of demand for leases and development and by the sound locaiton decisions made by park superintendents who made use of the 1930's relief programs to up-grade and add park facilities. Official zoning of the townsite did not commence until 1952.[28]

iii

The Townsite: 1930-1937

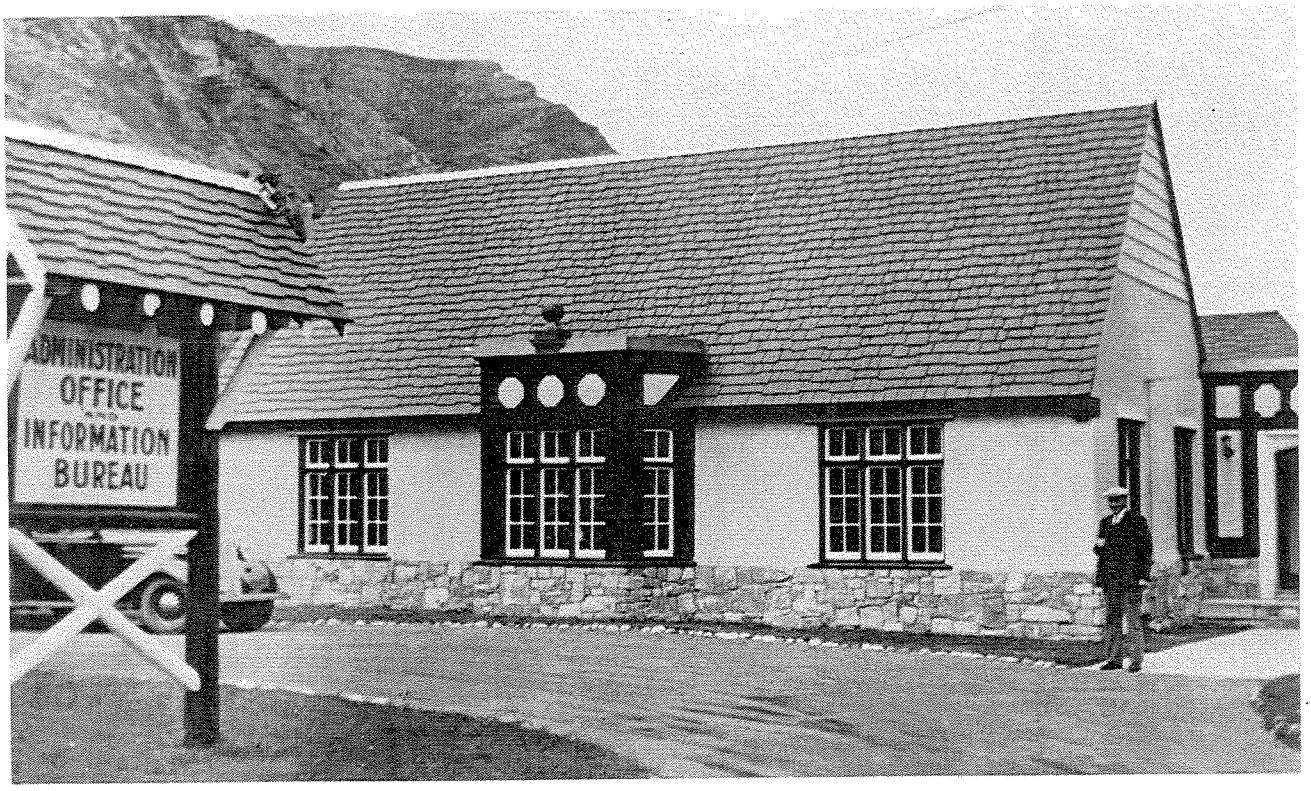
The completion of the Prince of Wales Hotel in 1927 held out much promise for developing the tourist trade at Waterton, but the entire mood of optimism which characterized the North American economy in the later 1920's was brought to an abrupt halt in 1929 with the onset of the great depression, an economic crisis which coincided roughly with the passage of the new National Parks Act of 1930. The depression years, if not particulary lucrative in terms of revenue-generation for the park, at least allowed for a considerable amount of park house-keeping and improvement through relief work programs. This was true for townsite as well as for general park developments. According to Lothian, following the passage of the new National Parks Act the Commissioner reviewed the old sub-division plans for Waterton Townsite and then requested the Surveyor General to withhold from lease those sites identified on the 1926 consolidated plan which were on Middle and Lower Waterton Lakes.[29] This represented a first move towards systematic zoning of the townsite area, a process which would continue over the next forty years. In the early 1930's zoning practices had an ad hoc history, but one based on common sense decisions by park superintendents such as Cromarty, who in the absence of

formal guidelines, had concentrated various residential, commercial and public functions in appropriate areas.

Under the relief programs, which got into full swing in 1932, Waterton park sponsored the development of a number of attractive new buildings and facilities as well as expansion and replacement of some of the older public and private stock. There were also a number of losses through fire. Structures which had been built in the 1920's or earlier gave way to attractive peeled log structures stained a reddish-brown or to combinations of frame, log and stone. This included the new registration kiosk at the park entrance, a new administration building, and structures in support of recreation. (Plates 6-18 and 19). The designs were prepared under the direction of W.D. Cromarty who had now returned to his duties in the Ottawa office of the Architectural Division. Revisions were made to the Work Compound, first built in 1920. These included a garage, workshop, bunk house and kitchen-dining hall erected on a bench overlooking Linnet Lake. The Superintendent's office in Lot 14 Block 3, erected in 1919 was modified with extensions in 1925 and 1928 and a large wing was added in 1936 doubling the space. A portion of the expanded building served until 1958 as an Information bureau until a new structure was built for that purpose on the main entrance road near the Prince of Wales Hotel entrance.[30] On the recreational side, the work programs completed a series of new kitchen shelters, lavatory buildings and a large group kitchen erected in 1935-36. The last mentioned had a strong rustic quality achieved through the use of half-log siding and large stone chimneys. (Plate 6-20). Such designs as these clearly inidcated a continuity with what had been achieved under Cromarty's direction in the 1920's.

If the economy was stagnant, a certain amount of commercial development still took place during the 1930's reflecting perhaps, the situation whereby automobile camping provided one relatively economical way to provide a family vacation in bad times. Increases to private housing stock was also considerable in this period, and included some outstanding designs such as that prepared for Walter B. Foster at 128 Evergreen.[31]

Plate 6-19



New Park Administration Building and Superintendent Herbert Knight.
c. 1937

Plate 6-20

The Group Kitchen in the Townsite Campground, Under Construction. 1936.

Plate 6-21 Waterton Park Dining Hall

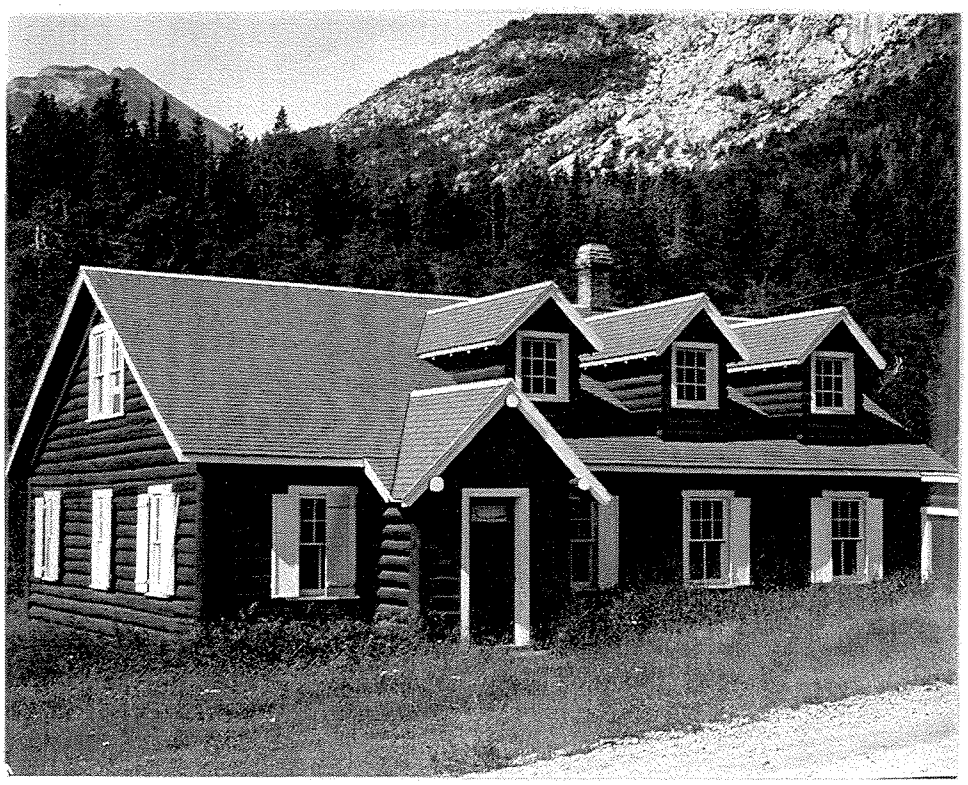


Plate 6-22 Implement Shed and Blacksmith Shop

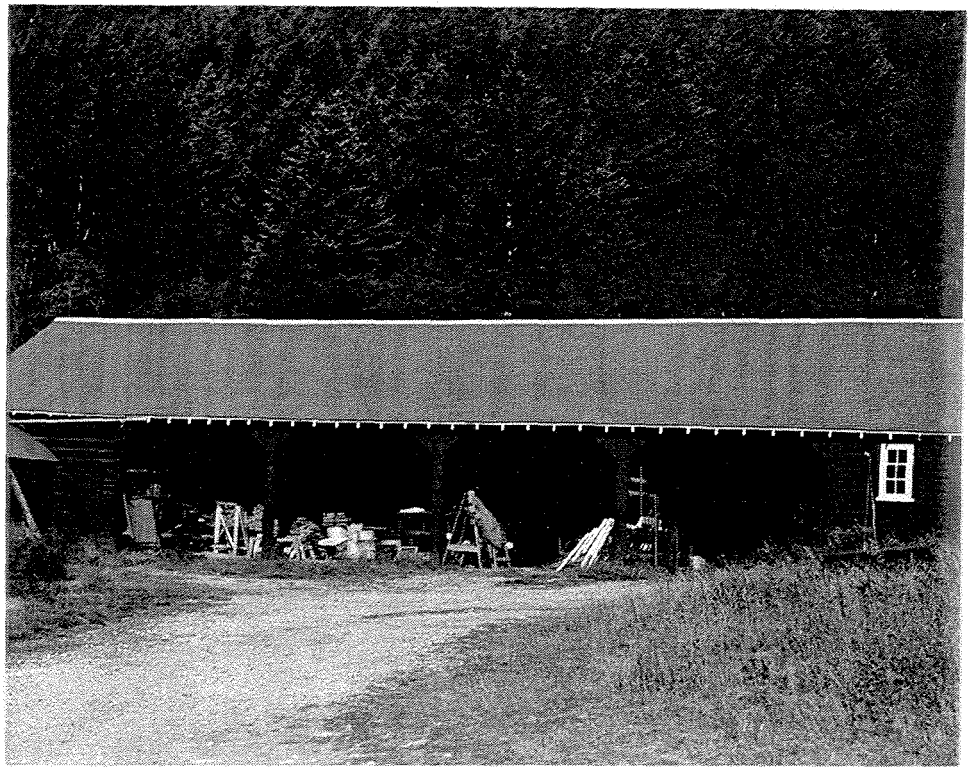
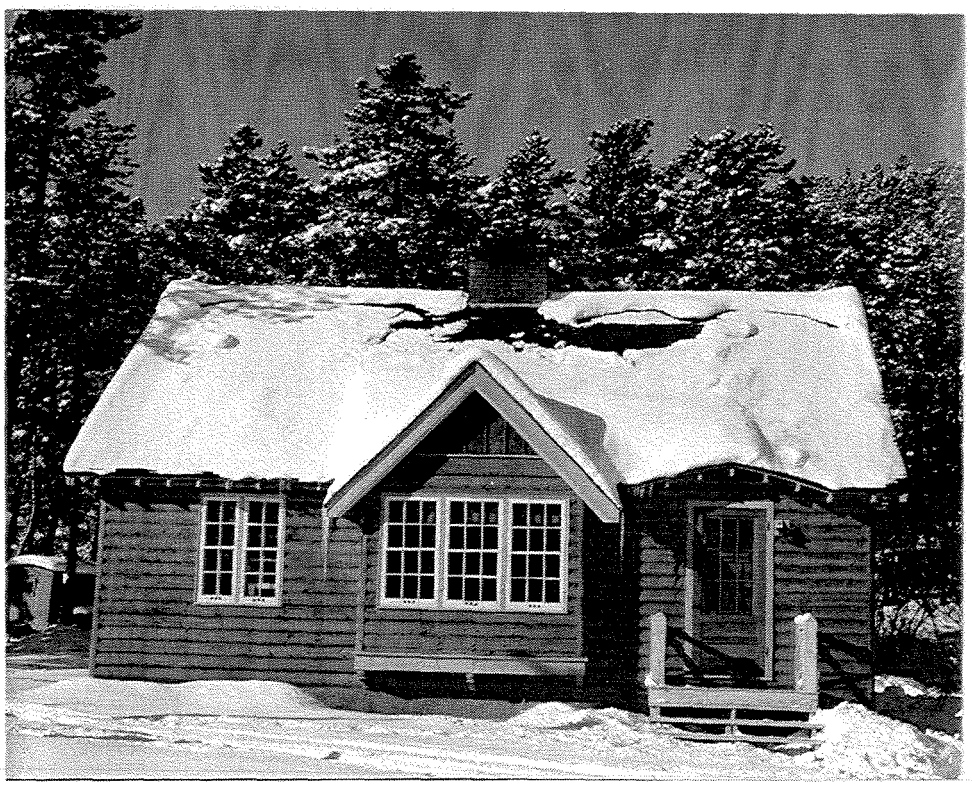


Plate 6-23 Accountant's Residence. c. 1948



iv

The Townsite: 1937-1952

The steady increase of archtectural improvements came to a temporary close in 1937 when the relief camp programs were ended and when the Ottawa Architectural Divsion Office was dismantled. From that date until the late 1940's, building requirements were few. The main initiative in the war years was the construction of a series of staff houses, the largest of which was on Cameron Falls Drive, and which bore a similarity in design to the house built for the Fish Hatchery Superintendent in Jasper in the same year.[32] While the dismantling of the Ottawa Architectural Division led to a relaxation of design standards for private dwellings, the tone set by Cromarty and his associates over the previous two decades had left an imprint seen particulary well in the Cradall Lodge, built between 1940 and 1944 and the former Park Transport Company Garage on Mount View Road built in 1952.[33] The post-war years required ingenuity as well on the part of the superintendent, faced with tight budgets. Less-visible but required facilties might be obtained by other means. H. A. de Veber informed Ottawa in 1947 that a temporary Abattoir building was being put in place, using one of the sectional huts obtained from the World War II Prisoner of War Camp at Kananaskis.[34]

Following World War II, park authorities quickly started to make provision for the expected boom in visitor demand. Permanent staff accommodation was steadily provided after 1947 when a residence for the park accountant was erected on Cameron Falls Drive. (Plate 6-23). Other employee houses were built in 1948 and 1949 and in 1951 a house was provided for the Chief Park Warden in the townsite and housing for staff continued to be provided throughout the 1950's. The Park Superintendent's house, originally built for "Ace" Bevan in 1919, was modified over the years. In 1956 an appropriation was made for a new dwelling north of the original residence. The present structure commands a view of Upper Waterton Lake across Emerald Bay.[35]

Other important post-1930 townsite improvements included the up-grading of the electrical system. Until 1942 much of the electrical power was purchased from the Glacier Park Company which operated a small power house in order to supply the Prince of Wales Hotel. By 1942 the war had caused an oil shortage forcing the Hotel to shut down.In the interim, the Park rented generating equipment and then purchased new generators in 1945, for installation at the Park Headquarters Garage. Anticipating great increases in post-war use of the park, arrangements were made in 1947 with Calgary Power Ltd. to supply all townsite needs.[36] An important supplement to Waterton community life came in 1950 when, the 'need for a community

hall in which townsite residents might hold meetings, entertainments, and other gatherings was recognized by the local Lion's Club.'[37] The club purchased a surplus recreation building from the Alberta Air Training Centre and moved it to the townsite for this purpose.

v

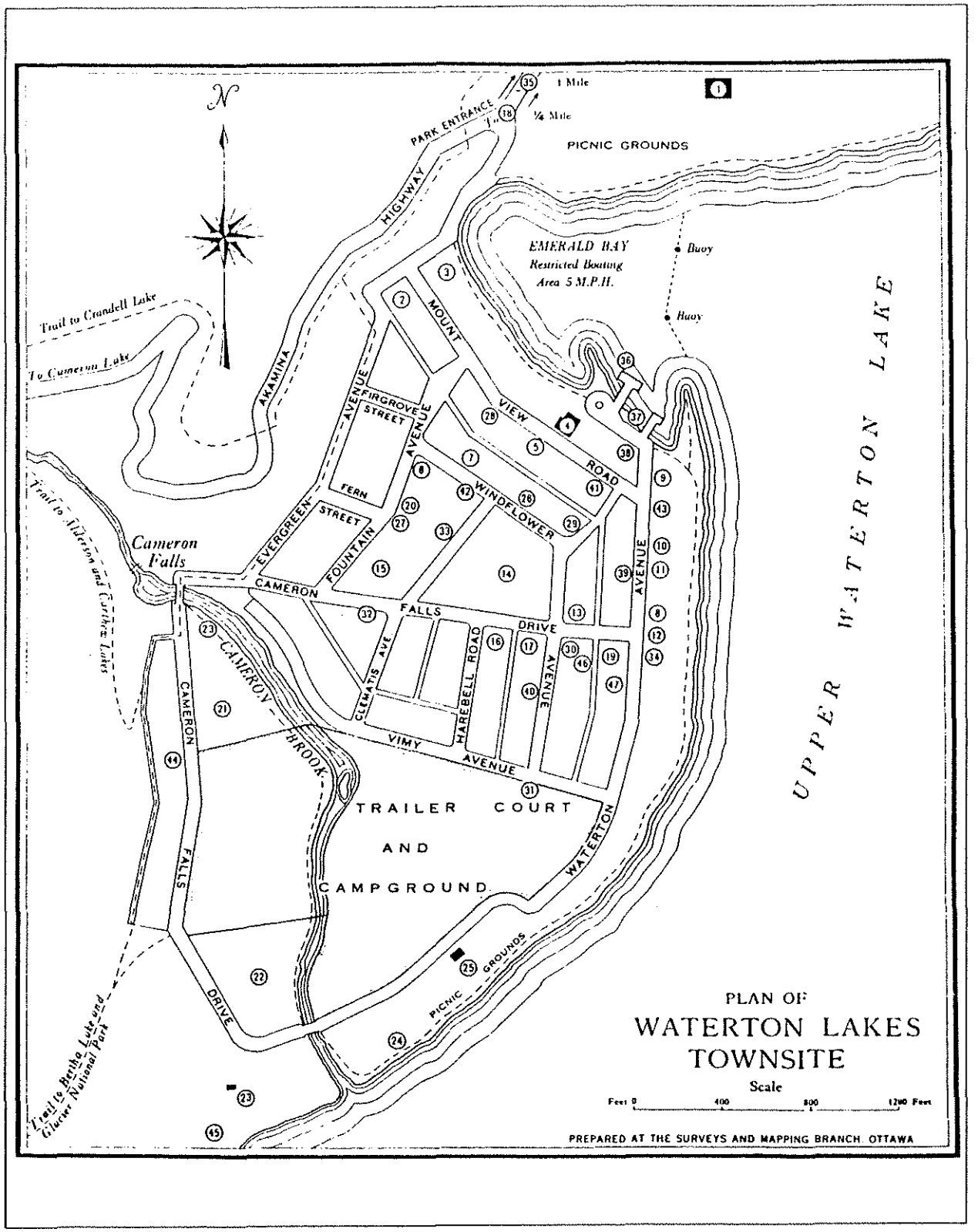
Planning The Townsite: 1952-1990

In April of 1952, a first effort was made to formally zone previously achieved patterns of development. Selected lots in Blocks, 2, 3, and 4 were recognized as a 'Business Zone.' This policy was acknowledged and modified again in 1956.[38] National Park Headquarters undertook preparation of a general land use and master plan study for the townsite in 1966 which recommended the the enactment of land use and zoning regulations for the townsite to control the type of buildings, desired, as well as their height and location. For example, it was recommended that new motels and accommodations be restricted to the business zone of the townsite. This plan was taken further in 1969 when Underwood McClelland Associates were retained to prepare a development plan, the general principles of which were accepted in 1970.[39]

A continuous upgrading of Warden and maintenance facilities took place during the 1960's. Improvements to the service compound, erection of a modern garage to replace the old one of 40 years service, a new general stores building, a warden equipment building, a permanent water and sewer system serving the work compound area all represent some of the more important elements of this upgrading. In 1967 a new dining hall was completed.[40] A.J. Reeve, Assistant Director of National Parks, initiated a planning study in1967 in order to review staff acommodation requirements. His report contained the suggestion that warden facilities be concentrated in the townsite.[41]

Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches had been in place by 1930 and they served the community until the post-war years. In 1951 a new Roman Catholic Church was built, the previous log structure having given way to new tourism accommodation development on Windflower Avenue. In 1962 a United Church was added to the townsite and in 1963 a Mormon Church.

Map 6-3



Waterton Townsite: 1966

The public school, first established in 1925 was an important source of Waterton town identity, greatly assisting the National Park organization in facilitating of long-term staffing. The School, located in Block 42, was altered in 1928 and and additions were made in 1943. A Residence for teachers was built on the school grounds in 1954 and a Gymnasium added in 1962.[42]

General park and townsite planning began to take on an important role after 1960 as parks generally continued to attract increasing numbers of an energetic population with expanding disposable income. Actual declines in visitation had been few over the years, coming only in the early years of the 1930's and during World War II.[43] In 1961, park headquarters altered a policy in place since 1933 whereby town residents could obtain leases for six months yearly occupation only. The option for a re-written lease allowing year-long residency came at a price: the right to perpetual renewal of the lease was not contained in the new documents.[44] The new policy reflected a mounting concern with townsite management, for seasonal crowding of townsites was becoming a condition characteristic of most of the mountain parks. As previously noted, this led to formal efforts to prepare a town development plan. In the 1980's the tasks of town planning were extended towards controlling and reinforcing the heritage and architectural values of townsites. Equipped with federal policy on heritage buildings, efforts have been made to conserve important structures and to implement visual standards for the townsites.[45] A study of Waterton's requirements for conservation of its architectural visual elements was prepared by the firm Gowling and Gibb in 1987.[46] In 1991 an assessment of priorities for architectural conservation was prepared by the Canadian Parks Service Regional Office, Calgary.[47]

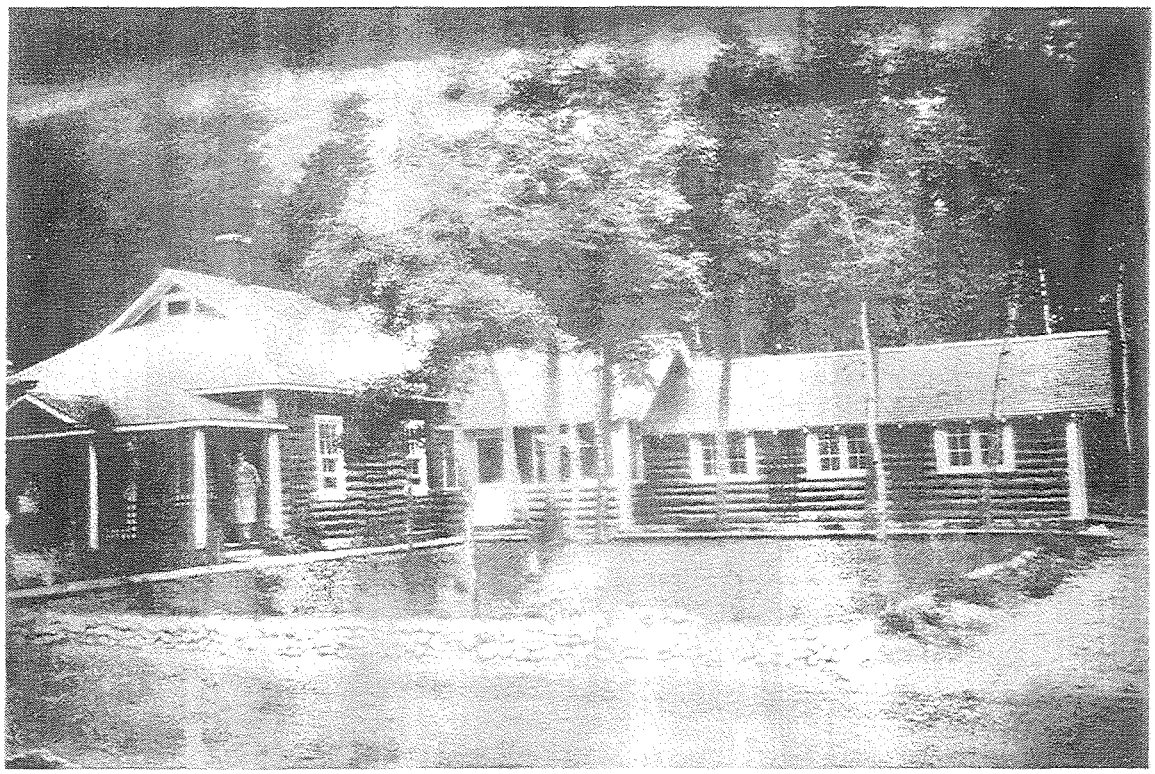
Public Recreation and the Townsite

Members of the general public had made use of Waterton Lakes for camping since the 1890's. (Plate 3-7). By 1917 the lands adjacent to Cameron Falls had become particularly popular with visitors. (Plates 5-4 and 6-25). Following the town-site survey of1924, four large blocks east of Cameron Creek and south of Vimy Ave. were reserved as public camp-grounds. A number of support facilities were added over the next decade including striking public bath houses at Lake Linnet and a large community shelter erected in 1926, and replaced in 1936 by the campground community building. Development was curtailed after the outbreak of World War II, but in 1951, anticipating the rise in popularity of motor camping, a trailer camp was established in the main camp ground with improvements made throughout that decade.[48] (Plate 6-26).

As noticed earlier, the first attempt at commercial touring by means of the paddle-wheeler Gertrude, was not a great success. It was not until the development of the Prince of Wales Hotel in 1927 that a successful commercial venture was established. In 1928 the two-decked, diesel tour boat 'International' was launched by Canadian Rockies Hotel Ltd., the subsidiary of Great Northern Railroad which owned the Prince of Wales Hotel. (Plate 6-27) This attractive craft accommodated 250 people and has plied between Waterton and Goathaunt Landing in Glacier National Park ever since.[49] Smaller craft have long been available for individual or group exploration of the lakes. (Plate 6-28)

Regular redesign of the limited waterfront wharf area took place between 1934 and 1961. This included construction of a large public shelter on the main wharf in 1934 and a concrete ramp in 1960. In the early 1970's a number of interests were operating tours from the wharf area, and at this time the National Parks moved toward a concession approach in order to achieve some control over operations and some of the conflicts which had developed between some of the tour boat operators.[50]

Plate 6-24 Superintendent's Residence, c. 1936



Fish Rearing Ponds at Cameron Falls Plate 6-25

Plate 6-26 View of the Townsite. c. 1948

Plate 6-27 The 'International'

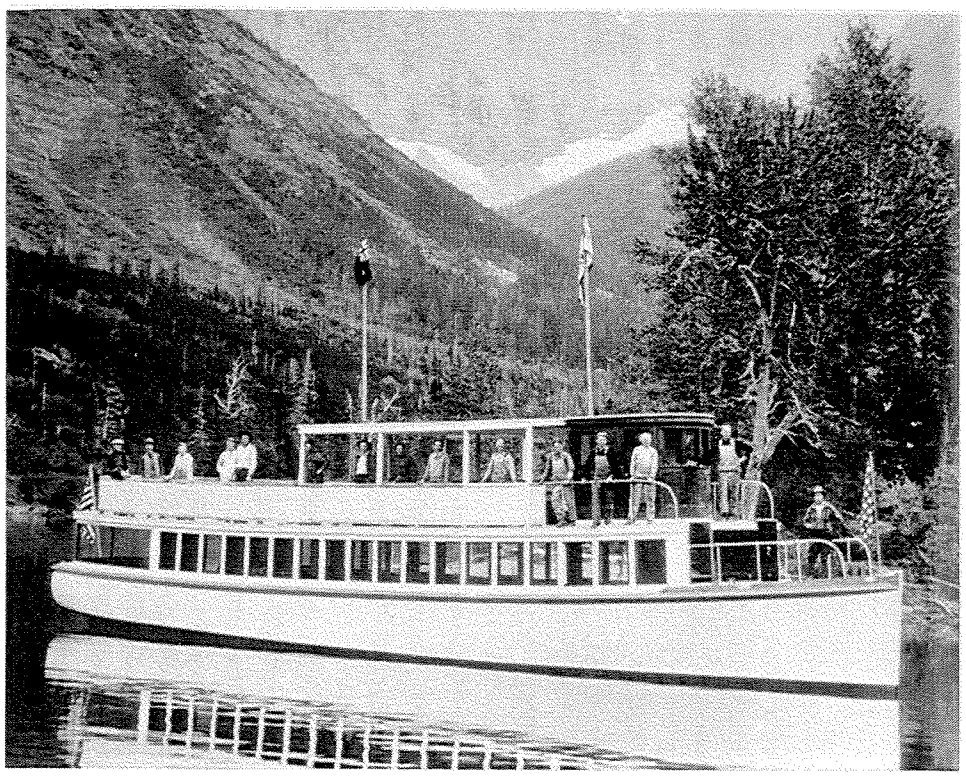


Plate 6-28

Early 20th century boating on Waterton Lake.

Children in Playground at Waterton

Plate 6-29

The Waterton Lakes are fed from cold, high mountain melt-waters. Places for natural outdoor public swimming have consequently always been in short supply. Lake Linnet, between the Prince of Wales Hotel and the modern Warden Office complex, was one of the few suitable places for a beach and the park established change rooms and public lifeguarding there in 1924. (Plate 6-30). These public facilities were on the site of Jack Hazard's first hotel. A more suitable place for swimming was required for year-round use, so in 1924 Isaac Allred opened a covered swimming pool.This was acquired in 1931 by D.H. Ellison, and was known as the Crystal Pool. Water for the pool was heated by a steam plant and it operated successfully for over twenty years. (Plate 6-31) Difficulties in keeping it up to regulation standard, along with snow build-ups which placed stress on the roof, led to its closing after the1948 season. Interest in the property was surrendered in 1956, and the building was demolished to make way for a Liquor store and the Motor Association Travel Bureau.[51] A new pool was eventually built by the National Parks Branch, this facility being officially opened in 1960 by the Hon. Alvin Hamilton.[52]

Like many of Canada's National Parks, Waterton maintains a golf course. William Thomson, the pro at Banff Springs Hotel, supervised the placement of the first nine holes on a bench east of Crandell Mountain in 1920. The course overlooked Lonesome lake and had greens of sand kept smooth with a coat of oil. The course was popular in southern Alberta and by 1926 had become the locale for invitational tournaments. An addition to the attractive clubhouse built in1921 was constructed in 1928. As part of the 1930's relief camp projects, the golf course was lengthened in 1936 to eighteen holes. The war effort led to a delay in plans to convert the sand greens to grass but this improvement came about following a consulting report filed in 1951 by the well-known Toronto consultant Stanley Thompson. The golf course suffered a loss in 1953 when the attractive club house burned to the ground.[53]

Plate 6-30 Public Change House. Lake Linnet. 1920's.

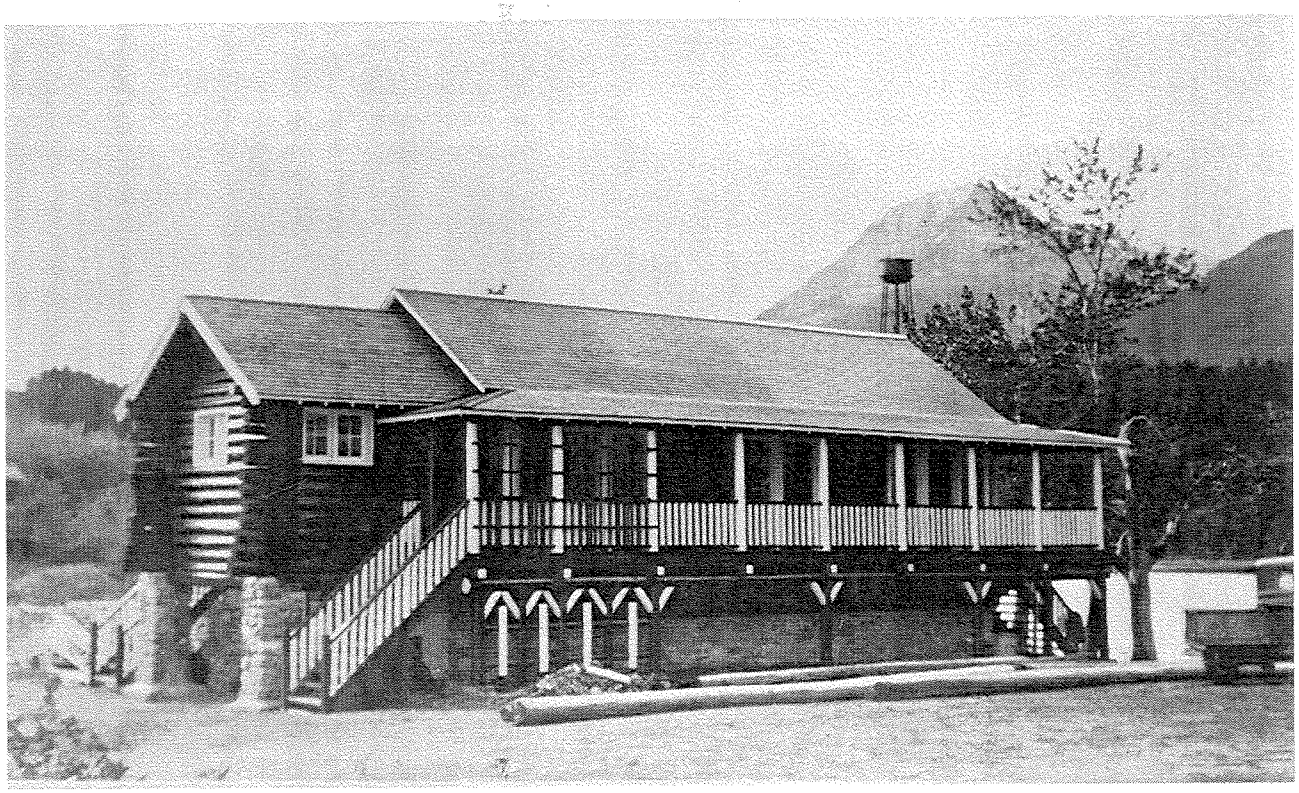
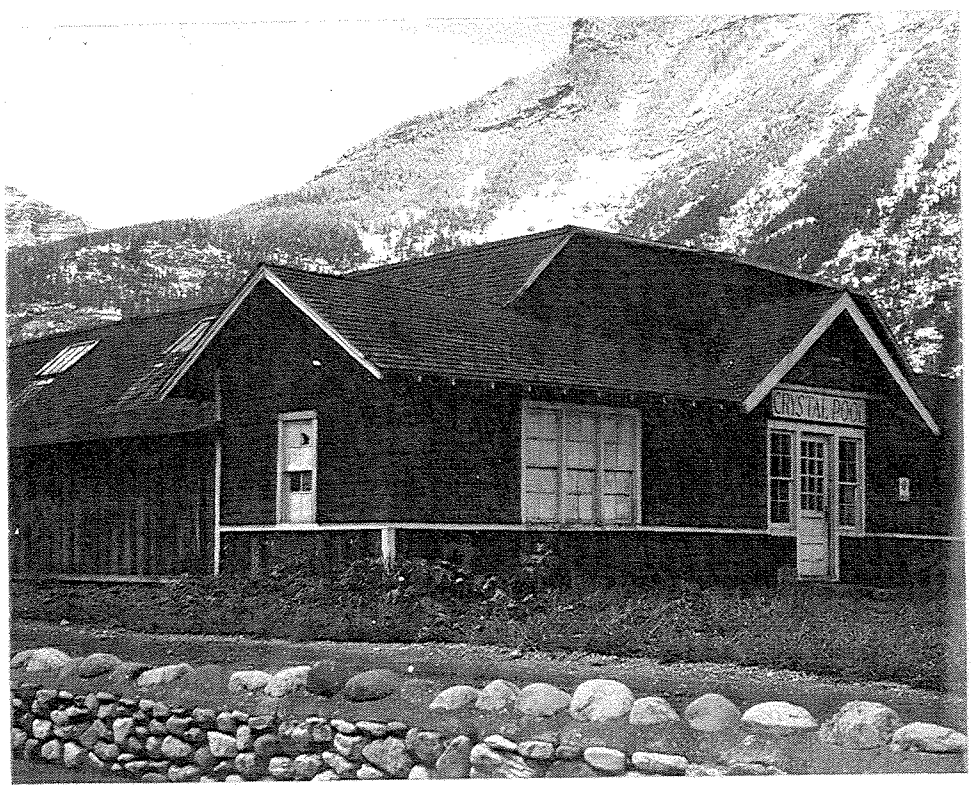


Plate 6-31 The Crystal Pool. Waterton Townsite.



A significant loss to recreational life of the townsite through fire occurred in 1938 when the large dance hall burned to the ground. A writer for the Lethbridge Herald lamented the event in the following words:[54]

> For years this beautiful building - the largest dance hall between Winnipeg and Vancouver - has been the pride of the park. Year after year it has drawn thousands of tourists and weekend visitors who have enjoyed dancing on the spacious floor. Year after year Waterton residents have eagerly awaited the opening of the hall on May 24. For them it has meant the definite end of a long, secluded winter, and the beginning of a period of good times and renewing of friendships. Now, not square inch of the beautiful hardwood floor remains. The windows are masses of moulten glass, and only the centre cement pillar and charred oak pillars which supported the mezzanine floor remain, gruesome evidence of the holocaust, and Main Street looks strangely empty.

The general stock of accommodation for tourists increased during the 1920's and 1930's and thereafter. Jack Hazard's original 1911 hotel had relocated and expanded to become the Waterton Lakes Hotel and Chalets, later known as the Lakeshore Village, and since1965 as the Bayshore Inn.[55] Much of the first Kilmoray Lodge built in 1928, was destroyed by fire in late February of1933, but was quickly rebuilt.[56] This landmark lodge has undergone periodic expansion but retains much of its 1930's character. The Kootenai Lodge was built in 1938.

Erik Hagglund's Bungalow Cabin camp in Block 32 near Cameron Creek was established in 1933. Harry Reeves established a second group in 1953 on Block 37. With the mounting popularity of the automobile, motel development was approved in the 1950's. First, he Franklin and El Cortez motels were built in Block 2, followed In 1961 by the Emerald Bay Motel.[57]

From the earliest days of park establishment, the Waterton country exercised great appeal for the backcountry enthusiast and hunter. As the park boundaries

Plate 6-32

The Waterton Dance Hall. 1930's

became consolidated and park policy towards a non-consumptive view of wildlife refined, the trend was towards back-country exploration. The Riggall and Russell family guiding activities are some of the best known and documented cases of this aspect of park history. Bert Riggall first settled in the Waterton area in 1904.[58] In an effort to place more people in touch with the remoter parts of the park, numerous horse concessions were sanctioned over the years.[59] The long-standing policy of allowing development of a certain number of church and special organization camps was also furthered. In several instances, these camps were located on the sites of earlier ones, such as 1930's relief camps.[60] One of the most ambitious, was Camp Tee La Daw, a camp and hostel sponsored by the Mormon Church's Taylor Stake of Zion after 1952. Its well-equipped building on the west shore of Middle Waterton Lake suffered a severe fire in May of 1970 when kitchen equipment exploded leading to the destruction of its main buildings and a certain amount of ground cover.[61] (Plate 6-33)

vi

Supplying and Controlling Water at the Townsite

One of the recurring themes in townsite history is that of water and its control. Fergus Lothian has recalled the essentials of the local topography: 'Prior to the successive surveys which established Waterton Park Townsite, the large alluvial fan on which it was built comprised an undulating area divided by Cameron Creek. The central portion was a grass-covered flat, fringed along the lake and the stream with growths of poplar and pine.'[62] This description reveals the vulnerability of human settlement to flooding occasioned either by an excess in Cameron Creek, a general rising of Waterton Lake, or both. Severe floods in fact did occur in the townsite in 1937, 1964 and 1975, causing severe damage to park administration buildings and private establishments.[63]

Camp Tee La Daw Fire: 1970 Plate 6-33

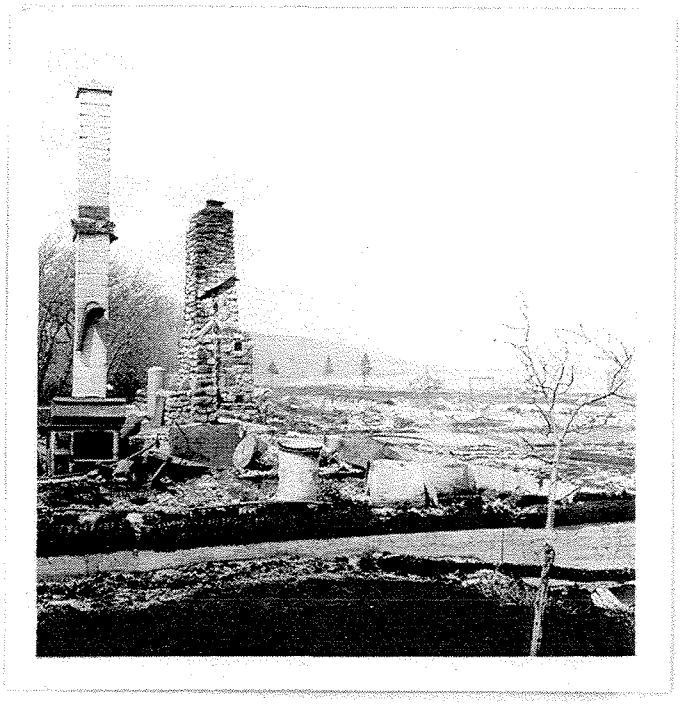
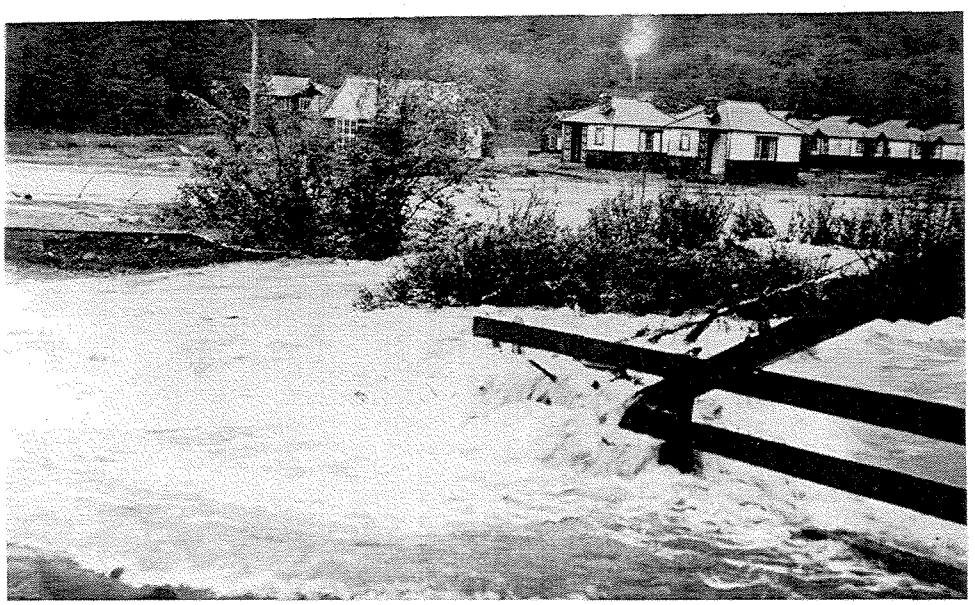


Plate 6-34 Flood in Townsite, 1937



With the general movement towards an increase of tourist ac-commodation and facilities after 1925, questions of municipal water supply were addressed. A 1926 plan shows the general features of a water system put in place in the townsite over the previous two years.[64] The water supply was drawn from Cameron Creek at a spot some 500 feet above the falls in 1924. In 1935 water pressure was increased when a six-inch pipe replaced the earlier three-inch intake. This was for seasonal use only, but in 1952, and all-season chlorinated sewer and water system was put in place.[65]

Spring is the season of watchfulness in Waterton. Any heavy winter accumulation of snow combined with a sudden spring run-off accompanied by rains represents a potential flood situation. Such a combination of events came together on June 7th and 8th of 1964. Then, 'torrential rains accompanied by a very strong north east wind, deluged the park.' Over the weekend, more than ten inches of rain fell. Cameron Creek, swollen by the runoff, overflowed its banks and flooded portions of the townsite and the main park campground south of Cameron Falls Drive. Melting snow on the mountains and in the valleys increased the volume of flood water and the level of Upper Wateron Lake rose more than seven feet above the highest level recorded since 1950.[66] Superintendent F.C. Browning had to invoke emergency measures, as damage from rocks, stumps and entire trees swept down Cameron Creek reeked extensive damage to the townsite and water and sewer system. Many moved to the relatively high ground of the Prince of Wales Hotel for temporary shelter. One of the townsite's oldest landmarks, the Waterton Lakes Chalets, was damaged beyond repair. Stretches of the Akamina Highway were also washed out. Repairs were undertaken rapidly however, and most park services were restored by June 22.[67]

The park and townsite experienced another serious flood in 1975. 'The townsite campground was gouged and filled with rock and debris.' The Cameron Lake Road, Red Rock Road and Crandell campground were all washed by flood waters. Many new channels were cut through the Blakistan fan, where great amounts of debris were deposited and where 'the surface topography of the Blakistan fan was altered to some degree.'[68] Such recent events as these are reminders of why, as in ancient times, only the most cautious and seasonal footholds have been carved out in this particular locale where the mountains meet the prairies.

Endnotes

1. Waterton Park Files. N-14 Hudson's Bay Company Land Transfer. 1925-1927. The property descriptions are as follows: 474 acres, NW 1/4 and S1/2 Sec. 26 Twp. 1, R 29 W of 4th meridian; 126 Acres, SW 1/4 Sec. 8 Twp. 2 R 29, W of 4th; 320 acres S 1/2 Sec 8 Twp. 2 R 30, W of 4th; 160 acres SE 1/4 Sec. 26 Twp 1 R 1, W of 5th.

2. Ibid., Memorandum. B. Scott, Dominion Lands Branch to J.B.Harkin, 1926. Cited in Seel et al. (1984), p. 343

3. Arthur Stavely Hill, *From Home to Home: Autumn Wanderings in the North-West* (1885). New York: Argonaut Press, 1966, p. 330

4. Rodney (1969), op.cit. p. 154

5. Dominon Land Titles, Land Grant no. 2518. Dept. of the Interior. Dec. 15, 1885. Cited in Rodney, (1969), op. cit. p. 153

6. Ibid., p. 166

7. Ibid.

8. On the Mormon entry into southern Alberta see L.A. Rosenvall, 'The Transfer of Mormon Culture to Alberta' in L.A. Rosenvall and S.M. Evans, eds. *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West* Calgary: University of Calgary. Dept. of Geography. 1987, pp. 122-44

9. Rodney, (1969), op.cit., pp. 171-6

10. Ibid., p. 181

11. Ibid., p. 207

12. Rodney (1969), op.cit. p. 201

13. Leonard Gladstone, *History of Waterton*. Manuscript. 1968. Waterton Lakes National Park History Files.

14. Waterton National Park. Realty Files.

15. *Lethbridge Daily Herald*. April 14, 1917. 'If Waterton Lakes Park is to become Famous, Automobilists of Southern Alberta must make it so.'

16. E. Haug, Waterton to Canon Middleton, March 23, 1920. Waterton Lakes National Park. History Files.

17. Jim Taylor and Pat Buchik, *Waterton Townsite: Built Heritage Study*. Calgary: Canadian Parks Service. 1991.

18. Getty, (1972), op.cit. pp.168-9

19. Lothian, *History*, Vol. III, op.cit., p. 43

20. B.J.C. McKercher, The Prince of Wales Hotel. WLNP Alberta: Its Significance. 1982. Typescript. Waterton Lakes National Park. History Files. On the career of Louis Hill and his role in Glacier National Park, see James W. Sheire, Glacier National Park.Historic Resource Study. U.S. Dept. of Interior. National Parks Service. Office of History and Historic Architec-ture. Eastern Service Centre. Sept. 1970. p. 176 f.

21. Ibid. and E.K. Goble, *History* (1981). op.cit.

22. Ibid.

23. Tayor and Buchik, (1991), op.cit., p. 7

24. E.K. Goble, (1981). op.cit.

25. Ibid., p.55; Ian Getty, *History* (1972), op.cit. pp. 146-8

26. Getty, *History* (1972) op.cit., p.169

27. Taylor and Buchik (1991), op.cit., p. 11

28. Waterton Lakes National Park. Realty Files; Lothian, *History*, Vol. III. op.cit., p. 48

29. Ibid., p, 43

30. Lothian, *History*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.44

31. Taylor and Buchik, (1991) op.cit. p. 11

32. Ibid., p. 12

33. Ibid.

34. Alberta Forests. Kananaskis. *Display Information. The Colonel's Cabin*; and Waterton National Park. File W.56-45. H.A. de Veber to Controller, Nat-ional Parks Branch, Nov. 4, 1947.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., p.44

37. Lothian, *History*, Vol. III. Op.cit., p. 45

38. Ibid. p. 44

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. N.A. RG 84 Vol 2209

42. Lothian, *History,* Vol. III, op.cit., p. 45

43. Cf. L. Gladstone, *History* , op.cit..

44. Lothian, *History,* Vol. III, op.cit., p. 48

45. Michael McMordie, 'Ordinary Buildings in Extraordinary Places' *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bull.* 1: (1988), 20-25

46. Gowling and Gibb Architects. *An Architectural Motif and Guidelines for Waterton Lakes National Park.* Prepared for Env. Can. Parks, Feb. 1987

47. Taylor and Buchik, (1991), op.cit.

48. Lothian, *History,* Vol. III, op.cit., p.46

49. Ibid.,p. 47

50. Waterton Lakes National Park. File 69/5-L.3-1. Jan. 1970- Nov. 1972.

51. Ibid., p.46

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid; p.46-7; and Cf. Waterton Lakes National Park. File 313 - Golf.

54. *Lethbridge Herald,* Jan. 7, 1938

55. Waterton Lakes National Park. Realty Files.

56. *Lethbridge Herald*, March 6, 1933.

57. Waterton Lakes National Park. File 32-L3-12. Auto Bungalo Camp Plans. 1930's; and Cf. Lothian, *History*, Vol. III, op.cit., p. 45

58. See Doris Burton, *Bert Riggall: Mountain Guide Extraordinary*. Hanna: Gordon and Gordon, 1990; Andy Russell, *Memoirs of a Mountain Man*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1984; Waterton Lakes National Park. File W16-8 1950-1959. PWH.

59. Waterton Lakes National Park. File. Saddle Horse Concessions. Red Rock Canyon. 1960-72

60. Cf. E.K. Goble, *History,* (1981), op.cit.,pp. 5-7

61. Waterton Lakes National Park. Warden Report. Camp Tee La Daw Fire. 1970. File 69/5-L33 and File LG B.28 -1922-59. no. 16-27

62. Ibid.

63. N.A. RG 84 Vol. 2210 W60-3.

64. Waterton Lakes National Park. File W.16-8. 1926 to Feb. 15, 1929

65. Lothian, *History*, Vol. III, op.cit., p.44

66. Lothian, *History*, Vol. III, op.cit., p. 47

67. Ibid.

68. Waterton Lakes National Park. *Resource Conservation. Annual Report.* 1975. pp. 4-5; and Cf. M.C. Hill, *Late Spring Flooding at Waterton Park Townsite.* Calgary: Univ. of Calgary, 1975.

Chapter Seven

The History of Waterton as a Special Place: The International Peace Park and the Biosphere Reserve Program: 1930-1990

i

The first thirty years of the twentieth century were remarkable ones for the United States marked by expansion of its economy and international prestige. The upward curv of progress peaked in 1929, and then was re-directed by the optimistic Franklin Roosevelt who, after 1932, found a way to ween Americans away from their love of unadulterated free-enterprise. While adherents of the many diverse churches carried out extensive forms of local relief, as did local governments, they were supplemented by a new type of instituion which had come into being after 1900, and which sought to secularize the idea of good works. In those first years of the century, the faith displayed in the economic system by its most succesful practitioners spawned a quite different approach to collective social service, one based on the free-association of businessmen, bound by certain stated principles. The so-called 'service club' became an instant success and this new tradition of association was to play a significant role in the history of Waterton-Glacier during the 1930's through the actions of Rotary International.

The Rotary Club was the first of the large service clubs to be founded, dating from the year 1905. Paul P. Harris, a Chicago attorney, sought to foster the 'ideal of service' as an ethic for modern business and the professions, and to promote this ideal through an international connection of the like-minded. The name 'Rotary' was adopted because the meetings were held in rotation at different offices of the membership. In 1912 the name became the International Association of Rotary Clubs, and in 1922 the present name - 'Rotary International'- was adopted.[1] The clubs, as well as those of other similar service organizations, grew rapidly, many taking root in semi-rural areas. It was the natural kinship of the clubs in southern Alberta and Montana which allowed them to become an important force with respect to the large recreational reserves which met at the internationa border.

One of the sustaining myths of twentieth century Canadian-American relations concerns the notion of 'an undefended border' between the two nations. Since the demise of the American-based Fenian Raids in the 1860's, there has been a good deal to support the myth. Canadians and Americans display a greater preference for economic warfare, punctuated by occasional attempts at fostering

'free trade' between the nations. The border zones however, have often set their own economic and social pace, regardless of shifting fashions of political policy. Complementing this 'grass roots' way of life along the boundary there has developed, since the 1890's, a number of international institutions designed to accommodate common resource interests in the border zones. The most significant of these was the International Joint Commission founded in 1909. The Commission was constituted in order to resolve trans-border resource disputes. Park and recreation lands have been an obvious focus for joint international action, and some important achievements include the Quetico-Superior agreements between Ontario and Minnesota, the International Peace Garden in Manitoba and North Dakota, and the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park in Alberta and Montana.[2]

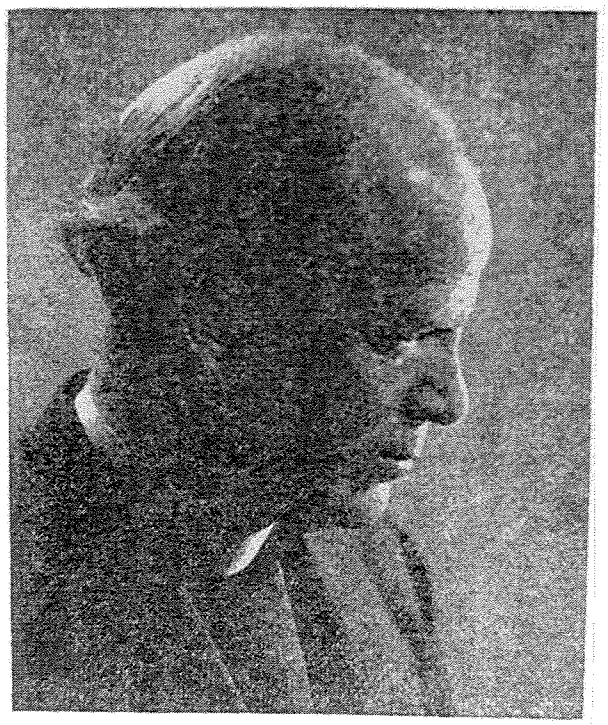
ii

Establishment of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park

Canon S.H. Middleton of Cardston was one of the main proponents of the Peace Park concept and he also became the main historian of its development. The Cardston Rotary Club initiated a meeting of several regional clubs from Alberta and Montana at the Prince of Wales Hotel in July of 1931 for purposes of striking an international committee for general purposes of the Rotary. The Cardston Club contributed Canon Middleton, J.E. Low and J.Y Card as representatives. At this first 'Annual good will meeting' discussion focused on many 'visionary' topics' the principal of which was the desire to foster 'a world-wide International Peace Movement.' A resolution was put forth and adopted that 'the proper authorities be petitioned to commence negotiations to establish the two large national parks of the border zone 'as a permanent International Peace Park, which shall be definitely set aside for this laudable purpose.'[3] In the view of one close student of Peace Park history, it would be inappropriate to credit any one individual with the concept; yet Canon Middleton 'emerged as the key personality in the promotion of the peace park idea over the next quarter of a century.'[4] (Plate 7-1)

Following acceptance of the resolution it then fell to elected representatives from each country to develop the idea in the political arena. In Canada the task of negotiation fell to Brigadier-General J.S. Stewart, a Member of Parliament from Alberta. In the United States, the Hon. Scott Leavitt of the Montana House of Representatives took up the cause, and he introduced a draft bill to the House on

Plate 7-1



Canon Samuel H. Middleton

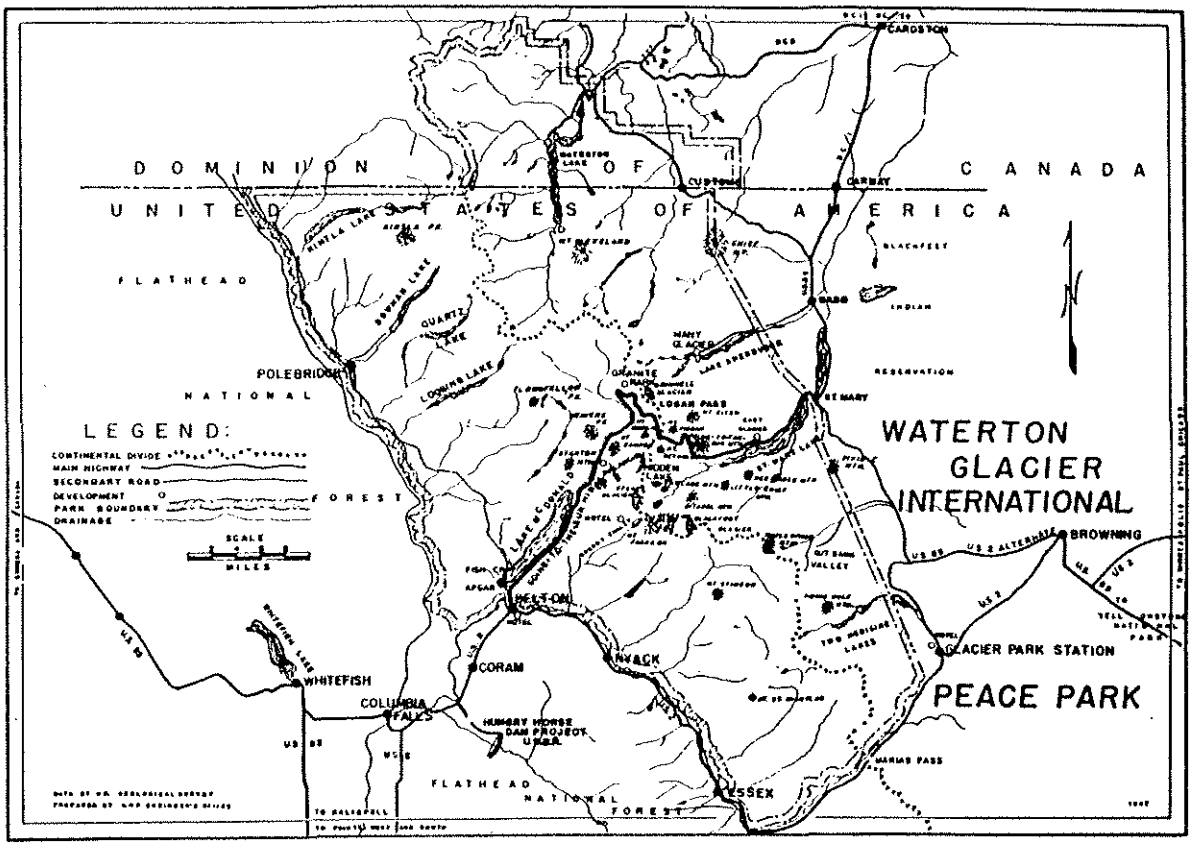
December 8, 1931. On January 25, 1932, Commissioner Harkin received a draft copy of the bill in Ottawa. Premier R.B. Bennett was supportive but took the view that Canada would not prepare parallel legislation until the United States had passed its bill into law.[5] Towards the end of February, 1932 the United States Committee on Public Lands completed a favourable report on the concept. O.D. Skelton of the Canadian Department of External Affairs had already confirmed to U.S authorities that Canada would be prepared to reciprocate with similar legislation.[6] By March 23, the bill was recommended by the Lands Committee for passage and in April it moved to the Senate for review.[7]

A minor tempest in a teapot then occurred. Politicians started to complain that this new initiative was stealing thunder from an on-going effort to establish an International Peace Garden in the Turtle Mountains along the Manitoba-North Dakota border. Since efforts had been underway for some time on behalf of the Peace Garden, certain individuals, including the Liberal member from Saskatchewan, W.R. Motherwell, took exception to the timing of the Waterton-Glacier proposal. Members of the peace movement were threatening to go to war! Motherwell, supporting Senator Frazer of North Dakota, and the Manitoba Member for Souris, E.F. Willis, contended that 'You cannot have the whole boundary line seeded down with peace parks.'[8] It was an odd but short-lived protest. In the end the forces of opposition had their say, but quickly came to realize that further opposition served no good international purpose, and the issue was dropped.

Following passage of the bill in April of 1932 in the United States, the Canadian version quickly moved through Parliament. Bill 97 - 'An Act Respecting the Waterton Glacier International Peace Park' - had been in draft form since February when K.R. Daly, Solicitor for the Department of the Interior, had been asked to prepare draft Peace Park Legislation.[9] It was passed into Law in June of 1932. Robert Scace has noted: 'It is remarkable that during a period of profound economic depression the two governments should introduce and so quickly pass legislation on a matter to which no urgency could be attributed.'[10]

With the laws on the books, attention now moved to appropriate forms of dedication and planning for the future.There were in fact two dedication ceremonies. The first took place at the Glacier Park Hotel, Montana. on June 18, 1932. The Canadian ceremony had to be delayed four years owing to the depression, which caused the Prince of Wales Hotel to close down in 1933 and 1934, and then by the federal election of 1935, which would have prevented politicians from attending a dedication in that year. A ceremony was finally arranged in July of 1936. In the intervening years, Canon Middleton had become anxious to see some kind of recognition accorded to 'Kootenai' Brown. When the ceremony took place,

Map 7-1



WATERTON-GLACIER INTERNATIONAL PEACE PARK, JUNE 18th, 1932

Waterton-Glacier: 1932.

presided over by Alberta Lieutenant Governnor W.L. Walsh, a plaque and cairn for Brown were also dedicated in the townsite.[11]

The International Peace Park Committee established a general schedule of yearly meetings, although these were interrupted during the war years and resumed only in 1946 at which time 'definite policies were framed for future activity.'[12] Much of the actions taken over the next twenty years concerned the placement of new plaques dedicated to various individuals and to notions of international good-will. The Peace Park idea was a highly symbolic one, and the practical outcomes associated with it, remained largely at that level.

Following World War II there had nevertheless been a certain momentum generated among non-government organizations to make use of the park as a setting for special events and conferences. One of the most interesting of these was undoubtedly the initiation in 1947 of 'The Great Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park Hamfest.' In 1934, a chance meeting of Ham radio operators from Great Falls and the Flathead Valley area of Montana, led to a resolution to meet together again the following year. The tradition took hold and thus was born an annual 'Hamfest.' In 1947 the group decided to go 'international' and the Hamfest was held at Waterton Lakes National Park for the first time. At this meeting the official name Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park Hamfest was adopted.

Unique forms of fund-raising have long characterized the organi-zation's practices. The 'junk auction' was established early in order to help defray costs. In 1939 Ham Operator W7EKX donated a bottle of Olympia Beer, and as of 1965 this bottle, still unopened, had been auctioned every year. In 1961 the Canadians added a bottle of Bohemian Maid Beer to the collection. The first auctioneer was Don Ross, W7lBG, who held the post for twenty-five years. This Hamfest has continued to grow in popularity, and thousands of Hams from around the world have made the Journey to Waterton-Glacier.[13]

In the early 1960's efforts were made to broaden the image of the Peace Park through the promotion of programs such as Peace Park Week. In 1971 an appropriate meeting was held for the youth wing of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.[14] The year 1982 witnessed a major celebration held at Waterton-Glacier, recalling a half-century of co-operation through dedication of a new Peace Park Pavilion.

Not all projects advanced in the name of 'peace' in the Waterton-Glacier area were met with enthusiasm. In the mid-1970's a late vestige of the 1960's 'hippie' craze succeeded in generating a great deal of park organization paper in Glacier and

Waterton, in response to the very chaotic plans of the Rainbow Family of Living Light to stage an 'International World Peace Gathering' along the upper Belly River in July, 1976. This extended family of assorted back-to-the-landers' had sent out a general world-wide invitation to people to come to Waterton-Glacier, without giving very much thought to the logistics or policy considerations. The organizers were informed by park officials that no special provisions could be made for such an event on park lands.[15]

While events of this last-mentioned type did not represent the norm, it is fair to conclude about peace park projects, as did Robert Scace, that most were largely 'divorced or independent from considerations of the policies and day to day management of the two national parks.' Scace acknowledged that this was not the total story and that in 'one important and controversial area' the Association had sought to influence the national parks. This was in the sphere of road linkages between Waterton and Glacier.[16] In promoting such development in the 1930's and afterwards, the committee was at one with many federal and provincial politicians. The issue of road construction was tied to a desire to expand the park into British Columbia and round off what was recognized as an ecological whole. Today, this aspiration takes place under the international rubric of the 'crown of the continent,' a phrase coined by the great American naturalist, editor, and promoter of Glacier National Park, George Bird Grinnell.[17]

iii

Towards the International Biosphere Reserve Concept:
Waterton and its Neighbours: 1945-1990

It has been noted in earlier chapters how the landscape of Waterton slowly freed itself from various claims of resource use. Grazing, oil, mining, and water rights had all been contended, but by 1945 a park of some integrity had finally been established in both the legal and practical sense.[18] This solidification of the park mandate had taken place just as the post-war economy began to spawn an ever-

growing tourism sector accompanied by consumer expectations which induced expanding demands for resource exploitation and access to parks for tourism development. These post-war economic trends have shown only periodic signs of decline, and from a park perspective they have had two major effects. First, park administration dollars have been concentrated strongly on townsite and infrastructure develpments such as roads; secondly, park programming funds have been strongly focused on visitor issues and needs. Nothing was more symptomatic of these trends than the decision taken in the late 1960's to centralize Warden services in townsite locations.[19] While certain economies of scale justified the new policy with respect to wildlife management, it is also true that this policy facilitated the growing demands on Warden's to assist in the management of people rather than wildlife, particularly in the large mountain parks.[20]

The central reality of post-war conditions was that access to the parks became much easier as a result of mass automobile ownership. The priority given to road improvement continued to make access that much easier and the need for visitor-oriented budgets all the greater. These tendencies started to register by the later1950's when proposed cottage development on the northeastern side of Waterton began to produce pressure for new road access in the park. Superintendent T. W. Pierce was requested by Headquarters to report on the following: [21]

> In respect of the lands located near the Pincher and Cardston entrance to the park, I would be glad to know if these lands are owned by the Province or by private individuals. You may recall that for many years the Province of Alberta had an agreement with the Department to maintain buffer zones outside park boundaries at the eastern entrance of Banff and Jasper National Parks. Within these zones no development of any kind was permitted. Within the past two years the agreement was amended limiting development to a point within half a mile of the park boundaries instead of the one mile limit that had previously existed.

Shortly thereafter, the Director of National Parks, J.R.B. Coleman, recommended to his Deputy Minister that the Chief Mountain extension road not be approved.[22]

The reference to 'buffer zones' is of interest for in the 1970's there was an important initiative taken to re-assert this earlier manner of thinking about conservation issues in the park boundary areas. Through the developing strength of the UNESCO-sponsored program, Man and the Biosphere (MAB), Waterton Lakes

National Park achieved Biosphere Reserve status in 1979. The objectives of the MAB program were to facilitate the long-term conservation of special designated areas through a co-operative system of land-use in the areas immediately adjacent. In consideration of the actual scope of surrounding land-use pressures in the Waterton-Glacier region, the designation took on great significance as a tool for building up a park-constituency and joint-management regimes. The 1987 Management Plan Review Team concluded that: 'Waterton Lakes National Park is a protected 'island' surrounded by lands managed for wide variety of purposes. Land bordering Waterton Lakes is managed by such diverse agencies as Glacier National Park in the United States, the Alberta Forest Service, the British Columbia Forest Service, British Columbia Parks, the Blood Tribe, the municipal districts of Pincher Creek and Cardston, industry and private landowners. Probably no other Canadian national park is at the jurisdiction of so many different land management agencies.[23] The main intent of the MAB designation is to muster a variety of volunteer arrangements with industry, educators, local landowners, and scientists, by which a consensus on appropriate buffer zone policies are continuously fostered.

The establishment of an International Biosphere Reserve at Waterton reflected a larger policy initiative taking place within the National Parks focused on the general development of co-operative agreements of many kinds. The MAB idea was strongly oriented towards volunteerism and grass-roots involvement by citizens and local organizations. The general policy was a sound one, if sometimes promoted with undue optimism with respect to what could be quickly achieved by a thinly scattered population in some of Canada's most remote regions. Nevertheless, the developing policy started to take the the Canadian National Parks further along the road already travelled by the Parks of New Zealand and the United States. At Waterton, the development of a cooperating body, the Waterton Natural History Associ-ation, had already been achieved in advance of the establishment of the MAB program. The WNHA has undertaken practical support to the Waterton interpretation and education programs through the production of publications, calendars, post-cards, special event promotion and general fund-raising for park purposes. The activities of the WNHA dove-tailed well with those of the new Biosphere Reserve organization.

A review of the Minutes of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve Association after 1981 reveals the energy and wisdom which a few interested citizens of a locality can bring to bear on park and general environmental matters.[24] At the March 1982 Meeting of the main committee, local rancher Charlie Russell reinforced the importance of the initiatives of the Association being taken by Ranchers and other private groups.[25] Following an influential Symposium on Biosphere Reserves held at Kalispel Montana in 1982, the Waterton organization

pursued a number of strategies aimed at education, information exchange with other related agencies and groups, and practical on-the-ground research and test projects. A Technical Core Committee was established to help the Association in its research and project work. The WBR has stressed research on projects which are likely to capture the imagination of the local ranching community, such as the development of new upland grass species appropriate for forage, large mammal studies and predator compensation schemes for ranchers, petroleum industry monitoring, infectious disease studies, (particularly with respect to elk and cattle), Pine beetle and Knapweed infestations, and general environmental education.[26]

A 1987 review of the state of Waterton-Glacier by the National Geographic identified some fifty examples of potential external land-use conflicts ranged around the borders of the parks. These included the following types of activities.[27]

Logging	Scenic Helicopter flightsHome	Subdivisions
Oil/Gas wells	Livestock trespassing	Mines
Seismic blasting	Poaching	Amusement Parks
Grizzly Bear Hunting		Access Roads

This review drew attenttion to conditions which were not a-typical of much that was going on in much of North America. The rural areas in much of the continent had been undergoing urbanization or a sort, or develpments keyed to the needs of the expanding cities. Modern transportation by car had reduced the isolation of many areas previously frequented only by wildlife, the Indian and the rancher. This was certainly the case along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains in Alberta and Montana.

The resource extraction frontier has been drawn quite firmly at the park boundary since World War II, with in-park holdings all re-purchased on behalf of the Crown. Programs such as MAB assist greatly in maintaining sound working relationships with firms such as *Shell Resources Canada* which maintains a sizeable field operation north of Waterton. More challenging in the 1990's will be the question of the definition of 'wildness' itself, as governments, federal, provincial and state, continue to wrestle with decisions to erode or strengthen, through legislation, the right of wild animal populations to an independent existence. The longstanding effort to provide a safe haven for international herds of migratory elk in Montana and Alberta, is now threatened by the rise of elk ranching legislation on both sides of the international border.[28] The legislation enabling elk ranching has

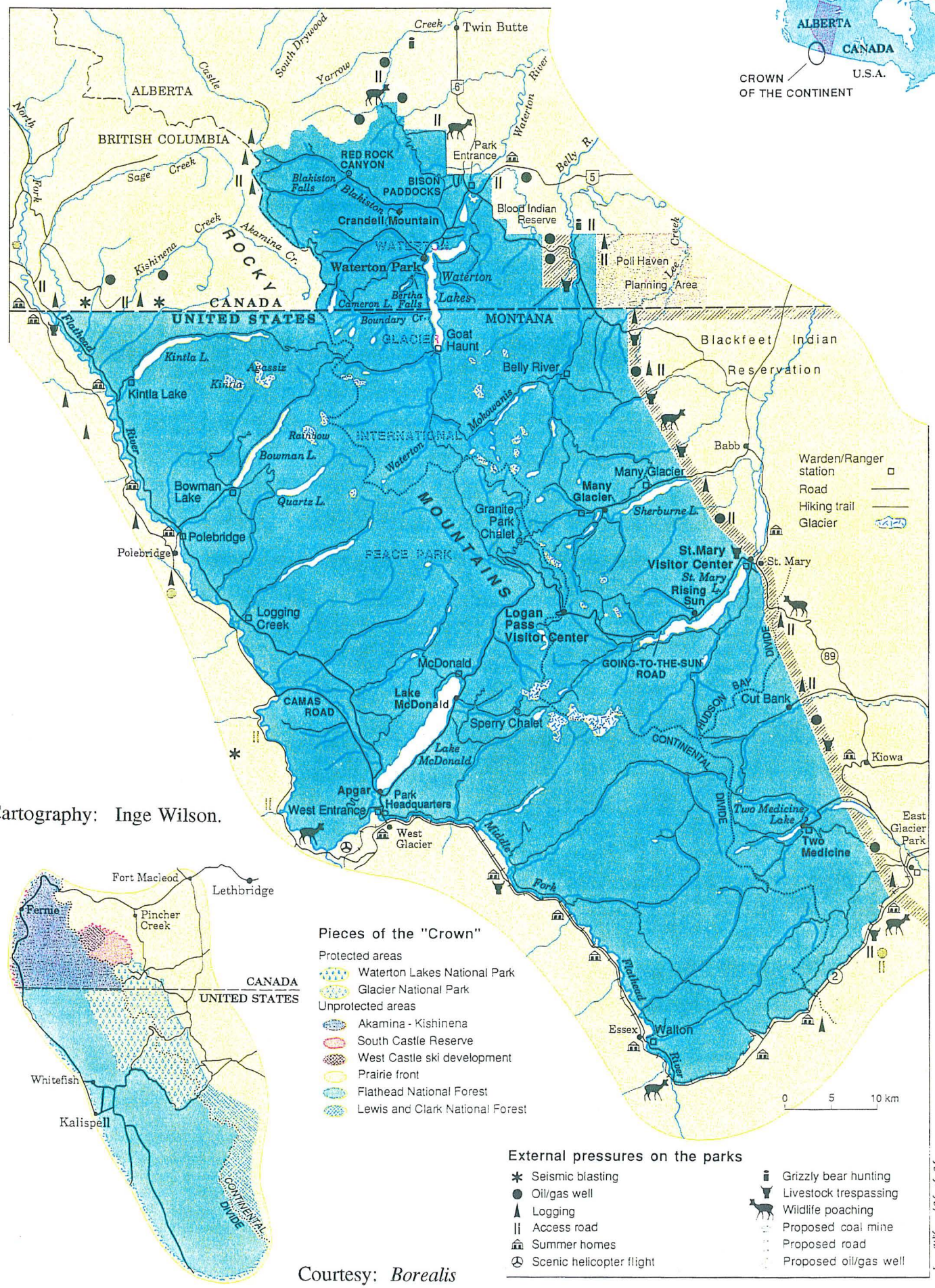
the effect of eroding the distincton between animals which range freely and those which are considered to be domestic.

Such considerations led the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society to sponsor a seminar at Waterton Park in June, 1990 to consider the legal and institutional requirements of the 'Crown of the Continent' ecosystem, the term employed in describing the makeup of the various watersheds which constitute a large area of headwater systems straddling the Alberta, British Columbia, and Montana borders. (Map 7-2). The goal is to link the existing protected areas in a consistent manner and to better rationalize special protected area boundaries with the actual borders of the ecosystem.. Despite the special protection status given to much of the 'Crown of the Continent' lands there are still serious problems confronting wildlife populations owing to lack of uniformity of policies. As Kevin Van Tigham observed:[29]

> In one year, the same grizzly can find itself being shot at legally by hunters in B.C.'s Akamina-Kishinena wildland, avoiding hikers' bear bells in Waterton, pursuied by armed game officers on the leased grazing lands or Alberta's Poll Haven area, and protected by an Endangered Species Act just south of the border in Montana. All this in one bear's home range and the same ecosystem. The same bear is variously an endagered treasure, an agricultural nuisance, a legally hunted trophy and a park resource, depending on where it happens to be at any given time.

Political pressures such as those involved in the elk issue, which pit one or a series of governement departments against others, are by no means a new phenomenon at Waterton. Such intra-departmental warfare is a reflection of real interests in society at large. Since the days of Waterton's first conception, resource interest groups of one kind or another have worked for the park's partition or for selected access. The new prominence given to ecology and environmental science since World War II has stimulated park-boundary management concepts such as the Biosphere Reserve in the knowledge that chemical and biological forces are not respectful of cartographic lines on the land. Even within park boundaries proper, management practices may retain a certain ambiguity towards, for example, the periodic and specialized use of pesticides, most recently with respect to the spread of Knapweed.[30] Thus, the history of park integrity in the 1990's is likely to strongly reflect contending ideas of economics and science and the continuing debate about the appropriate scope of human mastery over that most elusive concept known popularly as 'nature.'

Map 7-2 The 'Crown of the Continent' Network of Protected Areas



Cartography: Inge Wilson.

Courtesy: *Borealis*

Endnotes

1. *Encylopedia Britannica.* 15th Ed. Ready Reference. Vol. 10. 1986. p.199

2. For a review of the history of many Canada- United States boundary issues in the twentieth century, see John E. Carroll, *Environmental Diplomacy: An Exaination and a Prospective of Canadian-U.S. Trans-boundary Environmental Relations.* Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1983.

3. "Canon." *Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park.* n.p. 1952, p.6

4. Robert Scace, *Interpretive Background Materials for the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park.* National Parks Branch. 1972. p. 4.2

5. Ibid., p. 5.2

6. N.A. R.C. Box. 162038 W2 Vol. 1. Feb. 12, 1932.

7. Scace (1972), 'Interpretive' p. 5.6.f.

8. Cited in Scace, Ibid.

9. Can. Stat.. 23 G V Ch. 55 May 26, 1932. P.C. 1386.

10. Scace 'Interpretive' (1972), p. 5.1

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. *31st International Waterton-Glacier Peace Park Hamfest.* Waterton National Park. The Association. 1965.

14. Waterton Lakes National Park. File 311. Special Events.

15. Waterton National Park. History Files. Rainbow Family.

16. Ibid.

17. See G.B. Grinnell, 'The Crown of the Continent' *Century Magazine*, (Sept. 1901) and Cf. Eric Thane, *The Majestic Land*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950, p. 198; and Waterton Lakes National Park. *Background Information: Management Plan Review.* Canadian Parks Service. October, 1989, p. 276

18. While grazing has not taken place in Waterton since 1947, the drought of 1977 placed severe pressure on the Federal Minister to issue grazing permits in Riding Mountain, Prince Albert and Waterton. Policy still al-lowed for such discretionary action by the Minister, and only the complications of paperwork prevented the actual issue of such permits in 1977. Cf. WLNP *Resource Conservation Annual Report.* 1977.

19. N.A. RG 84 Vol. 2209; and Lothian, *History,* Vol. IV (1981), p. 90

20. The origins of the new policy were framed in the late 1960's through a meeting at Prince Albert National Park which produced the so-called *Prince Albert Report*.. Personal Communi-cation, Mike Schintz, WRO. July, 1991.

21. N.A.. RG 84 Vol. 2167 W 15 Vol. 2. Land Admin. outside Park. Chief of NPS to T. Pierce, Sept. 3, 1959.

22. N.A. RG 84 Vol. 2167 W 15 Vol. 2 Land Admin outside Park. J.R.B. Coleman to Deputy Minister, Sept. 16, 1959

23. Waterton Lakes National Park. *Background Information: Management Plan Review*. Canadian Parks Service. Oct. 1989, p. 269

24. *Minutes of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve Association* Canadian Parks Service. Western Regional Office. Calgary. 1981-1991.

25. *Minutes of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve Association.* March 2, 1982

26. *Minutes of the Waterton Biosphere Reserve Association.* 1981-1991.

27. David S. Boyer, 'Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park: Pride of Two Nations' *National Geographic*, 171:6 (June, 1987), p. 803

28. Cf. Valarius Geist and and Niels Damgaard, Game Farming needs Public Inquiry' *Calgary Herald,* July 18, 1991; *Calgary Herald,* Editorial, July 20, 1991; Jeff Welke, 'Health fears soar over Elk TB' *Calgary Herald*, July 20, 1991; *Calgary Herald*, Editorial - 'Hands off Park Elk' July 27, 1991. The references are to passage of Province of Alberta Bill 31 (1991).

29. Kevin Van Tighem, 'Waterton - Crown of the Continent' *Borealis* 2:1 (May-June, 1990), p. 28

30. Seel et al. 'Resource' (1984), p. 352

Appendix 1

Place Names in Waterton Lakes National Park

Place Names - Waterton Lakes National Park*

Original Local Name	Modern Name
Little Kootenay Lake	Waterton Lakes
Little Kootenay River	Waterton River
Rock Canyon	Street Creek (U.S.A.)
Reservoir Creek	West Boundary Creek
Oil Creek	Cameron Creek
Seepage Creek	Lineham Brook
Pass Creek	Blakiston Brook
Stoney Creek	Sofa Creek
Trail Creek	Galwey Creek
Pine Creek	Dungarvan Creek
Canon Creek	Rowe Brook
Oil Lake	Cameron Lake
Spirit Lake	Bertha Lake
Blue Lake	Crandell Lake
Red Box Canyon	Red Rock Canyon
Black Bear Mountain	Crandell Mountain
Sheep Mountain	Vimy Mountain
Street Mountain	Boswell Mountain
Sleeping Indian Mountain	Richards Mountain
Millionaire's Peak	Anderson Peak
Knight's Lake	Lower Waterton Lake
South Kootenay Pass	Boundary Pass

* From: L. Gladstone, Waterton History. Manuscript. 1968

Some Aspects of the Origins of Place Names in Waterton

Akamina - Kootenay Indian derivation, related to 'valley' or 'benchland.'

Kishinena - Kootenay Indian derivation, related to balsam or white fir.

Buchanan Peak, commemorates Seantor A.W. Buchanan, Alberta politician and active promoter of Waterton Lakes National Park

Mount Dungarvan. Commemorates Dungarvan Seaport, County Waterford, Ireland

Mounts Galway, Richards, Bauerman, Custer, Hawkins, Boswell and Anderson commemorate personalities associated with the Boundary Survey.

Mount Crandell and Lineham Peak commemorate Edward Crandell and John Lineham, prominent personalities in the Oil City development. Crandell Mountain was formerly known as Bear Mountain, and a prominent formation on Crandell is still known as 'the Bear's Hump.'

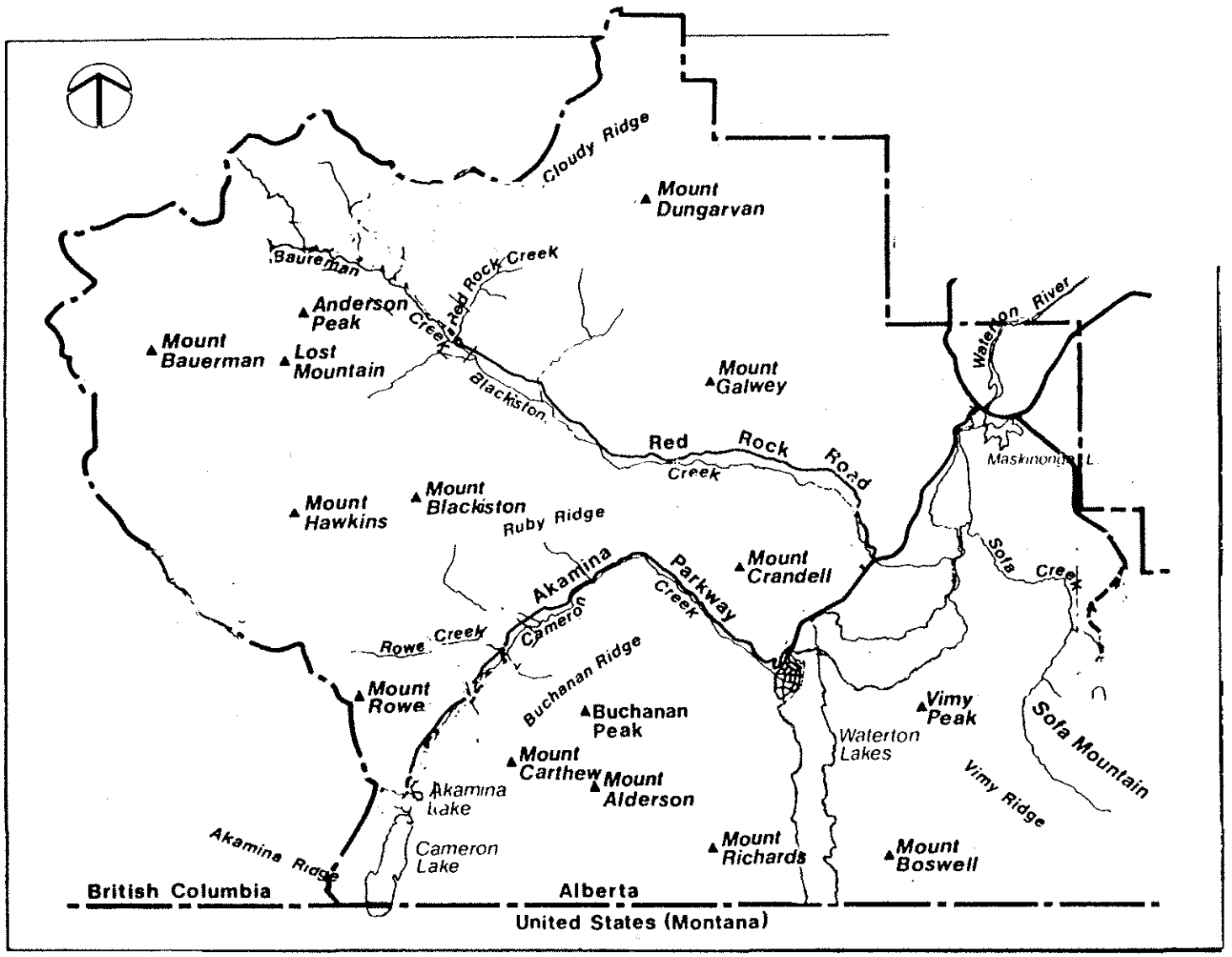
Mount Alderson, commemorates Gen. E.A. H. Alderson, commander of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces in World War I.

Mount Carthew commemorates a young surveyor killed in France in 1916.

Vimy Peak commemorates the famous World War I battle site of 1917, Vimy Ridge.

The Dardanelles and Bosoporus commemorates the military campaign site of 1915 near Constantinople.

Geographic Distribution of Some Place Names In Waterton Lakes National Park



Appendix 2

A Kutenai Tale

From: Franz Boas, Kutenai Tales. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bull. No.59. Washington. Smithsonian Institution. 1918. pp. 179-183

A Kutenai Tale

In the mid-nineteenth century the Kutenai were still highly isolated in terms of regular dealings with Euro-Americans. The Belgian Jesuit, Father Pierre De Smet was in the forefront of those establishing a regular settled presence amongst the Indians of Oregon, Washington and Idaho in the 1840's. The Kutenai language has remained something of a puzzle to students of anthropology, but if its actual context is still imperfectly understood, there have fortunately been students of the language and recorders of Kutenai traditions since the rise of the Oregon Missions. Father Philip Castrelli, S.J. of the St. Ignatius Mission, Montana prepared a Kutenai Grammer in Latin, between the years of 1887 and 1893. The pioneering Anthropologist, Franz Boas, oversaw the collection of a large number of Kutenai Tales and legends in the second decade of the twentieth century. The Boas collection drew partially upon earlier collecting work of Alexander F. Chamberlain who in 1891 interviewed an informant identified as Angi McLaughlin. In 1914, Boas obtained information from several informants: including, Pierre Andrew, Felix Andrew, Pierre Numa, Mission Joe, and one known only as Barnaby. The large collection of tales indicates a great feeling for cosmic events and a wide experience with animals and fish common between the west coast and the prairies.

The tale reproduced here is from the Boas Collection, as related by Barnaby, and is an apt illustration of the long-standing nature of the reputation of the Southern Rocky Mountains as an area subject to long winters and sudden Chinook Winds.

The Origin of the Seasons

'Well, I will tell you a story of what happened long ago in this world. They were staying at a certain place a long time ago, and summers and winters were long.

There was a town. It was winter time. A man named Coyote went into the tent of an old woman, who gave him food. The old woman was named Squirrel. Squirrel said: "There is no more food, and it is a long time before spring will come. What shall I do? There is no more food." Coyote said: "Well, cry. Then if the people come in and ask you, 'Why do you cry?' don't answer.When they have all spoken to you, I shall say to you," Do you say that your food will be gone long before spring comes?' Then you will say, 'Yes!' " Then Coyote went out.

Squirrel thought that what he had said was good. Then she cried. She cried aloud. The people in the town said: "What is the old woman saying?" They went there and questioned her. She did not speak. She was just crying aloud. Then all had questioned her, but the old woman did not speak. Coyote went there. He said to the old woman: "Do you say that you will have no more food for along time?" Then the old woman cried no more. She said: "Yes!" The People said: "What shall we do to make spring come?"

There was another town, and there they kept the seasons. After twelve months had passed, these people would untie the springtime and summer time and the fall of the year. Then they would tie up again the winter. Therefore they said: " What shall we do with them?" They said among themselves: "Let us go and steal it!"

Then they started. Now, those up in the sky counted that the inter would last six months, and that six months more would pass before spring came. They arrived at that town and said: "Whoever can walk secretly shall go there." There was a boy. It was known that he could walk secretly. He was told: "You shall steal it." Then he started. He almost came to the tent. He worked his manitou power. After he had done so, his manitou spoke to him and told him what he was to do when he entered, and where it was hanging. He took some gum. He entered the tent: and when he arrived, they said: "Whoever can throw farthest shall take it, after it has been thrown out. Then he shall throw it away; and the one who is strongest shall stay on the prairie on the hillside. It will be thrown there; and when he catches it, he shall tear it at once."

There was one very strong man. His manitou was Grizzly Bear. He was told: "You shall tear it." Then the youth went in. He saw an old woman standing there.

She said to him: "It is midwinter." Then he said to her: "Where is the springtime?" He was told: "It is hanging there." He said to her: "Where is the summer?" and she told him. He was holding the gum. He had it in his hand close to the fire. The old woman thought that he was warming his hands, for it was cold. She did not know that he was heating the gum. After some time it melted. Then he attaced the old woman and stuck the gum on her mouth. Then he went to get the thing in which she had said the springtime was kept. He pulled it off and carried it out. Then the old woman ran out quickly. She intended. She intended to speak but she could not speak.The gum was stuck on her mouth. It was just seen that the old woman was moving her arms, pointing in a certain direction. They went that way. When they got there she pointed to her tent. She pointed that way. They looked in and the springtime was gone.They looked for it, and it was known that the people were carrying it away. They they made war on them. They wanted to kill all those who had stolen it. When they were about to overtake them, another one took hold of what they were carring. It was he who could throw furthest. When the pursuers were almost about to overtake them, he threw it. There on the prairie on the hill the strong one was standing. He worked his manitou power and turned into a Grizzly Bear. He caught it because he was strong. The thing that contained it was strong. He tore it. There was wind. It was not long befere there was no more snow and it was spring. Therefore spring has six months and there are six months of winter. The old woman did it when there was no food.

Now I have told you how the world was long ago.[1]

---

1 The young man who stole the bag containing the spring was Lynx.

Appendix 3

Trail Development c. 1938

Waterton Lakes National Park File W-38

No. & Name	From						To						Mileage	General Description
1. One	Sec.	16	Tp.	1	Rg.	28	Sec.	1	Tp.	1	Rg.	27	7	Old Mill on Tough Creek to Lee Creek Cabin.
2. Wood Road	"	9	"	1	"	28	"	34	"	1	"	27	6	Old Mill on Tough Creek to East Boundary.
3. Hog Back	"	1	"	1	"	27	"	14	"	1	"	27	2.5	Lee Creek Cabin to No. 3.
4. Tough Creek	"	16	"	1		28	"	24	"	1	"	27	6	Old Mill down Tough Creek to Boundary.
5. North Boundary	"	24	"	1	"	27	"	20	"	1	"	28	5	East end along N. Boundary to No. 7.
6. Butte	"	33	"	1	"	28	"	27	"	1	"	28	3	Belly River to No. 5
7. Mokowan	"	22	"	1	"	28	"	3	"	2	"	28	3.5	Old Logging Road past Hog Mill to Mokowan Butte.
8. Fish Creek	"	21	"	1	"	28	"	27	"	1	"	28	2	Old Cabin No. 1, N.E. to No. 7.
9. Hog Mill	"	21	"	1	"	28	"	22	"	1	"	28	2	Old Cabin No. 1, to Mokowan Butte via Hog Mill.
10. Ten	"	9	"	1	"	28	"	14	"	1	"	28	3	Old Waggon Road on Belly River E. to Old Mill on Tough Creek.
11. Lee Creek	"	9	"	1	"	28	"	3	"	1	"	28	2	Upper crossing Belly River at junction Nos. 12 and 13 to No.1
12. BB. High Water	"	21	"	1	"	28	"	9	"	1	"	28	3	Cabin No. 1 to junction of No. 13.
13. B.B.	"	21	"	1	"	28	"	4	"	1	"	28	5	Cabin No. 1 to U.S. Boundary via B.B. Flats.
14. Telephone	"	21	"	1	"	28	"	36	"	1	"	30	9.8	Cabin No. 1 to divide between Stony and Crooked Creeks to Pass Creek bridge on Main Road (Chief Mountain Highway is now used)
15. Indian Creek	"	28	"	1	"	28	"	29	"	1	"	28	2	Belly River to Main Trail No.14 (Chief Mountain Highway now used)
16. Look Out	"	25	"	1	"	29	"	29	"	1	"	28	3	From No.14 around Look Out Butte via Indian Creek to No. 15, near 1 Mile Post.
17. North Fork	"	16	"	1	"	28	"	1	"	1	"	29	5.6	Belly River Road to No.13, up North Fork to U.S.Boundary.
18. H. Q. Waggon Road					Not in use								14	Cabin No.1, outside of Park to Waterton Bridge (not in use)
19. Mt. View	"	28	"	1	"	28	"	33	"	1	"	28	1.4	Cabin No. 1. to Park Boundary, Mountain View Road.
20. Divide - Stony Creek	"	35	"	1	"	29	"	22	"	1	"	29	3	½ mile E. of divide between Stony & Crooked Creeks to Stony Creek Cabin.
21. Brown Road	"	22	"	1	"	29	"	8	"	2	"	29	6.3	From Stony Creek Cabin, Sofa Creek to Waterton Bridge, via Kootenai Brown's homestead.
22. Vimy Mountain	"	8	"	2	"	29	"	18	"	1	"	29	7.6	Waterton Bridge to Vimy Mt.
23. Kaskinonge	"	32	"	1	"	29	"	8	"	2	"	29	2.9	Stony Creek to Waterton Bridge, E. side of Lower Lake.
24. Stony Cabin	"	22	"	1	"	29	"	20	"	1	"	29	2.1	Stony Creek Cabin to No. 22.
25. Lakeshore	"	23	"	1	"	30	"	2	"	1	"	29	5	Waterton Townsite to Boundary Cabin on Waterton Lake.
26 Bertha Lake	"	15	"	1	"	30	"	15	"	1	"	30	4.5	From No. 25 to Bertha Lake (2 Miles and around Lake (2½ Miles)
27. Crandell Lake	"	8	"	2	"	30	"	32	"	1	"	30	3.5	From Upper Pass Creek Bridge to Akamina Rd. via Crandell Lake, Waggon Rd.

1958

No. & Name	From						To						Mileage	General Description
28. Twenty Eight	Sec.	18	Tp.	2	Rg.	30	Sec.	13	Tp.	2	Rg.	30	3.	Pass Creek Cabin to E. Park Boundary (No.39)
29. Rove Creek	"	25	"	1	"	1	"	22	"	1	"	1	2.5	Akamina Road to 2½ miles up Rove Creek.
30. Castle River	"	23	"	2	"	1	"	25	"	2	"	2	8	Red Rock Canyon to Divide, Castle River.
31. Sage Creek	"	19	"	2	"	1	"	23	"	2	"	2	3	From Secoushee Cabin (No.30) to Sage Creek Pass.
32. Mother Duck	"	11	"	1	"	1	"	1	"	1	"	1	5	From Cameron Lake S.E. to U.S. Boundary.
33. Peekis	"	24	"	2	"	2	"	12	"	2	"	2	2	From No. 31, Twin Lakes to South Kootenai Trail No. 34.
34. S. Kootenai	"	23	"	2	"	1	"	12	"	2	"	2	7.5	From Red Rock Canyon to S. Kootenai Pass.
35. Crypt Lake	"	29	"	1	"	29	"	5	"	1	"	29	12.5	From No. 22 to Crypt Lake.
36. Red Rock	"	23	"	2	"	1							.5	Up Red Rock Creek to bridge and return to cabin (Red Rock)
37. Horseshoe	"	9	"	3	"	30	"	8	"	2	"	29	12.5	Tarrow Creek Cabin to Waterton Cabin
38. Linoham Creek	"	30	"	1	"	30	"	34	"	1	"	1	2.5	From Akamina Rd. up Linoham Creek.
39. E. Boundary	"	13	"	2	"	30	"	34	"	2	"	30	6.	E. Boundary from No. 28 to No. 37.
40. Carthew Lakes	"	2	"	1	"	1	"	17	"	1	"	30	10	From Townsite to Alderson Lake and to No. 22
41. Lost Lake	"	19	"	2	"	1	"	31	"	2	"	2	1.25	From near Mile 6½ on No.30 to Lost Lake.
42. Hump	"	23	"	1	"	30							.5	Townsite to prominent point on Crandell Mountain.

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