Natures of Change
A Transnational Environmental History
of Vancouver Island and the South Island of New Zealand
by
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Abstract

The relationships between human beings and their natural environments are not static. They evolve over time as a result of changes within human society and within the environment itself. This thesis examines the development of human-environment relations on two Pacific islands, Vancouver Island, Canada and the South Island of New Zealand, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As a comparative environmental history, this study focuses on how ideas about nature differ in distinct geographic locations. It also seeks to understand which factors determine the shape of these ideas, and the actions that result from them.

Vancouver Island and the South Island were both colonized by British settlers during the mid nineteenth century. The relatively unaltered natural environments of these islands offered people an opportunity to create, or maintain, ideal surroundings for living and recreating. They also provided an opportunity to exploit previously untapped resources. Initially efforts to achieve these goals and discussions of their effects were dominated by a small group of people. However as the environmental impacts of human activities became manifest, and knowledge about these activities became easier to access, new participants entered these discussions. This democratization of involvement in environmental issues occurred earlier on the South Island, where the effects of human activities on long-isolated ecosystems were dramatic. On Vancouver Island where changes in the landscape were not so obvious, this trend was slower to develop. Yet in each location dominant perceptions of nature became less homogeneous as the range of environmental stakeholders widened. Simultaneously the issues surrounding environmental management also became more contentious and complex.
This study is divided into three comparative chapters, each of which examines a particular environmental issue in a particular time period. The first considers the practice of introducing exotic species to these islands during the early settlement period. The second is concerned with conflicts over hydro-electric power schemes at Buttle Lake on Vancouver Island and Lake Manapouri on the South Island, during the mid twentieth century. The third chapter examines the implementation of sustainable forest management policies on each island during the 1980s and 90s.
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Introduction

This thesis explores the evolution of human-environment relations on two Pacific islands from the time of their first settlement by Europeans until the present day. The two islands under investigation are Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada, and the South Island of New Zealand.¹ Lying in the North Pacific and separated from the coast of mainland Canada and Washington State (U.S.A.) by the Strait of Georgia and the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Vancouver Island has a land area of 31,285 km². (See Figure 1.) At 151,215 km² the South Island is significantly larger.² Situated in the South Pacific it is separated from the North Island by Cook Strait and from Australia by the Tasman Sea. (See Figure 2.)

This is a work of comparative environmental historical geography. It explores new lines of historical inquiry in both methodology and subject matter. In recent years prominent historians such as the American Richard White have criticised the scales at which historical scholarship has traditionally been conducted. White argues that `historical understanding depends on finding appropriate scales’.³ Other historians have reacted more specifically against the way that national histories that have traditionally dominated the realm of historical

¹ In this thesis I refer to these islands and the people living upon them in a variety of ways. A number of the sources that I use are not specifically related to the islands themselves but rather to British Columbia, or New Zealand as a whole. In other instances my comments are limited to small local communities such as those of South Westland or Clayoquot Sound and cannot be ascribed to a broader population. In these cases I have tried to ensure that the reader is aware of the range of people to which my comments apply. I do not use the terms British Columbian/Vancouver Islander or New Zealander/South Islander as synonyms instead I have attempted to be true to my sources and to the people that I describe.


Figure 1. Map of South Island Study Area
Figure 2. Map of Vancouver Island Study Area
research. Ian Tyrrell, argues that 'History is not a set of data to be deposited into tidy boxes of which the national box is the most obvious and sensible.' Tyrrell argues in favour of a new form of comparative history which he describes as 'transnational history.' Certain subject areas, namely those that examine phenomena and processes that transcend and permeate national boundaries, are particularly well suited to this scale of analysis. One such area of study is environmental history. Practitioners of this relatively new sub-discipline seek to understand the development of human ideas about, and relationships with, the natural environment, or in the words of eminent environmental historian Donald Worster, they focus on 'the role and place of nature in human life.' Their subject matter is well suited to the transnational approach as environmental phenomena and systems are seldom contained within national units. This thesis considers the development of trends in environmental perception and management within two sub-national units. There are a number of factors that make this choice of comparative axis or 'scale' appropriate for this study.

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6 Geographers, many of whom study relations between humans and their natural environment, are also concerned with issues of scale. Human geographer Richard Howitt argues along similar lines to Tyrrell that the choice of scale for any project depends upon the relationships that a scholar hopes to uncover. 'Many elements will remain consistent in a geographical analysis that spans across different geographical scales. What changes in such analysis is not the elements themselves but the relationships that we perceive between them.' Richard Howitt, *Scale as Relation: Musical Metaphors of Geographical Scales*, *Area*, 30 (1998), pp.49-58. For further discussion of issues of scale in geography see Sallie A. Marston, 'The Social Construction of Scale', *Progress in Human Geography*, 24 (2000), pp.219-242.
British settlers arrived on both the South Island and Vancouver Island during the mid/late nineteenth century. New Zealand became a British colony in 1840 when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the Maori (New Zealand’s indigenous people) and the British Crown. Vancouver Island achieved the same status in 1849 and was added to the province of British Columbia in 1866. These settlers, although not a homogenous group by any means, did share a geographic and cultural background. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that they reached their new island homes with similar assumptions and beliefs about the natural world. Therefore a study of these two groups of people and the societies that they fostered provides an excellent opportunity to consider the development of human-environment relations and the extent to which these relations are dependent on human mentalities or the physical realities of the landscape. As a result this discussion engages with aboriginal concerns only as they intersect with those of the dominant European society. In assuming this analytical perspective I am not condoning or legitimising the marginalisation of aboriginal perspectives from environmental thought and policy. Yet I also wish to avoid inserting voices that were not heard by most members of mainstream society in any given period. This approach is the simplest way of describing and understanding the true distribution of post-colonial environmental agency on these islands, and examining the ways that this distribution altered over time.

In a general, impressionistic, sense there are a number of important similarities between the natural environments of these islands. Although quite different in botanical composition, extensive old growth forests are important features of each island’s vegetation. On the islands’

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7 Munro, pp.564 and 625.
wet western coasts these forests grow right to the edge of the rugged beaches that line the interface between land and sea. Their interior regions also each contain impressive mountains. On the South Island the Southern Alps run north to south, forming the backbone of the island. Vancouver Island’s central plateau, though not so grand in scale as the Southern Alps, also contains imposing peaks and an alpine environment replete with lakes, streams and meadows. The eastern regions of each island are dryer and warmer than the west and the soils are more appropriate for agricultural endeavours than those elsewhere in these landmasses. It is in these areas that human populations are concentrated.

The most notable difference between the natural environments of the two islands lies in their wildlife populations. Vancouver Island has a large indigenous mammalian population. The South Island does not. This has resulted in some of the largest disparities between perceptions, and consequently management, of these two environments.

Another point of contrast lies in the islands’ proximity to large landmasses and metropolitan areas. Vancouver Island lies a very short distance from the continent of North America. It shares many of its species and ecosystems with the mainland and has also been settled by indigenous peoples for thousands of years. Yet the human population density of the island is low. Its largest city is Victoria, the capital of the province of British Columbia, with a population in 2001 of 311,902. In 2001 the entire population of Vancouver Island was 651,234. Over the course of the twentieth century however Vancouver (Canada) and Seattle (U.S.A.), the two mainland cities separated from Vancouver Island only by narrow straits, have grown
considerably. Today the population of greater Vancouver is close to two million. The city of Seattle, practically equidistant from the island, has a population in the vicinity of one million and is surrounded by a built up area that runs down the West Coast of North America, through Washington State and Oregon, to California.

The South Island on the other hand is relatively isolated. New Zealand’s North Island, slightly smaller than the South at 114 383km$^2$ is the closest significant piece of land. The closest landmass of continental proportions is Australia, lying some 1500 km to the North West. The vast majority of species that are present on the South Island can be found on the North Island as well. However, the number of plants or animals whose ranges extend beyond these shores is quite limited. Some New Zealand species are present throughout the Southern Hemisphere but the majority are found only on these isolated isles. The city of Christchurch, located on the East Coast of the South Island is the largest centre on the island itself. In 2001 this city was home to only 316 227 people and the island’s total population was 906 753. The closest metropolitan areas with populations in excess of one million are on the East Coast of Australia.

The beauty and variety of the Vancouver Island and South Island landscapes has become increasingly widely recognised. Nineteenth century settlers were impressed by these landscapes but they were also disconcerted by the lack of familiar biological communities. Over time these perceptions have altered significantly. Locals and visitors alike have come to embrace the scenic and recreational values of these islands. The relatively diminutive size of

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8 For Canadian population statistics derived from the 2001 Census figures see www.statcan.ca
9 For New Zealand population statistics derived from the 2001 Census figures see www.stats.govt.nz
the local populations has meant that these values have not been reduced to the same extent as those of other attractive natural environments around the globe. Hence the popularity of Vancouver Island and the South Island as tourist destinations. They are also sites rich in natural resources such as forests, minerals, fisheries and water. The administrative bodies on each island have therefore faced many challenges in achieving a balance between utilising their resources and preserving their natural environments. The rise of conservation and environmental organisations, initially on a local and more recently on an international scale, is another important factor in this equation. These organisations further pressures upon politicians and professional experts to resolve environmental and resource management issues effectively. Through the course of time the people involved in these debates, their aims and solutions to environmental problems have altered significantly. The aim of this thesis is to track these alterations by presenting three comparative case studies, three vignettes of a developing relationship with nature.

Each of these case studies is the result of archival research conducted both in Canada and New Zealand. Primary sources include government reports, private organisation records, newspapers and periodicals. The thesis contains three main chapters each of which deals with one case study. The first of these examines the practice of introducing exotic species to the islands during the early settlement period. (1880-1930 are the approximate dates for this chapter.) The second chapter focuses on conflicts over the development of hydroelectric power schemes during the mid-twentieth century. The final chapter is concerned with the implementation of sustainable forestry plans on each island during the 1980s and 90s. In each
of these chapters, and throughout the thesis, I focus on two main lines of inquiry. First I examine the ways that perceptions of nature played into, and were modified during, the course of environmental debates. Second I identify changes in the number and variety of stakeholders participating in these debates. These trends were highly interrelated, not in the least because they were partially dependent on the ways that the natural environment responded to human activities. On both Vancouver Island and the South Island, the responses of nature to human manipulations were catalysts for the transformation of human perceptions of the environment. These responses also impacted upon the social dynamics surrounding environmental decision-making. As the twentieth century progressed, and environmental issues became more complex, the number and variety of people contributing to discussions about nature increased. This democratisation of involvement in environmental issues had important ramifications on the continuing development of human-environment relations.
Chapter 1
Exotic Natures

The practice of introducing exotic species to new environments has a long history. After reaching new lands and assessing their aesthetics and resource potential, new settlers have invariably chosen to enhance them by introducing species both from their homelands and from abroad. Both Vancouver Island and the South Island were settled by Europeans, mostly of British descent, during the mid to late nineteenth century. There were some important similarities in the assumptions and beliefs that these people brought with them. Homegrown ideologies guided their interactions with, and perceptions of, the natural environments that they entered. One of the most pervasive and enduring of these was a desire to alter the nature that surrounded them to make it more similar to that of Britain and therefore more accommodating for British lifestyles.

New Zealand, comprised of two sizeable and a number of smaller islands has indigenous ecosystems unlike those anywhere else on earth. Before the arrival of European settlers, the only land mammals to inhabit the mainland South Island were two indigenous species of bat, plus a rat and dog that Maori settlers had introduced many centuries earlier. Hence the South Island was devoid not only of many specific species that existed in Europe but, to the foreign eye, it seemed to lack creatures to fill certain ecological niches and (more importantly) species to meet human resource requirements. The settlers’ fanatacism for introducing species is therefore hardly surprising. On Vancouver Island the story was somewhat different. Here
settlers found a landscape that, though wild and foreboding, did contain some familiar species, and ecosystems that seemed to function in a recognisable way. This meant that on Vancouver Island the fervour for introducing species never reached the level that it did in New Zealand. Yet the settlers still saw gaps within the local ecosystems, gaps that they believed could, and should, be filled.

In each location, settlers saw the potential for creating landscapes truly reminiscent of home. Yet this was only partially possible. The environments themselves quickly began to play an important role in shaping the settlers' ideologies, making them more idiosyncratic and less generically British. First, the natural environments encountered by the settlers influenced the quality and the quantity of the introductions that they attempted. Second, of course, they determined the success of the introductions. Many factors affect the impact of introductions in a particular place. Location and geography are crucial. The more isolated a particular landmass, the more likely that it has developed a unique set of ecosystems unaccustomed to outside influences. This renders them particularly fragile when faced with invasions by new species. Since Europeans started to 'discover' and settle the 'New World' their introductions have had varied impacts, in some instances devastating local environments and in others hardly disrupting them at all.¹⁰

This ongoing dialogue between settler societies and nature is the focus of this chapter. The attempts to recreate these two islands in the image of a far distant homeland provide a powerful example of the dynamism of the human-environment relationship. Both human and

non-human participants were constantly changing and evolving in response to, and independently of, the other. Although there is an extensive literature concerned with species introductions and their effect on island biogeographies, much less attention has been paid to the mentalities that guided species introductions. Today’s renovated nature, on both islands, is just as much a result of the evolution of understandings and perceptions of nature and the ability of different groups to participate in nature discourse, as it is of biology. To fully understand the environments that now surround us, and the best ways to live within them, we must surely understand why we altered them in the ways that we did and how these alterations have changed over time.

American environmental historian Richard White wrote of Christopher Columbus that he attempted ‘to perceive and comprehend American nature through strategies of difference/similarity and presence/absence.’ The same might well be said of the early settlers in New Zealand and British Columbia. T.E. Donne, New Zealand politician and early historian of the acclimatisation movement, described New Zealand as ‘...a land wherein Nature had exercised her best efforts in producing beauty, grandeur and weirdness.’ He went on to say that ‘After frolicking with freak trees and birds, Nature appears to have had no energy or desire

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12 Change over time is an important theme in this chapter. My argument describes changes in human perceptions of natural environments. The development of human ideas of this kind seldom proceeds in a linear fashion. Therefore although the structure of my argument presents a relatively smooth transition of ideas, the references that I have selected are those which best reveal the sentiments I describe rather than those which conform completely with a linear chronological development. This occasional lack of chronological coherence should not be seen to undermine the credibility of the argument as a whole.


to produce animals..." His comments reveal much about the ways in which early settlers responded to the New Zealand landscape and biota. They marvelled at the beauty of it all but they also felt a certain discomfort. The English naturalist John Keast Lord described early Vancouver Island in a similar way. He wrote in 1866 that ‘There is a solemn quiet, an almost deathlike silence pervading these mighty wilds of the far North West, unlike anything we can conceive where the hand of civilisation has been busy.’

It is not difficult to empathise with discomfort in the face of unfamiliar surroundings. However, what might strike many modern day readers as a little more unusual is the notion that ‘Nature’ somehow neglected these places. This concept reveals much about how natural environments were valued. If they did not contain certain essential elements they were seen as neglected and in serious need of aid and renovation. To the early settlers on both islands the land presented itself in various degrees of emptiness. They conceived of it like a Christmas tree with no decorations and believed that it was their duty to adorn it. In the South of the South Island the Otago Acclimatisation Society came together in 1864 because members ‘deplored the scarcity of game and fish in New Zealand, especially after what they had been used to in the old country.’ In the society’s second annual report the secretary stated,

...no country presents so suitable a field for and requires the aid of acclimatisation to add to its resources more than does New Zealand. The great scarcity of all kinds of birds, beasts, and fish is peculiar to the country and as the

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15 Ibid., p.xi.
17 Otago Acclimatisation Society (hereafter O.A.S.) Papers, President’s Address 1940, p.1
different varieties of stock that have been imported by private enterprise have succeeded well, and now exceed in number the indigenous species, there is not the slightest doubt that the whole of the animal kingdom, natives of a similar temperature would thrive well here.\(^\text{18}\)

Indeed, even when they referred to New Zealand’s indigenous species these poor provisions are cited as further evidence of neglect. Darwinian theory played its part here. Acclimatisers spoke of the erasure of native South Island species as if they were correcting a biological mistake. New Zealand species were often described as inherently inferior. As one commentator wrote of the plants native to the Canterbury region: ‘It is difficult to cultivate the most of them on account of their weakness of constitution.’\(^\text{19}\) Several decades later Canadian naturalists argued likewise that their native species had declined naturally, ‘Long before either the partridge or pheasant were introduced our native game birds were on the decrease…’\(^\text{20}\)

Native species were also criticised for frustrating ‘progress’ in the new colonies. They did this both by being destructive to progressive enterprises such as agriculture or by competing with useful introduced species. According to the South Island acclimatisation societies, the Pukeko, (New Zealand swamp hen) was guilty on both of these charges.

Your council has again endeavoured without success to secure an open season for Pukeko. These birds are plentiful and do much damage to stacks (sic.) and

\(^{18}\) O.A.S. 2\textsuperscript{nd} Annual Report, 1865, p.2. (Page numbers given correspond to those appearing in a booklet of all of the annual reports rather than to page numbers within any particular report.)


crops, but the department of internal affairs cannot be prevailed on to grant an open season.  

...it will be in the interests of all if during the coming season shooters endeavour to reduce the number of these birds, especially in areas where ducks are known to breed.

On Vancouver Island the cougar was attacked on similar grounds. In 1925 the Game Conservation Board of British Columbia attempted to introduce rocky mountain goats to the island to provide further sport for game hunters. Cougars were singled out as the chief enemy of these animals, 'In this connection it should be mentioned that a vigorous campaign is being waged against the cougar, it being thought that its elimination will aid in the increase of both goat and wapiti.'

The key factor counting against native plants and animals was, not surprisingly, that settlers failed to see any potential economic advantages in them. This is not to say that they only appreciated flora and fauna that would yield economic returns. In fact, much attention was paid to importing species purely for sentimental and aesthetic reasons. Yet because the settlers had no culture or tradition tied to these lands, they had few sentimental attachments to native species. Indigenous plants and animals were viewed from a utilitarian perspective, their potential as commodities was all-important. Bizarre and marvellous they might have been, but this was not sufficient to allow for their preservation. Hence the plants were 'weak' if they

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23 Hoyes Lloyd, 'The Introduction of the Muskrat and the Rocky Mountain Goat on Vancouver Island', *The Canadian Field Naturalist*, vol. xxxix, no. 6, September 1925, p.151.
could not be cultivated, and the sedge lands became 'rich' only once they had been converted to pasture.

Now however through the colonisation of the country by European settlers the scene has been entirely changed; the sedgy plains have been turned into well cultivated farms; the patches of forest and masses of *Phormium tenax* have almost disappeared and in their stead we have rich pastures of Europeans and other grasses and gardens containing almost every plant to be found in those of England.\(^{24}\)

These sentiments were expressed in 1871, barely two decades after European settlement of the Canterbury plains began. Indeed, settlers started introducing species very shortly after they arrived on the shores of both islands. On Vancouver Island the majority of this work was carried out by individuals. On the South Island, although individuals and government each played important early roles, acclimatisation societies were the main protagonists. There was a proliferation of these societies around the Western world in the mid-nineteenth century. The Societe Zoologique et Botanique d'Acclimatation was formed in Paris in 1854; in Berlin the Akklimatisations-verein was founded in 1858; and in Melbourne, the Royal Zoological and Acclimatisation Society of Victoria was set up in 1861.\(^{25}\) The first New Zealand society was founded in Canterbury in 1864. The objects of the society were as follows:

\(^{24}\) Armstrong, p.284.
The objects of the society shall be the introduction, acclimatization and
domestication of all animals and plants which are likely to be beneficial to the
province; the improvement and spread of such as are already on the spot; the
publication of reports, &c, for the purpose of spreading knowledge of
acclimatization and the interchange of reports and information with kindred
societies.26

Acclimatisers in both locations sought to ‘improve’ upon nature. This did not necessarily
mean the obliteration of all indigenous species, in fact, those that were perceived to be
‘beneficial’ would actually be encouraged. Acclimatisers sought to create a hybrid landscape
where the best of the Old World could be combined with the best of the new. The islands
themselves were to be a mere backdrop for these activities. Of course, those involved in
acclimatisation efforts found it hard to believe that pre-existing nature could ever be as
productive as that which had been altered by man. As a statement issued by the British
Columbia Department of Recreation and Conservation declared, ‘Good fishing doesn’t happen
by accident.’27

Acclimatisation was a long-sighted mission. Those who sought to introduce exotic
species sincerely believed that they were acting on behalf of future generations. They were
creating environments that would contribute to economic advancement and allow for world-
class recreation in aesthetically pleasing surroundings. The future was always in their minds.

27 British Columbia Department of Recreation and Conservation, British Columbia Provincial Archives, File GR
961, 46/2, 1961.
Hence in 1880 when S.C. Farr wrote a history of trout culture and distribution in Canterbury his goal was ‘simply to preserve a record of what has been done for the benefit of future generations in supplying them with fresh water fish from the old country...’

Which animals were deemed ‘beneficial’? There were three categories under which a species could be considered to contribute to the ‘improvement’ of Vancouver Island and the South Island. They could be useful in a purely economic sense, i.e. mostly for agriculture or perhaps for a resource industry such as fur. They could also be useful because they provided sport for hunters and fishermen. This version of usefulness was based more on nostalgia than utilitarianism although, this was not how the acclimatisers themselves saw it. Finally a number of species, mostly birds, were introduced for purely sentimental reasons. Their very presence made these strange lands more pleasant and homely.

Perhaps the most important of the useful species were the insectivorous birds such as starlings, magpies and sparrows. The ethos of ‘economic ornithology’ was important here. Although this is an American phrase never used in the texts that I dealt with, it nonetheless encapsulates the mentality that guided many of the importations that were intended to aid agriculture. Before the age of pesticides farmers had little, besides predators, with which to combat insects. Birds were classified as useful or not depending on stomach content analysis. If their stomachs were found to contain mostly insect pests, as opposed to grain, they were

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embraced as a ‘farmer’s friends’. They were almost anthropomorphized into fellow workers, colleagues toiling towards a common goal. The Otago society claimed that they continued to ‘...receive accounts from time to time of the immense benefit to our farmers from the presence of starlings. Fields overrun by caterpillars have been cleared in a few days and the grain thus saved from destruction.’

The Opossum was introduced into the South Island, and the muskrat into Vancouver Island, to contribute to the fur industry. South Island acclimatisation societies were particularly proud of this acquisition. In 1929 the Marlborough society looked forward to the ‘new and very profitable industry’ anticipated to follow from the introduction of opossums. In 1940 the Otago Society boasted that it should ‘...be borne in mind that the various societies introduced opossums to New Zealand and have watched over their propagation and increase, thereby securing substantial and regular benefits to the Dominion.’ Time has revealed the opossum as one of the most destructive pests New Zealand has faced; a voracious feeder it strips native forests, leaving little habitat for native birds. This possibility was mooted early and an independent inquiry was requested by the New Zealand government in 1929. The verdict of the expert who carried out this study was that ‘the opossum would be an asset and not a pest.’

The species that were introduced into New Zealand as game animals included a number of birds such as pheasants, grouse and quail, ruminants such as deer, goats, chamois and even

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30 This phrase was used to describe the Australian magpie in the O.A.S. 6th Annual Report, 1870, p.6.
31 O.A.S. Annual Report and Balance Sheet, No.16, 1881, p.3.
33 O.A.S. Papers, President’s Address 1940, p.3.
34 T. Kirk, The Opossum – Not Destructive of Forests – Nor Enemy of Native Birds, Wellington, 1924, p.3.
moose, fish, particularly species of trout and salmon, and numerous others. On Vancouver Island the list is similar. Introduced game birds included quail, partridges and pheasants, fish such as Atlantic salmon and brown trout established successfully, while some attempts were made to introduce rocky mountain goats, and fallow deer. The role that game animals were to fill held some internal contradictions. The sport that they provided added to the moral integrity of these wild lands. Therefore, as a population they were treasured and protected. Yet, individually, they were expendable. They were true martyrs, allowing, through their death, for human beings to carry out a divine plan.

In the book of Genesis we are told that God created man and gave him dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every other living thing that moveth upon the earth. For thousands of years man has been a hunter primarily for food and for pleasure. The God implanted instinct to kill for both purposes has never departed from him and many people would say that when the instinct to indulge in sport dies in our nation, then the nation will be on the down grade.35

The species introduced mainly for sentimental reasons also carried a burden of responsibility. As symbols of picturesque Britain they were to render these foreign shores more familiar and ‘attractive’ simply by their presence. As one contributor to The Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, Robert Chisholm, wrote in 1907 ‘...the deep melodious note of the tui and the ringing chorus of the bell bird made them (the early settlers)

long for the sweeter music of the skylark and the songs of the blackbird and thrush to add to the attraction of this new land.  

People identified with these birds so much that one Vancouver Islander expressed a concern that perhaps the skylarks themselves were homesick.

Oh skylark, loved of poets, and the dream
Of exiled millions, do you never long
For England? Do these fields quite alien seem
When mad with Spring you trill you spiraled song?  

Skylarks and other sentimental introductions were not viewed merely as a tool to aid the settlers through their adjustment period. Early community leaders set out to inculcate a permanent sense of yearning for the English countryside.

While recognising the claims of the present they were fully alive to the necessities of the future and set themselves to work to establish such societies and institutions as would help to bring back pleasant associations and reminiscences of the Old land from which they were separated by many miles of continent and sea.

The acclimatisation societies stated a desire to share information and knowledge about species introductions. This assertion affords some interesting insights into how acclimatisers perceived their environment. There was much direct communication between the different New Zealand societies, who, although well disposed to outbursts of parochial pride, saw

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38 Chisholm, p.3.
themselves as acting within a network. In addition to this, the New Zealand Institute provided a forum for discussion and debate amongst various scientific experts nationwide. Yet knowledge of, and therefore input into, these activities was very much limited to people within hunting, fishing and scientific circles. These issues were seldom discussed in media such as newspaper articles that might have reached a wider audience.

South Islanders lacked a nation-wide or even an island-wide wide body to compile and distribute information and, in the early years, any legislation to curtail acclimatisation efforts. This meant that information concerning the time and location of first introductions was (and is) difficult to come by. Scientists made pleas for this situation to be rectified quickly. J.F. Armstrong, a New Zealand Institute contributor wrote in 1871, 'I beg to remind the botanists in the Middle Island [i.e. South] that now is the time to determine the date of introduction of foreign plants into the country.'

On Vancouver Island where acclimatisation work was mostly carried out by individuals not affiliated to any particular organisation, information was even more difficult to obtain. The British Columbia Natural History Society was involved in bird importations from the 1890s however records of these activities are sparse. Canadian nature enthusiasts lamented this paucity of knowledge, albeit not quite as early as their New Zealand counterparts. An article on this subject appeared in The Canadian Field Naturalist in 1925,

For many years individuals, associations of one kind and another, and departments of governments have brought into Canada from elsewhere, or

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39 Armstrong, p.286.
transferred from one part of Canada to another, various kinds of mammals, birds and other living things thus making possible permanent changes in fauna and flora... More often than not the details of experiments of this kind have not been published at all or else they have been recorded in such a way that they are not permanently available to naturalists and others who might be interested in them...  

The author of this article Hoyes Lloyd, requested that those who had information regarding Canadian acclimatisation efforts write to him immediately. His request received a number of responses which he forthrightly published in the *Canadian Field Naturalist*. These articles, plus the records of the *Victoria Natural History Society*, founded only in 1944, provide the majority of the evidence regarding species introductions on Vancouver Island.

This said, the few sources that we do have suggest that Vancouver Island was the site of some of the most zealous Canadian acclimatisation efforts. Many species were introduced there before they were brought to the mainland. As an island, it presented a confined and relatively small space in which to experiment. Furthermore the temperate climate allowed for the establishment of a number of species that never survived on the mainland. For example, during the late 1800s and the early 1900s there were attempts to introduce English skylarks in various locations across the United States and Canada. They died out everywhere across the continent except on Vancouver Island where they were introduced and liberated in Victoria in  

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1902.\textsuperscript{41} Vancouver Islanders took great joy in this fact, as one member of the Victoria Natural History Society wrote, ‘Every nature lover enjoys a thrill when he sees skylarks soaring and hears their beautiful song.’\textsuperscript{42}

The British Columbia Provincial Game Warden records suggest that Vancouver Islanders were also more passionate about hunting and fishing than many other British Columbians. Their enthusiasm was a source of exasperation for one warden. In 1910 he complained that ‘…no matter what dates are fixed (for the shooting season) there will be complaints from Vancouver Island. I have more trouble and less support in enforcing the laws over there than in all the rest of the Province put together.’\textsuperscript{43}

What does this paucity of official information about species introductions tell us about the relationship between the settlers and their new environments? Realising that detailed information concerning these activities was traveling a closed circuit, it pays to consider just who was able to participate in its production and dissemination. The answer is, overwhelmingly: upper class men. A brief perusal of the early \textit{Proceedings and Transactions} of the New Zealand Institute reveals that the contributors are all male and nearly all titled. In 1924 when T.E. Donne wrote his history of game introductions in New Zealand he commented proudly that prominent citizens such Sir James Hector, Sir James Carroll, Sir Joseph Ward\textsuperscript{44} were all vigorous supporters of the movement. It is difficult to uncover the same trends on Vancouver Island. However there are telltale signs of a class-based game movement. For

\textsuperscript{41} A.L. Meugens, ‘The English Skylark’, \textit{The Victoria Naturalist}, vol. 1, no. 2 (May 1944), p.16
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., p.15.
\textsuperscript{43} Letter from Provincial game Warden to Hon W.J. Bowser, Attorney General, August 4\textsuperscript{th}, 1910, BC Provincial Game Warden Records, 1905-1922, Box 25, B.C. Archives.
\textsuperscript{44} Donne, p.281.
example this excerpt from the discussions over the appointment of a game warden, 'Of course anything I can do towards helping to get a permanent game warden on Vancouver island will be done, it is sadly needed. You are quite right to insist if possible on a man of your own, a poor man is worse than useless.'

There are a number of reasons why the upper classes were so prominent in this movement. First, they had the money to finance importations and to provide for their cultivation, liberation and protection. Second, they had time to spend on recreation in the outdoors. Third, the type of recreation to which they were accustomed revolved around traditional upper class British pursuits, particularly hunting and fishing. Therefore being involved in acclimatisation efforts performed a dual purpose. It allowed for settlers to engage in traditional activities, thereby replicating the lifestyle that they had left behind. At the same time these activities allowed settlers to foster real links between their islands and Britain. They became involved in a network of gamekeepers and hunters that stretched across Britain and her colonies. In fact many of those involved in acclimatisation on Vancouver and the South Island saw this as an opportunity to achieve a status and participate in a culture that had been inaccessible to them at home. As G.M. Thomson, a prominent member of the New Zealand scientific community, wrote in 1922, 'They recalled the sport that was forbidden to all but a favoured few but which they often longed to share in...and there rose up before their vision a land where all these desirable things might be found and enjoyed.'

45 Letter from Mr J. Musgrave to Mr B. Williams, Provincial Game Warden, January 14 1908, BC Provincial Game Warden Records, 1905-1922, Box 16, B.C. Archives.
South Island acclimatisation society reports are littered with statements such as the following, from the North Canterbury Association,

Lady Liverpool...has kindly promised to try and rear Black Game for this society...Arrangements were also made with the Country Gentlemen’s Association, to try and rear some, the eggs having been generously promised by his grace the Duke of Buccleugh.47

Certainly wealthier Britons were likely to have the best quality stock to offer for export but it seems as though the mere association with a famous family or estate was the most coveted prize. Robert Chisholm’s early history of the Otago Society recounts how in 1871 the Earl of Dalhousie made a generous gift of deer caught in his forest at Invermark, Scotland. These deer were the ‘worthy ancestors of that noble herd that roams the densely clad timber hills and vales of North Otago affording genuine sport to the deer stalker...’48 The words used to describe these animals are telling. They were ‘worthy’ and ‘noble’. These aristocratic adjectives contrast markedly with those used to describe more utilitarian introductions and native species. Animals such as the earl’s deer represented the quality of society and lifestyle that the acclimatisers hoped to emulate. Indeed on Vancouver Island introductions of game species were part of a general commitment to attracting a certain type of settler. Boosters saw this as the perfect place for upper class Englishmen.

48 Chisholm, p.8.
Who should go to Vancouver Island? The type of people who do well in Vancouver island are those who have a taste for outdoor life and sport, and have the energy for a farm life, either using their own labour or directing the work of others. The life is particularly attractive to what may be called the Public School Class – younger sons of good families, and men retired from the army, or a profession with a small capital and sporting habits.\textsuperscript{49}

Nature was not only altered to suit those who found themselves within it, it was also altered to encourage a certain class of people to make the choice to come.

As an aside, on Vancouver Island the game animals and the rights to hunt them exposed not only class but also racial discriminations. There are a number of complaints in the Provincial Game Warden’s files about ‘foreigners’ taking game, usually at the wrong time of year or in some way that did not conform to traditional notions of gentlemen’s etiquette. For example this letter from a Mr A.J. Hubbard, ‘Will you kindly let me know by return mail if it is against the law to shoot pheasants while the snow is on the ground. There is about two foot of snow on the ground and the chinamen and other foreigners are shooting them as they come out in the open fields hunting for food.’ The Provincial Game Warden replied that it was not illegal.\textsuperscript{50}

Did the middle and working classes, so seldom involved in the acclimatisation movement, lament this subordination of their environmental agency? Did they support the

\textsuperscript{49} Western Pacific Development Company, Outdoor Life in Vancouver Island, London, 1913, p.12.

\textsuperscript{50} Letter from AJ Hubbard to the Provincial Game Warden, November 16, 1911, Gr0446, B.C. Provincial Game Warden Records, 1905-1922, Box 31, B.C. Archives.
movement despite their lack of involvement in it? Or did they resent the attempts to recreate an environment that encouraged class segregation and allowed for the pastimes of only a privileged few? As always it is difficult to find evidence of what the less dominant societal groups felt. Certainly the acclimatisers believed that their actions would produce rewards for one and all. The Third Annual Report of The Otago Acclimatisation Society (1866) described how ‘An appeal was made for the countenance and support of all those interested in the progress of the colony, all being alike benefited by whatever tends to advance their adopted home.’ But was this actually the case? For those who had few chances to recreate in the countryside the benefits may well have seemed somewhat out of reach.

This inequality of involvement in nature’s renovation did produce tensions. This is manifest in the letters to the editor of the Marlborough Express in 1878. One correspondent stated that introducing ‘vermin’ for sport would ‘encourage gun carrying loafers and sheep worrying curs.’ Another asked if the Marlborough Society was attempting to ‘eventually drive the small settlers from the plains by introductions of destructive wildlife?’ These comments remind us that different groups of people were using the land in different ways, that what produced recreational benefits for one might cause economic disaster for another, and that introductions do not occur within a vacuum. The actions of acclimatisers did affect others.

Yet these conflicts were only symptomatic of a more pervasive and subordinating mentality. As time passed those with less political and financial clout realised that only certain groups had purchase to define what wildlife was, let alone how it should be treated. In an

article written for the *Canadian Field Naturalist* in January of 1931, entitled ‘What is Meant by the Term Wildlife Conservation?’ the author comments that,

...There is an increasing tendency upon the part of some sportsmen to identify as wildlife only certain bird and mammal species which are classified as game, and to foster the increase of these species at the expense of all other birds and mammals. I submit that under such a policy our wildlife will cease to be a national possession and become the heritage of a class which is relatively few in number.52

Exotic species are likely to experience one of two extremes when they enter a new environment. Because they have not evolved as part of that ecosystem they sometimes take advantage of a lack of predators and competitors and establish quickly. Alternatively they sometimes face threatening new predators and competitors and fail to become established. In both instances those people who introduced the species are likely to attempt to regulate the situation somewhat. This might mean introducing additional species to control, or to provide food for, the original introductions, or it may mean controlling certain other species that appear to be inhibiting their progress. It was in this continuing tweaking of natural systems and relationships that the power to define what was wildlife had its impact.

On both Vancouver Island and the South Island various groups came into conflict over the destruction of predatory birds. The author of the *Canadian Field Naturalist* article cited above stated that,

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...a nature lover will say “what if my eagles do take an occasional fawn...have I no rights on the matter? Am I not a citizen and a tax payer? If I prefer watching eagles to hunting deer do I have to apologise? Of course the sportsman’s retort is “I finance game protection, therefore I shall do as I see fit”

Similarly South Island acclimatisers were criticised for their policy of controlling shag (cormorant) numbers. These birds were thought to be drastically reducing the trout populations in local rivers. Among the Otago society records is the draft of a letter to the editor of a local newspaper written in 1933. The letter was obviously written in response to a correspondent using the pseudonym ‘fauna’ who must have attacked the societies in a previous letter.

The proposal to keep the shags in check has nettled ‘fauna’...trout were introduced for the benefit of anglers, not for the benefit of shags, and the society has every right to protect its own in rivers where these fish are to be found.

These few words encapsulate so many of the acclimatisers’ underlying assumptions. Shags, a native species, were described as pests. There is no inkling of the idea that as native species they had a right to eat what they could find. There is also a total lack of concern for the desires of people other than anglers. Finally there is the intriguing evocation of ownership of the trout. Where was the line between wildlife and chattel? This anonymous response to ‘fauna’ reveals a disjunction between the beliefs of the acclimatisers and environmental reality. Their conviction that they still owned and therefore controlled the species that they had liberated seems like wishful thinking. It seems a little more ominous when one remembers that no one

was claiming the ownership of native species. As the property of nobody in particular the native species lost out. Acclimatisers were quite content with a situation in which one group of animals were owned and therefore represented, and the other was not. Essentially, because they could afford to introduce species and then felt determined to protect those species, the wealthy game hunters denied any other group the opportunity to shape the environment in a way that might meet their needs.

Species introductions did benefit a wider population in a less direct sense through their influence on tourism. '...they (the acclimatisation societies) have not only afforded much repeated pleasure to dwellers in this country, but also and let it never be forgotten, provided a great attraction to visiting tourists, who, as we all know, leave a trail of wealth behind them.'

Yet it must be noted that instead of seeking to provide tourists with a unique New Zealand or Vancouver Island experience, acclimatisers again aimed to replicate and improve upon what could be found back in Britain. They could not conceive of someone wanting to visit the countryside of the South Island or Vancouver Island in its unaltered form. There was, to their way of thinking, only one type of landscape that would please tourists and residents alike. The islands could be different from Britain in possessing more game, bigger fish, fewer pests, but to be truly attractive they could not deviate from a British rural ideal. Consequently, lands settled by British immigrants such as Vancouver Island and the South Island saw themselves in direct competition for the tourist dollar. It was in relation to tourism that Vancouver Islanders acknowledged the efforts of their New Zealand contemporaries.

55O.A.S. Papers, President's Address 1940, p.2.
I do not know if you are aware that New Zealand has, at large expense, imported several different species of big game, lately a large shipment of moose having gone down there from the east. Also their trout fishing which is the finest in the world is the result of importation. The consequence of this is that New Zealand is becoming famous as a sporting country and it yearly attracts large numbers of tourists from all parts of the world. We have a fine game country but it could be much finer than it is, and I believe that if the present government were to take the matter up in earnest, and not begrudge the few thousands of dollars necessary, their policy would be a blessing to future generations, and it would be heartily endorsed by the present generation.\footnote{Letter from the Provincial Game Warden to the Hon Richard McBride, Premier, Victoria, B.C., July 18\textsuperscript{th}, 1910, B.C. Provincial Game Warden Records, 1905-1922, Box 25, B.C. Archives.}

Essentially they were aiming to provide the same product, the question was, who could provide it in its best form.

Another result of this mindset was that acclimatisers tended to speak of the introduced species as if their presence dominated the entire environment in which they lived. When South Islanders spoke of ‘advertising’ their forests, it was not the forests themselves that were being considered but rather the imported animals that inhabited them.

For the first time in many years we had the pleasure of allotting a block to an overseas sportsman; our visitor, Colonel Lister...spoke in glowing terms of his trip and freely intends coming out to us again. When his heads are exhibited at
Home it should be an excellent advertisement for our forest and we hope will induce other overseas sportsmen to pay us a visit.\textsuperscript{57}

It seems that a forest had no value other than as a habitat for deer. Even when some intrinsic value was granted to the forests, it seems that it was diminished by their apparent infinity. 'It might be pointedly asked, how many travellers visit New Zealand to view shrubs and plants as against those who are attracted there by sport? In any case there are more trees, shrubs and plants than a man could look at in 100 years.'\textsuperscript{58}

Yet introduced animals themselves sometimes seemed devoid of intrinsic worth. There was little or no appreciation of the animals per se. Instead, they were thought of as conglomerates of their component parts. In the hope of gaining the attention of potential tourists the Otago Acclimatisation society described their deer herd as 'yielding magnificent heads, which for symmetry, points and spread cannot be surpassed in any part of the world.'\textsuperscript{59}

Where was the deer itself in this equation? The gamekeepers appear to leap right from 'herd' to 'head' contemplating nothing in-between. A deer was essentially a head that, in the short term, needed a body merely to provide some sport. This conceptualisation is symptomatic of a general piecemeal perception of nature. There is little appreciation of how interconnected the various components of say, a forest, were. Therefore, it was possible to imagine plucking certain species out of the British countryside and introducing them into that of far distant islands. It was also possible to advertise these components of the New Zealand countryside

\textsuperscript{57} N.C.A.S., Annual Report and Balance Sheet, No.68, 1932, p.3.
\textsuperscript{58} Donne, p.284.
\textsuperscript{59} Chisholm, p.8.
paying little attention to their less-presentable colleagues. Indeed this nature was about presentation not reception. It was presented more than it was understood.

There is something telling about this desire to create and advertise a nature that would attract and satisfy others. Whether it was future generations or tourists, those not currently building their lives within these island landscapes influenced the actions of those who were. Again we have to wonder whether acclimatisers saw themselves catering to, or molding the sensibilities of, their customers and benefactors. Whichever it was, the tendency to consider these outsiders so much suggests that the natures they considered most often were more of an aspiration, a dream, an ideal, than a biological reality.

However biological realities were sometimes unavoidable. After European colonisation of these islands many species became established that were not introduced intentionally. Insects, plants, parasites and small rodents such as rats and mice crossed the oceans in multitudes of ways. Although these species were not part of the deliberate alteration of new world landscapes, the settlers’ reactions to them are telling. Some delighted in the presence of these European survivors. Others found these uninvited co-habitees a cause for concern, hence their tendency to employ terms such as ‘weed’, ‘vermin’, and ‘pest’ to describe them. These classifications are highly subjective. The debates about the introduction of species reveal just how arbitrary, and at the same time, revealing, these categories are. As one Vancouver Island naturalist commented, the ‘weeds’ that invaded gardens were the very same ‘wildflowers’ that were cherished by botanists.
Most if not all of these hardy immigrants are classed as weeds by the practical gardener and farmer, but from the botanist's viewpoint they are wildflowers that possess great adaptability to varied terrain and climatic conditions and in this sense are most successful representatives of the plant kingdom.  

'Weeds' are plants that, according to historian Alfred Crosby, 'spread rapidly and out-compete others on disturbed soil'. So, how does soil become disturbed? Before human beings became sedentary and engaged in agriculture the most common soil disturbances resulted from natural events such as landslides, floods and earthquakes. Since humans have become increasingly involved in manipulating environments we have disturbed soil more and more. So while our activities destroy the habitat of most of the world's species, they actually increase that of 'weeds'. The same could be said of the weeds of the animal world, species such as rats, mice and sparrows.

Crosby states that weeds 'are not good or bad, they are simply the plants that tempt the botanists to use such anthropocentric terms as aggressive and opportunistic.' Botanists are not the only ones to succumb to this temptation. As other species died out in the face of human progress the advance of weeds and 'vermin' affected something of a homogenization of earth's

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60 George A. Hardy, 'Two Recent Plant Additions to Vancouver Island', _The Victoria Naturalist_, vol. 8, no. 5 (November 1951), p.54.

61 Alfred Crosby, _Ecological Imperialism, The Biological Expansion of Europe 900-1900_, Cambridge, 1986, p.149. David Quammen describes weeds as species that 'reproduce quickly, disperse widely when given a chance, tolerate a fairly broad range of habitat conditions, take hold in strange places, succeed in especially disturbed ecosystems, and resist eradication once they're established. See David Quammen, 'Planet of Weeds, tallying the losses of Earth's animals and plants', _Harpers Magazine_, (October 1998), p.57.

62 Crosby, p.150.
biota. Acclimatisers were engaged in turning new worlds into partial replicas of Britain. One might then imagine that they welcomed this drift toward uniform global estate. However their reactions were mixed. T. Kirk wrote in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* that

... wherever the traveller lands from his floating home, he finds himself surrounded by familiar plants which have in a greater or lesser degree amalgamated with the vegetation of the country which they have invaded, and which to a large extent they will ultimately overcome.  

Kirk’s evocation of invasion suggests a degree of unease about this emerging worldwide botanic homogeneity. His comments on the plight of New Zealand native birds faced with the introductions of mustelid ‘pests’ show even more alarm.

...it is most unfortunate that birds of such exceptional interest as the kakapo and kiwi should have their extinction accelerated by the introduction of such pests as the stoat, weasel and ferret which are annihilating one of the most remarkable collections of indigenous birds in the world.

G.M. Thomson, commented in a similar vein that ‘the weeds of Europe, America, India etc are distributed far and wide over our colonial empire and, as is too often the case, to the serious detriment of the country that imports them.’

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63 Quammen argues that this threat continues to the present day. He paints a gloomy picture of a ‘near term future in which Earth’s landscape is threadbare, leached of diversity, heavy with humans and “enriched” in weedy species. Quammen, ‘Planet of Weeds’, p.67.


65 Ibid., p.7.

sudden concern for the welfare of native species? Was it disturbing for the settlers to discover that their activities could not be circumscribed so as to produce the exact combination of new and old that they had hoped for? Perhaps this realisation undermined their authority while simultaneously asserting that of nature. In a discussion of modern ideas of wilderness, environmental historian William Cronon lamented the widely held belief that ‘The place where we are is the place where nature is not’. Following this line of argument one might imagine that humans tend to view weeds and vermin as unnatural because they proliferate where we are. If we ascribe this point of view to the acclimatisers it seems all the more ironic considering that the presence of weeds and vermin was in a certain sense more natural than that of introduced species that could not succeed on their own but needed to be protected, encouraged and repeatedly imported.

Vancouver Islanders were also concerned about the spread of weeds although they did not refer to their impacts on native species. One naturalist stated that,

Weeds...are plants with objectionable qualities usually growing in places not wanted. Some common local weeds include gorse, wild radish, foxglove, English daisy, Japanese honeysuckle, tansy and Canada thistle, of which several have been introduced as ornamentals.

One wonders what the ‘objectionable qualities’ of these plants were. These were species that had been purposefully introduced as ornamentals. People wanted them in their gardens, yet

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beyond these spaces they became objectionable. Again these sentiments expose a discomfort with the lack of control that people could maintain over plants that they themselves had initially encouraged and cultivated. Yet opinions were far from uniform here a number of contributors to the *Victoria Naturalist* boasted of the wildflowers that brightened up the countryside. 'As to the ubiquitous aliens, or "weeds" as we impolitely term them, they have long proved their ability to thrive in our climate, many flowering in every month of the year.'

People viewed species differently. The designation of plants and animals could also change over time. In fact this very process of transformation was at the root of the entire British game hunting tradition. Hunting initially served to protect people and domestic animals from vermin such as foxes. Yet the hunt developed into a tradition and became more recreational than utilitarian. This resulted in a transformation of the fox from vermin to prize. As historian John MacKenzie has argued, 'the logic of protective hunting had been inverted. The ritual of protection against vermin had become so necessary to rural social relations that the vermin had to be preserved and increased.' And - one might add - introduced to new settlements.

Sparrows were initially introduced to both islands as insectivorous birds and therefore moral agents aiding in the progress toward rural ideals. They became pests in both places and were soon spoken of in terms of their immorality. One Vancouver Islander commented that 'There seems to be little or no competition with indigenous species, although a certain amount

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69 *The Victoria Naturalist*, vol. 7, no. 8 (February 1951), p.92.
is said to exist between the mynah and the introduced English sparrow...no honor amongst thieves.’"71 The same trend is evident on the South Island. The famous New Zealand station owner H. Guthrie Smith denounced sparrows, starlings, blackbirds and thrushes for their role in the spreading of weeds such as blackberries, a ‘woeful weed’ that was ‘radiating from every center of infection’.72 The hedgehog, one of the early introductions to the South Island quickly underwent a similar change in designation. As one Otago Acclimatisation Society member stated ‘I would definitely state its proper place should be in the same category as the rabbit – pest, and in the writer’s opinion every method of destruction should be employed to exterminate it.73

Here we see that these categories, weed, vermin, pest, although highly subjective, allowed people to know nature and offered them clues about how to act within it. Under this system of classification there was no requirement for people to understand species in a scientific sense. They were defined by the ways that they interacted with human beings, a much simpler criterion for humans to understand. By asserting that the hedgehog belonged in the same category as the rabbit, that of ‘pest’, settlers simplified their relationship with these species. This process was essential, especially as nature began to reveal itself as highly complex. Classifications provided discrete units for thought and action. That the relation of these categories to the natural world was tenuous was beside the point.

On the South Island particularly, as the negative impacts of acclimatisation became more obvious, terms such as ‘weed’ and ‘vermin’ were used as giant hold-alls into which the problems were swept and contained. Introduced species came to be perceived more and more as pests. There were several reasons for this, and they vary depending on whose point of view is being considered. Many species that had been the pride and joy of early acclimatisers had failed to establish successfully. Game birds, such as pheasants and partridges struggled in both locations. In contrast other species advanced beyond the control of those who introduced them - so much so in many South Island cases that further introductions had been effected to counteract this. With time, therefore, populations of introduced species contained fewer species that had initially inspired the dreams of the acclimatisers and more that had been accidentally introduced or introduced out of desperation. The lines of the nursery rhyme, ‘I know an old lady who swallowed a fly’ achieve a strange pertinence here.

I know an old lady who swallowed a bird.

How absurd to swallow a bird.

She swallowed the bird to catch the spider that wiggled and jigged and tickled inside her.

She swallowed the spider to catch the fly

I don’t know why she swallowed the fly

Perhaps she’ll die.

In the work of the acclimatisation societies as in the experience of the old lady, so many seemingly innocent introductions proved disastrous and required further introductions to
regulate them. As Donne succinctly stated, 'It was a case of trying to cure a curse with a curse and naught but a curse remains'\textsuperscript{74}

No longer could the activities of the South Island acclimatisation societies be kept under wraps. They were criticised widely in the early decades of the twentieth century. These criticisms reveal New Zealanders' growing appreciation of indigenous flora and fauna. Gradually native species overtook the exotics species in public esteem; they came to be regarded as in need of nurture and protection. Introductions that had detrimental effects on native species were derided. In the late 1920s acclimatisation societies were much maligned for the introduction of opossums - although they were loathe to accept the charges against them. The secretary of the Otago Society wrote in defence of his society's actions,

\begin{quote}
My society is somewhat concerned at the number of letters that have appeared in the newspapers within the last year or so relative to the supposed damage done by opossums in the forests in the way of eating the green shoots of some of the trees and thereby decreasing the food of our native birds. Some of the writers try to make out that this is largely responsible for the diminution of the native birds in our forests.\textsuperscript{75}
\end{quote}

The society also complained in a similar vein that, 'Too much blame is being put on deer for the damage to our forests...more destruction is wrought in our forests by man than by any other

\textsuperscript{74} Donne, p.242.
\textsuperscript{75} O.A.S. Papers, Letter sent to trappers by O.A.S. secretary, R. Hanning, Dunedin, 2\textsuperscript{nd} July 1929.
agency. It is not clear where they saw themselves in this set of relations. In defending the deer that they had introduced were they also indicting their own species? It appears that they were pointing the finger not at all people but at those whom they did not deem to be nature lovers. It is as if they believed that their actions, motivated by a love of nature and the outdoors, could not possibly be as harmful to the environment as those of people whose motivations came from elsewhere. Here again we see the tendency to divide, to disallow continuums and to define nature and the role of humans within it in terms of divisions.

It is tempting to claim that the Canadians also inverted their indigenous/exotic biases at this time. In the *Canadian Field Naturalist* one contributor wrote of the starling in Canada that, ‘...its effect has not been good, and, flocking to city parks, orchards and such semi-wild places, has still further displaced native species with whom we are in closer sympathy. It has shown all its bad habits and few redeeming good ones.’ However, criticisms of those involved in species introductions do not appear to have surfaced publicly as they did on the South Island. Furthermore, those describing the nature of Vancouver Island displayed a more open-minded approach to these issues than their South Island counterparts. Their greater appreciation of indigenous species did not signal a rejection of introduced ones. Here there truly was a sense of a hybrid nature that defied attempts to classify and divide.

In Oak Bay there are no long avenues of trees, no formal groves such as offend the taste in usual suburban districts. Here are the trees as Dame nature left them.

... Here and there along the shore the arbutus with the shiny red bark, the

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douglas fir, the balsam, the broad leafed maple and numerous native ornamental shrubs...all add their beauties to the scene. ... The year round birds make their home in Oak bay – The native robins, thrushes, warblers and a number of other feathered songsters sing in the trees; pheasants, grouse and quail roam the fields at large...\textsuperscript{78}

Only those able to distinguish between species native to the island and those that are not would be able to notice the hybridity of the environment described here, because the author places introduced and indigenous species together as if their co-habitation were entirely natural.

What were the catalysts behind this reappraisal of the value of nature? What made the native species of both islands more acceptable, aesthetically pleasing and conducive to the type of societies that the settlers hoped to create? It seems implausible that these changes were sourced in the natural world. Much more probable is a developing nationalism that allowed the settlers to see these islands and not Britain as ‘home’. The indigenous inhabitants of this new home then became new symbols of differentiation, in the same way that the introduced species had represented replication. The evidence also points to a gradual democratisation of nature, i.e. an increasing potential for a wider range of people to voice their opinions on, and affect policy concerning, nature. It would appear that as more species ranged out of control, the issues surrounding acclimatisation became more prominent and more widely known and debated. What had previously been discussed behind closed doors or only within scientific circles became the focus of letters to the editor and other such public fora.

\textsuperscript{78} Vancouver Island Development League, \textit{Vancouver Island British Columbia Canada: The Treasure Island; Agriculture, Timber, Mines and Fisheries, A History of Its Resources by Districts}, Victoria, 1931, p.83.
Where did this leave the acclimatisation societies of the South Island? When we consider the changing role of these societies in the early-to-mid twentieth century it is important to remember that their actions were guided by a love of the outdoors. They too came to appreciate native species more and more. In the 64th Annual Report of the Otago Acclimatisation Society the following statement on declining native bird populations appears,

While opinions may differ as to the causes of the decrease, your council feels sure that everybody would deeply deplore the extinction of any of our beautiful and unique birds. An appeal is made to all those who appreciate our birds to do all in their power to prevent the killing of species whose numbers are decreasing.\(^{79}\)

In fact some societies were using a portion of their license fees for native bird protection programs. The North Canterbury Society wrote that, ‘We feel sure that no sportsman will regret that licenses should be expended in so sound a cause, for after all, it is the sportsmen and their families who spend their time out of doors who derive most pleasure from our native bird life.’\(^{80}\) This was undoubtedly true. Yet the turn to native bird protection programs signalled a new era in the life of acclimatisation societies that would see them focus on custodial duties rather than species introductions. The failure of so many acclimatisation projects, and the bad reputation they had acquired meant that the introduction of exotic species was no longer practicable. On Vancouver Island those involved in introducing new species marched on.

Theirs was a less fervent yet more constant process as opposed to the boom and bust experienced by their Southern Hemisphere colleagues. (See Figure 3.81)

The history of species introductions on these two islands raises interesting questions about the species that we categorize as ‘belonging’. Our conception of which species ‘belong’ is not based on which species are most successful. Weeds and vermin are terms that describe opportunistic and aggressive species, species that succeed where others cannot. Yet, they were certainly not seen as ‘belonging’. By proving themselves to be beyond the control of human beings these species ensured that they would be deemed to be out of place everywhere. The settlers understanding of belonging was based almost entirely on human needs. The animals and plants that British settlers introduced to Vancouver Island and the South Island did not belong in these places, but they belonged with the settlers. It was hoped that their presence could create a landscape to which these people could eventually belong.

But what of the new appreciation that native species were enjoying by the early twentieth century? Did this not signal the emergence of a formulation of belonging that was based in the natural world rather than constructed by humans? Even this notion of belonging shows little respect for the complexity and dynamism of nature however. Those species that we describe as native to any particular region are really only those species that have occurred there in human

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81 Note that this graph compares Vancouver Island with the whole of New Zealand rather than the South Island. Statistics could not be located for the South Island alone, however, the number of species introduced to the North island that we not also introduced to the South island would be negligible.
Figure 3. Rates of Bird and Mammal Introductions on Vancouver Island and New Zealand.

memory. Archaeologists and palaeontologists now remind us that the ecosystems that we consider to be indigenous to any particular part of the world are only those that we have known through our own experiences. If we based our classifications on another period in time, say ten million years ago, we would be referring to a whole different array of species.

All of these formulations of belonging appear to have been more important on the South Island than on Vancouver Island. Here settlers placed more faith in the ability of introduced species to render the unfamiliar familiar. They also showed more concern about those species that did and did not belong within this renovated landscape. The desire to differentiate between natives and non-natives in New Zealand is due, in no small way, to the fact that a large proportion of the species that are indigenous to New Zealand occur nowhere else in the world. Those that are native to Vancouver Island on the other hand, occur in many places across the North American continent. Perhaps this fact has the effect of diminishing Vancouver Island's rights to them, in our minds at least.

In their attempts to introduce alien species to Vancouver Island and the South Island of New Zealand influential settlers revealed a blinkered conception of natural environments that valued the British rural landscape above all others. They approached these activities with a lack of appreciation of the complexity of the ecosystems with which they were interfering and also of the opinions and desires of other members of their communities. There was a tendency for those who manipulated nature at this time to use over-simplified classifications to manage and attempt to control it. These classifications were based not on an ecological but a human reality. Therefore species were classed as ‘beneficial’, and ‘useful’, or as ‘weeds’ and ‘pests’, entirely
based on how they fitted into human aspirations of the time. People, likewise were categorized as ‘sportsmen’, as ‘scientists’, as ‘British’. These titles also had important ramifications for people’s roles within the human-environment relationship. On the South Island in particular, the outcomes of acclimatization activities often did not reflect the intentions of those involved. Indeed as these activities continued, nature asserted itself as an autonomous and powerful entity, undermining the ability of settlers to control their surroundings through the use of simple classifications and understandings. In the turbulence that ensued, those sections of the community that had hitherto had little chance to contribute to the perception of and actions within nature found their voice. So as nature transcended human attempts to define it, it also provided an avenue whereby settlers could step forward and contribute to a new and complex relationship with their environments. Vancouver Islanders were never as fervent about acclimatization as their New Zealand counterparts. Their activities were more moderate and the outcomes less disastrous. This allowed them to embrace the complexity of nature with more freedom and yet at the same time appears to have maintained an inequality in terms of who could speak for and control nature.
Chapter 2

Damn the Dams

The mid twentieth century was marked by a period of industrial expansion on Vancouver Island and the South Island. Post war optimism heightened the desire of both locals and foreign investors to utilise the untapped resources of these isles. This growth placed increasing pressure on the islands’ power supply facilities.

On Vancouver Island the growth of the pulp and paper industry in conjunction with a significant population increase during the 1940s forced local authorities to consider new possibilities for power generation. The Campbell River System, particularly its three lakes Buttle, Upper Campbell and Lower Campbell offered the only real potential for hydropower development on the island. In 1947 the British Columbia Power Commission dammed the river just below Lower Campbell Lake to create John Hart Lake, and constructed a 50,000 horsepower power station. Two years later the commission dammed Lower Campbell Lake for storage purposes. Buttle Lake was viewed as the most viable site for their next development and plans for an earth dam at the foot of the lake were announced in 1951. This dam was to raise the level of the lake by some forty-five feet.82

Unlike Upper and Lower Campbell Lakes, Buttle Lake lies within Strathcona Park. The oldest Provincial Park in British Columbia, Strathcona was established by a separate act of the provincial legislature in 1911. Under the Act, 504,176 acres of

Vancouver Island's mountainous central plateau were 'reserved and set apart as a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of British Columbia.' Yet from its early days the park was exploited for a number of resources, particularly its forests and mineral reserves. In fact plans to dam Buttle Lake had also been considered once before during the 1920s. Although a few people opposed such use of the park, there had been little general concern about these activities. Yet by the 1950s Buttle Lake was being visited more frequently by anglers, campers and nature enthusiasts. The new plans for a dam provided a catalyst for a small group of these recreationalists and other like-minded people to mobilize and campaign vocally against development for the first time.

The British Columbia Natural Resources Conservation League (founded in 1947) organised the campaign to protest against the raising of Buttle Lake. They chose local author, naturalist and magistrate Roderick Haig-Brown to act as their spokesperson. Haig-Brown was an Englishman who immigrated to Canada in 1927. He spent some time working in logging camps in mainland British Columbia in his younger days, eventually settling in Campbell River, a town situated close to Strathcona Park. Coming from an upper class English background, Haig-Brown enjoyed 'civilised' outdoor pursuits, particularly angling. His writings spanned a number of different genres including guidebooks, novels and essays. Much of this work was devoted to describing

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83 Strathcona Park Act, 1911.
and prescribing appropriate activities within nature. Working alongside Haig-Brown was William Reid, a Californian millionaire and president of the conservation organisation ‘Ducks Unlimited’. Reid owned a cabin at Buttle Lake and funded much of the campaign to save it. Following the lead of these two influential men was a group of mostly middle class people who interacted with nature through recreation. These people argued that Upper Campbell Lake should be dammed instead of Buttle. The area surrounding Upper Campbell Lake had already been extensively cleared. Therefore, they argued, the loss of scenic, scientific, and recreational values would be substantially less if this lake were raised.

Opposing Haig Brown and his followers was a formidable group of businessmen, politicians and engineers. The two groups met at ten days of hearings held at Courtenay in August 1951. The conservationists felt confident about their case at the close of the hearings but this optimism proved unfounded in early November 1951 when E.H. Tredcroft, the Comptroller of Water Rights, granted the B.C. Power Commission the license to dam Buttle Lake. His concession to conservation interests was to stipulate that the lakeshore be cleared, that the draw down be limited in the dry summer months, that

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84 Roderick Haig-Brown is an important figure in the recent history of British Columbia. A snapshot of his ideas is provided in *Writings and Reflections: from the world of Roderick Haig-Brown*, a collection published in 1982 by his daughter Valerie. Further insight can be gained from his semi-autobiographical account of a year at his home in Campbell River entitled *Measure of the Year*. A number of scholars have reflected on Haig-Brown’s life and works. E. Bennett Metcalfe’s biography, *A man of some importance: the life of Roderick Langmere Haig-Brown*, published in Seattle in 1985 is the best known of these studies. Those seeking more of an intellectual engagement with Haig-Brown’s ideas should see Arn Keeling and Robert McDonald, ‘The Profligate Province: Roderick Haig-Brown and the Modernizing of British Columbia’, *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 36, 3 (Fall 2001), pp. 7-23 and ‘“A Dynamic Not a Static Conception”: The Conservation Thought of Roderick Haig Brown’, *Pacific Historical Review*, 71, 2 (2002), pp. 239-68.
public access road be built and campsites established, and that the lake be restocked with game fish.  

A change of government in early 1952 brought the new Social Credit party, led by W.A.C. Bennett into power. Sensing public disapproval of the scheme, Bennett appointed a ten member legislative committee to investigate the Buttle Lake proposal. This committee approved the scheme in 1953. Yet in 1954 it was reconsidered once again after a landslide at theWhatsan Power Project in the Kootenay area resulted from a dam being constructed on unstable glacial deposits. To quell their fears about the suitability of the Buttle Lake site, the government hired a consultant to examine the soil mechanics of the area. He gave the project the green light later that year.  

All this time, the conservationists continued to campaign for the raising of Upper Campbell Lake instead of Buttle. In 1955 it seemed that their efforts had been rewarded when Bennett announced that Upper Campbell would indeed be dammed. Yet this new plan would see the lake’s level raised by over one hundred feet, forcing the water back up the valley towards Buttle Lake and eventually creating one thirty-mile lake. Buttle’s level would be raised by some fifteen to twenty feet. What initially appeared as a victory for conservationists was in fact a clever political manoeuvre by the government. Requests for a set of hearings to discuss this new proposal were summarily rejected and the development went ahead late in 1955. Despite the efforts that were made to protect

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85 The Vancouver Daily Province, November 8, 1951, p.17.
86 Fairclough, p.21.
87 The Vancouver Province, March 5, 1955, p.23.
the original shoreline of Buttle Lake, the raised water level and the effects of draw downs limited shoreline re-growth. This impacted negatively not only on the appearance of the lake but also on wildlife populations.\textsuperscript{88}

A decade after the British Columbia government announced its intent to dam Buttle Lake the New Zealand government signed an agreement for development of the hydro-power resources of lakes Te Anau and Manapouri situated in western Southland (the Southern-most province on the South Island). The rights for this development were granted to Consolidated Zinc Proprietary Ltd, an international consortium that required the power supply for a planned aluminum smelter on the island’s South Coast, approximately 200km from the two lakes. The agreement allowed for both lakes to be raised to form one large lake (as with Buttle and Upper Campbell). Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau were to be raised by 93.6 and 13.5 feet respectively.\textsuperscript{89} Construction of an underground power-house (that would eventually contain seven generating units) below Manapouri’s West Arm and a tailrace tunnel running out to sea at Deep Cove, on the West Coast of the island, began in 1961. However in 1963 the company announced that it could not finance the construction of the dam and the smelter. Fearing that the whole project was about to fall through, the government agreed to construct the power station if the company would construct the smelter and power it with Manapouri electricity. Surplus power was to be incorporated into the national grid.\textsuperscript{90} These decisions were


\textsuperscript{89} The Minister of Electricity, \textit{Background Notes on the Manapouri Development, With Particular Reference to Lake Level}, Wellington, 1970, p.2.

vehemently opposed by organisations such as the New Zealand Scenery Preservation Society and the Nature Conservation Council. Yet the dam construction continued. By 1970 the Manapouri Station was operating with four machines installed but with no artificial control of lake levels.\textsuperscript{91} In fact the debate over lake levels was only just starting.

The 1950s - approximately the decade between the Buttle Lake proposal and the beginning of construction at Manapouri – saw a gradual heightening in international environmental consciousness. The early 1960s saw the expression of these new ideas in works such as American Rachel Carson’s \textit{Silent Spring} (1962) a study of the dangerous effects of pesticides. At this time a growing number of New Zealanders were becoming concerned about the degradation of their natural environment. The Manapouri power scheme attracted their interest and sparked unprecedented controversy. Groups such as New Zealand Forest and Bird, The New Zealand Scenery Preservation Society and the Nature Conservation Council condemned the project. Their objections were particularly vehement because Lake Manapouri lay within Fiordland National Park, New Zealand’s largest national park encompassing 1.2 million ha of essentially undeveloped land.\textsuperscript{92}

A Save Manapouri Campaign was set up with offices nationwide. At the helm of this campaign was Alan F. Mark a botanist employed at The University of Otago in Dunedin. Mark occupied a position somewhat similar to that assumed by Roderick Haig

\textsuperscript{91} The Minister of Electricity, \textit{Background Notes on Manapouri Development With Particular Reference to Lake Level}
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid, p.2.
Brown in the Buttle Lake affair. The differences between these two men are emblematic of the differences between these two islands and between 1950 and 1960.

Responding to an onslaught of criticism of the project, New Zealand’s National Party government appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the Manapouri scheme. They did so between June and September 1970. The Commission found that the government was legally bound to go ahead with the development. However the opposition Labour Party made Manapouri into an election issue in 1972 when they announced that, if elected, they would maintain the lake at its natural level. As with Buttle Lake a change of government occurred at a crucial moment. In 1973 after winning the election the Labour Government kept its promise to the New Zealand populace regarding lake levels, thereby reneging on the contract with Consolidated Zinc (now Comalco). They also appointed a group of Otago and Southland residents as ‘Guardians of Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau’. This group was to advise the government on ‘any matters arising from the environmental, ecological and social effects of the construction and operation of the Manapouri-Te Anau electric power scheme...with particular reference to the effects of lake levels on scenic values, conservation, recreation, tourism and other related activities and amenities.’93 Their chairperson was Alan Mark.94

These are two quite different tales of attempts to develop resources within areas that had been set aside for recreation and wilderness preservation. The differences and

93 Ibid., p.9.
similarities between the two stories are revealing of relationships with the natural environment that had developed on these two islands and also of the impacts of broader environmental consciousness among people across the globe. Unlike the manipulations of the natural environment effected by those who introduced exotic species, these developments were debated widely both in official and unofficial contexts. Each dam was the focus of a set of government funded hearings, and was also discussed in newspapers and various other public media.

The debates appear initially to be a relatively straightforward conflict between two groups of people, developers who sought to exploit natural resources for capital gain and industrial development, and environmentalists who sought to protect natural environments for their aesthetic and ecological values. To a certain extent this was the case. In both locations classic arguments were put forward to represent these two points of view. Thus Mr H.H. Stevens, President of the B.C. Natural Resources Conservation League and former federal cabinet minister in the Bennett government, stated at the 1951 hearing in Courtenay that, ‘We have to take the intangible values of what I have emphasized, and overemphasized, perhaps, of the beauty and the cultural value of this park, which is not for today, but forever—for posterity.' Later in the day Mr A. C. Masters of Campbell River presented the contrasting point of view,

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95 Application to Water Rights Branch for British Columbia, By British Columbia Power Commission, For Permission to Erect a Dam at the Outlet of Buttle Lake, Proceedings at Hearing, Courtenay, British Columbia, Commencing 8, 8, 1951 (hereafter Courtenay Hearing), p.87.
This is also my good hope that development will still continue for the good of the working people. We cannot live on scenery and the tourist trade does not give work to the majority of people. I would say by all means dam Buttle Lake or any other lake which means the making of more industry and cheaper power.\textsuperscript{96}

On the South Island the protagonists proffered much the same arguments. The newly established Nature Conservation Council wrote in 1969 that,

Council is convinced that what the country may forego in the way of cheaper power is offset by the saving of the present natural beauty and natural environment of the whole Manapouri – Te Anau region, an asset intangible as a legacy to posterity, and more immediately valuable for its recreational and tourism potential.\textsuperscript{97}

This claim contrasts starkly with those made by Mr W. Baird, Chairman of the Southland County Council, at the 1970 hearings before the Commission of Inquiry,

Mr Baird: ‘...I think in the nation’s and the Province’s interest this should be developed to its full.’\textsuperscript{98}

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., p.106.
\textsuperscript{98} Hearings before the Commission appointed to enquire into the proposal to raise the level of Lake Manapouri for the purpose of generating electricity (hereafter ‘Manapouri Hearings’ and ‘Manapouri Commission’), Wednesday 8 July 1970, Invercargill, p.704.Save Manapouri Campaign Records, Hocken Library. (hereafter SMCR).
Commissioners: ‘Are you suggesting that that was a good bargain – that the 4mw of power were worth the destruction that can be seen at lake Monowai?’

Mr Baird: ‘Yes I will. Of course I will. I would say 90% of the people of Southland would say the same thing, particularly those who are a bit older and who can remember having to go to bed with a candle…’

Perhaps the Buttle Lake and Manapouri affairs are classic examples of resource management conflicts. Yet debates about the future of these lakes were much more nuanced than they first appear. They had very specific chronological and geographical contexts. The protagonists in these conflicts carried with them the heritage of earlier interactions with the natural environment. They responded to and attempted to further define the relationships with nature that had been developed in these locales over a century or so. A closer examination of their words allows us to see to what extent they were heirs to particular cultural traditions and also to discern what motivated them to respond to the non-human world in new and different ways.

The previous chapter suggested that early debates about nature on Vancouver Island were dominated by a small group of middle-to-upper class people. An examination of the conflict that ensued after the announcement of plans to raise Buttle Lake tends to corroborate this idea. The most prominent of the protestors was Roderick Haig-Brown, a man who embodied many of the attributes of the English ‘gentleman

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99 Manapouri Hearings, Wednesday 8 July 1970, Invercargill, p.709, SMCR.
naturalist'. An erudite, and well-respected man, he had no formal training in the arts or sciences. One would imagine that he might have felt considerable kinship with many of the early leaders of the New Zealand acclimatization movement. (Indeed he was involved in introducing brown trout to British Columbia's lakes and streams.) His comments on the Buttle Lake development reveal a deep passion for recreation in the outdoors and a strong desire to uphold the values of a 'civilised' society. A respect for nature was central to this civility. As Haig-Brown wrote: 'The main values of a primeval area, being scientific, educational and inspirational, are not easy to assess in dollars and cents. Nor is it important to assess them in a civilised country – understanding them is part of being civilised.'

Many participants in the discussions about Buttle Lake referred to privileges that were enjoyed by a relatively small number of people. Those who supported the hydro-development argued that preservation of the lake in its original condition would only benefit a small group of wealthy people who could afford to access the area and participate in the sport that it provided, mostly angling. At that time the lake was very difficult to reach. There had been an access road at one time but this had become overgrown with disuse. It was possible to hike into the area, but the majority of those who went to the lake flew in on chartered floatplanes. Those seeking to develop the lake presented a classic utilitarian argument; that the power provided by the dam would

100 Argument in Support of Protest Recorded by R. Haig Brown, Re: Proposed Storage Dam, BC Power Commission at Buttle Lake in Strathcona Park, Made by a private citizen to Mr Comptroller Courtenay Hearings, p.7.
benefit a much larger group of people and that the development would make the lake accessible as well. Charles Turner, Engineer-in-chief of the Ministry of Works stated,

I cannot support the philosophy that the natural beauties accessible to the few should necessarily be preserved for those fortunate enough to be able to visit and enjoy them fully – and to the detriment of many. There is less rugged, simple but more formal beauty which the works of man create and which, by virtue of accessibility, can bring pleasure to many people.\textsuperscript{101}

This argument may appear somewhat outmoded to a reader informed by modern environmentalist ideals. However scholars such as William Cronon argue that an appreciation of modified areas of nature is becoming more necessary. In his article ‘The Trouble with Wilderness’, Cronon argues that these places ‘remind us of the wildness in our own backyards, of the nature that is all around us if we only have the eyes to see it.’\textsuperscript{102} He views the modern obsession with wilderness as dangerous because it undermines our ability to see and enjoy nature in forms that are more accessible and more relevant to our daily lives. Therefore, while it is tempting to see developments and their creators as instruments in the destruction of nature, a more responsible outlook would embrace the forms of nature that result from human developments in part because they help us to embrace a nature that is available rather than pristine and remote. These ideas continue to have a bearing on events discussed in the following chapter.

\textsuperscript{101} Courtenay Hearings, p.413.
Those opposed to the development, and committed to the wilderness ideal that Cronon deconstructs, had a completely different view of the matter. They did not deny that the area was enjoyed by a relatively small number of people, but blamed the government for the limited access to these resources and argued that if the hydropower development were to go ahead, those who had yet to enjoy the natural areas of the island would have to go even further a-field to do so. ‘...it is cold comfort to tell a man in Victoria, a man in very modest circumstances, that there is a park up – a wild park – up at Tweedsmuir he can go to, Strathcona Park having been destroyed, or Buttle Lake having been destroyed.’

The opponents of the scheme went on to point out that these public recreation areas were especially important to the working classes. This idea was explicitly stated by the aforementioned Mr Stevens, ‘And the industrial worker of this Province depends upon the setting aside of just such areas as this for his recreational service more than do those who can afford for private purchases out in the hills and the valleys of the province.’ Indeed both groups sought the support and the approval of the working classes (or at least wanted to be seen to have this in mind.) Yet there is no evidence to suggest that the less fortunate members of Vancouver Island society were actually contributing to these debates. Their position was being considered but only from a second person perspective.

On the South Island the debates over Manapouri reveal that, here too, conflicts over nature continued to divide the population along class lines. In a very similar tone to

103 Courtenay Hearings, p.454.
104 Ibid., p.88.
that employed by his Vancouver Island counterparts, Invercargill MP J.R. Hanan, wrote circa 1960 that, ‘...new lakeshores will be established probably not less beautiful than the old, but access will be much better and the playground of the few could well become the recreation area for the province.'¹⁰⁵ Over a decade later this conflict remained unresolved. This was probably due, in no small part, to the fact that the privileged ‘few’ would have much preferred to keep these areas to themselves. Not only did they resent the incursions of developers and commercial interests but also the presence of people of lower socio-economic status. Hence the proliferation of letters to the editor containing comments such as this,

The commercial interests want to shunt all but their customers from the best beaches or the best lake fronts. Or worse still, they want to intrude on our National Parks. Hard behind them came the new rich of the Welfare State seeking sites for their unsightly holiday cribs, their often ramshackle boat sheds and all with a total disregard of beauty and public health.¹⁰⁶

Certain other aspects of the dam discussions point to the influence exerted by this privileged cohort. It is hardly surprising for instance that so much attention was paid to the survival of fish populations. Angling or ‘sport fishing’ is an expensive and time-consuming pursuit. The quantity of fish caught is less important than the opportunity to

¹⁰⁵J.R. Hanan, Invercargill MP, ‘Are the Two Manapouri Viewpoints Inconsistent?’, Evening Star, G.S. Parsonson, Clippings, 1960-64
¹⁰⁶Otago Daily Times clipping, 28, 4, 1973, SMCR.
relax in and become more knowledgeable about aspects of the outdoors. As fisheries biologist Peter Larkin pointed out,

...sport fishing is about inefficiency. The goal is to have as many people as possible devote as much time as possible and spend as much money as possible for devices that will never pay for themselves in terms of fish caught. For sportsmen the labour of catching fish has become a form of leisure, an escape from work that mimics work.107

To think of angling in this way makes it seem rather inane and decadent. This was the sport of those for whom money and time were not difficult to come by.

Both Buttle Lake and Lake Manapouri had been stocked with fish earlier in the century. The desire to protect these creatures from the harmful effects of lake raising was re-iterated during both sets of hearings. Dr Larkin, Chief Fisheries Biologist of the British Columbia Game Department cited his own report entitled ‘The Effects on Fisheries of Further Water Utilisation in the Campbell River Drainage Area’, claiming that there would be a loss of up to 90% of spawning grounds and arguing that ‘It is evident that no number of fish is of interest to us unless they are going to be utilised by the sport fishing public.’108 This statement neatly encapsulates the concept of nature that the sportsmen espoused. They had little interest in the survival of the fish per se, they did not think of them in terms of their ecological value, their attention was focused on the number of fishermen who might be attracted to any particular site. Theirs was a human concern.

108 Courtenay Hearings, p.455.
In 1970 Mr R. Sutton, Southland Acclimatisation Society Chief Ranger appeared before the Commission of Enquiry into Manapouri. He claimed that,

We have three game species of fish in one water. I have read widely on this subject and I don’t know of any other situation where it occurs…I think our society has achieved a very outstanding success in being successful in establishing the species…we consider this would be a very damaging thing from an angling point of view.109

Again Mr Sutton’s concern is primarily human. The fish are described as an investment, an achievement, rather than as a threatened species. On both islands there was much concern about protecting this modified and renovated nature. These creatures, the vestiges of an earlier era of environmental manipulations were still seen by certain people as more valuable than the original environment that they inhabited. Yet Mr Sutton’s ideas are somewhat different from those of his acclimatisation society forebears. He does not claim any similarity or connection to the streams that ran through famous British estates. Instead he asserts that the fish stocks on this lake are quite unlike those anywhere else in the world. Furthermore he also goes on to defend certain other species purely on the grounds that they are indigenous. It seems that in his mind native species, by right of birth, cannot be considered pests.

Mr Lee: ‘Aren’t paradise duck a bit of a pest in certain places?’

109 Manapouri Hearings, Wednesday 8 July 1970, Invercargill, p.678, SMCR.
Mr Sutton: ‘No, we have been particularly concerned about paradise duck in the Southland district because you will realise they are an endemic species.’

Here Mr Sutton articulated the culmination of a process that had been continuing for some time. One hundred years earlier the pests within this landscape were the native plants and animals. By the mid-twentieth century native species were treated as precious wards and it was the introduced species that were often slated with derogative labels.

So, the renovations of nature that were effected earlier in the century continued to be a focus of those who identified with fish and game culture. They were also focused upon by another set of environmentalists who came from a quite different background. In the previous chapter, I noted that the criticisms of South Island acclimatisation activities came increasingly from people who had professional training in the physical sciences, while those who had carried out the introductions could often more accurately be described as gentleman naturalists. It is evident that this divide had widened by the time of the Buttle Lake debacle and even further by the time that the Manapouri proposal was announced. Increasing accessibility to education meant that those who could claim to be experts on scientific matters came from a broader range of backgrounds. These scientists raised a new set of concerns about the hydro-schemes. They argued that because these lakes had been relatively unaltered by human activity (including species

\[^{110}\text{Ibid., p.686.}\]
introductions) they contained certain species and ecosystems that had become rare and endangered in many other places. The presence of these plants and animals provided important opportunities for research, particularly comparative work examining these sites alongside others which had been degraded in some way. At Buttle Lake it was the local elk herd that was the focus of much concern. Mr McMynn, a fishery biologist employed in the Game Branch of the Department of the Attorney General stated that,

...this herd as far as is known is maintaining itself under the natural primitive conditions found before the changes to the environment brought about by man. It is therefore a valuable and accessible herd for comparative purposes in future studies upon the elk of Vancouver Island.\textsuperscript{111}

At Manapouri ecologists opposed the raising of lake levels because this would submerge certain islands that had remained free from introduced species such as goats, pigs and deer. Scientists viewed these islands as time capsules, examples of ecosystems functioning as they did before Europeans arrived on these shores.

Several scientific witnesses expressed great concern and disappointment that unique botanical species in the area would be lost forever. Because some islands which were as yet unvisited by deer were to be submerged

\textsuperscript{111} Courtenay Hearings, p.437.
the opportunity for them to compare these with other areas would be denied. \(^{112}\)

Scientists came to occupy a pivotal position in these proceedings. Both developers and environmental groups employed scientific experts to justify their positions with respect to the planned hydro-schemes. Arguments that were not supported by scientific evidence were often disregarded. Members of the Metro Park Planning Committee that participated in the Courtenay hearings pointed out that,

no complete report by technicians and scientists on all the resources of Strathcona park and Buttle Lake, and their potential uses, has been presented to any organisation for the purpose of studying all possible resources and the most beneficial use to which any or all of them might be put in the public interest. \(^{113}\)

On the South Island the Nature Conservation Council recommended that ‘...every possible effort should be made to have research carried out by both DSIR and the universities.’ \(^{114}\) More subjective evidence was treated dismissively. Hence when one Manapouri resident stated at the Commission of Enquiry Hearings that ‘The joy of the lake is being able to drive, or go in a boat as close as possible, and enjoy the mosses and the orchids...’ The commissioner responded with the pointed question ‘Are you a scientist in any branch of the sciences? Considering this deference for scientific evidence


\(^{113}\) Courtenay Hearings, p.80.

it is hardly surprising that the man leading the environmentalist crusade was a scientist employed by one of the top tertiary education institutes in the country. Alan Mark's status as a member of the scientific community was no doubt an important factor in his leadership.

Faith in science extended beyond the evidence that scientists could provide about the current situation. Many of those opposed to the developments sincerely believed that there was no need for hydroelectric power schemes because new and better ways of generating electricity would be discovered in the near future. This belief, in the potential of science to produce cleaner and more efficient power sources, had been characteristic of the early American champions of hydroelectric power such as Lewis Mumford. Electricity was a central component of what Mumford described as the 'neotechnic phase' of human development. Mumford argued that electricity, derived from a number of cheaper sources of energy of which hydro-power was one, would relieve industry of its dependence on coal. He went on to claim that 'water-power...opened up new sources of energy and new areas for colonisation' and that it had the potential to change the distribution of modern industry, shifting it away from the United States and Europe who had dominated under 'the coal and iron regime.'

Of the potential alternate power sources South Islanders seem to have been particularly enchanted with the prospect of nuclear power. As the New Zealand Scenery Preservation Society claimed in 1969, 'Nuclear power will be used in New Zealand

within ten years and according to the New Zealand Electricity department, its cost is already comparable with hydro power…"\textsuperscript{116} The benefit of hindsight adds a certain irony to this choice. At the time that this statement was made and in the decades that followed the environmental problems associated with nuclear power stations such as thermal pollution (waste heat that is discharged into the environment), and nuclear radiation and waste caused increasing concern amongst environmentalists. Political scientist Lester Milbrath claims that during the 1970s and 80s fear of nuclear power became ‘the most emotional and divisive of the environmental concerns.’\textsuperscript{117} Science was considered to be a neutral language by most participants in the dam discussions. They believed that scientific evidence would provide the real ‘facts’. As historian of science, Theodore Porter wrote,

A decision made by numbers (or by explicit rules of some other sort) has at least the appearance of being fair and impersonal. Scientific objectivity thus provides an answer to a moral demand for impartiality and fairness. Quantification is a way of making decisions without seeming to decide.\textsuperscript{118}

At Buttle Lake and Lake Manapouri it was hoped that science would allow for a quantitative assessment of the ‘intangible’ values that might be destroyed and also the benefits to be accrued if these schemes were allowed to go ahead. Yet this ‘unbiased’

information could only provide partial answers. Scientists made extensive statements concerning the technical and physical results of the developments. At Manapouri engineers were contracted to consider the potential power outputs and the costs of constructing the dam. R. Hide of Invercargill calculated that ‘To generate the 200 GWh requires only one base load station of 25 MW at a cost of say $6.25 million.’ A geological survey team was also appointed to report on the potential for beach reformation after the raising of the lake. They concluded that beaches would probably form in the ‘unconsolidated glacial deposits at the eastern end of the lake’ but would not form in other places unless ‘glacial gravels or stream deposits are exposed to wave action.’ These findings received less attention than those of the biologists and ecologists who attempted to predict the impacts that developments would have on local biological communities. They believed that lake-edge communities would not survive the lake raising and made numerous statements to this effect both at the hearings before the Commission of Enquiry and in scientific journals. These quotations appeared in The Proceedings of the New Zealand Ecology Society

Fluctuations in the levels of lakes Manapouri and Te Anau cause their lake-edge environments to be alternately under water and out of water for varying periods of time. Plant species which can tolerate such variation in their environment have clearly defined ranges within the overall

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fluctuations of the lake...the re-attainment of an equilibrium may take several centuries.\textsuperscript{121}

Regardless of the provisions to clear the lakeshore forests the new lake edge habitat would differ from the natural one in two important respects. Firstly the lake would be held at its high level for long periods of draw down to the present minimum level. Secondly, the new lake edge would lie on forest soils. Under these conditions re-establishment of the lake edge communities as they are now is doubtful.\textsuperscript{122}

In the end however, scientists could not guide people's responses to this information. As Porter reminds us, 'Critics of quantification in the natural sciences as well as in social and humanistic fields have often felt that reliance on numbers simply evades the deep and important issues.'\textsuperscript{123} The deep and important issues in these cases revolved around whether people wanted to preserve natural environments in their original form or whether an altered, and potentially less diverse, nature would be sufficient. The discussions about actions to be taken to heal the wounds left by the raising of these lakes reveal the inadequacy of science as a truth table for environmental questions. As Richard


\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., p.119.

\textsuperscript{123} Porter, p.5. For further discussion of the use of experts to achieve solutions to environmental conflicts see Hays, pp.7-10.
White stated in reference to the Columbia River, "The experts and regulators empowered to solve problems only bare our divisions." 124

Examples of this conundrum are manifest in the Buttle Lake and Manapouri documents. At the 1951 Courtenay Hearings, Mr A.W. Lash, Chief Engineer for the British Columbia Power Commission stated his belief that '...within a reasonable number of years the lake will resume a fairly nice...will be in a pretty good condition. Young trees will grow in along the fringe where the other trees are cut on the flats..." 125 Other commentators were not so optimistic. Roderick Haig-Brown argued that the most obvious result on the fringe of the lake would be blowdown of old growth forests '...you will certainly get your blowdown in the most spectacular timber stands...And you will certainly get most of it just where you want it least, right on the lake edge." 126 These statements are not contradictory. Scientific expertise could not provide an avenue for mediation here. The two men just chose to emphasize different aspects of the after effects of lake raising. If they had stood side by side on the lakeshore their views would most likely have been completely different.

Similarly there were numerous responses to the evidence suggesting that Manapouri's lake edge biological communities would not re-establish. In 1969 a writer for the Otago Daily Times outlined environmentalist concerns that draw downs on the lake would reveal rocky lakeshore sediments before stating that, 'Admittedly Lake Te

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124 White, p.113.
125 Courtenay Hearings, pp.789-90.
126 Ibid., p.510.
Anau will show, on occasions, another four feet of gravel at the bottom of its beaches when storage is fully depleted, but is this an eyesore? Similar sights on coastal foreshores are photographed as scenic beauties.\(^{127}\) One year later a journalist for *The Auckland Weekly News* voiced concerns about the potential outcomes for biological communities at Manapouri in an article entitled ‘Be Warned’. Under a photo of Buttle Lake the author described the destruction that was wrought in Strathcona Park, and argued that history would repeat itself at Lake Manapouri. To provide an example of the opinions that he sought to counter, he provided the following quotation, ‘Any thoughts that the lake will be devastated are quite erroneous, in fact when the lake level is raised Manapouri will be better controlled by the electricity department than by nature.’\(^{128}\)

These statements reveal the extent to which the two sides of the South Island debate were talking at cross-purposes. To the ecologists involved in these hearings the suggestion that the lake level could be ‘better’ controlled by man must have seemed like a contradiction in terms. They and their colleagues with a geological background likely found the statement that gravel beaches are photographed for their beauty in coastal areas equally bizarre and irrelevant.

The evidence discussed so far clearly suggests that one particular section of society still dominated activities within and discussions about nature. Yes, scientists now stood apart from outdoor enthusiasts, and exerted influence not because of their class but because of their professional training. Yet the key contributors to discussions about the

\(^{127}\) *The Otago Daily Times*, 17, 11, 1969, Guardians of Lake Manapouri Records (hereafter GLMR).

\(^{128}\) *New Zealand Weekly News*, January 12 1970, p.6, SMCR.
environment were still middle-aged men who belonged to the middle or upper classes. Generally speaking the overwhelming majority of those involved in the Buttle Lake affair would fit this description. There appear to have been no women involved at the Courtenay hearings. There were also no women on the ten-person commission appointed by W.A.C. Bennett. Even those who wrote to the local newspapers about the issue tended to be men, although there were some letters from Mrs Kenneth Drury, The Vice President, and Helen Baird, The Secretary, of the Victoria Natural History Society. There is also no evidence that children or youths were involved in this conflict at all.

The Manapouri situation was different. The demographics of the groups involved in this issue differed markedly from the demographics of those who implemented and criticised acclimatisation strategies. Women, perhaps inspired and encouraged by the prominence of Rachel Carson, became very involved in the fight to save Manapouri. Housewives were particularly important in the promotion and organisation of petitions. This was no small contribution. Petitions were crucial to the environmentalist campaign. One organised by the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society and submitted to Parliament in 1972 was signed by over a quarter of a million New Zealanders. A special Parliamentary Committee was set up to consider it. It seems that many women who were not part of the paid work force felt less compelled to support industrial development than their husbands. As feminist historian Carolyn Merchant points out,

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129 Mark, Turner, and West, p.8.
Women occupy different economic niches than do men, and their relationship to both society and nature reflects different experiences of nature and differing approaches to resolving environmental problems. Their work is heavily concentrated in caregiving, service and volunteer activity.\textsuperscript{130}

In the Hearings before the Commission of Enquiry the witness W.A. Bell of Invercargill described a conversation with a local couple. The husband said ‘I am in sympathy with what we are talking about, but I won’t sign that petition, because if this was found out it might jeopardize any chances’, whereas ‘his wife was quite happy to sign’.\textsuperscript{131} Similarly the author of a newspaper article about a farming couple who lived very close to the outlet of Manapouri commented that ‘Mrs David Speight…feels the loss of the river even more than her husband does if her expressed opinions are any indication…’\textsuperscript{132} In terms of the human relationship with nature, women did have different opinions from men. At the time of the Manapouri debate they were finding ways to give these opinions a voice.

University students were another group who entered the debate about Manapouri. In November 1970 the Save Manapouri Campaign received a letter from The Victoria University of Wellington Students Association, claiming that ‘Dissatisfaction with the findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the raising of lake Manapouri …has become increasingly widespread in the Wellington Area, particularly among young people.’\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{131} Manapouri Hearings, Wednesday 8 July 1970, Invercargill, p.639, SMCR.
\textsuperscript{132} ‘Waiau down to a Trickle’, newspaper and date unknown, SMCR.
\textsuperscript{133} Letter from Victoria University of Wellington Students Association to The Save Manapouri Campaign, 19 November 1970, SMCR
Closer to the action, the Otago University Students Association President Mr John Howell, wrote an article in the Southland Times declaring that ‘We must learn the mistakes from overseas, before it is too late. We must protect our country from the exploiters, the concrete war, the march of the desert.’ The contributions of these young educated people exemplify a further democratisation of participation in discussions about nature. The criteria for inclusion had broadened to the extent that age alone was no longer a reason for instant disqualification. However we must be careful not to overstate this case. These university students were still members of a privileged sector of society. They were New Zealand’s future professionals. The change in this instance was a matter of timing. No longer did they have to wait for the prestige of middle age to add weight to their views. They could enter these debates as ambassadors for youth.

The demographics of the protest groups also reflected new urban and rural biases. Modern environmentalism has typically been an urban phenomenon. As more and more people live in cities they tend to set up a dichotomy between spaces that have been constructed by humans for humans, and those that bear fewer marks of human action. ‘Nature’, the world outside of cities, has come to be viewed by the massive majority who live in these cities, as a destination rather than a place to live. While rural people can see humans blending in with their environment, simultaneously external to and constituent of the world around them, urbanites are much less likely to embrace this blurring of

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boundaries. Urban dwellers often advocate preservationist ideals and view non-recreational activities within nature negatively. As William Cronon once wrote, "...the protection of wilderness' so often seems to 'pit urban recreationalists against rural people who actually earn their living from the land."\textsuperscript{135} His colleague Richard White was more scathing, "Environmentalists so often seem self righteous, privileged, and arrogant because they so readily consent to identifying nature with play and making it by definition a place where leisured humans come only to visit and not to work, stay or live."\textsuperscript{136}

This phenomenon became increasingly evident through the course of the twentieth century. So it is not surprising that it was more obvious at Manapouri than at Buttle Lake. Many of the protagonists at Buttle Lake, people such as Roderick Haig-Brown, lived near to the lake itself, in smaller towns such as Courtenay, Comox and Campbell River, rather than in the island's urban centre, Victoria, or in the province's metropolitan centre of Vancouver. At Manapouri the majority of environmental protestors lived beyond the province of Southland. The hotbed of protest was Dunedin, in the neighbouring province of Otago, the home of Professor Alan Mark. Yet many supporters of this movement lived further afield, mostly in one of New Zealand's other main urban centres, Christchurch, Wellington or Auckland. Others lived overseas, particularly in North America and Australia. Ben H. Thompson, former Assistant Director of Resource

\textsuperscript{135} Cronon, p.85.
Studies in the US National Park Service wrote to *The Auckland Star* with a passionate plea for the preservation of the lake. He argued that this move would benefit ‘people everywhere’.

My wife and I hope, not only for the sake of the people of New Zealand but also for all people everywhere who appreciate great natural beauty that you will decide not to dam Lake Manapouri but keep it as a scenic gem for the inspiration of you and your children. National Parks are established to preserve the best of our environment and to enrich the quality of our lives.\(^{137}\)

Similarly, Keith Pettigrew from Toowoomba, Australia wrote to the Save Manapouri Campaign ‘anxious’ to lend his support ‘to any organisation which opposes this plunder (of natural resources) since their actions, unlike big business, are entirely disinterested and will arouse public opinion and ultimately governments to exercise stronger and wiser controls...’\(^{138}\) The interest of observers outside New Zealand reveals the internationalisation of environmental concerns and campaigns that was starting to take place at the time of the Manapouri debacle. People were beginning to think of the environment as a global resource in which all people, irrespective of their nationality or place of residence, had an interest.

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\(^{138}\) Letter to the Save Manapouri Appeal from Keith Pettigrew, Toowomba, Queensland, Australia, 22, September 1970, SMCR.
In the Manapouri case, distant urban dwellers had such an impact on the proceedings that those living close to the lake began to resent their involvement.

One important consideration is that this industrial enterprise would bring in its train readier tourist access to a beauty spot which at present can be visited by all too few...It is a pity that most of the protests against the scheme seem to be coming from people in Otago. This attitude is open to misinterpretation and it will tend to confirm an opinion often expressed in the North that we are not progressive.139

This comment exemplifies one of the key problems associated with resource management issues. Southlanders aimed to develop their resources partly because they believed that North Islanders viewed them as ‘unprogressive’, when in fact much of the pressure to preserve the lake was coming from North Island urban centres. The Northerners themselves had the luxury of claiming that they were progressive in terms of their industrial development and their environmental ethics. They of course did not have the dilemma of having to make their living from a place that others hoped to protect. It was in Southland that the hydro-scheme had the most support. As one journalist reported from Invercargill; ‘Four out of five people in this city will tell you bluntly that if it’s a choice between the lake and the smelter then the lake must go.’140 Here the prospect of industrial development meant jobs and financial security. It meant that people might be

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139 ‘Progress is Keynote of Aluminium Scheme’, The Evening Star, January 20 1960, G.S. Parsonson, Clippings, 1960-64.

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able to continue living and working in this place. The alternative would see them joining their counterparts in the city and treating their former home merely as a refuge from urban life.

Accelerating urbanisation truly did lead people to see wilderness areas as essential therapeutic retreats for an increasingly unhealthy population. This unhealthiness was perceived to be both physical and psychological.¹⁴¹ Places such as Buttle Lake and Lake Manapouri offered a tonic for both forms of ailment. Medical experts, called to give evidence at each set of hearings, argued this point repeatedly. William Carleton Gibson, a psychiatrist and neurologist called to give evidence at the Buttle Lake Hearings commented that, 'It seems to me in Buttle Lake we have an example of what one might call a psychiatric safety valve for the future.'¹⁴² Similarly the South Island Medical Practitioner Dr L.P. Butterfield stated at the Manapouri hearings, ‘...I hope I have the vision to see that this could become one of the greatest playgrounds in the world...people need this relaxation now.’¹⁴³ They may well have needed the relaxation but they seldom made the journey to get it. Unlike the Buttle Lake protestors, a great number of those involved in the campaign to save Lake Manapouri had never actually visited the lake itself. It was as if the very idea that the area existed in a pristine form was enough to satisfy and soothe their minds.

¹⁴¹ For an in depth discussion of health concerns associated with urbanisation in the United States see Hays pp.24-6 and pp.71-97.
¹⁴² Courtenay Hearings p.442
¹⁴³ Manapouri Hearings, Wednesday 8 July 1970, Invercargill, p.690, SMCR
What then was the real purpose of these parks? Were they playgrounds? Or were they vaults set aside for the safe keeping of natural heritage? These questions received much attention both at Buttle Lake and at Manapouri.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a park as "A large area of land kept in its natural state for public recreational use." Vancouver Islanders assessed the worth of Strathcona Park on both these grounds, i.e., the degree to which it was in its natural state, and the degree to which it provided for public recreation. Those opposed to the dam pointed to the value of the park as a primitive wilderness area, "Strathcona is the only remaining true sample of coast forest conditions anywhere in BC, completely unaffected by artificial conditions." More often however they focused on the possibilities for recreation within the park. As Mr Norris, counsel for the conservationists at the Courtenay Hearings stated,

I don't speak here for anyone – and I emphasize this Mr Comptroller, with the greatest respect – I don't speak here for any one class of people – not for the hunters or fishermen alone – but for people who are interested in preserving this park as a recreation ground for the future for all our citizens some million and a quarter in number.\(^{146}\)

\(^{145}\) Argument in Support of Protest Recorded by R. Haig Brown, Re: Proposed Storage Dam, BC Power Commission at Buttle Lake in Strathcona Park, Made by a private citizen to Mr Comptroller, Courtenay Hearings, p.4.
\(^{146}\) Mr T.G. Norris, appearing on behalf of the B.C. Natural Resources Conservation League, Courtenay Hearings, p.10.
This conception of parks left Strathcona in a fragile position when faced with the prospect of hydroelectric development. Had it been a centre for recreation? If not then was it worth preserving? Commentators such as D.M. Drew, an Assistant Forester involved in the reconnaissance of the park in 1950 suggested that it was not. ‘The park was created on recommendation of a small interested group, and after its erection its reputation was maintained not by any knowledge of known recreational values but merely because it was called a park.’\textsuperscript{147} Similarly, when discussing the addition of the Forbidden Plateau area to the park, the Esquimalt-Nanaimo Railway Company (which owned a massive area of land to the east of the park) indicated that they did ‘not wish to see the Forbidden Plateau become just another ‘park in name only’ stagnating for years without being developed.’\textsuperscript{148} The use of the phrase ‘in name only’ and the word ‘stagnating’ is telling here. Obviously the company was referring to the lack of facilities and infrastructure within the park. The subtext is a disregard for undeveloped nature no matter how magnificent it might be.

In fact, the very beauty of Strathcona’s natural environment was also the subject of scrutiny and criticism. Those seeking to dam Buttle Lake argued that the park was not the provincial treasure that some claimed it to be.

Undoubtedly Strathcona Park possesses scenery which is awe inspiring in its sheer ruggedness, but this very ruggedness is somewhat frightening. It

\textsuperscript{147} D.M. Trew, Assistant Forester, Reconnaissance Report on Strathcona Park including Forbidden Plateau, August 1950, p.3.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., p.33.
is a very realistic display of the terrible forces of nature, not just of the past, but even now threatening those who carelessly venture into these mountains. This psychological factor is important to consider in our recreational planning.\(^{149}\)

In this view Strathcona Park lacked the welcoming and inspiring qualities essential to parklands. It would not allow for the relaxing, rejuvenating experience that parks were supposed to provide. All and all, those who supported the plan to dam Buttle Lake believed that the lake's location (i.e. within Strathcona Park), was of little relevance. This was a park with limited scenic values that had not been developed and renovated to provide for a broad base of users.

It seems that certain influential Vancouver Islanders were clinging to old ways of valuing their environment. Those who supported the developments articulated a low opinion of the park because it had not been 'improved' by humans, and because it did not conform to a very specific wilderness ideal. It was 'rugged' rather than picturesque. The conservationists could be accused of being equally narrow-minded. They lobbied for the dam to be placed on and (to raise the level of) Upper Campbell Lake only. Why were they happy to sacrifice this lake and not Buttle? Roderick Haig-Brown argued that Upper Campbell was more suitable because its edges had already been cleared, Likely more important was the fact that, unlike its alpine neighbour Buttle, Upper Campbell Lake

\(^{149}\) Ibid., p.8.
conformed less to traditional notions of the picturesque and the sublime.\textsuperscript{150} As Haig-Brown stated, 'It (Upper Campbell) certainly cannot be harmed as Buttle Lake will be, because it has not the same scenic magnificence, nor has it the primeval and park values of Buttle.'\textsuperscript{151} The concerns of developers and conservationists alike still appear to have revolved around a desire to replicate one concept of natural perfection rather than celebrate variety and uniqueness.

Fiordland National Park occupied a different place in the hearts of South Islanders. Environmentalists were concerned about the protection of recreation and scenic values but their primary focus was the preservation of original South Island ecosystems. Even the proponents of the Manapouri scheme did not dare to suggest that these ecosystems were not worth preserving. Nor was there a suggestion that they had to conform to an established aesthetic. Certainly they were considered beautiful but it was the uniqueness of this beauty that was essential. Hence the fact that scientists felt obligated to evaluate the uniqueness of the Manapouri's flora and fauna of the area in the evidence they provided.

It is difficult to evaluate in terms of uniqueness because of the total lack of similar studies elsewhere...uniqueness must apply to some of the

\textsuperscript{150} The 'picturesque' and the 'sublime' are concepts associated with the romantic movement of the nineteenth century. A 'sublime' landscape was a place where the God's omnipresence was revealed within nature. These landscapes were vast and powerful. As William Cronon asserts 'God was on the mountaintop, in the chasm, in the waterfall, in the thundercloud, in the rainbow, in the sunset.' Hence the desire of early preservationists to protect features of this type and to ignore others. Cronon and other scholars such as T. O'Riordan argue that it is this mentality that continues to guide modern evaluations of natural environments. See Cronon p.73., and T. O'Riordan, \textit{Environmentalism}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} edn., London, 1981, p.3-4.

\textsuperscript{151} Courtenay Hearings, p.519.
vegetation...because the environmental conditions that determine the nature of the plant cover are unlikely to be identical anywhere else.\textsuperscript{152}

Also, unlike those involved in the Buttle Lake hearings, many people on the South Island saw the very lack of human alterations (improvements) as central to the value of Fiordland National Park. Scientists in particular believed that the best use of the park would be to leave it basically untouched. Zoologist K.E. Westerskov argued the park was a safe haven for endangered species such as the crested grebe, ‘...at least in our national parks such rare bids should have a safe and stable environment, safeguarded and protected from interference of any kind. That is what national parks were created to do: to conserve nature in an unspoiled state for generations to come.’ (Italics not present in original.)\textsuperscript{153}

Nationalism played an important role here. New Zealand’s natural environments were widely regarded as the basis of national identity. Not surprisingly Fiordland National Park became a receptacle for nationalist sentiments. As the members of the New Zealand Forest and Bird Protection Society declared, ‘The very essence of the value of a National Park lies in its natural beauty. Its place in our national heritage stems from the fact that it remains as it was at the nation’s birth.’\textsuperscript{154} Such comments remind us that a comparison of the responses to Strathcona Provincial Park and Fiordland National Park can only tell us so much about the perceptions of nature in these two places. After all, the

\textsuperscript{152} P.N. Johnson, ‘Clearing Manapouri Shoreline, Difficult, Costly’, Critic, March 10, 1970, SMCR.
\textsuperscript{153} Letter from K.E. Westerskov, Zoology Dept, University of Otago to The Chairman, Parliamentary Select Committee on Lake Manapouri, GLMR.
\textsuperscript{154} Submission by the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand Inc. to the Manapouri Commission, p.6.
very classification (Provincial vs. National) of the two parks indicates that they were and are valued differently by their respective nations. To find a park of equivalent status to Fiordland in Canada one would have to consider Banff or Jasper National Parks. Yet this incongruence should not be seen to undermine the whole argument of this chapter. After all, if Fiordland really was so sacred, why did it come under exactly the same threat as the little-known Strathcona Park at a time when the doctrines of environmentalism were being more and more widely espoused?

Like the acclimatisers who went before them, both environmentalists and developers believed that their actions would attract tourists. Environmentalists claimed that tourists came to these areas because of the pristine environments, environments that would be destroyed if the hydro-schemes were to go ahead. Tourism provided them with an economic rationale for their preservationist goals. It ensured that unspoiled nature had an instrumental as well as an intrinsic worth. Developers, whose argument was already primarily focused on the economic benefits to be derived from the environment, claimed that they would facilitate tourism by providing access to these isolated and remote areas. Which of these groups was really aligned with tourist interests? Both arguments held some sway but it seems that tourism agencies were generally on the side of the environmentalists. Mr MacQuarri of The Auto Courts and Resorts Association of British Columbia stated in reference to Strathcona Park that, 'I can assure you that if it is left in its natural state it will be the greatest tourist attraction on Vancouver Island.'

155 Ibid., p.126.
The New Zealand Travel and Holidays Association responded in a similar way in their submission to the Commission of inquiry,

The main attraction in attracting these tourists to New Zealand is our magnificent natural scenery of great variety. Apart from our scenery we have very little else to offer. The industry is doubling every five years...the ultimate income from tourism is virtually unlimited. ¹⁵⁶

Foreign tourists also tended to favour preservation over development. Americans in particular expressed their opinions on these matters. Without exception they argued that these areas would attract more tourists and be of more value generally if the hydropower schemes did not go ahead. At Courtenay Mr Norris questioned Mr Fred Mallery Packard, Executive Secretary of the National Parks Association at Washington D.C.

Mr Norris: ‘Now Mr Packard, I take it the interest of the Americans in this province is first because conservation is international in its scope naturally?’

Mr Packard: ‘Absolutely ... There are few additional areas of the prerequisite primeval character remaining in the US. Increasingly, our people are turning to Canada for this resource ... I trust that the people of Canada are not so foolish as to sacrifice the best natural assets they possess in order that we might protect ours.’ ¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ New Zealand Travel and Holidays Association, Fiordland Branch, Submission the Manapouri Commission, p.39, GLMR.
¹⁵⁷ Courtenay Hearings, pp.555, 533 and 555.
Mr Packard’s comments appear almost as a warning to British Columbians, a warning not to destroy a commodity that their consumers would soon find irresistible. Americans made similar remarks about Lake Manapouri. They pointed out that assets such as Manapouri would only become more valuable over time. As the world became more industrialised and polluted, places like the South Island could be guaranteed higher tourist numbers. In the words of Daniel F. Jackson, Director of the Environmental Studies Institute and Professor of Civil Engineering at Syracuse University,

Being from a country in which no major river or lake is free from pollution, where the larger cities are plagued by smog and much of the landscape contains litter, I can appreciate the natural beauty of New Zealand...New Zealand is renowned for its spectacular beauty. As airline transportation improves, more tourists escaping their own polluted environments will seek haven in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{158}

Nobody denied this tourism potential. Yet here again the stumbling block for those who wanted the areas preserved in their original form was the fact that different people perceive nature in different ways. As proponents of the hydro-schemes pointed out, a tourist who had never been to these places before might not necessarily notice that their natural environments had been altered. Tourists might state a desire to visit a pristine natural environment but would they be able to tell if that was what they were seeing?

\textsuperscript{158} Manapouri Hearings, Tuesday 7 July 1970, Invercargill, p.637.SMCR
The report of the Commission of Inquiry into Manapouri provides this quote from The Ministry of Works Engineers,

It was agreed that there would be some disturbance and loss of botanical features... On the other hand it was argued that with the lake maintained at a steady level little change would be noticed by the average tourist and that the real scenic attraction was the majestic mountain tops surrounding the lake together with the powerhouse and the journey over Wilmot pass to Doubtful Sound.\textsuperscript{159}

This led to strategies that would serve the tourist industry while undermining the ideals of environmentalists. The lake and its surrounding area would be kept in as natural a state as possible during the times when, and in the places where, tourists were most likely to visit. Therefore the lakes would be kept high enough to appear natural during the summer months. This was one of E.H. Tredcroft’s stipulations for Buttle Lake in 1951 and in 1972 the New Zealand Electricity Department announced that it ‘would ensure as far as possible, that the level of the lake would be kept up during the major tourist period of December, January and February in each year.’\textsuperscript{160} Concordantly tree clearance procedures at Manapouri were planned to differ depending on the likelihood of a particular location being visited by tourists. The Department of Lands and Survey developed a classification system to aid the implementation of this approach. Areas to be flooded would be classed as ‘Priority’, ‘Conspicuous’, and ‘Less Frequented’. Needless

\textsuperscript{159} Report of the Manapouri Commission, p.25.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., p.62.
to say, the care taken over the clearance of 'less frequented' areas was markedly less than that taken in 'priority' areas. 161 These cosmetic tactics came under criticism from environmental groups. The New Zealand Scenery Preservation Society was particularly alarmed by these proposals,

...The Forest Service considers that all areas to be flooded should be treated to the same standard. The society concurs with this view. New Zealand is unique in being the only country left with a temperate climate, as yet unspoiled by the pollution of over-population and over-industrialisation where its people can still enjoy a beautiful and unspoiled wilderness.162

Like those who had introduced species to these islands, developers considered the potential of the environment to attract outsiders, and not the integrity of the environment itself, to be the primary concern.

In the end, these detailed and emotional debates about nature were and are often decided by politics. Elections were crucial to the final outcome of both of these conflicts.

161 The Revised classifications were defined as follows:
Priority Areas
Applicable to beaches only and to include all important beaches, clear and stump completely either to the upper level as defined...or else to the level at a point 50 feet horizontally from the highest retention level. Provide picnic places if required.
Conspicuous Areas
Any area exposed to relatively close inspection from the main tourist routes, a high standard of carefully supervised clearance up to the highest retention level.
Less Frequented Areas
Areas remote from general tourist interest, clearance up to the highest retention level.
'The intention here is to provide an acceptable appearance on the lake shore at levels more frequently exposed, but to avoid expensive treatment at levels which will only in exceptional cases be seen.'
But then again, policies, especially those of the most popular political parties, are indicative of broad societal trends. From a political standpoint it seems obvious that Lake Manapouri was always less likely to be dammed than Buttle Lake. It lay within a cherished national park and plans to dam it emerged at a time when the international environmental movement was gaining power and influence. These societal trends and the political responses to them appear to have revolved around different concepts of progress. ‘Progress’, declares the *New Oxford dictionary* denotes advancement, or movement towards a ‘better, more complete or more modern condition.’\(^{163}\) This simple definition belies the complexity of the concept. It is a contested term in academic literature, not least because understandings of ‘better’ and ‘more modern’ differ from person to person. For BC Premier W.A.C. Bennett, projects such as that which raised Buttle Lake were the units by which progress could be measured. In 1957 The British Columbia Centennial Committee published its *Official Centennial Record* subtitled “A Century of Progress”. Bennett’s introduction to this history stated that it would ‘…tell the story of development, of the building of a homogeneous province; of a God-fearing pioneer people dedicated to progress, strengthened by their contest with a great land at first reluctant to yield its full resources.’\(^{164}\) Meanwhile conservationists involved with Buttle Lake decried this catchphrase of the Social Credit government; ‘Having seen what ‘progress’ has done to other lakes on this island we view Mr Bennett’s order with

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misgivings and dismay.' In reality they objected to this sense of ‘progress’ whilst simultaneously promoting their own progressive ideology in which parks were a ‘practical necessity of the type of civilisation we are building.’

Similarly, some South Islanders worried that the widespread opposition to the dam at Manapouri would ‘...tend to confirm an opinion often expressed in the North that we are not progressive.’ In contrast the environmental corps viewed the opposition Labour Party’s policy that promised to stop the lake raising as highly progressive. In the words of A.F. Mark,

This policy reflects planning for the long-term gains and needs of this country rather than for short-term profits. Government’s reaction to this policy is that it makes irresponsible promises. Some may say it is a non-progressive policy; one that maintains the status quo: I do not agree with this reaction. I say, quite unequivocally, that no decision could be more progressive in this period of rapid development and environmental deterioration...

In the conceptions of progress put forward by Roderick Haig Brown and Alan Mark, nature is a dependable and timeless entity. It is the health-giving, life-supporting, truth-providing tapestry upon which we all must walk. It is only through recognising

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165 'Buttle Over the Dam', The Victoria Daily Times, March 27, 1953, p.4.
166 Roderick Haig-Brown, ‘Save Strathcona Park’, (Part one of a five part series.) The Victoria Daily Times, no.207.
167 ‘Progress is Keynote of Aluminium Scheme’, The Evening Star, January 20 1960, G.S. Parsonson, Clippings, 1960-64.
168 Alan Mark, Copy of Address given at political meeting on Manapouri – Te Anau, held at Wool Exchange, Invercargill, November 1 1972, p.2. SMCR
this and by attempting to tread lightly that we as a species will 'progress'. Yet those who linked progress to industrial and economic development viewed nature in quite different ways. To these people nature was a provider but also often an inhibiting factor. Because of its location at a high elevation, close to the coast, Lake Manapouri was perfectly suited for the generation of hydroelectric power. For those working at the site however, the conditions were far from ideal. The New Zealand Electricity Department wrote that,

> Accommodation for the hundreds of workers on the tailrace tunnel at Deep Cove was a major problem, for deep cove is a wet and lonely place. Isolated by high mountains, rising almost vertically from the water, Deep Cove before the project began was accessible only by sea or over Wilmot Pass.\(^{169}\)

Here, Deep Cove is not beautiful, not rich in recreational or spiritual opportunities, but ‘wet’ and ‘lonely’. The mountains too are not benign representatives of a sublime nature, to which we should pay homage, rather they appear as cruel dictators, isolating, and oppressive. In these publications it is the humans that are the heroes of the story, struggling against an enemy that limits progress. ‘For two years men toiled in Winter and Summer to form the winding road to the summit, their progress slowed by snow, ice and heavy rain. Small streams flooded by heavy rains trapped vehicles and rock falls on new sections hampered the work.’\(^{170}\)

\(^{170}\) Ibid., p.28.
These statements are no less true than those that extol the virtues of nature. Just like the rural people to whom I referred earlier in this chapter, these workers did know the land and climatic conditions that they described. Their accounts remind us that we often privilege certain ways of knowing nature. As Richard White has argued on a number of occasions, we tend to view knowledge about nature that is derived through work as somehow invalid.

In damming the river the workers knew nature through labour. It is foolish to deny that the men who bored the bedrock, who walked the river bottom, who came to know with fine precision the density and composition of the clay, sand, and granite of the river were in a full and meaningful sense knowing nature.\(^{171}\)

White describes this tendency as ‘foolish’. It could also be described as anti-progressive, not in the sense that it de-legitimises activities that are essential to economic development but rather because it frustrates our attempts to mediate between a wide range of views of nature.

This is exactly what the politicians had to do. They had to represent people who knew, and responded to, nature in a variety of ways. In the previous chapter I described the gradual broadening of involvement in environmental debates as a ‘democratisation of nature’. This was my own term rather than one used by the historical actors themselves. Yet at Buttle Lake and at Manapouri democratic concerns came to the forefront. Mr G.

B. Capes of the Courtenay Fish and Game Preservative Association asked 'Has the present government any right to make changes, without permission of its constituents? We contend a matter of such importance should be put to a vote.'

Many of those involved in the Manapouri hearings made explicit reference to their democratic rights. The New Zealand Travel and Holidays Association asserted that 'The very principle of democracy has been undermined.', while a Dunedin woman stated in an interview with an Otago Daily Times Reporter:

Democracy, government by the people, for the people is the definition.

Then why is it that a democratic government against the wishes of many people can enter a national park and destroy hundreds of acres when a citizen could be prosecuted for removing or damaging one plant.

Her comment seems even more apposite to this discussion when one considers the next line of the article, 'I was just an ordinary housewife...and not even very interested in politics.' Fifty years earlier this woman's knowledge of the debate and ability to contribute to it would have been stifled by a number of factors. Perhaps she might not have even made these statements had she been on Vancouver Island just twenty years before when the decision to dam Buttle Lake was announced.

Scholars of human-environment relations often refer to two dominant environmental philosophies of the twentieth century. The first of these was

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172 Courtenay Hearings, p.165.
173 New Zealand Travel and Holidays Association, Fiordland Branch, Submission to the Commission of Inquiry into Raising the Level of Lake Manapouri, p.41. GLMR
174 'Manapouri Project Turned Housewife into Protester', The Otago Daily Times, 19, 9, 1972, GLMR
175 Ibid.
'conservation'. This philosophy guided environmental management during the early twentieth century and can be seen as a response to the exploitative activities of the nineteenth century that treated natural resources as if they were unlimited. The conservation movement was ‘an effort on the part of leaders in areas of science, technology and government’ to advocate and implement efficient and wise resource use. This is not to be confused with ‘preservation’ that J. Passmore eloquently described as a ‘saving from rather than a saving for’. The second dominant philosophy, environmentalism, has its roots in the first. Political scientist Lester Milbrath and historian Samuel Hays point to the 1960s as the decade during which high levels of environmental degradation led a transition away from a wise-use mentality and towards a commitment to environmental protection. Hays describes the environmental movement as ‘more widespread and popular’ than the conservation movement. He argues that unlike the conservationists, environmentalists focused upon ‘amenities to enhance the quality of life’, ‘environmental health and well-being’ and ‘ecological objectives’.

The two conflicts at Buttle Lake and at Manapouri occurred before and after Hays’ defining year, 1960. The unsuccessful campaign to stop the damming of Buttle Lake,

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starting in 1950 and ending in 1955, appears to belong to the conservation era. Indeed Roderick Haig-Brown and his fellow campaigners described themselves as conservationists. Theirs was not a widespread popular movement but a campaign administered mostly by a small number of local community members. This conflict revealed a society that continued to allow certain privileged citizens to monopolise interactions with nature, whether they were recreation or development orientated. Yet as the discussions continued the seeds of a more democratic approach to these issues were sown. lip service was at least paid to the concerns and desires of less fortunate members of society and to new visions of vancouver island environments. Scientists also came forward as the new experts on matters relating to nature. This change really amounted to a handing over of the baton (from gentleman naturalists and sportsmen to biologists and engineers) rather than a general broadening of opportunity to contribute to these debates. Yet it was a step away from purely class-based criteria for contributors. Furthermore some people from beyond British Columbia and even outside Canada did voice concerns about the development of Buttle Lake. Yet they were mostly from the United States and commented on tourism issues within Western North America. The legacy of the Buttle Lake controversy was the introduction of environmental guidelines for hydroelectric development in British Columbia. This achievement opened the way for more responsible resource development on the island and in the province generally.

In contrast the campaign to preserve Lake Manapouri, stretching over twelve years and eventually ending in success in 1972, exemplifies many of the characteristics of the
new environmental era. This conflict revealed that on the South Island too, a hierarchical order continued to govern who could enjoy and speak about nature. However the disputes over this development motivated and enabled a wide range of stakeholders to voice their opinions about how humans should relate to the world around them. Among them were scientists (including a number of ecologists), women, youths and environmentalists from far-flung locations around the globe. It seems that there is a simple dichotomy to be drawn here. Yet if we think back to Samuel Hays and his description of the central ideas of conservation and environmentalism, the contrast does not seem so clear. The ideological underpinnings of these two campaigns share some important similarities. Members of both campaigns, not just those at Buttle Lake, opposed the proposed location of the dams rather than the utilisation of water-power resources per se. Furthermore members of both campaigns, not just those at Manapouri, considered these lakes in terms of their recreational, scenic and therapeutic values, important factors in the quality of life. It seems therefore that the differences between the Buttle Lake and Manapouri campaigns resulted less from a new way of thinking about the environment and more from the number and variety of different people whose thoughts were considered.
Chapter 3

Old Growth, New Management

In the final decades of the twentieth century the natural environment was considered on a new scale, as a global entity. Improved communications and greater economic integration had brought the world closer together in multiple ways. These globalising forces changed the face of human-environment relations. Environmentalists and many other interested parties, now had more opportunity to build long distance relationships with one another and to learn about environmental issues developing in far-flung locations. These factors gave them the ability to contribute to debates that may have previously been discussed only amongst local people. They also considered themselves to have the authority to make these contributions because in many cases those manipulating natural environments were not local developers or companies but multi-national corporations whose trade and financial relationships spread across the globe. Many argued therefore that it was no longer possible to treat environmental matters in isolation. Rather they were seen to be constituent of a network of relationships in which few could honestly claim to be innocent bystanders.

Authority to contribute to these conflicts was also provided by a popular re-conceptualisation of nature that focused on principles of ecology and biodiversity. According to these principles, which had initially become popular amongst environmentalists during the

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1 This concept was defined by the Convention on Biodiversity (signed at the World Commission on Environment and Development Conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1992) as: 'The variability among living organisms from all sources...and the ecological complexes of which they are part; this includes diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems.' New Zealand Ministry of Forestry (Hereafter NZMF), *Forestry Sector Issues*, Wellington, 1996, p.39.
1960s and 70s, the natural environment functions as a huge and complex web in which all parts are interdependent. Furthermore the variety and balance contained within natural systems is seen as more valuable than any individual component. This conceptualisation with its emphasis on interconnections and mutual dependence encouraged various stakeholders to see their opinions as relevant to all environmental problems, in all locations.

Environmental policy makers had to respond to the new relationships that these material and theoretical changes created and described. They attempted to formulate holistic policies that would maintain ecological values while simultaneously recognising and providing for the needs of a wider range of environmental stakeholders. In so doing they treated these stakeholders as nodes in a network rather than components in a hierarchy. Only three decades earlier in the discussions surrounding the hydropower developments at Buttle Lake and Lake Manapouri the attention of government authorities had been focused on scientists, a group of experts whose evidence was required to legitimate the views of both developers and environmentalists. Some more limited consideration was also accorded to recreationalists, tourists, and residents of small local communities. During the 1990s the views of these latter groups were included in core decision-making processes. Also included were the views of another previously disregarded cohort, indigenous peoples.

The key notion presented by policy makers at this time was that of sustainability. This complex term has been defined on numerous occasions. The most commonly referenced of these is that provided by the World Commission on Environment and Development in the 1987 Brundtland Report, ‘Our Common Future’. Here ‘sustainable development’ is defined as that
which 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.'\textsuperscript{2} The authors of this report highlighted two concepts as essential to an understanding of sustainable development: 'needs' and 'limits'. They stated that,

'Perceived needs are socially and culturally determined, and sustainable development requires the promotion of values that encourage consumption standards that are within the bounds of the ecologically possible and to which we all can reasonably aspire.'

'Different limits hold for the use of energy, materials, water and land...sustainability requires that long before these are reached, the world must ensure equitable access to the constrained resource and reorient technological efforts to relieve the pressure.'\textsuperscript{3}

Sustainable development therefore requires an understanding of the relationship between living conditions and the consumption of natural resources, and depends upon forward planning that ensures that the desired standard of the former is not achieved beyond the reasonable limits of the latter. Inherent in the concept is a commitment to maintaining the integrity of both human societies and natural environments. Although the interpretations of this commitment were diverse, the general concept had a widespread appeal. Hence like 'biodiversity' and 'ecology' the term 'sustainability' disseminated into the vocabularies of people worldwide.

This chapter focuses on the ramifications of these new conceptualisations of nature and society for the further development of human-environment relations on Vancouver Island and

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., pp.44-5.
the South Island. To do so it examines the strategies used on these islands in the management of one particularly contentious resource, forests.

The final decades of the twentieth century marked a period of increasing concern about the use of forest resources. Forests were disappearing in locations across the world from developing regions of South East Asia and South America to wealthy first world countries such as the United States, Canada and New Zealand. Tropical forests in particular were being removed at an alarming rate. This rate of removal was accelerating. In 1950 15% of Earth’s land area was covered in tropical forests. By 1975 the statistic for tropical forests had dropped to 12%. In 1993 statistics showed that approximately 17-18 million hectares of tropical forests were disappearing every year.\(^4\)

The status of the world’s temperate forests was also changing. Temperate forests have been logged for centuries, yet unlike tropical forests they are usually replanted after being harvested. Therefore although the sum total of Earth’s temperate forest cover was not being reduced at the same rate as that of tropical forests, the percentage of ‘old growth’ temperate forest cover was declining significantly.\(^5\) It was during the 1980s and 90s that the fate of these forests started to draw the concerted attention of environmentalists. In 1992 the American environmental organisation The Worldwatch Institute stated that temperate rainforests were

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\(^5\) The term ‘old growth’ is somewhat difficult to define. The characteristics of old growth forests differ depending on the forest type. Forest ecologist Hamish Kimmins states that old growth temperate rain forests tend to be characterized by ‘mature trees of gigantic proportions.’ Hamish Kimmins, *Balancing Act, Environmental Issues in Forestry*, Vancouver 1995, p.141.
'probably more endangered than tropical rainforests'. They claimed that of the 31 million hectares once found on Earth, 56% had been logged or cleared.\(^6\)

To respond to this global crisis, and in keeping with the new integrative approaches to environmental management, representatives from around the world came together in the 1990s to develop international agreements concerning the management of forests. Canada and New Zealand, as countries with significant holdings of temperate forests, had a prominent role in this process. Both countries are signatories to *The Guiding Principles on Forests*, a set of guidelines formulated at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. They are therefore committed to fifteen guiding principles covering issues ranging from recognition of indigenous forest rights and sustainable development to the application of international law to forest product markets.\(^7\)

Following the signing of this agreement, groups of nations with similar forest holdings and concerns came together to develop standards and criteria for sustainable forestry. Both Canada and New Zealand began working towards these goals as participants in the 'Montreal Process'; a process that was initiated in Montreal in 1993 but officially began in Geneva in 1994. Members of this process are non-European nations with boreal and temperate forests; their territories include 90% of the world’s boreal and temperate forest cover. Representatives from these countries formulated seven criteria for sustainable management, with each criteria

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measured by a number of indicators. In 1995 Canada and New Zealand also became involved in the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests (IPF), an initiative recommended by the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development. The IPF mandate was to negotiate proposals on complex international forest issues that considered biophysical, social, economic and political perspectives.

The Canadian and New Zealand Governments had added incentive to attempt to solve these 'complex international forest issues', for the tensions underlying global forest management bubbled to the surface at sites within their jurisdiction. Two such sites were Clayoquot Sound, an area on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, and the West Coast Region of the South Island.

Forestry corporations and environmentalists have clashed at Clayoquot Sound since the 1970s. Here a number of narrow ocean passages and large areas of mudflats and estuaries are surrounded by magnificent old growth temperate rainforests. The forests are typical of the very wet coastal hemlock forest zone. They are characterized by hemlock, cedar and spruce, species that possess lucrative timber values. Consequently they have attracted the interest of logging companies since the nineteenth century. British Columbian pulp, paper and logging company MacMillan Bloedel bought the rights to log the majority of this area in 1958. By 1991

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8 Ibid., p.21. The 7 criteria are: Conservation of biological diversity, Maintenance of productive capacity of forest ecosystem, Maintenance of forest eco-system health, Conservation and maintenance of soil and water resources, Maintenance of forest contribution to global carbon cycles, Maintenance and enhancement of long term multiple socio-economic benefits to meet the needs of society, Legal, institutional and economic framework for forest conservation and sustainable management.

9 NZMF, p.36.

10 At this time there was a complicated system of forest tenure within British Columbia, Tree Farm Licenses (TFLs) and Public Sustained Yield Units were the two types of forest units that were publicly owned. Logging operations also took place on privately owned land. The forests of Clayoquot Sound were managed under both forms of public and also private ownership. For a detailed description of forest tenure in British Columbia see
MacMillan Bloedel was a multi-national timber cutting and processing giant. It retained 70% of the cutting rights in Clayoquot Sound with another multinational International Forest Products (Interfor) and private land owners holding 20% and 10% respectively.\textsuperscript{11} Harvesting of these forests has almost exclusively consisted of clearcutting\textsuperscript{12} large areas of forest, leaving an aesthetically and unappealing landscape behind.

In Clayoquot Sound the tremendous scenic, recreational and ecological values of the rainforests, and the watersheds whose edges they cloaked, had to be weighed against the economic value of logging and the jobs that this industry generated. From the late 1970s various sectors of the local community clashed over the use of Clayoquot Sound’s resources. In September 1979 concerned citizens of the area responded to rumours that Meares Island was to be logged by forming ‘Friends of Clayoquot Sound’ (hereafter FOCS) a group that aimed to bring local people together to fight against the destruction of the Sound’s natural environment.\textsuperscript{13} In 1984 these residents, their supporters and the local indigenous people, the Nuu-chah-nulth, came together to protest the logging of Meares Island. Their campaign resulted in a legal battle and, in 1985 a court injunction that required MacMillan Bloedel to

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\textsuperscript{11} Maclsaac and Champagne, p.14.

\textsuperscript{12} Clearcutting is a silvicultural technique in which all trees are cut at approximately the same time thereby ensuring even aged re-growth. It is an environmentally sound harvesting method in many types of forests and is the most common harvesting system used in conversion from unmanaged to managed forests. It is also the harvesting system which has caused the most alarm amongst environmentalists. In the words of Hamish Kimmns it is ‘Literally a case of trees: now you see them now you don’t.’ Kimmns goes on to point out however that concerns about the aesthetics of clearcutting have too often been confused with the issue of environmental degradation. As he wrote, ‘there is still a lot of confusion between the visual and ecological impacts of forestry practices.’ See Kimmns, pp.72-103.

stop all operations being carried out on this site.\textsuperscript{14} This was the start of a somewhat uneasy alliance between the Nuu-chah-nulth and environmentalists. It also marked the beginning of a period during which protests against logging activities became increasingly common.

The British Columbia Provincial Government responded to public concerns by sponsoring a number of planning initiatives to find a balance between utilisation and preservation of forest assets. In 1989 the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force was appointed. Its mandate was to develop a sustainable development strategy for the Sound. Unfortunately the Task Force could not reach consensus on where logging could continue during the interim period. Consequently it was dissolved in 1990 and replaced by the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Steering Committee in 1991. This committee produced the first draft of a land use strategy for Clayoquot Sound in January 1992. The draft went under public review in February and March that year when six public meetings and a number of workshops were held. A second draft of the strategy was then released in August 1992.\textsuperscript{15} This committee also foundered on disagreements over key aspects of the strategy and disbanded two months after the publication of their second draft. Despite this setback the provincial government announced The Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision in April 1993.\textsuperscript{16} Prior to 1993 15\% of the Sound’s land area, was protected in parks or reserves. The 1993 legislation designated 33\% of the region as protected from logging, 45\% as ‘Integrated


\textsuperscript{15} Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Strategy Steering Committee (Hereafter CSSDSSC), \textit{Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision Background Report}, April 1993, p.6.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p.7.
Resource Management Areas’ where commercial timber harvesting would be the primary land use, and 17% as ‘Special Management Areas’. (See Figure 4.)

Although this compromise reduced the annual allowable cut by one-third, environmental groups remained outraged. FOCS responded to this legislation by organizing a ‘Peace Camp’ in July 1993. The camp was held at the ‘Black Hole’, an infamous area of clearcut land near the town of Tofino. Some 10 000 people visited this camp and participated in various forms of peaceful protest during the Summer of 1993. Later that year protesters started forming blockades across the Kennedy River Bridge to stop logging vehicles from reaching a MacMillan Bloedel worksite. Nine hundred and thirty two people were arrested for defying an injunction that banned demonstrations on company worksites. The subsequent court hearings constituted the largest mass trial in the Western world.

A satisfactory balance had obviously not been found. Therefore, following the announcement of the Land Use Decision, the British Columbia Commission on Resources and Environment recommended the establishment of a Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices in Clayoquot Sound (hereafter referred to as the Scientific Panel). The panel was charged with developing ‘world-class standards for sustainable forest management by combining traditional and scientific knowledge.’ They produced five reports, the last of

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17 The primary use of Special Management Areas would be for scenic corridors, wildlife or recreation. However economic activities such as timber use and management, fisheries, tourism, and mineral exploration and development would continue in these areas as long as they did not conflict with the primary objectives. CSSDSSC, Background Report, pp.10-14. and MacMillan Bloedel, Briefing Notes, MacMillan Bloedel and Clayoquot Sound, 1993, University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections, Vancouver.

18 Maclissac and Champagne, p.xi.

Figure 4. Map Illustrating 1993 Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision

which was published in April 1995.\textsuperscript{20} The Panel proposals advocated more ecologically sensitive forest management, and extraction techniques, more detailed calculations of sustainable timber yields and also greater respect for the knowledge and practices of indigenous peoples. These proposals were put into practice late in 1995.

The general nature of the conflict on the West Coast of the South Island was similar to that at Clayoquot Sound. ‘Podocarp-hardwood’ and ‘Nothofagus (southern beech) are the two main forest types in this region.\textsuperscript{21} Like those at Clayoquot Sound these forests have significant ecological, scenic and timber values. Therefore, while environmental groups argued that these forests should be protected from timber harvesting, local people on the West Coast expressed concerns that limitations placed on this industry would result in job losses and economic downturn in their region. Of the two forest types, it is the podocarps that have provided most of the wood harvested from indigenous forests. Rimu (sometimes referred to as New Zealand red pine) is the most valued of the podocarps and has traditionally been used in housing construction, furniture and other high-end timber uses. The value of beech forests for timber

\textsuperscript{20}The five reports were:
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\textsuperscript{21}The podocarps belong to a Southern Hemisphere family of coniferous trees named the Podocarpaceae. The five most dominant and well known of the New Zealand podocarps are rimu, kahikatea, miro, matai, and totara. Of these the rimu is seen as having the highest timber values. Nothofagus is the term for New Zealand native beech trees. There are four species of beech in New Zealand, hard, black, silver and red. Their range depends largely on elevation and soil and climatic conditions. The West Coast of the South Island is dominated mainly by silver and black beech forests. Nic Bishop, \textit{Natural History of New Zealand,} Auckland, 1992, pp.44-5 and 62-3.
harvesting is somewhat lower than that of the podocarps. Hence logging in these forests has been considerably less extensive. However these beech forests became the focus of much debate during the 1980s and 1990s as successive New Zealand governments attempted to manage the West Coast indigenous forests so that their full range of values could be maintained. The implementation of larger beech harvesting operations was seen as the best way to relieve some of the pressure on podocarp forests and to maintain local West Coast communities. (See Figure 5 for a projection of the future forest industry on the West Coast).

In 1985 the New Zealand Labour government appointed a Working Party on West Coast Forests. Their mandate was to assist the Secretary for the Environment in identifying and recommending to the Government, a policy for forest resource management on the West Coast.22 The Working Party published its final report in October 1986, leading, later that year, to the implementation of the West Coast Accord, an agreement between the Crown, environmental groups, local government and industry. This accord aimed to move the local forest industry from its reliance on indigenous forests to harvesting a mix of exotic timber and native timber, with the latter being exploited at reduced volumes. Under its provisions 79%, or 1,800,000 hectares of West Coast forest land was allocated to the conservation estate,23 giving the South Island's West Coast 26% of all reserve land in New Zealand, 'by far the largest

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23 'Conservation estate' is the term used by New Zealanders to describe land that has been set aside in national parks and reserves. Therefore, in a sense it is 'preservation' land. Since 1987 this land has been administered by the Department of Conservation. This is the most likely derivation of this somewhat ambiguous term. It appears that this is not merely a semantic issue. The use of 'conservation' to describe land that is reserved from any use at all hints at the tendency amongst New Zealanders to consider total protection as the only form of 'conservation'. See pp. 118-119 of this chapter for further discussion of this idea.
Figure 5. Projected Scale of Future Forest Industry on the West Coast

Source: www.twc.co.nz
A proportion of the forests, 98513 hectares in total, was also made available 'to allow the continuing supply of indigenous timber in perpetuity.' These productive forests were initially managed by the New Zealand Forest Service (a government department that in 1987 became the New Zealand Forestry Corporation, a State Owned Enterprise or ‘SOE’). However in 1990 the Government created Timberlands West Coast Ltd (hereafter TWC), a stand alone SOE, to control its West Coast forests.

New Zealand’s new National Government, elected in 1990 came to power with the knowledge that they would have to take decisive steps towards the resolution of several resource management issues. In 1991 they passed The New Zealand Resource Management Act to ‘promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources.’ Superseding many more specific pieces of legislation, the act was general and integrative in perspective and was focused on the consequences of resource use rather than providing arbitrary prescriptions for particular activities. Section 6 of the act ‘requires all persons exercising functions and powers under the act to recognize and provide for the protection of areas of significant indigenous vegetation.’ West Coast indigenous forests fell into this category.

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24 Timberlands West Coast Ltd (Hereafter TWC), West Coast Forestry Saving our Forest Future, Greymouth 1997, p.9.
Later in 1991 several environmental groups and the New Zealand Forest industry signed the New Zealand Forest Accord. The accord required the forest industry to ‘recognise the important heritage values of New Zealand’s remaining natural indigenous forest and the need for their protection and conservation.’ The environmental groups pledged in turn to ‘recognise the commercial plantation forests of either introduced or indigenous species as an essential source of perpetually renewable fibre and energy offering an alternative to the depletion of natural forests.’ The accord constituted a commitment to greater cooperation and understanding between environmentalists and the forest industry. Yet important stakeholders such as TWC, Maori Forest Owners, and Federated Farmers were not party to the agreement.

New legislation was necessary to guide the New Zealand forest industry towards a sustainable and profitable future. The National Government responded to this need with The Forests Amendment Act of 1993 which prohibited ‘the milling or export of indigenous timber, unless the timber is harvested from sustainably managed forests.’ Certain areas, including the 98 513 hectares of West Coast indigenous forests, were exempted from this prohibition. This reprieve was granted to allow TWC time to make a proper transition to

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sustainable management of West Coast indigenous forests. Three years later in 1996 the Customs and Excise Act prohibited the export of indigenous timber and timber products from areas that were not subject to Part 3A of the Forests Act.32 By placing stricter and stricter regulations on the indigenous forest industry the government hoped to encourage forest managers and owners to plant and harvest exotic forests. Statistics show that this legislation was effective. In 1986 no exotic forest was harvested in the West Coast area. Eleven years later Timberlands’ exotic log sales were 163 000 m³ a year.33

In 1998 Timberlands West Coast announced its new Sustainable Management Plans for the 98 000 hectares of Beech and Beech/Podocarp Production Forests of North Westland. The plans, which included descriptions of the forests, management policies and techniques used to achieve sustainable management, received the support of the government.34 They were never implemented however as the National government lost the 1999 national election to a Labour party that was committed to ending West Coast indigenous logging. In May 2001 the new government announced a decision ‘to transfer all publicly owned West Coast forests managed by Timberlands West Coast to the management of the Department of Conservation by 2002’35

The basic causes of these two conflicts were broadly analogous. However, by the turn of the millennium, the status of indigenous forestry in each location was significantly different.

32 Ibid., p.4.
33 TWC, p.17.
The divergence in the resolution of these conflicts is intriguing. There is a tendency amongst some scholars to disregard local histories and to view modern environmental issues as mere episodes in a larger drama being acted out on a global stage. Political scientists examining the conflict at Clayoquot Sound have emphasised this perspective. In his study of modern ecopolitics entitled *Beyond Sovereign Territory* Tom Kuehls states that 'we should not...deny the extent to which the ethical issue of logging these [Clayoquot Sound's] forests is not contained by the assertion of geopolitical boundaries' and proceeds to argue that, 'What threatens MacMillan Bloedel, and corporations like it, is that the environmental fight against it will escape the space of the sovereign territorial state and confront it in different spaces. Those different spaces are the spaces of ecopolitics.'

Warren Magnusson’s reflections on the same topic in his article *Decentering the State* are more radical than Kuehls’. He claims that, For better or worse, the political containers that gave rise to security seem to be disintegrating – at Clayoquot, in the courts at Victoria, in provincial and national politics, and more generally in the world around us. It seems that we are all caught up in a process of dislocation or de-centring, which is rendering the political spaces of the past less coherent, and making it increasingly difficult for people to relate to one another’s histories.

The contrasting final outcomes of the debates concerning Clayoquot Sound and the West Coast suggest that not every environmental issue can be reduced to an intersection of global forces. It

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seems that while these interpretations provide one understanding of the events at the Clayoquot Sound, the conclusions they generate cannot be extended to all environmental issues in all locations. I believe that a consideration of these two conflicts that pays due attention to their differences and similarities, will reveal the 'spaces' of modern ecopolitical debates more fully.

The most essential component of the new global perspective on environmental management was a commitment to ecological principles. Ecology and biodiversity were key motifs in each set of proceedings. Ecological representation (i.e. the presence of a full range of local indigenous ecological systems) and biodiversity were major concerns for those apportioning protected status at Clayoquot Sound. The Background Report to the 1993 Land Use Decision notes the existence of seven biogeoclimatic variants\(^{38}\) in this region. Five of these were already well represented in protected areas prior to the decision. The reserves created in 1993 substantially increased the protected land area of the two remaining variants.\(^{39}\) Two years later in their second 'Progress Report' the Scientific Panel paid even closer attention to these principles,

Ecosystems provide essential 'ecological services' in addition to specific products such as timber. Examples of such services are purification of air and water, building and conservation of soil, regulation of water flow, and buffering of climatic variation. ... Maintaining biodiversity requires a system of protected

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\(^{38}\) The full list of variants occurring in Clayoquot Sound is: Very Wet Hypermaritime Coastal Western Hemlock, Submontane Very Wet Maritime Coastal Western Hemlock, Montane Very Wet Maritime Coastal Western Hemlock, Montane Moist Maritime Coastal Western Hemlock, Moist Maritime Mountain Hemlock, Moist Maritime Mountain Hemlock, Alpine Tundra. CSSDSSC, *Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Strategy, Second Draft of the Strategy Document*, Section 6, p.5.

\(^{39}\) The two variants being 'very wet maritime coastal western hemlock, submontane', and 'very wet maritime coastal western hemlock, montane'.
areas as well as sustainable ecosystem management outside protected areas...in places such as Clayoquot Sound, where little is known about the majority of species, protecting and managing habitats becomes a surrogate for protecting and managing species.\textsuperscript{40}

The last line of this statement suggests a definite turn away from species-orientated conservation projects in favour of strategies that focused on whole ecosystems.

Policy makers in New Zealand followed a similar line of thinking. The Ministry of Forestry public relations booklet \textit{Indigenous Forestry, Sustainable Management} asserted that ‘Indigenous forests have values other than timber production that cannot be measured in commercial terms, such as restoring flora and fauna and improving forest health and biodiversity.’\textsuperscript{41}

These new ecologically sensitive goals required new frameworks for environmental management. In many cases this meant more locally specific management plans. In New Zealand, the Resource Management Act stipulated that environmental planning would be managed ‘principally at a sub-national level by regional and district councils.’\textsuperscript{42} Prior to this planning was usually executed on a national basis. Similarly, the very decision to devote so much time, money and expertise to the development of land use plans specific to the Clayoquot Sound Region reveals a desire amongst British Columbian policy makers to create land management systems that catered to the nuances of specific locations as never before.

\textsuperscript{40} Scientific Panel, \textit{Progress Report 2, Review of Current Forest Practice Standards in Clayoquot Sound}, May 10 1994, p.34.
\textsuperscript{41} NZMF, \textit{Indigenous Forestry, Sustainable Management}, p.105.
\textsuperscript{42} P.A. Memon, \textit{Keeping New Zealand Green: Recent Environmental Reforms}, Dunedin, 1993, p.86.
Resource managers and advisors argued that these management areas should be further subdivided so that forest planning could be applied to ecologically defined administrative units. The Scientific Panel's Eco-system Management document proposed that forest planners should,

- Adopt physiographic or ecological land units as the basis for planning.
- Develop plans at subregional, watershed and site levels and establish internal consistency among these plans.
- Base planning on a long-term perspective, at least in the order of 100 years when considering large areas, and ten years for operational planning of smaller areas.\(^{43}\) (This statement is expanded on under the sub-heading ‘Time Frames’, ‘Planning must consider both the natural time frame of organisms and ecosystems, and the organisational time frame of human activities and infrastructures.’)\(^{44}\)

The new planning units described in the 1998 Sustainable Management Plans for the Beech and Beech/Podocarp Production Forests of North Westland (hereafter The 1998 Sustainable Management Plans for North Westland) also signalled an attempt to move beyond arbitrary administrative units. Here the diverse production forest was divided into five working circles each consisting of forests with ‘relatively similar characteristics’. They were The Grey Working Circle, The Inangahua Valley Working Circle, The Buller Working Circle, and The

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\(^{44}\) Ibid., p. 159.
Hochstetter Working Circle. At the time of publication however, full details of forest compositions for the Buller and Hochstetter working circles were unavailable. (See Figure 6 for the designation of working circle boundaries and Figure 7 for the forest composition of these working circles.)

These new planning criteria would be dependent upon detailed and comprehensive understanding of local environments and also upon the impacts of forestry techniques. There were concerns on both islands that this information was not currently available. The New Zealand Ministry of Forestry argued that for sustainable management to be carried out effectively in indigenous forests, large research projects would need to be undertaken. This would allow for a database to be established from which ‘site specific management methods’ could be developed.45 Similarly, the General Principles of the Scientific Panel for Sustainable Forest Practices at Clayoquot Sound stated that ‘Standards must accommodate new information and changing social values’ and that ‘Information on the resources of Clayoquot Sound and understanding of its forest ecosystems are incomplete’.46

Nonetheless the various new management plans for Clayoquot Sound and the productive forest on the West Coast presented a vast amount of information about local species, harvesting techniques and particular ecological zones within the forests. The Scientific Panel’s Ecosystem-Management Plans for Clayoquot Sound introduced in 1995 were outlined in a 295-page report. This report was divided into 8 sections which dealt with: The Clayoquot Sound Environment, Silvicultural Systems, Harvesting Systems, Transportation Systems, Scenic

Figure 6. Map Illustrating T.W.C. North Westland Working Circles 1998

Source: www.twc.co.nz
Figure 7. Forest Composition of TWC Working Circles\textsuperscript{47}

Source: www.twc.co.nz

\textsuperscript{47} Red, Hard, Silver, and Mountain refer to species of Southern Beech.
Recreational, and Tourism (sic), Planning for Sustainable Ecosystem In Clayoquot Sound, and Monitoring. Each contains a vast amount of detailed information including a large number of photographs, diagrams and graphs. These figures present information on topics ranging from ‘The Percentage of forest-dwelling vertebrate species in Clayoquot Sound using different forest components for breeding’\(^{48}\) to ‘The effect of yarding distance and log size on yarder engine size’\(^{49}\)

The 1998 Sustainable Management Plans for North Westland are similarly detailed. They refer specifically to the needs of various species living within the forests.

Not surprisingly, clearfell harvesting techniques have, in the past, had detrimental effects on native birds, particularly hole-nesters, seed and nectar feeders and those with large habitat ranges. By retaining old trees and near-continuous canopy, and adopting selection-harvesting techniques, TWC seeks to minimize these effects.\(^{50}\)

They also describe new forest specific techniques for calculating harvest quotas and limits. In traditional forest management, wood yield is determined on the basis of volume (m\(^3\)), but for the purposes of natural forest management the yield is defined in terms of numbers of trees of each diameter class and each beech species that may be harvested.\(^{51}\)

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\(^{48}\) Scientific Panel, *Ecosystem Management*, p.27.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., p.109.

\(^{50}\) MAF Discussion Paper 8, p.8.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., p.14.
Indeed those who formulated the plans and policies for sustainable management at Clayoquot Sound and on the West Coast seem to have been equally committed to a holistic management approach that revolved around ecological ideals. On the whole, local people in the Clayoquot Sound Region supported these strategies. The Second Draft of the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Strategy refers to surveys conducted amongst local residents. ‘Most people in the region...support the basic idea behind the sustainable development strategy that environmental conservation and economic development can be compatible [and]...value the diversity of wild animals, natural scenic views, and wilderness areas.’

Local people on the West Coast had different priorities. When the Department of Conservation (hereafter DOC) was created in 1987 to take over the responsibilities of the Forest service, the Department of Lands and Survey, and the Wildlife Branch, West Coasters responded somewhat negatively. They were especially critical of DOC’s approach to forest management that emphasized not only trees but all components of forest ecosystems.

DOC has a totally different emphasis from the New Zealand Forest Service which was orientated to the back-country. DOC are all about the front end, namely tourism, road-end etc. NZFS were tree orientated, DOC are orientated towards birds, insects and marine mammals. DOC has probably neglected the forests.

52 CSSDSSC, Second Draft, Section 2, p.3.
Here different aspects of the forest are linked to different groups of people: trees to backcountry people; birds, insects and animals to tourists. These linkages are revealing. They present a conceptualisation of ‘the forest’ that is antithetical to an ecological approach. Because they did not focus on trees exclusively, DOC was seen as neglecting forests and instead catering to tourists. This respondent saw no ‘forest’ values in the birds, insects and marine animals. Instead ecological components were divided into two categories: those that have obvious economic value; and those that do not. In this conceptualisation, the birds etc do not contribute to forest health but are frivolous decorative features that serve only to amuse tourists. Obviously it is easy to become focussed on one specific component of an ecosystem when one’s livelihood is dependent on the extraction of that resource. But why would West Coasters be so critical of an eco-system oriented view of forests when the majority of locals living in resource dependent communities near Clayoquot Sound embraced this ecological approach?

This divergence in the views of local people can be accounted for relatively simply. At Clayoquot Sound the version of sustainable development that was articulated in various planning documents was true to the definition provided in the Brundtland Report. Here ‘sustainability’ meant more than the continuing integrity of natural environments, it promised the continuing viability of communities that were dependent on these environments. All of the strategy statements developed for Clayoquot Sound made commitments to supporting and considering the ideas of local communities. This meant recognizing peoples’ attachment to their homes and therefore attempting to promote long-term economic development through
activities that were both sustainable and competitive. It also meant recognizing people’s attachment to a certain occupation and way of life. As the Steering Committee wrote of the local fishery industry, ‘People who live by fishing feel strongly that dollars do not come close to expressing the value of fisheries as part of their way of life.’

The 1993 Clayoquot Sound Land Use Strategy introduced new timber harvesting restraints in the ‘special management areas’ and removed certain areas from the productive forest. The combined impact of these initiatives was a reduction in the annual cut from 900 000 cubic meters to 600 000 cubic meters. It seems self evident that a concurrent reduction in the number of local people required to harvest the forests would also occur. How could the local economic base be maintained when the ability to utilize these resources was being constrained? The strategy documents suggest that this goal could be achieved by ‘value added manufacturing’ and through an emphasis on more environmentally sensitive harvesting techniques such as aerial log removal systems. ‘For most harvest areas, the use of aerial systems which suspend the logs in the air will be required. Aerial systems such as skyline operations usually employ more forest workers to handle the logs.’ Indeed it seems that the very inefficiency of these new systems were part of their attraction. These plans serve to illustrate the dedication of Clayoquot Sound policymakers to fulfil all requirements of the concept of sustainable development.

54 CSSDSSC, Second Draft, Section 5, p.8.
55 Ibid., Section 10, p.1.
56 CSSDSSC, Background Report, p.12.
57 Ibid.
Policy makers in New Zealand appear to have been much less concerned about maintaining local resource communities. The 1998 Sustainable Management Plans for North Westland included only one general objective 'To manage the forests to assist, commensurate with sound business practice, the development of diversification of employment and employment opportunity on the West Coast and New Zealand as a whole.' \(^{58}\) Even within this statement the reference to economic opportunity in 'New Zealand as a whole' implies the degree to which the desires of those on the West Coast were subordinate to those of broader New Zealand society.

Politics was the key factor here. New Zealand, like Canada, was (and is) a predominantly urban society. Urbanites tend to identify with environmentalist ideals more than their rural counterparts. Yet the majority of British Columbians acknowledged the pivotal role that forestry played within the B.C. economy and therefore promoted sustainability rather than preservation. \(^{59}\) In contrast the majority of New Zealanders believed that indigenous forests should be totally protected. In 1998 The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry requested public submissions on plans prepared by TWC for the sustainable management (i.e. continued albeit restricted harvesting) of West Coast beech and beech/podocarp forests. A massive 12,354 submissions on this topic were received by the Ministry. The largest cohort of people opposed to the plans were urbanites living in the North Island. 6,457 submissions were received from the North Island, of which only 51 supported the plans. 4,192 submissions were received from

\(^{58}\) MAF Discussion Paper Number 8, p.7.  
\(^{59}\) In response to a government commissioned survey conducted in 1994 72% of respondents stated that they 'felt boycotts would threaten BC jobs if the government does not improve its forest management.' Friends of Clayoquot Sound Newsletter, Spring/Summer 1994.
the South Island. Of these 1,969 supported the plans with the vast majority (1,766) of supportive submissions coming from the West Coast. Environmentalists regarded the indigenous forest industry not as a lynchpin in the national economy, but merely as 'jobs' for a few people. As one member of the Maruia Society asked 'Why should we conservationists worry ourselves about people's jobs?'

Politicians therefore had to weigh up the advantages of utilitarian versus preservationist policies. As one forestry expert, A.J. Tilling, asserted in a discussion of the 1986 West Coast Accord,

...when allocative decisions were finally made by the government ... little national political risk was involved in the adoption of a predominantly preservationist policy, as roundwood removals from plantations had long since eclipsed indigenous removals and most of the remaining large forestry companies on the West Coast were not dependent on the latter. There was only local political fall out.

Geographers P.A. Memon and G.A. Wilson of Otago University suggested that the same reasoning was behind the 1990 national election campaigns. At this time both the major political parties, Labour and National, promised to ensure that indigenous forests would be protected. Memon and Wilson state that 'There was more to gain in the urban electorates of

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61 The Maruia Society is a New Zealand environmental organisation specifically concerned with forest management. It was formed in 1975 and was originally named the 'Native Forests Action Council'.
Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin where the main opposition to indigenous logging was. The assertion that DOC has ‘probably neglected the forest’ is more easily understood within this political context. It seems that in many ways West Coasters felt alienated from the environmental policy-making process. Consequently they felt that the new policy directions did not pay due attention to the portion of the natural environment in which their interests lay.

Instead they saw the needs and views of new environmental stakeholders such as tourists being legitimated and responded to at the expense of their own. Environmentalists on the South Island pointed to tourism as an economic benefit of preserving indigenous forests. In doing so they displayed their relative lack of concern with maintaining West Coasters’ way of life.

Protection will unlock the forests for greater public use and employment and provide a tourist drawcard. Tourism can have its own impacts but it has far better prospects for long-term jobs and for sustaining healthy forests... Environmentalists made these claims but in reality the tourist trade was only just becoming established in the West Coast region. There was no group of individuals who could represent current tourist interests. In contrast to the campaign to save Manapouri few foreign visitors wrote letters to local papers or to environmental groups about West Coast forestry issues. Therefore bureaucrats and resource managers spoke of tourists more as prospective customers than legitimate participants in management debates.

64 Ibid.
65 Eugenie Sage, ‘We Will Fight them on the Beeches’, The Press, February 8 2000, p.5.
The Scientific Panel working on sustainability at Clayoquot Sound had more to say on the topic of tourism. They asserted that tourists should be given more consideration in forest management plans.

Tourism is one of the largest industries in the province. While some tourism interests are recognized in current forest management standards through the protection of scenic and recreation resources, current standards do not ensure that the specific needs of the tourism industry are identified and addressed.\(^{66}\)

One innovative idea for Clayoquot Sound tourism was to use sustainability itself as a tourist attraction. The Sustainable Development Steering Committee suggested that local people could develop and promote a regional marketing strategy on the theme of sustainable living. A ‘sustainable living show’ could be developed as a permanent center in or near Port Alberni. This would be an attraction in its own right, with entertaining displays explaining the idea of sustainability, the ecosystems and communities of the region, sustainable uses of natural resources, and manufacture of products from sustainably produced resources. It would also be a directory of demonstrations of sustainable living throughout the region: from parks and wildlife viewing to industry tours.\(^{67}\)

This idea is somewhat reminiscent of claims by developers that the dams at lakes Buttle and Manapouri would be tourist attractions. Except that here the idea was to promote a concept


rather than a development or a natural environment. As such it would provide tourists with an opportunity to learn more about the struggles to find a balance between preservation and utilisation of resources at Clayoquot Sound. Instead of attempting to keep these issues away from the tourist gaze and presenting a more easily palatable scenic environment, the Scientific Panel’s proposal would require tourists to consider the human realities within the Sound’s environment.

The Scientific Panel also did not seek to cater to tourists by maintaining ‘natural’ conditions only in places where, and at times when, tourists were likely to visit. The Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision designated scenic corridors along main routes and in tourist areas. One year later the Scientific Panel stated that ‘People experience scenery over a large area, generally in relation to a “trip”. If the landscape is analysed and planned only at a detailed scale, these broad patterns will not be acknowledged.’\(^68\) They recommended that much larger scenic reserves be maintained rather than leaving ribbons of forest on the edge of clearcut areas.\(^69\) This desire to manage broad landscape areas, setting aside particular tracts of land for particular purposes rather than thinly veiling the unsightly aspects of resource use, was something new. It contrasts starkly with the desires of previous generations of Vancouver Islanders and South Islanders. The initiatives at Clayoquot Sound show broad concern about managing the area properly both for the people actually living there and short-term visitors as well.

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\(^69\) Ibid., p.61.
The commitments of those planning for the management of Clayoquot Sound to consider the needs of local resource communities and short term visitors are entirely consistent with the principles of sustainability prescribed in the Brundtland Report. The comparative lack of concern for these groups shown by South Islanders reveals that the demands being placed on the West Coast were not as high. These differences suggest the degree to which these societies considered themselves to be under the gaze of a global community. It is not surprising then that they also differed in terms of the role that they saw for themselves within this global community.

Vancouver Islanders designated themselves as role models for sustainable development and for multiple-use of forests. They seem to have felt this responsibility particularly keenly. In 1994 the Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel stated that,

- British Columbia has an obligation to protect and manage the forests of Clayoquot Sound for the benefit of all peoples of the world.
- British Columbia has an opportunity to show leadership by developing the best standards for sustainable forest practices.
- International interest in Clayoquot Sound and British Columbia’s dependence on international markets will require the province to practice sustainable forestry that meets emerging standards described in international treaties, conventions, agreements and certification programs.\(^70\)

\(^{70}\) Ibid., p.10.
Members of the Scientific Panel realised that the proper implementation of sustainable forestry practices at Clayoquot Sound depended upon the support of people throughout the province of British Columbia. Therefore they attempted to demonstrate why people throughout the province should embrace their position as role models for sustainability. By pointing to the role of British Columbians as stewards of this small piece of the global environment, and to the international standards that were required of them both by international organisations and their customers across the globe, the scientific panel appealed to their sense of 'needs' (as defined in the Brundtland Report). Both ecological/environmental and economic needs are implicitly referred to in this statement, revealing the extent to which these two aspects of globalisation impacted simultaneously upon British Columbian forest policy.

As smaller players in the international forestry industry South Islanders felt less pressure to act as role models.\(^{71}\) The priority for most people living on this island was protection of their unique indigenous ecosystems. Thus they portrayed themselves not as leaders in the sustainable development of indigenous forests but as the vanguard of planted exotic forest management. The September 1992 Forestry Report for the Canterbury/West Coast region stated proudly that New Zealand was acknowledged at the Rio Earth Summit 'as having relevant technology and experience to assist other countries establish planted production forests.'\(^{72}\) Of course indigenous forest managers, who had much to gain from the continued harvest of South Island forests, argued that New Zealanders had a responsibility to utilize their

\(^{71}\) In 1996 Canada's annual timber harvest was ten times that of New Zealand, NZMF, *Forestry Sector Issues*, p.32.

\(^{72}\) Forestry Report, Canterbury/West Coast, Quarter ending 30 September 1992, p.3.
native forests. They argued that exotic forests could not provide all of the timber values that indigenous forests did and that total protection of indigenous forests would force New Zealanders to buy timber from non-sustainable sources. As Jon Dronfield, executive manager of TWC beech forests, stated in 1999,

…it’s one thing to harp on about locking up the forests for conservation, but New Zealanders will still want timber, and beautiful furniture, which otherwise would have to come from the undeveloped world where 90% of it is unsustainably produced ‘So we’re passing on the buck to the developing countries and for me that’s just hypocrisy.’

Views such as these were not widely articulated however. The majority of New Zealanders not directly involved in the forest industry argued that their first responsibility was to protect their local natural environment. ‘The use of timber like mahogany and teak is regrettable but it is the problem of countries which are foolish or corrupt enough to permit its milling. At least we should put our own house in order.’ In terms of their international relations Vancouver Islanders believed that they had multiple responsibilities as caretakers of eco-systems, as teachers of sustainable use and as suppliers of sustainably produced products. South Islanders focused much more exclusively on their role as protectors of a specific environment.

There is one final set of environmental stakeholders whose views concerning forest management on these islands received consideration in these debates. Scholars engaged with

questions of social change generally follow a tripartite mode of analysis focusing on gender, race and class. Previously in this thesis I have considered the democratisation of involvement in environmental issues in terms of gender and class but have paid very little attention to race. The reason for this is quite simply that on these islands the views of the ethnic majority - those of British descent - absolutely dominated debates about the environment until late in the twentieth century. However the final decades of the twentieth century were marked by an international concern for recognising the views of previously disregarded ethnic groups, particularly those of native peoples. In 1987 the World Commission on Environment and Development made this decree on the topic,

Tribal and indigenous peoples will need special attention as the forces of economic development disrupt their traditional lifestyles – lifestyles that can offer modern societies many lessons in the management of resources in complex forest, mountain and dryland ecosystems. Some are threatened with virtual extinction by insensitive development over which they have no control. Their traditional rights should be recognized and they should be given a decisive voice in formulating policies about resource development in their areas.\textsuperscript{75}

The traditional relationships between native peoples and the state are quite different in New Zealand and British Columbia. The indigenous people of New Zealand, the Maori, signed a treaty with the British crown in 1840. The second article of this treaty states that,

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession...  

The ambiguous nature of the treaty has sustained a variety of interpretations, mostly to the advantage of the British majority. However its very existence has provided a legal mechanism for Maori people to attempt to protect their lands and resources from the infringements of mainstream society.

Indeed Maori people have received special legislative consideration, such as the South Island Landless Natives Act (hereafter SILNA) of 1906, passed to compensate for the inequitable crown land purchases of the nineteenth century. Under the act 57 538 hectares of land were allocated to 4 064 individuals, mainly in Otago and Southland. This land and that owned by TWC, was exempted from the Forests Act of 1949. More recent initiatives taken by the New Zealand government in the forestry sector aimed to streamline policy, making sustainable forestry the priority and removing legislation that interferes with this goal. In 1990 the government placed a comprehensive ban on the exporting of indigenous woodchips and unsustainably harvested timber. Maori people who lived on the South Island’s West Coast argued that this move would deprive them of their rights as ceded under the treaty, ‘Export

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76 The Treaty of Waitangi, Article Two.
bans will deprive Maori owners of their tino rangatiratanga, or true right of chieftainship over their forests.\textsuperscript{78} Maori forest owners alongside Federated Farmers and the Forest Owners Association argued that, ‘Certainly there are many forests that could not be harvested at all unless export level prices are available. These include the West Coast Beech Forests which are the subject of the West Coast Accord.'\textsuperscript{79} Despite these claims the government decided in October 1998 to “move towards a consistent set of rules for all indigenous forest management”, SILNA forests were brought under the same rules as those that applied to other privately owned indigenous forests.\textsuperscript{80}

Many Maori supported initiatives of this type claiming that a preservationist attitude towards forest resources was the only way to honour the Treaty of Waitangi.

Look-uphold the Treaty of Waitangi 1840; Don’t you dare destroy the forest of Tane; this place belongs to us all; you will never be able to cut down all of the trees; if you do not listen, you will be courting disaster; leave the treasures from all those who have passed to ensure the well being of this land.\textsuperscript{81}

This comment appeared in one of the 12 354 submissions received by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry regarding 1998 Sustainable Management Plans for North Westland. Eight of these submissions, including that from which the above quotation was taken, were written in Maori and one was written by a respondent who identified herself as Maori. The authors of the report noted that all eight Maori respondents were opposed to the plans and gave

\textsuperscript{78} John Morton, ‘Should we be Logging our Indigenous Forests?’, \textit{Forest and Bird}, February 1991, p.18.
\textsuperscript{79} The Maruia Society, p.5.
\textsuperscript{80} \textit{MAF Public Discussion Paper Number 9}, p.1.
North Island addresses, suggesting that none of them were dependent on the West Coast forest industry for their livelihood. Maori living on the West Coast may well have held different opinions.

The lack of a coherent Maori response to these forestry initiatives in addition to the government’s commitment to new forestry management strategies limited the Maori input into the management of West Coast forests. P.A. Memon suggests that this problem was not limited to the forestry industry,

…a fundamental question that still needs to be addressed with respect to these (environmental) reforms is the incorporation within central and local government decision making of Maori cultural, spiritual and traditional beliefs related to the environment.\(^{82}\)

It seems that New Zealanders still had some work to do to give indigenous peoples the ‘decisive voice’ in policy formulations that the Brundtland Report outlined.

In British Columbia there is no founding treaty upon which the relationship between First Nations peoples and the state is based. Treaty negotiations continue between the Provincial Government and various First Nations to the present day. This has meant that the issue of forest use is inextricably linked to and often superseded by the issue of land title. Here legislative priorities are moving in the opposite direction to those in New Zealand.

Since the early stages of the debate over Clayoquot Sound First Nations leaders have argued that they should not be treated just as one of many stakeholders,

\(^{82}\) Memon, p.132.
The leaders take the position that the Native Peoples are a first nation with legitimate claims against the lands in the study area over which the federal and provincial governments now assert dominion. Therefore the Tribal council believes it should not be perceived simply as one of ten organisations having an interest but should be recognized as a sovereign body with a valid legal claim pending against the lands.\footnote{Allan Hope, Chairman, 'Briefing Memorandum No. 2', October 26, 1989, \textit{Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force Report to the Minister of Environment on the Minister of Regional and Economic Development}, January 31, 1991, p.33.}

It would be fair to say that the various Clayoquot Sound development documents have placed the Nuu-chah-nulth people, the indigenous people of Clayoquot Sound, in a separate category from other environmental stakeholders. Authors of the 1993 Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision were careful to state that,

\begin{quote}
The government recognizes the rights of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples with respect to traditional use of resources and their concern for improving forest practices, and for a more meaningful and timely role in decisions concerning resource utilisation. To this end policies of resource agencies will ensure greater opportunity for consultation and participation with First Nations. The government also recognizes that this land use decision must, to the extent possible, not prejudice and be subject to the outcome of comprehensive treaty negotiations.\footnote{CSSDSSC, \textit{Background Report}, April 1993, p.4.}
\end{quote}
They were also careful to note the support that the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples accorded to the concept of sustainability. In fact both the Clayoquot Sound Land Use Decision and the reports of the Scientific Panel assert that the Nuu-chah-nulth people have traditionally used the environment in a sustainable way and that their knowledge should be incorporated into development strategies. In articulating this respect for the Nuu-chah-nulth people's traditional relationship with the land the Scientific Panel stressed the need to respect them also as participants in modern economic activities.

Although the Nuu-chah-nulth of Clayoquot Sound intend to maintain their cultural and subsistence uses and to participate in use of special forest products, they also wish to participate more fully in mainstream economic activities such as timber harvesting and fisheries. They want to be involved in resource planning, stewardship, and development, and to reap the economic and social benefits of being a full partner in sustainably using their traditional territories.85

There is a common tendency amongst non-indigenous societies to take a romantic view of native peoples, placing them entirely within the natural environment. This mode of thinking denies indigenous agency. As Richard White argues '...we don't take them seriously; we don't credit them with the capacity to make changes.'86 The British Columbian authorities were progressive in their refusal to follow this path.

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85 The Scientific Panel, *Report 3*, p.35.
If any group of people were prone to romanticizing the Nuu-chah-nulth people it was the environmental groups such as FOCS. The welcome handout they distributed amongst the several thousand people who participated in the Peace Camp contained the following statement;

The Friends of Clayoquot Sound oppose the clearcut destruction of the ancient temperate rainforests of Clayoquot Sound. We believe that wild places on the planet are rare, threatened, and must be protected immediately before the opportunity to do so is lost forever. We do not oppose traditional harvesting of forest resources by First Nations people. We believe that the vital needs of local communities can be met through sustainable economies which do not threaten ecosystems.  

Here we are presented with a static conception of native peoples. Their harvesting of the forest is condoned but only if it is undertaken in its traditional form. The protestors saw the Nuu-chah-nulth as role models for a harmonious relationship with nature, hence their tendency to appropriate cultural activities and perform them during protest campaigns. In her account of the Summer spent in the Clayoquot Sound Peace Camp FOCS member Jean McLaren, describes a number of First Nations rituals that took place at the camp, ‘Our strategy for the next day was to hold a Council of All Beings, wherein each participant takes on the persona of an animal, bird, insect or plant or even a lake or mountain. It was decided that I would act as Mother

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The vigour with which the environmentalists ascribed their perspectives to native peoples is striking. Betty Krawczyk, another peace camp participant wrote,

The questions I ask of the non-natives will sound stupid if posed to First Nations peoples. Questions like "when did you first become aware of environmental issues?" Long before the rest of us I guess. They've been living in this rainforest since forever, they know it the way a child knows its mother. They live environmental issues, for God's sake. It seems that the difference between living 'in' the environment and living 'environmental issues' was lost on some of these campaigners. This mistake seems all the more foolish when one remembers that the Nuu-chah-nulth people no longer lived in the environment as their ancestors once had. They were fishermen, foresters and hotel owners just like their non-indigenous counterparts. They lived as members of modern society, they did not 'live environmental issues.'

Environmental protestors also often made connections between the struggles to save Clayoquot Sound and the struggles for women's rights. Much of the literature that was composed in Clayoquot Sound at this time contained images of a feminised landscape. Peace camp member Tzeporah Berman wrote,

They tell me there's no connection

But I hear them talk about the rape of the land

And I feel like I've been violated

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88 Ibid., p.3.
All around the world women are rising

Women are singing, and women are holding hands

They tell me there’s no connection…

But a ‘virgin’ forest says something to me…

This female identification with nature was alluded to in some women’s comments about Lake Manapouri. At Clayoquot Sound it came to the fore, as did the women themselves. In the preface to *Clayoquot Mass Trials* Ron MacIssac wrote that, ‘Pacifism was the dominant philosophy. The special gift of women is consensus, while men are prone to confrontation; consensus was the method of choice.’ MacIssac’s comment appears just as essentialising and romantic as those made by protectors in reference to indigenous peoples. Despite this it does suggest that women performed leadership roles within this movement.

The peace camp organizers encouraged equality across a number of demographic divides. They made the environment of Clayoquot Sound into a touchstone for democratic principles where one’s age, race, or class were irrelevant to one’s ability to participate. (The age-range is particularly noteworthy. Amongst the protestors were octogenarians and small children). They also requested the support of other social change groups. ‘A call is going out to a wide variety of social change groups including First Nations, environmental, feminist, animal rights, anti-racism, anti-poverty and lesbian and gay rights groups to participate in the

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90 McLaren p.30.
91 MacIssac, and Champagne, p.xii.
campaign.\textsuperscript{92} By 1994, the natural environment of Vancouver Island had become an inclusive rather than an exclusive space. One hundred years earlier this environment had been a site for the activities of only a privileged few. Now it had become a platform from which a wide variety of people could express their ideas and opinions. This group included many who considered themselves to be peripheral to mainstream society. It also included a large number of people who did not belong to British Columbian society at all.

The Peace Camp positively thronged with foreigners. As protestor Betty Krawczyk wrote, ‘I talk to people from England, Ireland, Germany, Mexico, the U.S. and from all across Canada...Newfoundland, Quebec, the Prairies and interior B.C. It’s wonderful.’\textsuperscript{93} For one night these foreigners included the world famous Australian rockband Midnight Oil. Their presence in the camp put an international spotlight on the logging debate as never before. However international contributions of this dispute were not limited to those people who came to Clayoquot Sound. People living in distant locations who had never been to the sound also had the chance to influence the course of events. Boycotts against MacMillan Bloedel products were led by international environmental groups such as Greenpeace in the U.K and Germany and the Rainforest Action Network in the United States.\textsuperscript{94} These boycotts were highly effective, both because of their financial impact on the logging corporations, and for attracting attention to the environmentalist cause. In the Spring of 1994 Canada’s ambassador to the European Union, Gordon Smith commented that

\textsuperscript{92} The Friends of Clayoquot Sound Newsletter, summer 1994, p.1.
\textsuperscript{93} Krawczyk, p.58.
Clayoquot has been transformed in Europe into a symbol that has become a stick to beat the entire Canadian forestry industry with. A tidy $3 billion worth of annual forest-product sales to Europe is now seriously threatened.\textsuperscript{95}

The campaign to save the indigenous forests of the South Island's West Coast never reached such heights. The most likely reason for this apparent apathy was the fact that the environmentalists, mostly living in distant urban settings, held the upper hand through the entire course of the debate. There were no prominent environmental groups devoted entirely to campaigning for appropriate use of these forests. The Maruia Society was perhaps the most vocal environmental group on the topic, but they, like the New Zealand Forest and Bird Society, were a national organisation that campaigned on a number of issues at any one time. Therefore it is harder to say whether previously excluded environmental stakeholders were now being included in the debate and if so which ones they were. Here one's position as a woman, as a youth, as an indigenous person was less important than one's position as an urbanite committed to preservationist principles. Furthermore, the South Island's distance from any large metropolitan areas and its peripheral position in the global forestry market meant that few foreigners were interested in how these forests were used.

The West Coast forests became a stick that beat nobody but the local people whose livelihoods depended on them. It is here that the important differences between Vancouver Island and the South Island become apparent and the wider applicability of the interpretations presented by Kuehls and Magnusson is called into question. The South Islanders, so eager to

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., p.21.
manipulate their surroundings early in the twentieth century had suffered under the knowledge that they had altered their unique natural environment irreparably. Still smarting from the devastation they caused, they became committed to finding environmentally sensitive solutions to debates such as that which occurred at Lake Manapouri. Their resolution of this conflict was progressive by world standards, indeed at this juncture South Islanders marched ahead, eager to provide an example for others to follow. Other communities did follow this lead and moved on even further, taking tentative steps towards implementing sustainability. Meanwhile the South Islanders lingered proudly at their point of triumph. Hence the appearance of this statement in a 1983 issue of the *New Zealand Journal of Forestry*

There has been a significant shift from the era when undeveloped areas were regarded as worthless. There is no substitute for many natural land values. Only wilderness is wilderness and once it is developed it can never be recreated.96

In their consideration of the proper way to conserve the West Coast forests the South Islanders were guided by an ‘all or nothing’ mentality. They believed that to manage a natural resource properly, in concordance with ecological principles, they had to set it aside completely. The term ‘sustainable management’ was bandied about. But the majority of conservation-minded people treated it with suspicion, regarding it as a trendy bureaucratic label that really meant ‘exploitation’. Bill Gilbertson, the deputy director of New Zealand Forest and Bird, described the TWC sustainable management plans as ‘eco-babble in their quest for yet

another forestry experiment. Meanwhile Tony Sage, writing for the *New Zealand Herald*, stated that ‘Sustainable logging is a euphemism for the pseudo-scientific pretence that indigenous forest can be turned into plantation forest.’ New environmental management strategies on the South Island therefore incorporated those aspects of sustainability that related to protection of natural environments. They did not respond to those aspects that related to the protection of local communities, or the needs of a wider range of environmental stakeholders.

In contrast, environmental organisations such as the Maruia Society supported sustainability whole-heartedly. Maruia’s president, Guy Salmon, expressed increasing concern about the tendency of New Zealanders to view preservation as the only conservation option. He argued that,

> A key issue for the future...is whether the ethic of sustainability is now culturally redundant or whether it can be revitalized and presented in a way that addresses New Zealanders’ underlying cultural need to respect nature.

He went on to say that, ‘In the end, the ethical touchstone for natural resource management cannot be wilderness. It must be sustainability, which must include areas of wilderness.’ It was comments such as these that distanced Salmon from the popular environmental movement and earned him the title of ‘heretic’. Yet scholars such as William Cronon shared his discomfort with the wilderness ideal.

100 Ibid., p.31.
101 For a discussion of Salmon’s role within the New Zealand environmental movement see Pauline Swain, ‘Guy Salmon: Green broker or Heretic?’, *The Dominion*, April 26, 1991, p.2.
In its flight from history, in its siren song of escape, in its reproduction of the dangerous dualism that sets human beings outside of nature-in all these ways, wilderness poses a serious threat to responsible environmentalism at the end of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{102}

How could the vast majority of New Zealanders not engage with this responsibility? After all, was this not the age of the global environment? It was certainly the age of an international language for proper environmental ethics. That language revolved around words such as ‘biodiversity’ and ‘ecosystem’ and most importantly ‘sustainability’. Initially it was bureaucrats and politicians who employed this new vocabulary. Forestry corporations such as MacMillan Bloedel and TWC soon followed suit. Environmentalists participating in the debate over Clayoquot Sound also had to use this international language to achieve credibility.

Yet this is exactly what it was, an inter-national language, a set of terms to be used \textit{between} nations. It was the language deployed in international agreements and in places where multiple nations took part in an environmental debate. It was the language of officialdom. In places such as the South Island of New Zealand this language was used mostly by those whose position required it; the government, the forestry corporations. Others felt no compulsion to speak in terms that had not emerged out of local experiences. It was these others who gave the government the mandate to preserve the West Coast forests entirely. For them that was the only way that management really could be sustainable.

If we imagine the environment as a public garden, Clayoquot Sound was a central feature of that garden, an attraction, much photographed, much anticipated, discussed, and remembered. This was a place where the official line of thinking held sway. The more famous it became the more this was the case. It became a symbol. The West Coast, on the other hand, was more akin to a forgotten corner. A place that held special values only for a select few. It was a place where the particular local history of environmental relations still had a bearing on the outcome of debates. The continued existence of places such as the West Coast tells us that, in an Orwellian sense, some places are more global than others. The existence of the term ‘global environment’ does not really mean that there is a uniform approach to environmental issues everywhere, or that all environmental stakeholders are equal. What it does mean is that there is a uniform international language to be applied to places where global interests converge, the hubs of global environmentalism. Places such as Clayoquot Sound.
Conclusion

The settlers who arrived on Vancouver Island and the South Island during the mid-nineteenth century held up one version of nature as an ideal to be achieved. They quickly set about creating this ideal within the natural environments of their new island homes. They did this unashamedly. For them natural environments were points of pride. Like a house or garden they reflected the desires and capabilities of their owners. Over time as the settler communities became more established on these islands, their versions of an ideal nature changed markedly. However their beliefs continued to reflect human ideals just as much as they reflected an understanding of nature itself.

Let us continue for a moment with the metaphor of the environment as a house. The early settlers moved from an old familiar home full of memories, to new houses that were not yet truly their own. Hence their desire to renovate their new abodes in the style of that which they had left behind. They were devoted to this task and paid little heed to the suitability of their renovations to the materials that they had to work with. On Vancouver Island, where the contrast between new and old was not so stark, this course of action worked well. On the South Island it was more problematic. In this location the styles of new and old clashed horribly, forcing the settlers to reconsider both their actions, and the aims towards which they were working.

Circumstances had changed somewhat by the mid-twentieth century. During this period notions of authenticity came to the fore. Conservationists at Buttle Lake and environmentalists at Lake Manapouri, argued that the authentic features of their island homes must be preserved.
Over time they had become more familiar with these places and had in fact come to value what they believed to be the ‘original’ features of the island environments, the irreplaceable antiques that had survived earlier renovations. They hoped to preserve these treasures and to pass them on as heirlooms to succeeding generations. Developers on the other hand argued that authenticity was not essential. Like clever salespeople they offered new and practical renovation options. These alternatives could easily *appear* the same as the timeless treasures that the environmentalists hoped to save. But, like affordable infomercial products they would provide multiple new features, all in one simple to use package. At Buttle Lake, these solutions were acceptable. Vancouver Islanders, many of whom had little chance to enjoy the ‘authentic’ aesthetic features of their home, opted for functionality. The South Islanders, cautious because of their previous experiences with renovation opted for preservation and maintenance.

By the end of the twentieth century, many members of these societies had ceased to claim ownership of their house at all. Instead they considered themselves as tenants, living in a communal situation where everyone’s actions affected the experiences of those around them. Developers became acutely aware of the consequences of living in confined quarters. Their housemates now refused to accept veneers or imitations. Instead all members of this community were expected to contribute to a living space where the multiplicity of purpose did not detract from the quality of the component parts. There was certain urgency about these actions. Forestry workers and environmentalists, urbanites and rural people all realised that they would have to think fast. Theirs was no longer merely an attempt to save heirlooms or
functional amenities for future generations. The tenants shared a fear that their house was about to fall down around their ears.

This is, of course, a simplification. A metaphor can only explain so much. Yet in this instance a metaphor is especially appropriate, because it is at this removed and figurative level that we operate when we attempt to manage our environment. This is not to say that any particular understandings of nature are incorrect or misguided. Yet neither should we imagine that we are steadily approaching a true understanding of, and truly harmonious relationship with, the non-human world. We are not standing still; our beliefs and strategies have changed. But we are walking a line that is parallel, not perpendicular, to nature itself.

Our path is partly guided by changes within human society. One important change during the time period covered by this thesis was a gradual democratisation of decision-making processes. This trend had significant impacts on the development of human environment relations. During the early settlement period, one group of people, i.e. British upper class men, had a disproportionately large amount of power over these island societies. These people had almost exclusive control over manipulations of the natural environment. Consequently the environments of Vancouver Island and the South Island became sites for replication and imitation of the British rural landscapes in which they had originally risen to and maintained their power. As such they also became places that inhibited the ability of other members of society to express their ideas and opinions.

During the mid-twentieth century the increasing accessibility of education provided a new means to achieving power that was not based purely on class or gender. At this time
scientific expertise became a chief criterion for inclusion in environmental debates. Participants on both sides of these debates believed that quantifiable scientific knowledge would provide humans with infallible guidelines for managing natural environments correctly. Like the acclimatisers who went before them, these experts articulated a view of the natural world that legitimised their position within society. For, if nature was knowable and calculable, those who were educated in these fields were essential. They would dissect nature and provide an understanding of it. Again this approach silenced the voices of many people, people whose ideas about the environment did not lend themselves to quantification.

By the late twentieth century the dominant positions in society were held by people from a wide range of backgrounds. Their power was partly dependent on the internal diversity of their group and also on a commitment to recognising diversity within society at large. This group promoted ecological ideas that presented the natural environment as a complex network in which all parts were essential to the proper functioning of the whole. At this time sustainability and multiple-use became the catchphrases of ‘proper’ environmental management. People were required to consider their actions as part of a wider range of human activities and as impacting on a wider set of natural phenomena. Singling out certain individual groups of people or species and treating them in isolation, would result in a malfunctioning of the entire system. This new ideal, that of nature as a place that could be understood only in terms of its interconnections and diversity empowered those who claimed to be able to represent and understand diversity themselves.
But let us not overstate this social constructionist argument. For the environment is not merely a mosaic of human understandings. It is also an entity that exists separate from human beings and which is affected by and responds to our actions. These responses are sometimes unforeseen and often problematic. Therefore, our management techniques have evolved because of changes within human society and because of concomitant changes within our physical surroundings. The democratisation of involvement in environmental issues did indeed occur because of a democratic redistribution of power within society. It also was a result of obvious changes within the environment. The simplest way to maintain dominance over any situation is to limit the ability of others to access information about that situation. This is difficult to do when the information that people require is manifest in their physical surroundings. It was impossible for acclimatisers to limit other South Islanders' knowledge of the impacts of introduced species because they were living amongst them every day. It was equally impossible to hide the scars that clearcutting operations inflicted upon Clayoquot Sound during the late twentieth century. These pieces of evidence, provided by nature, gave people the means whereby they could contribute to debates from which they might otherwise have been excluded.

The comparative aspect of this thesis allows for further explication of the decisive role of nature in these processes. Broad trends in the perception of nature and associated strategies for environmental management have been very similar on Vancouver Island and the South Island. However the details of these developments have varied because of differences in the specific qualities of each island's natural environment. When British settlers arrived on the South
Island they encountered an environment that had been geographically isolated for centuries. The species present here had evolved in unique ways as a result of this isolation. Furthermore they mostly occurred only on a few islands in this area of the South Pacific. Vancouver Island on the other hand had not been isolated. Here settlers interacted with species that had evolved as part of large dynamic populations that existed both on the island itself and on mainland North America. When the settlers set about manipulating these environments their actions had a much more devastating effect on the fragile ecosystems of the South Island than those of Vancouver Island.

This fundamental ecological difference between the two islands had long lasting repercussions for environmental perception and policy. Initially it meant that debates concerning environmental management and manipulation on the South Island were more contentious and open to a wider range of participants than those on Vancouver Island. Thus, during the early and mid twentieth century South Islanders appeared to have a progressive approach to environmental management issues. While inhabitants of other countries became alarmed by the impacts of their activities on the natural environment, these antipodean activists seemed quietly confident in the knowledge that they had learnt their lesson early.

However the final decades of the twentieth century revealed the South Islanders not as leaders in environmental management but as veterans clinging to an old victory that belonged to an old environmental paradigm. By this time the various forces of globalisation had necessitated the development of an international language of environmental management. In places such as Clayoquot Sound, where international interests converged, management
strategies that catered to a variety of environmental stakeholders were the only realistic option. Vancouver Islanders had little reason to doubt these strategies. Their local environmental history was not a tale of devastation and regret. They did however have fears for the future. These fears though not dismissive of the local, were global in scale. Hence they divided up their environment according to the rules of sustainable development and multiple use, apportioning different areas for a range of different uses. In contrast South Islanders, the majority of whom continued to express concerns about the fragility of their local ecosystems, classified massive portions of their natural environment as ‘reserved’ or protected. For many people on this island a concern with the global was a luxury they could not afford.

So many ‘environmental’ histories\(^1\) are declensionist narratives describing the human destruction of the natural environment. This thesis has attempted to show that in terms of our respect for a range of beliefs about the environment we are now less myopic than we once were. This does not necessarily mean that we are closer to ‘environmental truths’ or the correct techniques for environmental management. Like the early acclimatisers the advocates of sustainability manipulated nature to suit a human ideal. They were, after all, still humans. It is unrealistic to expect either our forebears or ourselves to step outside of this context and see nature (or anything else for that matter) how it ‘really’ is. Indeed we are fooling ourselves if we imagine that our modern ideals are closer to the reality of nature than those of past generations. What we can do is accept that our understandings and management of nature

\(^1\) Here I am referring to popular histories rather than those produced by scholars of environmental history.
respond to and reflect both natural systems and human society. Recognition of this situation will give us greater opportunity for more honest and satisfying relations with the environment in the future.
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