

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA:
AN HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

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ABSTRACT

Concern for the state of the natural environment has been growing throughout the world in recent years as it becomes clear that the world is in the midst of an environmental crisis. In B.C., this has led to widespread public controversy over issues such as pollution, logging, and the preservation of wilderness areas. This thesis seeks to bring present conflicts into perspective by examining the historical roots of the various discourses on the environment in B.C.

Present environmental controversies take place within a legislative framework, therefore some understanding of the historical development of that legislation and the predominant attitudes that helped shape it is necessary. The first two chapters of this thesis provide this background, focusing on forest policy and parks and wilderness policy.

The third chapter addresses the outdoor recreationists, the sport hunters and anglers of B.C., who, although often contributing to the depletion of wildlife populations, also helped shape wildlife policy and worked for the preservation of wildlife habitats.

With the foundations for the environmental movement set, the fourth chapter deals with the rise of the environmental movement and environmental interest groups during the 1960's and 70's. This includes a discussion of the counter culture, general social changes of the period, the rise of ecology, and protests in Strathcona Park during the late 1980's.

The final chapter considers the reactions of the forest industry to the environmental movement. The forest industry has never had to be so aware of public opinion and so cautious about the image it projects as it is now. The focus is on one major company, MacMillan Bloedel, and the evolution of its public relations policies during the 1960's and 70's.

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CHAPTER 1 - Introduction

John James Taylor Buttle, one of the first explorers and mappers of central Vancouver Island, was much impressed by the alpine wilderness he discovered there. In the summer of 1865, he remarked in his journal:

Some of the mountains, I am sure must be eight thousand feet high. I should scarcely have beleaved had I not seen the high peaks. . . Here and their a glacier is to be found, its bright blue ice sparkling in the sun. . .

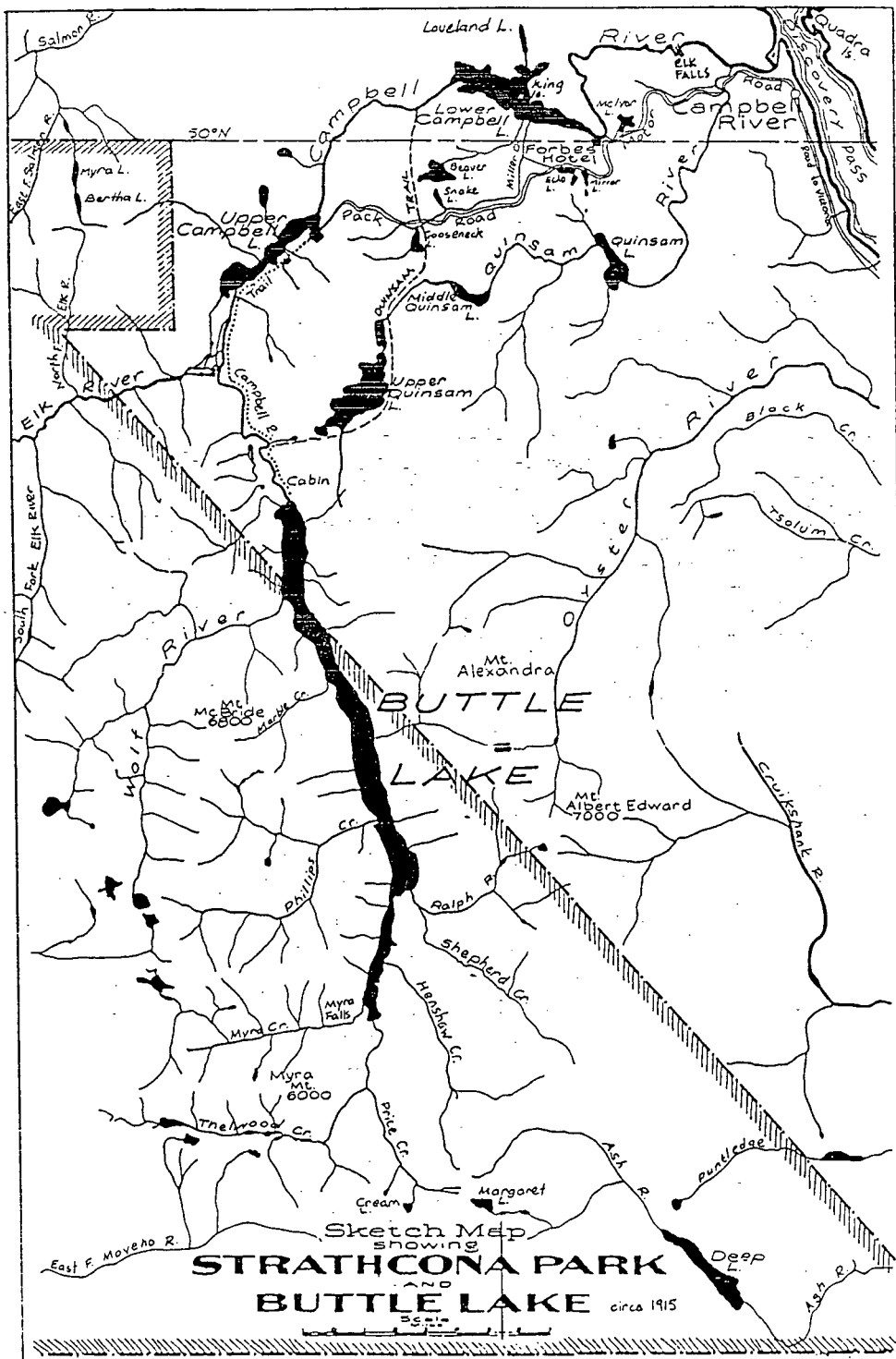
From the mountain peaks above, he also saw a lake, "a beautiful sheet of water, at the very least twenty miles long . . ."¹ He named this lake for himself - Buttle Lake.

Almost thirty years later, the Rev. W.W. Bolton was the second European to visit the territory. In his view, Buttle Lake was:

. . . the peer of all the island lakes in its scenic beauty. Banked on both sides by high mountains, snow-capped and rugged, there is a lower range still closer to it covered in most parts to the water's edge with fair sized timber.

Numerous waterfalls pour down on either side of the lake, and streams . . . are in plenty. At the little beaches where we rested we saw plenty of evidence that deer abound. We camped just inside the timber at the head of the lake, and the view from this spot is one that would entrance an artist.²

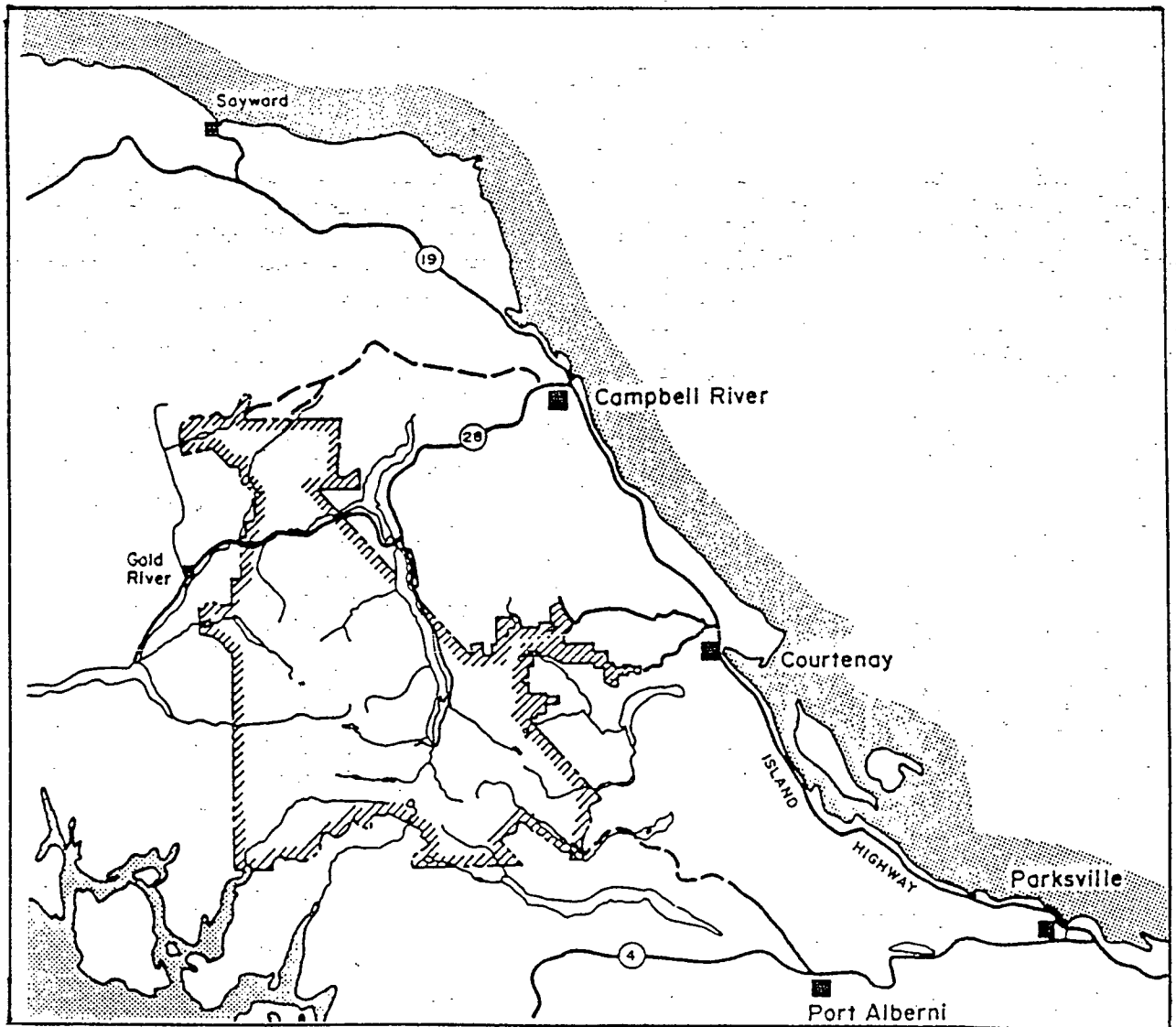
This part of central Vancouver Island became known for its scenic beauty, and in 1911, 530,319 acres were surveyed, mapped, and set aside as B.C.'s first provincial park. In honour of Lord Strathcona's visit to the province, it was called Strathcona Park. The boundaries of the park are anything but natural - the park is almost triangular, with a few irregularities (see fig. 1). Some of the communities close to it are Courtenay, Comox, and Campbell River to the east, and Gold River to the west (see fig. 2). The landscapes of the park vary from alpine meadows to glaciers, deep river valleys, and lush forests. The park



Source: Baikie & Phillips, 1986, p. 56.

Figure 1

STRATHCONA PROVINCIAL PARK
LOCATION



Source: Strathcona Park Advisory Committee. Strathcona Park: Restoring the Balance, Victoria, 1988, Figure 1, viv.

Figure 2

also contains Vancouver Island's tallest mountain, some of the highest waterfalls in Canada, and scenery that rivals that of the Rocky Mountains.³

In 1988, Strathcona Park was the site of a confrontation between local residents and employees of a mining company. Hundreds of people, both locals and environmentalists from other parts of B.C. blockaded a road in the park, in an attempt to prevent exploratory drilling on the Cream Silver Company's mineral claim in the park. The blockade lasted 63 days, and involved bitter confrontations between environmentalists, workers, and police. By the time it was over, 64 of the protestors had been arrested. By 1988, Strathcona Park had become known to many as Strathcona "industrial" Park. Since 1911, it had been logged and mined, its rivers had been dammed, and its lakes flooded. The dreams of its founders, to develop the area as a magnificent tourist resort complete with a scenic railway, hotels and a golf course, had not been realized.

Although the park failed to attract the masses of tourists once hoped for, it was used by outdoor recreationists - people went there mainly to hike, fish, and hunt. In 1930, a lodge was built on the shore of Buttle Lake to accommodate them.⁴ Eventually, the lodge became a place where people went to cross-country ski, hike, kayak, canoe, and mountain-climb, with the help of outdoor guides. It was not only a tourist facility, but also an outdoor education centre for school children and for people who wanted to become outdoor guides. By 1983, the original lodge was surrounded by other buildings, and employed a staff of 75. Its surroundings, however, had been changed. By the 1980's, Buttle Lake had been flooded by a hydro-electric dam (the lodge had to be moved), and a mine had been established near it, from which waste material was dumped into the water. Noisy trucks

drove in and out of the park, and fish were no longer plentiful. Parts of the park had also been logged over the years.

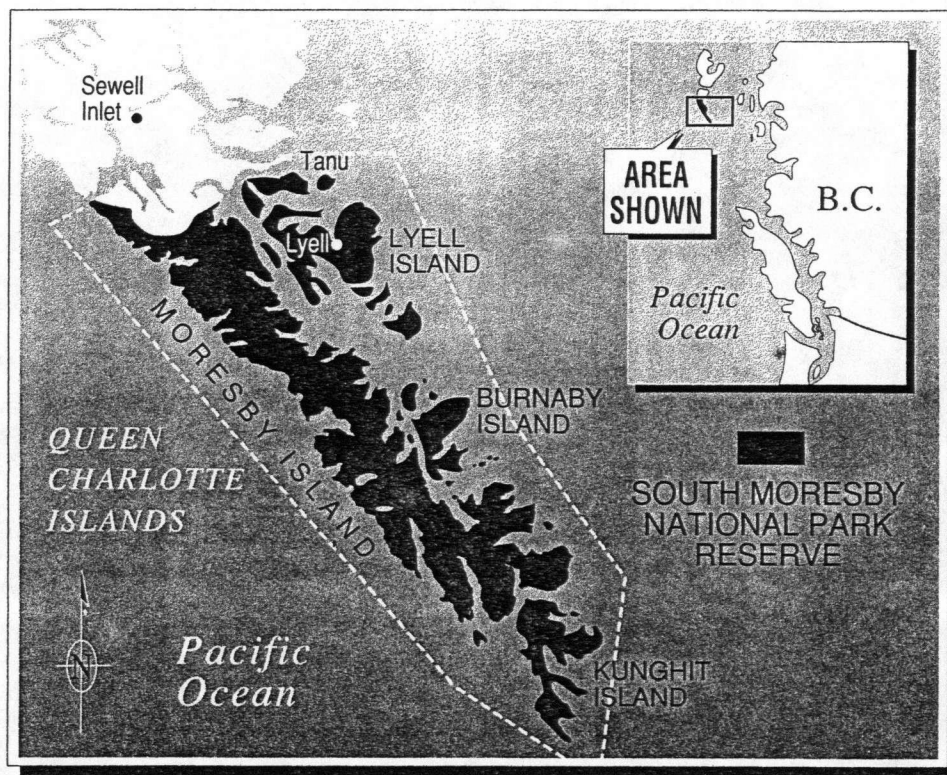
Controversy over the park was sparked by many factors. In 1987, provincial park policies were altered when the government decided to act on some of the recommendations of a committee. The Wilderness Advisory Committee (WAC), was set up in 1985 to deal with controversial wilderness areas in B.C., of which, by this time, there were many. These changes were all made without public consultation, and they affected Strathcona Park in several ways. Its boundaries were changed - over 30,000 ha. of land were removed from the park, and only 8,000 ha were added. Within the park, four areas (10,250 ha altogether) were named "recreation areas", which ultimately meant that they would be used mainly for industrial purposes. This made it easy for the Cream Silver mining company to explore its mineral claims in the park, which were now in a "recreation area", open to development. Previously, there had been a moratorium on mining in provincial parks, even for companies that already possessed mineral claims in them.

When Cream Silver moved into Strathcona Park to begin exploratory drilling, local residents came together to stop them, and soon found themselves blockading the road to the park, confronting miners, being arrested and, in some cases, thrown in jail. Exploratory drilling carried on in spite of the protest. For those who had organized the protest, a group known as the Friends of Strathcona Park, the road blockade was only one stage of the fight to protect the park from industrial development. With the help of a lawyer, they challenged the government's claim that it could not prevent the mining company from mining in the park without paying high compensation costs. Once it became clear that there

was no legal foundation to the government's claim, the government set up a provincial park review, so the public could help make recommendations regarding the management of provincial parks throughout B.C. Still, the Friends of Strathcona refused to stop protesting, and soon they got what they wanted - a special public review of Strathcona Park. The resulting recommendations produced major revisions of provincial park policy. No further mineral exploration was to be allowed in provincial parks. Decisions on further developments in Strathcona Park were to be made at regular public meetings.

The protest in Strathcona Park was only one of many in B.C. in the 1980's. The controversial Wilderness Advisory Committee that had led to the Strathcona protest also led to confrontations between natives and loggers in the South Moresby area of the Queen Charlotte Islands (see fig. 3). The blockade of a logging road on Lyell Island just after the creation of the WAC was announced, led to the arrests of 72 Haida Indians. Images of Haida elders being led away by police drew international attention.

By the time the WAC was established, in 1985, the debate over South Moresby had already been going on for eleven years, and it was believed that the new committee would undermine the work of many dedicated people. Its recommendations would override those of a four-year Environment and Land Use Committee Study, a Public Advisory Committee, and a four-year South Moresby Planning Team project.⁵ Just when environmentalists and natives trying to prevent the South Moresby area from being logged were coming close to an agreement with the federal ministry of environment, they were told that a new committee would make the decisions regarding South Moresby. The WAC was given three months to come up with recommendations on 23 controversial wilderness areas



Source: "South Moresby: A Retrospective", undated pamphlet published by Share B.C.

Figure 3

in B.C. None of the committee members represented native or environmental groups, although an environmentalist was added to the group at the last minute.

The Haida Indians were the first to be concerned with the preservation of South Moresby. It was after all their home. They and some other residents of the area formed an organization called the Islands Protection Committee (later known as the Islands Protection Society). They quickly gained the support of others, on the islands, in other parts of the province, and soon throughout the country and in many other parts of the world. People were concerned about the preservation of the beautiful and unique wilderness of South Moresby mainly for ecological reasons.

New logging permits for Lyell Island (part of South Moresby) were issued at the same time as the creation of the WAC, and in the middle of negotiations between the Islands Protection Society and the federal government to make South Moresby a National Park.⁶ Logging resumed on Lyell Island even after the federal environment minister had offered compensation for the creation of a park, and after the federal minister of Indian Affairs had indicated that he was willing to negotiate Haida land claims.⁷ The B.C. provincial government, however, would not discuss the possibility of a park with the federal government, and refused to negotiate land claims. The Haida saw no alternative but to block the logging road. The elders led the blockade and were the first to be arrested.

After many years of hard work, the Islands Protection Society had managed to gain the support of the federal environment minister, but the B.C. government remained opposed. It was soon discovered that both the forest minister (Tom Waterland), and the energy minister (Stephen Rogers) owned shares in the logging companies that had interests

in South Moresby.⁸ This fact was well publicized, and eventually, in 1988, after a long battle between the provincial and federal governments, South Moresby was made a National Park Reserve. The B.C. government received \$106 million in compensation from the federal government. A joint management plan for the park is still being negotiated between the federal government and the Haida Nation. Conflict regarding compensation for lost jobs continues.

Such controversies over wilderness areas are becoming commonplace in B.C. Some current debates involve the Carmanah and Walbran Valleys, the Stein Valley, Clayoquot Sound, the Tsitika Valley/Robson Bight, the Kitlope Valley, and the Tatshenshini River. Many of these controversies involve old-growth forests on Vancouver Island: the Carmanah, Walbran, and Kitlope Valleys are all previously unlogged watersheds, in danger of being logged, and Clayoquot Sound is home to several similar valleys. The Stein Valley is the last large unlogged watershed on the southern B.C. mainland. The Tsitika Valley, on Vancouver Island, is controversial mainly because of the potential impact of logging on the killer whales in the ocean adjacent to it - Robson Bight. The erosion likely to result from the clear-cutting of the extremely steep slopes in this area could adversely affect the whales. The conflict over the Tatshenshini River, in the northwestern corner of the province, involves the impact of a proposed mine on the river and on wildlife populations. The Tatshenshini area is home to some of the largest populations of Grizzly Bears, Dall Sheep, and Eagles in North America. A mine in the Tatshenshini area would also likely contaminate the river. Native land claims add to the controversy in the Stein, Kitlope and Tsitika Valleys. Although many of the conflicts emphasize logging or mining, these activities clearly have wide-ranging

Controversial Wilderness Areas in B.C.

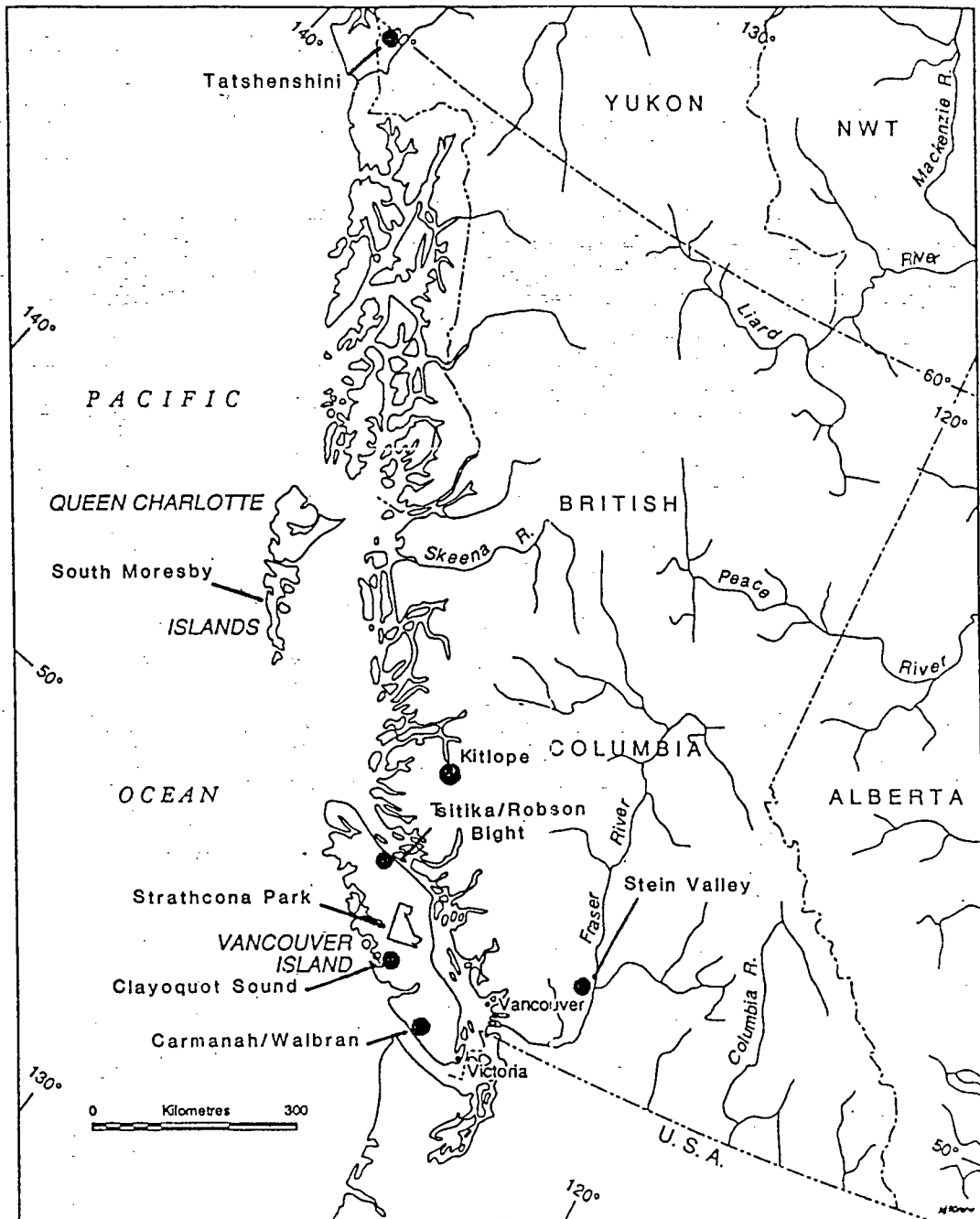


Figure 4

impacts on everything around them.

Old growth forests and large wilderness areas are becoming rare in B.C., where they were plentiful not long ago. B.C.'s unlogged watersheds and temperate rainforests are some of the last remaining in North America, so concern for them is more than local. In a province whose economy depends mainly on the forest industry and on tourism, conflict seems inevitable. Tourists come to B.C. to experience wilderness - advertisements of "Super Natural" British Columbia complete with photographs of wild animals and unlogged mountains lead them to expect untouched wilderness areas, not clear cuts and contaminated rivers. But the forest industry also needs to cut down the forests, and the mining industry claims it needs to dump tailings into lakes and rivers. As the controversy builds, B.C. is beginning to lose its "Super Natural" reputation. It is becoming world-renowned for its conflicts over wilderness, native land claims, and inadequate forest management. Environmental organizations ensure that people see just as many photographs of massive clear cuts as grizzly bears and pristine lakes. B.C.'s forest management policies have been criticized in popular American publications such as the New Yorker,⁹ and publicity in Europe was so bad that in 1990, there were fears of a European boycott of Canadian forest products.¹⁰

Those who wish to preserve wilderness areas are widely described as environmentalists. Yet although they often work together to preserve wilderness, they have a variety of reasons for doing so. They are far from a unified movement. Some of them believe that humans are an integral part of nature, and have no right to control it. They insist that everything in nature has a right to exist, and that human rights are no greater than those

of the rest of the natural world. Other environmentalists do not even consider the ethical aspects of environmentalism but want to preserve wilderness to improve the quality of their lives. Pollution is of major concern to them, and for some, so is the opportunity for outdoor recreation. Ecology has made many people aware that their own survival is connected with the survival of the rest of the natural world, to the extent that to destroy it is to also destroy themselves. B.C.'s native people want to preserve wilderness in order to preserve their culture, and want control over the land they claim as their own.

For the majority of British Columbians, however, nature is something to be used by humans - it is a commodity. In an economy that is largely dependent on natural resources, this is not surprising. The people who believe that wilderness has a right to exist without benefitting humans, therefore, must somehow justify preserving it to the rest of society. The most common and most successful way in which they have done this is by using it as a different kind of commodity. Wilderness areas are designated "parks" and are used for recreation. In this way, they benefit the tourist industry, and their preservation can be justified economically.

By examining the historical roots of the various discourses on the environment in B.C., this thesis seeks to bring present conflicts into perspective. The reasons for present conflicts lie in the past, and the framework within which they take place was established over a long period of time. The various groups of people who have an interest in the wilderness areas of B.C. have very different perspectives on the issue, and so far, have not been very successful in communicating with one another. In order to solve their problems, they must be able to cooperate and understand each other. In order to understand each other, they must

have some idea of each other's roots. Only a clear understanding of the past can lead to a coherent plan for the future.

Certainly environmental concerns have deeper roots in B.C. than is often appreciated. Early twentieth century resource policy in B.C. was based on the assumptions of the American conservation movement. Its basic concerns were long-term economic growth and the "wise" use of resources. In short, natural resources were seen to exist for human consumption; to leave them unmanaged and unused was considered a terrible waste. At the same time, a small group of people wanted to preserve wilderness. They had a romantic view of nature, and were concerned more with its aesthetic and spiritual qualities than with its economic value. This preservation movement succeeded in having some wilderness areas set aside as parks, but the parks also needed to be justified economically - if tourism and recreation were not profitable enough, the parks were used for other purposes; mainly logging, mining, and generating hydroelectric power.

Somewhere between the utilitarians and the preservationists were the outdoor recreationists - the sport hunters and anglers. Although they contributed to the depletion of some wildlife populations, they were among the first proponents of wildlife preservation and management, and the first people to see wilderness areas not just as resources in themselves but as habitats for wildlife. They promoted the preservation of landscapes that seemed useless to most people, such as swamp and marshlands, but which were valuable as habitats for wildlife. The sport hunters and fishers provided a link between the conservationists and preservationists because although their motives for preserving wilderness were essentially utilitarian, they also had a deeper appreciation of nature.

From these foundations, and the major social changes that occurred in B.C. in the 1960's and 70's sprang the new environmental movement that is causing so much controversy today. During the 1960's and 70's, as it became clear that environmental problems were out of control, and B.C.'s resources were not being managed as well as was claimed, many people began to lose faith in government and industry. The counter culture, which questioned the authority of the "experts" who were running the province, helped spur this feeling on. The rise of ecology at this time helped make people aware of the interconnections between all aspects of nature and of themselves. People began to demand some changes. They formed temporary interest groups around specific issues, as well as permanent groups to deal with broader problems.

Now, in the face of industry claims to have been practising sustained yield forestry since the 1940's, people ask why companies still need to log old growth forests. They demand greater public participation in policy making, and more local control over resources. When their demands are simply ignored or brushed aside, they take to the streets and protest. There is no other choice. Environmental interest groups are becoming harder and harder for the government to ignore, however. They are a major political force, and must be contended with.

Such scenarios repeated throughout North America have caught the interest of many historians, and have sparked a new "environmental" history. Environmental historians have gone beyond the traditional constraints of history in realizing that national borders are meaningless when dealing with global environmental problems, and that human experience is not "exempt from natural constraints."¹¹ Environmental history essentially deals with

organic and inorganic aspects of nature itself, the interaction of the socioeconomic realm with the environment, and the mental/intellectual relationship of humans with their environment.¹²

The work of environmental historians mirrors some of the earlier concerns of geographers. When geography was first established as a university discipline in the late nineteenth century, the "man-environment" theme was its central concern. The first geography department in North America was established in Chicago in 1903, with the intention of "providing a bridge between the natural and social sciences."¹³ Geography started out as a coherent discipline, successful in combining its physical and human components in an historical context.

Since then, interest in the natural environment in human geography has faded. By the late 1950's, it had largely been replaced by an interest in "spatial science". This approach eroded the already tenuous links between human and physical geography, and further fragmented the discipline by exploring a wide variety of spatial phenomena and borrowing from other disciplines. Since then, geography has become even more theoretically and philosophically diverse, with the result that geographers have "no common vision" of their discipline.¹⁴ Many of them have more in common with scholars in other disciplines than with those in their own.

The environmental questions that are of importance today revolve around the way in which humans have transformed, and are continuing to transform the earth. Such questions are by no means uniquely geographical, but they do require a broad spectrum of knowledge. There is a need for global synthesis, and for the inclusion of human behaviour in the study of global change. Geographers supposedly have knowledge of both the natural

and social sciences, tools to organize data and information, a strong tradition of empirical field research, and respect for theories outside of geography.¹⁵

Within historical geography there is a need for research that explores human interaction with the natural environment. This may have become unfashionable in geography during the past few decades, but it is fundamental to the discipline. Given the widespread concern about an impending environmental crisis, it should not be ignored.

In this thesis, the first two chapters set the legislative context for the present environmental controversies. These controversies take place within a legislative framework, therefore some understanding of the historical development of that legislation and the predominant attitudes that helped shape it is necessary. The focus is on forest policy and parks and wilderness policy.

The third chapter addresses the outdoor recreationists, who helped shape wildlife policy and worked for the preservation of wildlife habitats.

With the foundations for the environmental movement set, the fourth chapter deals with the rise of the environmental movement and environmental interest groups during the 1960's and 70's. This includes some discussion of the counter culture, general social changes of the period, and the rise of ecology.

The final chapter considers the reactions of the forest industry to the environmental movement. The forest industry has never had to be so aware of public opinion and so cautious about the image it projects as it does now. The focus in this chapter is on one major company, MacMillan Bloedel, and the evolution of its public relations policies during the 1960's and 70's.

My goal in writing this thesis is to help clear up some of the confusion about present conflicts over wilderness by exploring the evolution of the attitudes and desires of various groups of people involved - their differences and similarities, and their relations to each other. All of the groups involved have good reasons for believing what they believe and long histories of their ideas behind them. What they are doing now is not new; it is the continuation of a story that began long ago.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

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CHAPTER 2

The Forest Industry in British Columbia

Many, perhaps most, current conflicts over wilderness and the environment in B.C. involve the forest industry. Conflicts in this area are intense; a challenge to the industry is ultimately a challenge to the "way of life" of many British Columbians, and has far-reaching effects. The forest industry has control over much of the land that environmentalists want to preserve, and many people depend upon it for their livelihood. It has long been a powerful force in B.C.'s economy. It began in the late 1840's, and by 1911, it was B.C.'s third largest industry; by 1964, it employed approximately 75,000 people, and accounted for approximately 35 percent of all commodity production in B.C.¹ (see table 1). Throughout the 1970's and 80's, it continued to employ a substantial percentage of the population (see tables 2 & 3), and consistently provided about 50 percent of the total industrial production (see tables 4 & 5). It remains one of the most important industries in the province, its preeminence challenged only by tourism.

From the beginning, the goal of forest policy in B.C. was to maintain economic growth in the forest industry. In the 1940's, this goal was slightly modified by the realization that economic growth could not be maintained unless the yield of the forests remained constant. This led to the introduction of "sustained yield" management. The introduction of forest protection and management did not displace the priority of economic growth; indeed, it was the product of a concern for long-term economic growth. Global competition and demand in the forest industry after the second world war intensified the need for a profitable, growing industry. In spite of sustained yield management, then, the need

Year	Estimated Net Value of Primary & Secondary Forest Production in B.C.	Estimated Net Value of Total Production in B.C.	% of Forest Products of Total Production in B.C.
1946	\$ 174,493,309	\$ 609,337,792	28.64
1947	279,371,678	784,630,095	35.61
1948	317,635,313	921,500,886	34.47
1949	292,104,291	884,820,749	33.01
1950	384,349,181	995,233,672	38.62
1951	486,478,692	1,240,224,661	39.23
1952	452,313,906	1,239,008,819	36.51
1953	477,191,638	1,319,826,559	36.16
1954	511,789,407	1,301,084,000	39.34
1955	567,700,000	1,459,000,000	38.91

1955 - Net Values Produced by Forest Industry and Other Basic Sources of B.C.'s Wealth

Forestry	\$ 600,000,000
Mining	175,000,000
Agriculture	130,000,000
Fisheries	70,000,000

Source: The Forest Resources of British Columbia, 1956, Royal Commission on the Forest Resources of British Columbia, Gordon M. Sloan, Commissioner, Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1957.

Table 1

Direct Employment in the Forest Industry

Year	# Directly Employed	Total Employed Labour Force (1,000 people)	%
1970	73,999	805	9.2
1971	74,343	834	9.0
1972	83,599	865	9.6
1973	92,235	920	10.0
1974	87,350	976	9.0
1975	76,380	995	7.7
1976	85,203	1,021	8.3
1977	88,761	1,050	8.5
1978	94,778	1,103	8.6
1979	96,841	1,144	8.5
1980	95,518	1,213	7.9
1981	86,848	1,270	6.8
1982	75,534	1,202	6.3
1983	77,688	1,190	6.5
1984	78,184	1,191	6.6
1985	75,941	1,220	6.2
1986	74,306	1,270	5.9
1987		1,306	
1988		1,358	

Source: Economics Branch, Canadian Forestry Service, Govt. of Canada,
Selected Forestry Statistics, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988.

Table 2

Direct and Indirect Employment in the Forest Industry

Year	Direct	Indirect	Total	Total Labour Force	%
1970	74,600	138,200	212,800	805,000	26
1972	84,000	167,000	251,000	865,000	29
1985	78,000	156,000	234,000	1,220,000	19
1986	78,200	156,000	234,200	1,270,000	18
1987	82,500	155,000	247,500	1,306,000	19
1988	86,670	173,330	260,000	1,358,000	19

Sources: F.L.C. Reed & Associates. The B.C. Forest Industry: Its direct and indirect impact on the economy, Dept. of Land, Forests, & Water Resources, 1973.

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Economics Branch, Canadian Forestry Service, Govt. of Canada, Selected Forestry Statistics, 1988.

Note: Figures of direct employment are higher in these publications than in the Canada selected forestry statistics.

Table 3

Value of Output/Production in B.C. (\$ million)

	<u>1972</u>		<u>1973</u>		<u>1974</u>		<u>1975</u>		<u>1976</u>	
<u>Primary Industries</u>	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Forestry	1,213.8	55.8	1,937.4	55.3	1,559.9	48.3	1,221.5	39.7	2,044.1	50
Non-Forestry	961.5	44.2	1,568.6	44.7	1,669.8	52.7	1,852.8	60.3	2,045.0	50
<u>Total</u>	2,175.3	100	3,506.0	100	3,229.7	100	3,074.3	100	4,089.1	100
<u>Secondary Industries</u>										
Wood-using	2,537.4	50.5	3,356.3	52.5	3,621.7	51	2,998.5	42.3	4,328.3	49.7
Non-wood-using	2,482.8	49.5	3,037.8	47.5	3,483.1	49	4,097.5	57.7	4,338.0	50.3
<u>Total</u>	5,020.2	100	6,394.1	100	7,104.8	100	7,095.9	100	8,716.3	100

Source: Ministry of Forests, Forest Service Special Studies Division. The B.C. Forest Industry and its contribution to the economy, Victoria, 1977, p.4.

Table 4

The Forest Industry as % of Total Manufacturing Shipments

1985	46%
1986	45%
1987	50%
1988	48%

Source: Council of Forest Industries of B.C. B.C. Forest Industry Fact Book, 1986-1989.

Table 5

for the forest industry to remain competitive was the driving force behind government policy.

By the 1970's, government forest policy was challenged by the public more forcefully than ever before. Environmental degradation and the depletion of the forests were becoming too obvious to ignore. Societal changes that had been taking place slowly since the end of the second World War spurred demands for public involvement in policy making and a greater concern for the quality of life and of the natural environment. People wanted to use wilderness areas and forest lands for recreation, and they wanted to preserve wilderness for ecological reasons. Tourism was also becoming important in the B.C. economy, and required alternate uses of the land.

Forest policy has evolved within this web of conflicting tensions, which have become increasingly complex over the years. At first, the government only had one task - to maintain economic growth. Then, this was complicated by the need to sustain the forests. Now, through its resource management policies, the provincial government is expected to maintain economic growth, sustain the forests, and meet public demands for alternate land uses.

The history of forest policy in B.C. is well-known, but is worth repeating here

as it provides a legislative context for recent and present confrontations involving forests; a framework within which they make more sense. Present forest legislation, to a large extent, still reflects long-standing, traditional views of economic efficiency and development that are being challenged by many people today. Forest policies have changed slightly since the 1940's, but are still being widely debated because it is clear that they have not been successful in sustaining the forests of B.C., and that they do not address the evolving concerns of the public. They are still largely based on a concern for economic growth and the use of forests for a supply of timber - they were put into place during a time when other uses of forest lands, such as recreation, and the ecological importance of forests and wilderness areas were not of widespread concern.

Exploiting the Forests

B.C.'s forest industry began in 1848 when the colony's first sawmill was built near Victoria to provide lumber for the Hudson's Bay Company. Almost forty years later, in 1885, mills at Victoria and Nanaimo provided for local needs, while those at Burrard Inlet and New Westminster exported lumber to Australia, China, Hawaii, and Chile. Once the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1886, the industry expanded even more rapidly. The railway encouraged the development and settlement of the province, and provided new markets for lumber.

Between 1871 and 1911, the forest industry grew rapidly - the number of sawmills increased from 27 to 224, and employment from 393 to nearly 15,400.²

Development and speculation was most intense during the decade before the first World War

when timber shortages in the eastern United States forced lumbermen to turn their attention to the untouched forests of Washington, Oregon, and B.C.³ In 1901, capital investment in the industry amounted to \$2 million; by 1913, it was \$150 million, \$90 million of which came from the United States.⁴

The provincial government encouraged lumbermen to take out twenty-one year renewable timber licenses and leases, which gave the licensee ownership of the timber, but ensured that the Crown maintained title to the land. Timber licenses and stumpage fees (fees paid to the government based on the number of trees cut) were introduced in the mid-1880's, but the fees were nominal, and access to timber land was easy. Furthermore, from 1891 on, leases were only available to those who intended to operate a mill.⁵ These factors led to the establishment of many small, independent logging operations. The forest was generally assumed to be boundless, and loggers often had little regard for the environment and future supply of timber. This general ethos was well described by one Englishman, M.A. Grainger, in Woodsmen of the West:

Much he cared that he was spoiling leases for future working, like a mine manager who should hurriedly exhaust the rich patches of his mine. Leases, he said, were going up in value. Someone would find it worthwhile, some day, to buy from him the stretches of forest whose sea-fronts he had shattered and left in a tangled wreckage. As for him, he was going to butcher his woods as he pleased. It paid!...⁶

Grainger was deeply concerned about the exploitation of forests in B.C., and served as secretary to B.C.'s first Royal Commission on forest resources in 1910,⁷ which resulted in the first Forest Act of B.C. two years later. A Forestry Branch was set up in the Department of Lands to take responsibility for the administration and protection of B.C.'s

forests. The Forest Act was mainly concerned with fire protection, but also set regulations for better log scaling procedures (the calculation of the amount of usable timber in a log), and stumpage collection. There were some provisions in the Act for reforestation, but there were no tree nurseries in B.C. until the 1920's, and reforestation did not begin until 1932.⁸ These early steps toward forest protection were part of a larger North American conservation movement, driven by a concern for long-term economic growth. It was a move to use natural resources efficiently so that there would be a continuous supply in the future.

In Canada, the conservation movement revolved around the concerns of a small group of people - mainly scientists, scientific farmers, public servants, and lumbermen.⁹ Of these, the lumbermen were most successful in promoting the movement. They were wealthy businessmen with considerable political influence, whose concerns revolved mainly around long-term economic growth and a secure supply of timber for their companies. In eastern Canada, timber stocks had already been significantly reduced though over exploitation. The business community promoted the protection of forests from fire and uses other than timber production, but when it came to controls on lumbering practices, and the management and replanting of forests, they were ambivalent. Direct government intervention in lumbering activities was not welcome at this time and was successfully prevented.

Despite this early conservation movement, there was no widespread public concern for the environment or for the forest until the 1960's and 70's. Conservation was restricted to the realm of the experts. The Forest Act of 1912 was the first step toward forest conservation in B.C., but it would be at least another thirty years before comprehensive forest management became a priority of the government.

Early forest protection policies did not prevent loggers from "mining" the forests - taking what was valuable, abandoning what was not, and continuing to act as though the forests were inexhaustible. Increased demands for forest products led to technological developments in the cutting and transporting of trees, allowing logging to become more intensive.¹⁰ As long as ox teams or horses were used to transport logs, logging was selective, allowing forests to regenerate naturally. Within thirty to forty years the forests could be logged again, and little permanent damage was done. Logging operations remained close to the coast or to other navigable waterways so that the logs could be stored and transported in the water. By the beginning of the twentieth century this was already beginning to change. The use of the donkey engine (a steam engine) to tow logs allowed logging to take place at a faster rate, and the development of logging railways facilitated expansion inland. The introduction of the bulldozer and logging truck in the late 1920's allowed logging to spread further, up steeper slopes. More significantly, technological developments also led to the clear-cutting of forests, which made fires and erosion more likely, and changed the composition of the forests. Natural regeneration became more difficult, and the stands of Douglas fir were replaced by alder and hemlock.¹¹

Sustaining the Forests

By the 1930's and 40's it was clear that significant areas of the province were being logged and left in an unproductive condition.¹² A fear of timber shortages and the demands of larger firms for greater tenure security in the early 1940's led to the appointment of B.C.'s second Royal Commission on forests, in 1943.¹³ The Sloan Commission

recommended a policy of "sustained yield" forest management. The concept of sustained yield had been introduced to North America by a German forester, Bernhard Fernow, who became chief of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's forestry division in 1886. It took some time for his ideas to receive legal recognition because both industry and government were reluctant to accept any restrictions on harvesting.¹⁴ But eventually, restrictions were seen as necessary, and the sustained yield approach came to dominate forest policy throughout North America. It was not until 1947, however, that a policy of sustained yield favourable to both the government and the larger forest companies, was introduced in B.C.

The concept of sustained yield management required that the annual cut of timber equal the annual growth of the forest. A certain amount of mature timber would have to be cut each year to make room for new growth, and the total number of trees cut could be neither more nor less than the number replanted. In practice, the theory applied to management units of a certain size, of which one percent would be cut and replanted each year. The goal was to create a "normal" forest, which would contain an even distribution of age classes of trees, and would sustain itself perpetually.¹⁵

Because sustained yield management was originally developed for the management of European estates, transferring it to North America was problematic. The natural North American forests were not at all like the European concept of a normal forest, and there were many social and economic differences. Forest land was so abundant in North America that the idea of investing money to grow trees seemed ludicrous. People invested in forest land in order to sell it when the price of timber increased, not to obtain a perpetual supply of trees. It was difficult to convince people that the supply of timber was not endless.

Additional problems arose when the government actually tried to implement the policy in B.C. The Annual Allowable Cuts (AACs) that were calculated for the province's sustained yield units were faulty, because there was no accurate way of calculating the volume of mature timber in each unit, upon which the AAC was based.¹⁶

Economists have argued that the sustained yield approach cannot work in North America because it is based on physical rather than on economic criteria.¹⁷ It assumes that every cubic metre of wood is of equal value, regardless of the age or quality of the tree, and that harvest rates are not responsive to changes in demand. It was effective in Europe, where forests were used in common, but in North America, where property rights are exchanged, it does not work.

Ecologists also criticize the sustained yield concept. J.P. Kimmins¹⁸ argues that sustained yield has been unsuccessful because it neglects timber management impacts on other resources. He suggests that more attention be paid to the qualitative aspects of timber management, to such considerations as fish and wildlife requirements, the prompt regeneration of forests, the careful location and construction of roads so as not to degrade timber and fish resources, and cutting to minimize impacts on the recreational and aesthetic qualities of the environment.

Changes in forest land tenure were seen to be necessary to accommodate a policy of sustained yield management. The Forest Act of 1947 led to the establishment of Forest Management Licenses, later known as Tree Farm Licenses (TFLs), and Public Sustained Yield Units. The Tree Farm Licenses were to be managed by the licensees, and the sustained yield units by the Forest Service. The system allowed the government to

maintain control over the forests without having to invest a lot of money in them. There were no guarantees that the government would put the money it made from the forest industry back into forest management, or that the Forest Service would be provided with sufficient funds to manage its sustained yield units and regulate the operations of Tree Farm License holders.¹⁹

The new tenure system, as well as being convenient for the government, favoured large forest companies by effectively putting the smaller ones out of business. Even before the policy was implemented, it was clear that this would be the case, and the issue was intensely debated. C.D. Orchard, head of the Forest Service at the time, was trying to implement sustained yield management and the TFL system, and was met with considerable opposition from other people in government and industry, including H.R. MacMillan. Although most people involved felt there was a need for a comprehensive forest management policy, they did not necessarily think that the TFL system would be effective. Debates also revolved around private vs. public ownership of timber land.²⁰ C.D. Orchard felt that the individual loggers were to blame for forest depletion, and that only the large corporations would be capable and willing to support sustained yield management.²¹ He and other supporters of the new legislation also assumed that large timber holdings and long-term tenure would encourage better forest management.

Initially, Tree Farm Licenses were granted in perpetuity; later, they were made renewable every twenty-one years. Renewal was virtually guaranteed, even if a company mismanaged a forest. Government threats to refuse renewal of tenure were met with warnings of possible mill closures and reductions in employment.²²

To avoid accusations of favouritism, two Tree Farm Licenses were granted to small companies, but the rest went to larger corporations.²³ Small companies generally could not afford to manage entire Tree Farm Licenses, so they received harvesting rights within sustained yield units managed by the Forest Service. Many small companies and individual loggers were unable to survive under the new system, and control of forest lands became increasingly concentrated. In 1954, the ten largest companies in B.C. controlled 37.2 percent of the total wood harvest; by 1974, they controlled 54.4 percent.²⁴ The harvest increased dramatically during this period, while the number of companies involved decreased. The largest companies also gained more control over timber harvesting rights in Public Sustained Yield Units. The TFL system essentially destroyed the established forest industry in B.C., which had consisted mainly of individual loggers and small companies, and replaced it with a monopoly of a few large corporations.²⁵

Opposition to and debate over the TFL system did not end with its implementation in 1947. During the hearings of the 1955/56 Sloan Commission on the forest industry, people still argued against the TFL system. One of them, surprisingly enough, was H.R. MacMillan, who had established what was to become one of the largest forest companies in the province, and in the country. MacMillan spoke out in favour of the independent logging sector, and of competition in the industry, rather than monopoly. He made a prediction regarding the new system:

A few companies would acquire control of resources and form a monopoly. It will be managed by professional bureaucrats, fixers with a penthouse viewpoint who, never having had rain in their lunch buckets, would abuse the forest. Public interest would be victimized because the citizen business needed

to provide the efficiency of competition would be denied logs and thereby be prevented for penetration of the market.²⁶

Sustained yield management was unsuccessful in its attempt to efficiently manage and sustain the resource. According to J. Wilson²⁷, the 1950's and 60's were an "Era of Complacency" with regard to forest conservation in B.C. Throughout Canada, public apathy and bad forest management were prevalent. Both industry and government were less concerned with sustaining the forests than with providing an even supply of timber for mills so that they could meet market quotas and provide employment. The drive toward economic growth overshadowed other concerns. People overlooked the fact that reforestation was not keeping up with the goals of the 1940's and that the rate of reinvestment in forest land was inadequate. This was due, in part, to a lack of public accessibility to information and general feeling of optimism in B.C. People enjoyed a high standard of living, and had no need to consider the long-term effects of forest exploitation, or the importance of forest legislation. Economic and technological developments allowed new areas of the province to be opened up to large-scale industrial forestry, and allowable cuts were increased. The public forest authorities supported the industry, helping the forest companies secure large areas of timber under long-term tenures.

Meeting Public Demands

By the late 1960's, many British Columbians were becoming concerned about environmental degradation, although most appreciated the jobs and wealth that the forest industry provided. Ecology was making people aware that their own well-being was intimately connected to that of their natural environment, and the counter culture movement

was challenging the authority of the "experts". Environmental interest groups were popping up all over the province, and people demanded that forests be used for recreation, tourism, and wilderness preservation. Signs of protest concerning government forest policy were met with publicity campaigns. These typically described exploitation of forests as "tree-farming". Amid other reassuring images and assertions came the message that trees were no longer "cut", but "harvested".²⁸

After 1970, a slowing economy accompanied by obvious signs of timber depletion created a less optimistic mood in B.C. Environmental protection organizations were getting good publicity, and sympathy for wilderness preservation was growing.²⁹ The 1972 election campaign of the New Democratic Party (NDP) reflected the growing concerns of British Columbians with regard to resource management. Pollution control and natural resource management were a major focus in the campaign, as well as other issues such as education, health care, and food and insurance prices. One of the main objections to resource policy that the NDP had was the extreme power of large (often foreign-owned) corporations, and the lack of reinvestment of the profits in B.C. by those companies. In addition to threatening to raise corporate taxes and royalties,³⁰ the NDP wished to "[m]aintain all commercial forest land under Crown ownership and management by not renewing Tree Farm Licenses"³¹ The potential impacts on the large forest corporations were profound.

The NDP also offered people opportunities for participation in resource management and development.³² Promises were made that comprehensive sociological, environmental, and economic studies would be undertaken and made public before large corporations would be allowed to move into an area.³³ To the residents of northern B.C.,

NDP leader Dave Barrett lamented: "Little people, you have a choice up north. Go work for the big companies or go on welfare."³⁴ The NDP won the 1972 election, to the satisfaction of the labour unions and much to the chagrin of the large corporations.

The new NDP government challenged the assumptions and management approaches of the Forest Branch: the negative consequences of past forest management policies were documented, and much more information regarding the state of forests was made public.³⁵ Debate over forest policy continued and intensified until the need for another Royal Commission was recognized.

In 1975, Peter Pearse, a forest economist, was appointed to head a Royal Commission to make recommendations on the management of B.C.'s forests.³⁶ His critique of forest policy was the critique of an economist - he believed that there had been too much interest in the resource itself, and not enough in the people who owned and used it. He realized that non-timber forest values, such as recreation, were increasing as rapidly as timber forest values. Public concern about forests was growing, and both government and industry had to respond. Pearse saw a need for more governmental participation in forestry - the government should become directly involved with forest management, rather than just surveying private operators. He made many recommendations for policy changes, the adoption of which would mean the abandonment of sustained yield management.

In 1978, a revised Forest Act was approved by the legislature. This Act incorporated some of Pearse's recommendations, but not as many as some people would have liked. The method of calculating the annual allowable cut was changed, taking forest composition and growth rates into consideration, but these were still not considered to be

more important than other criteria, including the needs of mills.³⁷ In the new Forest Act there was no provision made for competition between companies for forest tenure - the chief forester would decide who had the rights to the land. Changes in the licensing arrangements gave even more security of tenure to TFL holders. The large, established companies, therefore, remained unchallengeable by the smaller organizations.

The Act did, however, recognize the importance of public participation in policy making, and after 1978, the few public involvement experiments of the mid-1970's in the Ministry of Forests were followed by more comprehensive public involvement programs.³⁸ High hopes were soon shattered, however, when public hearings were used as a forum for the Ministry to present decisions that were already final.³⁹ Even when people were allowed to participate in finding solutions to problems, they were rarely informed of how and why final decisions were made, and why their suggestions were either taken into consideration or not.⁴⁰ Information presented to the public was also often complicated and difficult to understand. As a result, many environmentalists (and others) see government public participation programs as a mere formality, in which their suggestions will not be taken seriously.

There was some legislative and environmental opposition to the new Forest Act, but it was not strong enough to change anything, and according to one academic critic of forest policy, Pat Marchak, there was little newspaper and media coverage of the debate.⁴¹ The slogan the government used to describe itself at this time was "Partners with Industry",⁴² and it seems to have been a fitting description. Since the passage of the Act, controversy over stumpage rates, reforestation, and allowable cuts of timber has continued. Wilderness

preservation groups have gained strength, and blockades of logging roads have become a common occurrence.

Controversy has led to yet another Royal Commission, but the problems are complex, and will not be easy to solve. The government clearly has to keep the economy going; without a profitable forest industry, this would be difficult. The forests must also be sustained somehow, and logging practices must be strictly controlled. Attempts on the part of the government to challenge the practices of the large corporations, however, are often met with threats of mill closures. British Columbians want wilderness preservation and a clean and healthy environment, but they also need jobs.

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CHAPTER 3

Parks in British Columbia

The most common way (possibly the only way!) of preserving wilderness in B.C. is to designate it a park. Although parks are now often used to preserve wilderness areas in North America, this was not always the case. Parks have had, and continue to have, many uses. The idea of using them to preserve wilderness is relatively new, and to use them solely for this purpose is still difficult. Wilderness preservation can be one aspect of a park, but under current legislation, parks usually have more than one use. Often, this entails primary resource extraction, such as logging and mining or the generation of hydroelectric power. In wilderness areas where these uses are seen as incompatible with preservation, tourism and outdoor recreation are usually promoted. The idea of preserving land without using it for economic gain is still not acceptable in North America.

In B.C., parks were established primarily for economic reasons. Ideas of conservation were much slower to take hold in B.C. than in eastern Canada. B.C. was settled much later, and pioneer values were strong - it was a large province with great resource wealth, and a small population concentrated in a small area. It was not until the late 1920's that timber shortages caused concern, and concern about other resources did not emerge until the 1930's. Even after the limitations of resources were perceived, it took some time for provincial policies to recognize them.

Even so, there were a few organizations in B.C., established relatively early, that were somewhat concerned with preservation. The Natural History Society of B.C. was founded in 1890, and was at least marginally concerned with preservation. The B.C.

Mountaineering Club, founded in 1907, although primarily a recreational club, was directly concerned with preservation - one of its goals (in its constitution) was "The preservation of the beauties of British Columbia's mountains through protective legislation."¹ A major goal of the club was to preserve the Mount Garibaldi area. These early preservationist groups were not very strong or well-accepted, and although they played a role in the establishment of some parks, their influence on park policy was limited.

The first provincial park in B.C. was established in 1911, after "continual petitioning" from the Alpine Club of Canada, the B.C. Mountaineering Club, and the Natural History Society of B.C., who were interested in nature preservation; and the Vancouver Island Boards of Trade, and the Victoria and Vancouver Island Development League, who wanted to promote tourism.² It was created under its own act, the Strathcona Park Act, and was named in honour of Lord Strathcona's visit to the province. The boundaries of the park were completely unrelated to the physical landscape, or political or private boundaries. It has been suggested that they were simply traced onto a map, in a nice geometrical shape, to impress Lord Strathcona.³

Strathcona Park was ". . . reserved and set apart as a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage, and enjoyment of the people of British Columbia."⁴ It was established, as were first national parks in Canada, as a potential tourist resort. It was hoped that the park would lead the way in developing Vancouver Island as a "tourist mecca . . . It will be of greater value to Victoria than even the Panama Canal."⁵

Although the park was meant to preserve nature so that people could enjoy it, the main purpose of it was definitely to attract tourists. The park, "when developed, . . .

should bring to the Province, many thousands of visitors year by year, and in the end, should prove one of the best resources of the Province."⁶ The use of the land for tourism was believed to be potentially more profitable than any other use:

By constant attention to one object, that of pleasing the travelling public, we can from the development of Strathcona Park as a centre, secure for British Columbia a revenue which to the ordinary person would appear impossible to be derived even from the entire receipts of mining, lumbering, fishing and tourist travel.⁷

Great plans were made for the development of the park. They included a scenic railway and roads, two luxurious hotels, a golf course, a tea house, and "recreation grounds".⁸ An existing logging road leading to Buttle Lake was improved, and ornamental trees and plants were planted along both sides of it - ash, elm, chestnut, willow, and ivy and various flowers, reminiscent of a much more "civilized" English countryside. Some trails were also cleared, and bridges built.⁹ It was hoped that people would come to Strathcona Park to enjoy civilized "pleasure grounds" in a natural setting. In a government publication entitled "Strathcona the Beautiful", the park was described, in 1915, as ". . . a land of beauty quite impossible to describe", with air that was "pure and invigorating".¹⁰

When the first World War began, work in the park was abandoned. Even long after the war, the park was not developed to its full potential. It never became the tourist attraction it was at first intended to be. Part of the reason for this was its location - it was not easily accessible from Victoria, and it was not close to a railway line.

Soon, other large provincial parks were established - Mt. Robson in 1913, Garibaldi in 1927, Tweedsmuir in 1938, Wells Grey in 1939, and Hamber and Manning in 1941. Many smaller parks were also established during these years. Some of the parks,

particularly Mt. Robson, which was connected to eastern cities by the railway, and adjacent to Jasper National Park, were created in the hopes that tourism and outdoor recreation would become more popular.

Other parks were created as part of a policy to develop the northern part of the province. The conclusion to Wells Grey's statement on Tweedsmuir Park was as follows:

Besides the tourist angle there are innumerable other aspects. The area is potentially rich in minerals and when it becomes better known, especially to people of means, a lively interest in mining possibilities will follow . . . Actually the government feels that in developing the area as a tourist resort, it is simply making that a means to a much greater end.¹¹

Besides the above economic reasons for the creation of provincial parks, parks were created in honour of dignitaries - Strathcona, Tweedsmuir, Hamber, and Manning parks were all named after dignitaries. Tweedsmuir Park, for example, was created as a welcoming gift for Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield when he came to visit B.C. A large, remote area was simply outlined on a map and an Order in Council made it a park.¹² Studies of the recreational and resource values of the parks were not undertaken. The parks, whether created for economic reasons or in honour of visiting dignitaries, were also symbolic of the generosity, prosperity, and wisdom of the B.C. government and the province itself. The B.C. government bragged about how it was "particularly advanced in park development, having set aside a total of over 14,000 square miles for the recreation and enjoyment of this and future generations."¹³

In a thesis on B.C. parks¹⁴, J.K. Youds shows that until 1948, the provincial park system grew until it reached about 4.4 million hectares. From 1948 until 1961, however, the trend was reversed, and B.C.'s total park land was reduced to 2.5 million

hectares. The first major reduction in park land was the elimination of Liard River Park (about 730,000 ha.) from the park system in 1949.

In 1952, the government of W.A.C. Bennett was elected, and remained in power for twenty years. Bennett's government emphasized the development of natural resources, and was not terribly concerned about conservation. During Bennett's time in power, "[t]he companies invested and plundered and the premier kept the way safe and open."¹⁵ Within the first few years of Bennett's term, it became clear that parks would not be valued (by the government, at least) for wilderness preservation, and would only be of value for recreation and tourism if they were economically profitable.

British Columbia's largest parks were the first to be affected, largely because they were relatively remote and inaccessible, and not very profitable for tourism. Hydroelectric development took place at Buttle Lake in Strathcona Park, and in Tweedsmuir Park. The size of Tweedsmuir Park was reduced by 400,000 ha. to accommodate the development. Garibaldi and Mt. Robson parks were placed under the administration of the Forest service. In 1961, Hamber Park was reduced by 926,000 hectares.¹⁶

Throughout this period, the promotion of parks for recreational use was largely confined to smaller, more accessible parks. Between 1951 and 1957, 71 campgrounds were established along highways and in parks with road access.¹⁷ These parks were used by enough people to prevent other industrial uses.

In 1957, the administration of B.C.'s parks was turned over to the newly-established Ministry of Recreation and Conservation. The ministry was established at least partly because of the demands of Roderick Haig-Brown and other park supporters.¹⁸ Still,

parks were not well protected from industrial use - the classification of a park, which determined what it could be used for, could be changed at any time without much trouble.

It was not until the mid-1960's that parks came to be widely regarded as having values that were not economic. In 1964, some shifts in policy became evident. A more comprehensive approach to the planning of the park system was developed,¹⁹ and the concept of "Nature Conservancy Zones" emerged. These zones were created to preserve natural areas representative of a variety of biogeoclimatic zones²⁰ in B.C. Parks took on an ecological value, and were seen as a way of preserving natural areas, whether or not they were used for recreation.

In Canada's national park system, at the same time (1964), more emphasis was being placed on the preservation of "natural and historic resources".²¹ A national parks policy statement of the late 1960's stated the basic purpose of Canadian parks: "to preserve for all time areas which contain significant geographical, geological, biological or historic features . . ."²² In 1976, this commitment was further secured when Canada acceded to the World Heritage Convention, thereby formally committing itself to the protection of unique natural and historic areas.²³

The official function of parks, then, beginning in the mid-1960's, on both the provincial and national levels, slowly expanded to include the preservation of nature and wilderness areas, in addition to economic functions such as recreation. Now, parks are also seen as a way of preserving ecological regions. At a Parks Symposium on B.C. in 1984, the central question was "How much land should we devote to conserve species and ecosystems?"²⁴ The use of parks by the public for recreation remained an important issue,

but the ecological importance of parks was just as vital. This change in attitude toward parks was gradual and although it was discussed, it was not always reflected in government policy. Although the ecological importance of parks was recognized by the late 1960's, the economic use of parks continued to be a priority of the government. The use of parks for industrial purposes in B.C. continued.

National Parks in Canada

The reasons for the establishment of national parks in Canada were also primarily economic. Leslie Bella, in Parks for Profit, argues that Canadian national parks were a focus of economic development from the very beginning. R.C. Brown, another historian of the National Parks movement,²⁵ agrees that early parks policy in Canada was a continuation of the dominant exploitative resource policy. Parks were not created to protect land from exploitation, but were created as another form of resource exploitation. The new resource was tourism. Canada's first national park, Banff, (first known as Rocky Mountain National Park) was established in 1887 as "a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada. . . ." ²⁶ The area in its natural state was not considered to be a real park - when the roads, bridges, hotels, baths, and a townsite were developed, it would become a park.²⁷

The idea of establishing a park in the Rocky Mountains came from William Van Horne, general manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), who had heard of the national parks movement in the U.S., and who saw the tourist potential of the mountains.²⁸ He wanted to make sure that the CPR gained control of the area before the land was sold to

private interests. One way of doing this was to form a national park. This way, the land would remain in the public domain, and the company would be able to maintain its monopoly of tourist accommodation and transportation. The CPR was not able to buy the land it wanted for the development of tourist facilities on either side of the railway, but was granted a 999-year lease. Other national parks were also eventually set aside in the Canadian Rockies, not necessarily to preserve the landscape, but, according to Leslie Bella, "to centralize control of that landscape in the hands of the railroads".²⁹ There were, however, other reasons for establishing parks at this time, notably tourism, recreation, and health.

One of the main attractive features of Banff was the hot springs there, which were believed to offer great "sanitary" or health advantages. Banff townsite grew around the hot springs, providing amenities for the people using them.³⁰ The CPR built a luxury hotel in Banff, and the park became a resort for the rich. Only wealthy people from the city could afford to take expensive holidays. National parks did not become accessible to the majority of people in Canada until the general population became more affluent and had more leisure time - after World War II.

National Parks, then, were first established in Canada as a resource, mainly for tourism, but when necessary, for other purposes as well. From the very beginning, there were mines and timber leases in Canadian national parks.³¹ In the late nineteenth century, areas in the parks were logged, first for railway ties, then for "pit-props" for coal mines. The government tried, for the most part, not to lock valuable resources into parks - most of the time, resources were exhausted before the creation of a park, or the park boundaries were readjusted to exclude them. When this was not possible, resources were simply exploited

within parks. The situation was similar in the United States. Parks were not allowed to interfere with economic development - resources were either excluded from the parks to begin with, or exploited within the parks. Park boundaries were not based on ecology, but on economics.

The conservation movement which had begun in the U.S. and spread to Canada during the early twentieth century changed this to some extent. The government began to put controls on timber exploitation, and for the first time, some parks were created purely for wildlife preservation. Another result of the conservation movement, with its emphasis on the scientific management of resources, however, was a threat to parks. During the 1920's, developers wanted to manage the water in the parks for irrigation and hydroelectric power by damming rivers and lakes in the Rocky Mountain parks. This met with strong resistance from conservation organizations - including the Alpine Club, the National Parks Association, and several anglers' clubs.

By the 1920's, the protection and management of natural resources in national parks was becoming an important issue within the Parks Branch. The idea of using parks to preserve wilderness was taking hold, and became known as the "principle of inviolability"³². The 1930 National Parks Act formalized this principle, prohibiting mining, damming, and commercial forestry in Canadian parks.³³ In this way, the Act represented a change in attitudes towards wilderness preservation. Unfortunately, it did not take the potential impact of recreational development into consideration. Tourism-related developments such as golf courses and highways were seen as benefits to parks, not as threats to wilderness.³⁴ As well, the size of many parks was reduced, so that valuable minerals would no longer be

within park boundaries.³⁵ Leslie Bella, a historian of National Parks in Canada, is convinced that the National Parks Act of 1930 "entrenched a system and philosophy of parks for profit"³⁶ It ensured that parks would continue to be exploited - not for minerals, timber, or hydro-electricity, but for their tourism potential. "Autotourism" became the major purpose of the parks, pushing the railways aside, and making the parks accessible to more people.³⁷ After 1945, during the post-war economic boom, and in spite of the 1930 Parks Act, resource exploitation in parks continued, and many parks were reduced in size.³⁸

Today, although parks are often created for wilderness preservation, they still have to be economically justifiable. As other forms of resource exploitation in parks are seen as incompatible with the purpose of a park, this usually means exploitation for tourism. This is the case in most parks in B.C., including South Moresby and Strathcona.

Parks and Wilderness Preservation - The Beginnings

While economic concerns seem to have dominated the Canadian parks movement, concern to preserve wilderness was also a factor. The movement to preserve nature for cultural, aesthetic and spiritual reasons was much more visible in the national parks movement in the U.S. than it was in Canada, but since it did eventually become popular in Canada, and since current ideas of wilderness preservation are based upon these earlier ones, it's origins are worth discussing here. The preservation movement was going strong quite some time before ideas of utilitarian conservation were even conceived of. Although the conservation movement eventually overshadowed it, the ideas carried on, and are reaching a peak in their popularity today.

Ideas regarding nature appreciation and preservation had been around for some time in Europe before they appeared in North America. They were particularly popular in European cities during the romantic movement of the 18th and early 19th centuries. One of the earliest European wilderness appreciators, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, wrote of nature as he knew it in Europe. Some, such as Chateaubriand, travelled to North America to experience "real" wilderness first hand during the late 18th century. Other Europeans who wrote of North American wilderness were Lord Byron and Alexis de Toqueville. In addition to romanticism, this enthusiasm for wilderness was based on a sense of the sublime and an association of God and wilderness³⁹.

For most early North American settlers, wilderness was a hindrance -it was dangerous and frightening, and had to be pushed aside - conquered - if people were to survive.⁴⁰ The American pioneers despised wilderness, and it was only their children and grandchildren, growing up in cities far removed from the wilderness, who began to impart ethical and aesthetic qualities to it. Roderick Nash, in Wilderness and the American Mind, and Alfred Runte, in National Parks: The American Experience, both claim that wilderness was very important to the American cultural identity. The United States, they claim, was acutely aware that it lacked the cultural heritage of Europe, and after it gained its independence, the definition of something uniquely "American" became more important than ever. The one thing that the U.S. had that no longer existed in Europe was wilderness. Once the U.S. discovered its spectacular natural heritage, it began to establish its own cultural identity by protecting and promoting its natural landscapes - mountains, rivers, giant redwood trees, and spectacular scenery. It was hoped that these could be proven better than anything

that could be found in Europe. These ideas were not widely accepted at first but "by the middle decades of the nineteenth century wilderness was recognized as a cultural and moral resource and a basis for national self-esteem."⁴¹ Runte agrees that wilderness preservation was of cultural importance at this time:

For the first time in almost a century Americans argued with confidence that the United States had something of value in its own right to contribute to world culture.⁴²

The first wilderness area to be preserved in the U.S. was the Yosemite Valley in California. It was protected through the Yosemite Act in 1864, but would not be known as a "national" park until years later. Yosemite park was not created for tourism and outdoor recreation - it would be many years before its tourism potential could be realized - but it had great symbolic significance, for the reasons outlined above.⁴³ Yellowstone was the first "national" park in the U.S., established in 1872. According to Alfred Runte, Yellowstone was set aside with the idea of it being a tourist resort, but it also had a strong monumental value: Yellowstone "offered the United States still another opportunity to acquire a semblance of antiquity through landscape."⁴⁴ It was very important that the area not be exploited by private interests, but be preserved for the country as a whole. There was, however, some public opposition to the preservation of Yellowstone - it was seen by many people as a waste of land.⁴⁵

By the mid-nineteenth century, many people in the U.S. had expressed regret at the disappearance of wilderness in North America. Writers, artists, scientists, vacationers, and other educated urbanites were at the forefront of this movement.⁴⁶ Their ideas ranged from the romantic views of George Catlin, a travelling artist, who, as early as the 1840's,

advocated the creation of "a Nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wildness and freshness of nature's beauty!";⁴⁷ to the more scientific approaches of naturalists such as William Bartram; to the spiritual transcendentalism of Henry David Thoreau, which would later be popularized by John Muir.

Although wilderness was becoming more attractive to North Americans, early twentieth and late nineteenth century wilderness preservationists faced a difficult task. Most people were indifferent to the idea of preserving wilderness areas as national parks, and there was some direct opposition to it. The bulk of the population was in the east, and most people could not afford to travel to the spectacular landscapes of the west. Convincing Europeans that it would be worth crossing the Atlantic to see American mountains and rivers would also be difficult. The government was reluctant to preserve wilderness areas for their scenic (or other) value unless the land seemed to be worthless in other, more economically profitable ways.⁴⁸ The government was willing to protect "monumental" natural wonders for cultural reasons, but not their surrounding areas. The "monuments" it chose to protect were spectacular, symbolic, and powerful. Their surrounding wilderness areas, even when they were within park boundaries, were not well-protected, and from the very start, were used for hunting and trapping, logging, mining, etc.⁴⁹

By the late nineteenth century, ideas about the conservation of natural resources for long-term economic growth began to take hold and displace ideas of preservation. George Perkins Marsh, in 1864, with the publication of Man and Nature, Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action, had introduced the idea that the preservation of wilderness could have economic justification, and revealed how destructive

civilization could be to nature. The clear-cutting of forests, for example, could lead to drought, floods, erosion, and undesirable climatic change. The preservation of forests could prevent such problems. Marsh's ideas made the protection of wilderness somewhat compatible with progress and economic welfare, and were the basis of the utilitarian conservation movement which began in the late nineteenth century. His ideas were also used by preservationists to justify wilderness preservation in a society dominated by utilitarian ideas and economics.⁵⁰

When Theodore Roosevelt became president of the U.S., utilitarian conservation became dominant over scenic preservation. Roosevelt's chief advisor and one of the most well-known proponents of utilitarian conservation, Gifford Pinchot once remarked that "[t]he first duty of the human race is to control the earth it lives upon."⁵¹ Utilitarian conservationists believed that to leave resources unused and unexploited was to waste them. Parks, therefore, should be used to their fullest potential.

There was still some support for scenic preservation, however, which grew stronger once the railway companies realized how profitable tourism could be, and began to promote the national parks.⁵² The Antiquities Act of 1906, which called for the preservation of "objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States",⁵³ also allowed for some scenic preservation. The conservation movement brought about an increased awareness of the need to conserve timber and protect wildlife in both Canada and the U.S.

Throughout the utilitarian conservation movement, the ideas of earlier romantics and deists were kept alive by preservationists, with John Muir leading the way.

His ideas were not new - he was a transcendentalist, very similar to Thoreau - but he publicized wilderness issues more than anyone had before. Thoreau had not been widely-read during his time, but through Muir, the idea that natural objects were "the terrestrial manifestations of God"⁵⁴ became widespread. One major difference between Thoreau and Muir, however, was that while Thoreau advocated a balance between civilization and wilderness, Muir had little use for civilization.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, his ideas were more well-received than they would have been earlier, because the U.S. was becoming more urban, and people were no longer forced to be "conquerers" of wilderness. Cities came to be regarded with some hostility, and wilderness became associated with America's frontier and pioneer past. It represented a way of life which had shaped the American character, and which was fast disappearing. In Canada too, society was rapidly becoming urban⁵⁵. Urban life was seen by many as artificial and unhealthy, and, by the turn of the century, a "back to nature" movement was going strong.⁵⁶

All of these factors made it possible for John Muir to gain considerable public support for wilderness preservation. Soon many people supported preservation, in opposition to utilitarian conservation. Wilderness soon came to be viewed as a refuge from the unhealthy life of the city, and as a way of restoring one's mental and physical health. In his book, Our National Parks, Muir wrote:

Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wilderness is a necessity; and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life.⁵⁷

In the same book, he promised, to people visiting national parks:

Nature's peace will flow into you as sunshine flows into trees. The winds will blow their own freshness into you, and the storms their energy, while cares will drop off like autumn leaves.⁵⁸

Although scientific reasons for preserving wilderness based on ecology have become prominent in recent years, Muir's idea of the purpose of a park and the healing qualities of nature continue to provide a basis for current ideas about wilderness preservation.

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CHAPTER 4

The English Sports Ethic and Conservation in North America

It is difficult to know exactly how much of an impact sport hunters and anglers had on conservation in North America. In histories of the conservation/environmental movements, they are often overlooked. John F. Reiger, in American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation (1975), draws attention to this oversight, claiming that sport hunters were central to the North American conservation movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He claims that most influential conservationists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were actually "sportsmen" at some time in their lives; among those who were he numbers G.P. Marsh, J.J. Audubon, H.D. Thoreau, Frederick Jackson Turner, and of course, Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot.¹ According to Reiger, it was hunting that nurtured a love of nature in these men, although many of them had given up hunting by the time they became active in the conservation movement. Perhaps Reiger places too much importance on the role of hunters and anglers in the conservation movement, virtually ignoring the roles of other equally important groups of people, such as the scientific "experts", and the preservationists and nature lovers who never hunted, such as John Muir. North American sports enthusiasts were positioned somewhere between the pragmatic conservationists (often scientists) and the more romantic preservationists and nature lovers. They were interested in preserving wilderness for use, but many of them also had a personal and aesthetic appreciation of nature. As far as wildlife conservation was concerned, they were very influential - they were the first to notice that wildlife populations were being depleted in the United States, and the first to see wilderness areas as habitats for wildlife,

rather than just resources in themselves. They also appreciated landscapes that may not have been noticed by the romantic nature-lovers, or the scientists, such as swamps and marshlands, and were interested in protecting a wide variety of wildlife, including fish, rather than just the more aesthetically pleasing mammals and birds. Sport hunters and anglers had a role to play in the conservation movement throughout North America, and although one could argue about just how significant that role was, it certainly should not be ignored. The idea of hunting as a sport rather than as a necessity (as it emerged in North America), originated in England and reached its peak there during the nineteenth century. Outdoor sports such as hunting and fishing were considered by the English to be very important to the physical and moral development of upper class English gentlemen. The popularity of hunting/fishing was at its peak in nineteenth-century England - it was a combination of "science and ethic, nature study, human control and moral code. . . ."², and it became central to the upbringing and education of upper class English boys. Hunting was a "manly" sport, and the encouragement of it in public schools provided an "antidote to effeminacy".³ Hunting and other outdoor activities were also encouraged through juvenile literature (books and magazines) for boys and organizations such as the boy scouts. Hunting was an important aspect of British imperialism -it:

required all the most virile attributes of the imperial male - courage, endurance, individualism (adaptable to national ends), sportsmanship . . . , resourcefulness, a mastery of environmental signs, and a knowledge of natural history.⁴

In many ways the outdoor sports ethic was a training for war, meant to prepare boys to face the British "imperial frontier".⁵ It was in the colonies - Africa, India, North America and Australia, that the search for real wilderness and outdoor adventure took place. The scientific

aspects of outdoor sports -natural history, zoology, and the collection and classification of various species of animals and plants, made the killing of animals socially acceptable, and "civilized". The upper class English sportsman was nothing like the primitive hunter who killed for survival - he had a higher moral and scientific purpose.

By the 1930's, many well-known English hunters had stopped hunting, including members of the royal family, and the general feeling was one of regret at killing. This change in attitude coincided with the end of the British empire. Historian John M. Mackenzie claims that hunting is of historic importance in territorial expansion - in Britain, he argues, the enthusiasm for hunting declined with the end of the empire, but it remained important to the next global powers - the United States and the Soviet Union.⁶

These British ideas about outdoor sports were brought to the United States by English immigrants during the 1830's.⁷ Henry William Herbert (also known as Frank Forester), was one of the most well-known proponents of English-style sportsmanship in the U.S. To him, the moral benefit of field sports was most important. True sportsmen only killed "game" animals, always by "sporting methods", and were never cruel to animals.⁸ The ideal of sportsmanship, for Herbert, lay in the:

true spirit, the style, the dash, the handsome way of doing what is to be done, and above all, in the unalterable love of fair play, that first thought of the genuine sportsman.⁹

Herbert also saw outdoor sports as a kind of military training - he attributed the military superiority of the English upper classes to their love of outdoor sports.¹⁰

This nineteenth-century English sports ethic was brought to a country where the only ethic involved in hunting was that of efficiency. North American settlers hunted for

meat, or to get rid of "vermin" - they had no concept of hunting as a "fair chase".¹¹ The introduction of the English sports ethic to North America changed hunting from a necessity to a ritual - a way of preserving pioneer virtues and recapturing America's past. It would ensure that Americans developed "manly" characters, and remained strong and brave enough to challenge the wilderness. Theodore Roosevelt regarded hunting as a way of preserving the "virtues and values of America".¹²

Tom Dunlap, a historian of hunting and conservation, argues that this transformation of hunting from a necessity to a ritual was one of the first steps toward wildlife preservation in North America.¹³ 'Game' animals became a resource, meaning that their stock had to be preserved and renewed. Hunters were the first organized group working to preserve wildlife in the United States, and until well into the twentieth century, their efforts and money provided most of the support for wildlife programs.¹⁴ Before the turn of the century, there were no laws to protect wildlife, except for a few state laws (rarely enforced) to ensure a continuous supply of meat.¹⁵ After 1880, several states passed new laws regulating the killing of birds and mammals, set up game commissions, and appointed game wardens.¹⁶ These new laws were concerned not with the supply of meat, but with the supply of game for sport hunting.

The first sporting clubs in the United States were formed amongst upper class men in the cities of the northeastern states during the 1840's.¹⁷ By the 1870's, there were over 300 such organizations and several magazines that promoted the sports ethic and game preservation. These magazines were very important in spreading ideas, and were instrumental in organizing hunters for political action.¹⁸ This was necessary in the U.S. as

it had not been in England, because the hunters depended on public land for their sport rather than on private estates. The supply of game on public lands was declining rapidly, and there was a need for legislation. The first national sporting magazine, American Sportsman, began publication in 1871. It was concerned with hunting, fishing, natural history, and conservation. Another journal, Forest and Stream, followed in 1873. It was "A Weekly Journal Devoted to Field and Aquatic Sports, Practical Natural History, Fish Culture, the Protection of Game, Preservation of Forests, and the Inculcation in Men and Women of a Healthy Interest in Outdoor Recreation and Study".¹⁹ Similar publications soon followed. They promoted the British concept of sportsmanship, and "sportsman" soon became synonymous with "gentleman".²⁰ The journals focused on the ethics and responsibilities of sportsmanship and struggled against the commercial exploitation of wildlife.²¹

The ideal American sportsman developed an image that was slightly different from that of the typical English gentleman hunter. He was a wilderness hunter, or woodsman, somewhat more rugged than the Englishman, but with the same moral values. Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett seemed to embody this ideal, and the first national sporting organization in the U.S. was named after them; the Boone and Crockett Club, founded by Theodore Roosevelt, Dr. George Bird Grinnell (editor of Forest and Stream Weekly), and several other sport hunters, in 1887. Roosevelt's version of the ideal hunter was the American pioneer and cowboy, who had similar qualities of character to the English gentleman hunter. Typically he exhibited

. . . few of the emasculated, milk-and-water moralities of the pseudo-philanthropist; but he does possess, to a very high degree, the stern, manly qualities that are invaluable to a nation.

To Roosevelt, the pioneer was a hunter, and the hunter was the "archetype of freedom".²²

The Boone and Crockett Club was an exclusive club for large game hunters. All of its members were wealthy, respectable gentlemen, with a variety of occupations: "They included world travellers, writers, artists, lawyers, businessmen, soldiers, and political figures."²³ In order to become members of the club, they had to "have killed with the rifle in fair chase, . . . at least one individual of one of the various kinds of American large game."²⁴ Only 100 members were admitted. The club was founded partly ". . . to spearhead an assault against the massive problem facing the big game, public lands, and forest resources of the nation", but the first objective written into their constitution was to "promote manly sport with the rifle."²⁵ The members of the Boone and Crockett Club lived all over the country, and some of them were quite influential. Roosevelt was the most well-known among them, but there were others such as George Bird Grinnell and Gifford Pinchot, who were also very influential in the conservation movement. The club members publicized their cause well, holding an exhibit at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, and publishing several books during the first few years of their existence.²⁶ They also worked in cooperation with other similar organizations. The club was influential in the passing of the Lacey Act of 1894, which protected wildlife in Yellowstone National Park, and later in other parks.²⁷ Members of the club (Roosevelt and Pinchot) were also involved in the establishment of the U.S. Forest Service and the establishment of a national forest system and several wildlife refuges.²⁸ By the beginning of the twentieth century, largely because of this and other sporting organizations, almost all states had laws that regulated hunting.

Although the sports organizations were influential where game animals and

their habitats were concerned, the wider conservation movement had more to do with the scientific management of resources, economic development, and faith in the knowledge of the 'expert'. In addition to this, there was a movement toward nature 'appreciation' in the nineteenth century. While men were encouraged to go hunting, proving their manliness by conquering nature, women were expected to 'appreciate' nature and teach their children 'proper' values.²⁹ By the 1870's, romantic nature essays and stories, in which animals were personified and portrayed as being entitled to certain rights, were becoming popular.³⁰ This move toward romanticism and a love and appreciation of nature was not only a women's movement. There were men, such as Thoreau, Muir, and Emerson, who renounced hunting and promoted a 'transcendental', spiritual relationship with nature. Though the hunters and nature 'appreciators' had very different attitudes, they came together on certain issues. The hunters joined the nature lovers in opposition to the killing of songbirds because they thought it unsportsmanlike to kill them (only certain species were considered to be 'game'). In the 1890's, when bird feathers became fashionable, hunters, scientists, and nature lovers united to oppose the trend.³¹ After the second world war, as the humane movement gained popularity, and there were campaigns to protect certain species and to stop the poisoning and trapping of animals; the popularity of hunting waned, and efforts to ban it became fairly common.

Wildlife Conservation in Canada

The conservation movement of the late nineteenth, early twentieth century, was also present in Canada, but there was no national public "crusade" for wildlife here, as there

had been in the U.S. In nineteenth century Canada, there was no powerful Sierra Club, no Audubon society. There were some local naturalists' clubs, but they were more concerned with natural history than with wildlife preservation. It was up to the federal government to develop awareness of the need for wildlife conservation, but this did not begin to happen until the early twentieth century.³² The power of the federal government to do anything about conservation was also limited, because the provinces were legally responsible for their natural resources.

Ontario was the first province to introduce wildlife legislation. As early as 1862, laws existed to restrict the hunting of certain species. In late 1880's, there was a Royal Commission on fish and game, in which sporting organizations played an important role. The commission resulted in new wildlife conservation laws, game wardens, and two provincial wildlife reserves.

There are other indications that, at least in eastern Canada, sporting organizations played a significant role in wilderness preservation. After a hunting trip to Quebec in the early twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt wrote:

In addition to the game laws, a large part is played in Canadian game preservation by the hunting and fishing clubs. These clubs have policed and now police many thousands of square miles of wilderness. . .³³

Apparently some of these clubs actually owned game preserves.³⁴ In a book entitled The Conservation of the Wild Life of Canada (1921), C. Gordon Hewitt stated that the outdoor sports enthusiasts of Canada were more interested in the conservation of wildlife than any other groups of people.³⁵ The predominant code of ethics of Canadian hunters was that devised by W.T. Hornaday in 1908 - it contained traditional British ideas about killing

animals for sport rather than for food, but the focus of it was essentially on the importance of conservation. The last rule of this code of ethics stated:

A particularly fine photograph of a large wild animal in its haunts is entitled to more credit than the dead trophy of a similar animal. An animal that has been photographed never should be killed, unless previously wounded in the chase.³⁶

Hornaday's "Sportsman's Code of Ethics" was officially adopted by the Campfire Club of America, the North American Fish and Game Protective Association, and by "numerous sportsmen's and game-protective organizations in Canada",³⁷ however, it is difficult to know whether people actually adhered to it or not. Although Hewitt's book is specifically about Canada, the sporting organizations he mentions are largely American. Some of the larger organizations in Canada seem to have been branches of American organizations, but there were also many local clubs. Rod and Gun in Canada published a list of 31 rod and gun clubs in 1914, all of them in Ontario.³⁸

The organization and unification of rod and gun clubs seems to have taken place somewhat later in Canada than in the United States. While American Sportsman was published in 1871, Canada's major national sporting magazine, Rod and Gun in Canada, was not established until 1899. In the early issues of Rod and Gun (the earliest issues I was able to look at were from 1912), conservation was not a priority. The magazine devoted itself mainly to adventure stories set in the wilderness, accounts of hunting trips, and information and advice about hunting and fishing. The upcoming events and reports of past events of rod and gun clubs were also listed. These events consisted mainly of hunting competitions and fishing derbies rather than conservation-related events. Most issues of the magazine, however, contained at least one article on conservation, and any conferences on conservation

were reported on. C. Gordon Hewitt and W.T. Hornaday also published articles on conservation in Rod and Gun. By 1929 (I was unable to look at issues between 1919 and 1929), there was a new subtitle to the magazine: "Devoted to the interdependent interests of Canadian wild life and the sportsman". By December, 1949, the old column "Outdoor Talk", which had given scientific information about wildlife, was changed to "Outdoors", and dealt with "Camping, Woodcraft, Natural History, Cameras, etc." By this time, the magazine contained much less fiction and adventure, and more informational articles on conservation and wildlife laws.⁴⁰ Sometime between 1949 and 1960, the name of the magazine was changed to Rod and Gun: Forest and Outdoors, and it began publishing more articles about camping and outdoor living. The new subtitle of the magazine (by 1960) was "conservation - boating - hunting - camping - fishing". Although news of the Canadian Forestry Association was included in every issue by the 1960's, and almost every editorial was devoted to conservation, there was no noticeable increase in articles about conservation. Rod and Gun ceased publication in 1973.

Outdoor Sports in British Columbia

In B.C. there were several rod and gun magazines as well, but the earliest one I could find, Northwest Sportsman, did not begin publication until 1945. In 1948, the Cariboo and Northwest Digest followed. It was a magazine for British Columbians in general, containing many articles on B.C. politics, some fiction, and the odd article on hunting or fishing. By the early 1960's, however, it became more of an outdoors magazine, with regular columns such as: "Sportsman's Digest", "Along the Outdoor Trail", "Campfire

and Cookstove", "Wildlife Notebook", and "Around B.C. with Rod and Gun". Most of the editorials were devoted to conservation issues and articles about conservation were published frequently. In December, 1964, "Around B.C. with Rod and Gun" featured the fish and game clubs of the West Kootenays, and their involvement in conservation. The name changes of Cariboo and Northwest Digest clearly reflect the magazine's change in focus. In 1950, the name was changed to British Columbia Digest: The Outdoor Magazine, and in 1967 it was changed to B.C. Outdoors.

In 1965, another journal, called Western Fish and Game was established, due to popular demand. Apparently there were many "outdoors" magazines in B.C. at this time, but none devoted entirely to hunting and fishing.⁴¹ American sporting magazines were available, but their focus, of course, was not on B.C. Within a few years, however, Western Fish and Game was forced to broaden its scope: in 1970, its title was changed to Western Fish and Game and Outdoor Recreation; in 1971 it was changed to Western Fish and Wildlife; and in 1975 it was changed to Western Angling and the Environment.

British conceptions of sport hunting and angling come through in the Canadian journals in references to "sportsmanship" and the sportsman's responsibilities regarding conservation, but one thing that is absent is the idea that hunting should be for wealthy gentlemen only. Throughout the magazines, the hunters and anglers portrayed seem no more than ordinary people. The English idea that hunting should be for sport only, and that the animals one hunted should not be eaten, is also absent; in fact some of the magazines published recipes and instructions on how to prepare meat after a hunt.

These province-wide publications had much more entertainment value that

political value, and would seem to indicate that the Canadian hunters and anglers were less politically organized than their American counterparts. The local rod and gun clubs, however, had regular meetings and often published newsletters, which had more to do with local issues, and with what the club members were actually doing and planning. There is no literature available that gives specific information regarding the impact of hunters and anglers on the early Canadian conservation movement and on wildlife legislation. There are some references to the impact of hunters and anglers on wildlife conservation in B.C., somewhat later than those referring to eastern Canada. In 1946, W.F. Pochin, in his Angling and Hunting Guide of B.C., Canada, stated: "The sportsmen, through their insistence for proper and sane laws and regulations, are responsible for the supply of game and fish that is now available."⁴² In 1973, an article in Northwest Sportsman (written by a member of the Game and Inland Fish Commission) asserted that the only people ever to have done much for wildlife conservation in B.C. were the hunters and anglers, and that almost all of the money used for wildlife protection was furnished by them.⁴³

By the early twentieth century, wildlife conservation was seen as a necessity in Canada, as in the rest of the British empire and the United States. The type of wildlife conservation that was promoted was based on a distinction between 'game' and 'non-game' animals. 'Game' animals were valued, and to protect them, an "incessant campaign against predatory animals and birds. . ."⁴⁴ was carried out. This distinction between "game" and "non-game" indicates that hunters, or at least the popularity and economic value of hunting, influenced early wildlife management in Canada.

In B.C., the first legislation regarding wildlife was in 1870, but it was not until

1905 that the first game administration was established in the Department of Lands and Works, and the first hunting licenses were issued. In 1908, funds were set aside for wildlife management in B.C. for the first time. In 1911, the "Game Act" was consolidated. After this, there were various game conservation branches and fisheries branches, and for some time game management was the responsibility of the provincial police.

Janet Foster indicates that in some cases, hunters and anglers were a hindrance to wildlife conservation. In 1916, all of the provinces except B.C. and Nova Scotia agreed to a treaty with the U.S. to protect migratory birds. In B.C., the hunters would not give up their long spring hunting season, and they wanted to be allowed to continue to kill birds that were "injurious to agriculture".⁴⁵ B.C. hunters also objected to the proposed five-year closed season on the wood duck, and ten-year closed season on swans, cranes, and curlews.⁴⁶ Eventually, after much fuss, a special clause was added to the treaty, to exempt B.C. from these and other rules, and in 1916, the Treaty for the International Protection of Migratory Birds was passed.⁴⁷

In 1934, a Game Commission of three members was established, and it was this Commission that really made an effort to allow hunters and anglers to play an active role in policy-making. The rod and gun clubs around the province frequently submitted suggestions to the Game Commission, and the commissioners attended their major meetings and conventions.⁴⁸ Where local problems were concerned, these methods worked, but eventually, a more comprehensive system was needed. In 1947, the rod and gun clubs of B.C. were invited to attend the first of a series of annual game conventions. In the opening address at the first convention, the Attorney-General, Gordon S. Wismer, K.D., encouraged

the sportsmen to voice their concerns to the Game Commission, and expressed his belief that ". . . legislation, unless it has the backing of the public opinion of the people. . . never works out."⁴⁹ Some of the sports organizations represented at the meeting were: the West (and East) Kootenay Rod and Gun Clubs Associations, the Vancouver Angling and Game Association, the Lower Mainland Gun Association, the B.C. Game Development Association, and the Kelowna, Prince Rupert, and Trail Rod and Gun Clubs. Also present were government officials and commissioners, game wardens, biologists, and zoologists. The representatives at the convention gave presentations, discussed issues in wildlife management, and voted on resolutions. The convention lasted several days, and was followed by nine similar ones - one each year until 1957. The conventions ended when the Game Commission was replaced by the Fish and Game Branch of the Department of Recreation and Conservation.

In 1955, a special report was published by the B.C. Game Commission, entitled The Distribution and Economics of the B.C. Sport Fishery.⁵⁰ The foreword to the report, written by Roderick Haig-Brown, stresses the importance of the sport fishery to the economy of B.C., claiming that approximately \$20 million had been spent by sport anglers in B.C. in 1954, excluding special equipment such as cameras, and underrating the salt water fishery. Haig-Brown urged anglers to use their economic advantage to influence provincial conservation policies. He also discussed the increasing popularity of outdoor recreation, which was partly due to an increase in population, but also due to urbanization.⁵¹ He showed that angler's license sales had nearly trebled since 1945,⁵² and argued that the sport fishery should be recognized as a basic resource in B.C., and be a major factor in fishery

management plans.⁵³

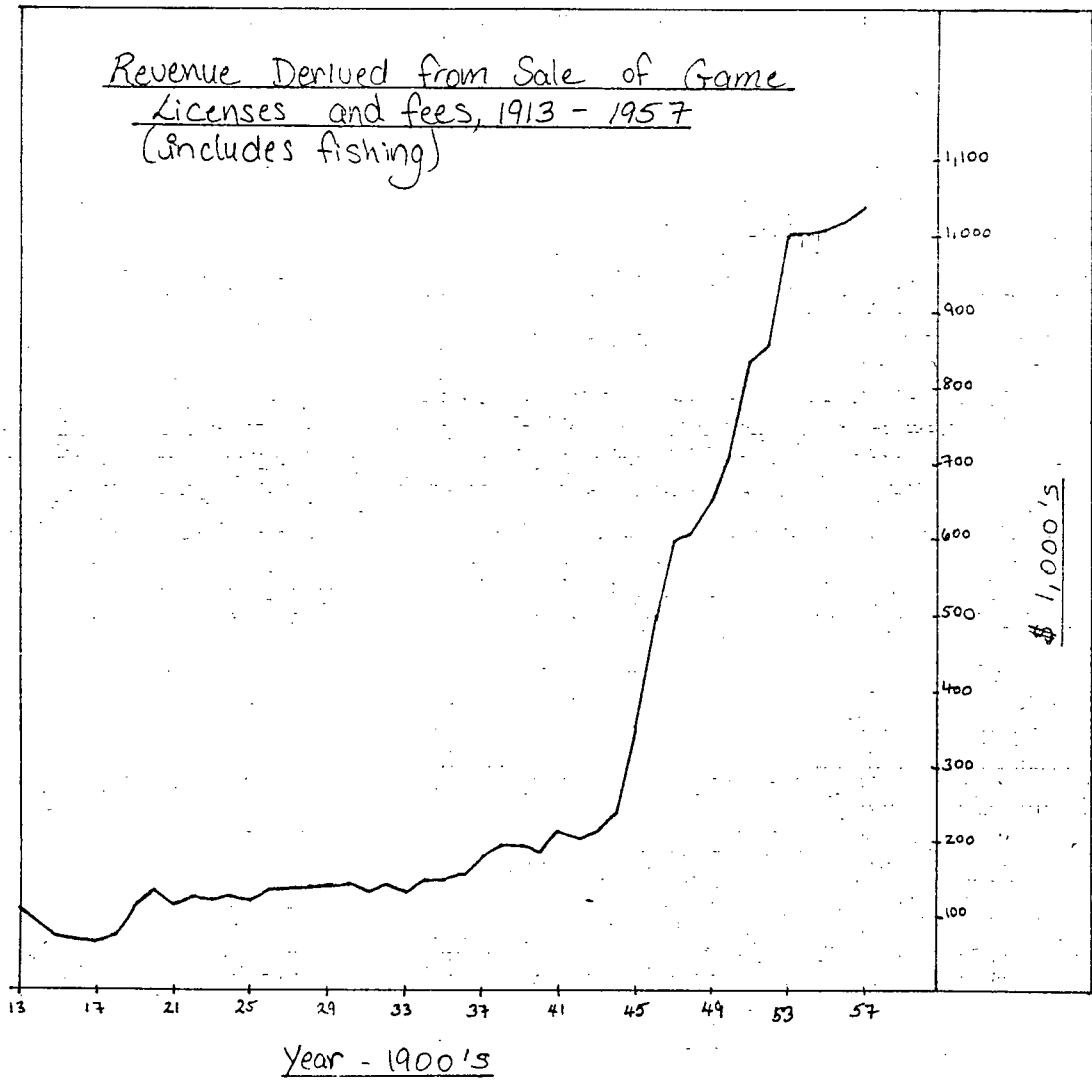
The popularity of hunting and fishing seems to have reached its peak in B.C. somewhat later than in the United States. The statistics in the Provincial Game Commission Annual Reports verify this. The revenue derived from the sale of game licenses and fees increased steadily from 1913 to 1957, except for slight decreases during the first and second world wars, and in the early 1930's (see fig. 5). After 1946, it increased much more quickly than ever before. In 1951, the revenue derived from game licenses and fees amounted to \$830,178.59. By 1953, it was over \$1 million, and by 1970, it was over \$2 million. It was not only the cost of the licenses that increased, but also the number of licenses sold. Throughout the 1950's, the number of both angling and firearms licenses sold increased steadily (see figs. 6 & 7). The trend continued throughout the 1960's (see figs. 8 & 9). The number of hunting and fishing licenses sold did not decrease until 1974, when the fees were increased drastically, but the revenue derived from them still amounted to over \$5 million. Throughout the 1950's and 1960's, then, hunting and fishing were increasing in popularity, and generating a lot of income for the province. Licenses were sold not only to British Columbians, but also to tourists, mainly from the United States.

Clearly the hunters and anglers of B.C. were a significant political and economic force that the government had to deal with. There was a rod and gun club in nearly every community, and young people were encouraged to carry on the tradition. It was felt that teaching young people "sportsmanship" would help keep them out of trouble, and would help forge closer relationships between fathers and sons.⁵⁴ In his opening address at the first Game Convention in 1947, Attorney-General Gordon S. Wismer, K.C., head of the

Game Department, said:

I feel that if you can get the boys and girls of this Province out into the hunting fields and by the lakes and streams, you are going to make good citizens of them,. . ."⁵⁵

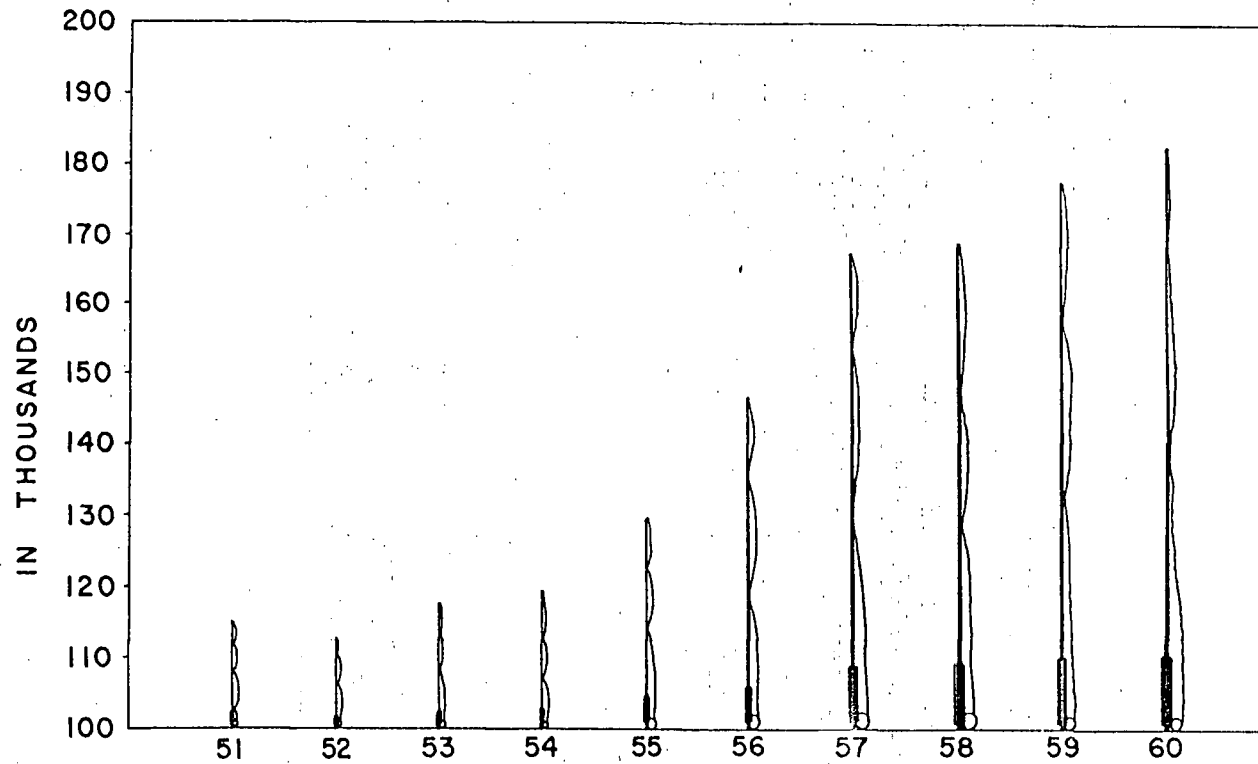
It was also felt, by many people, that wilderness, or at least some contact with wilderness, was necessary to a healthy civilization, and particularly important to people who lived urban areas.



Source: B.C. Game Commission. Annual Reports, 1951 - 1957.

Figure 5

ANGLING LICENCE SALES 1951 to 1960

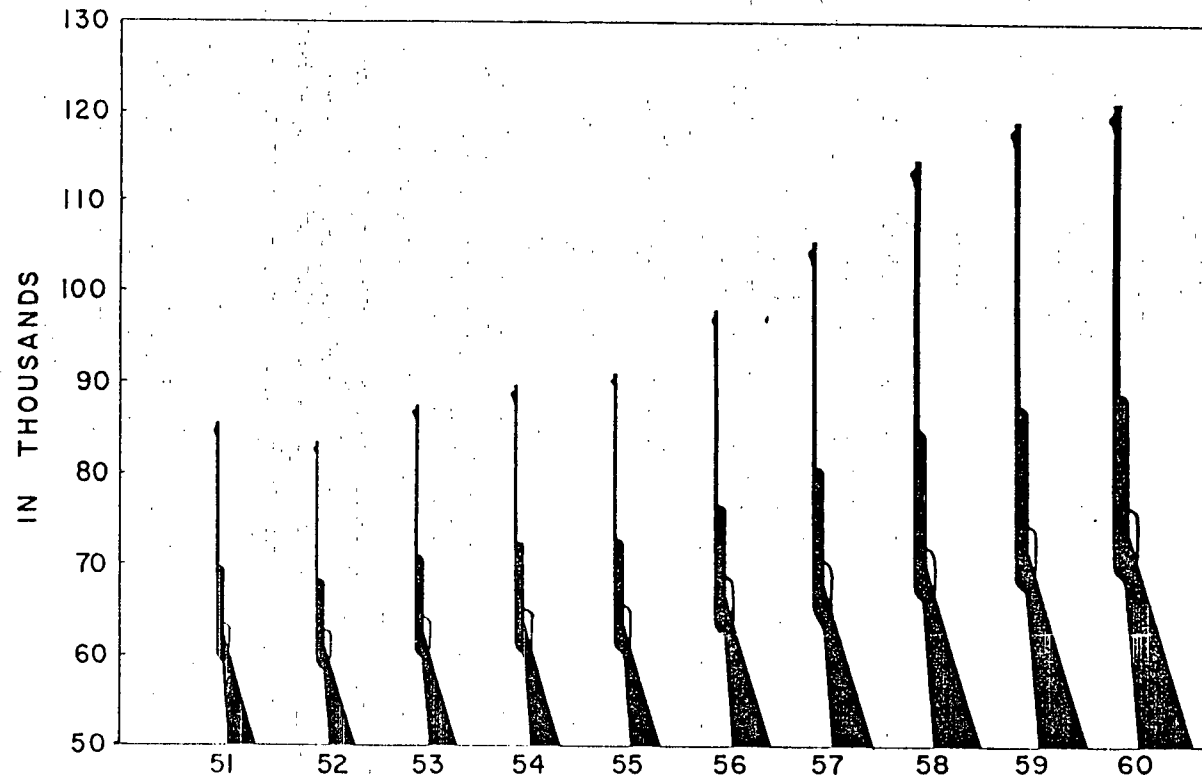


Source: Fish & Game Branch, Department of Recreation & Conservation,
Annual Report, 1960, p. 025.

Figure 6

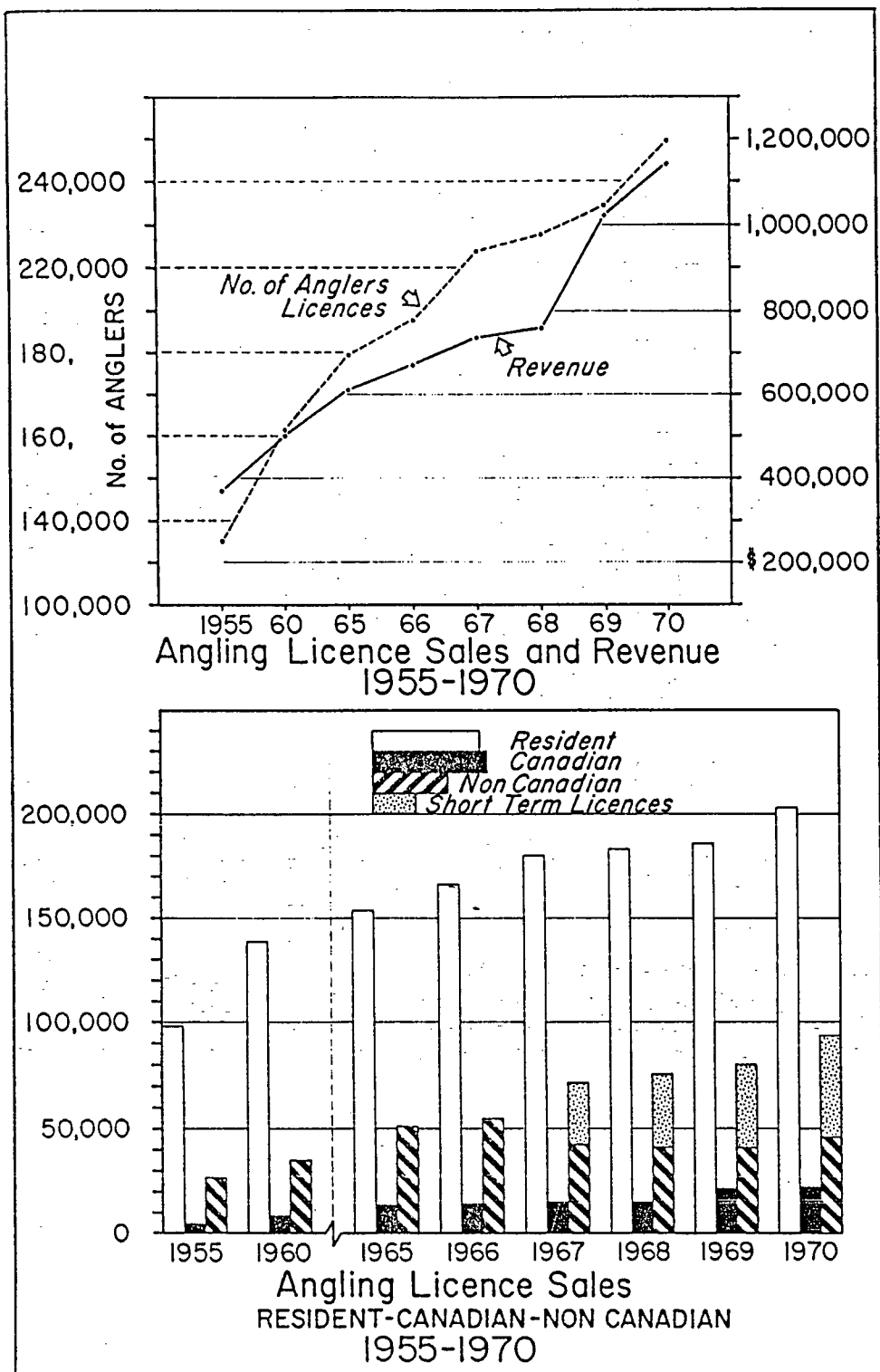
FIREARMS LICENCE SALES

1951 to 1960



Source: Fish & Game Branch, Department of Recreation & Conservation,
Annual Report, 1960, p. 026.

Figure 7



Source: Fish & Game Branch, Department of Recreation & Conservation, Annual Report, 1970, p. CC27.

Figure 8

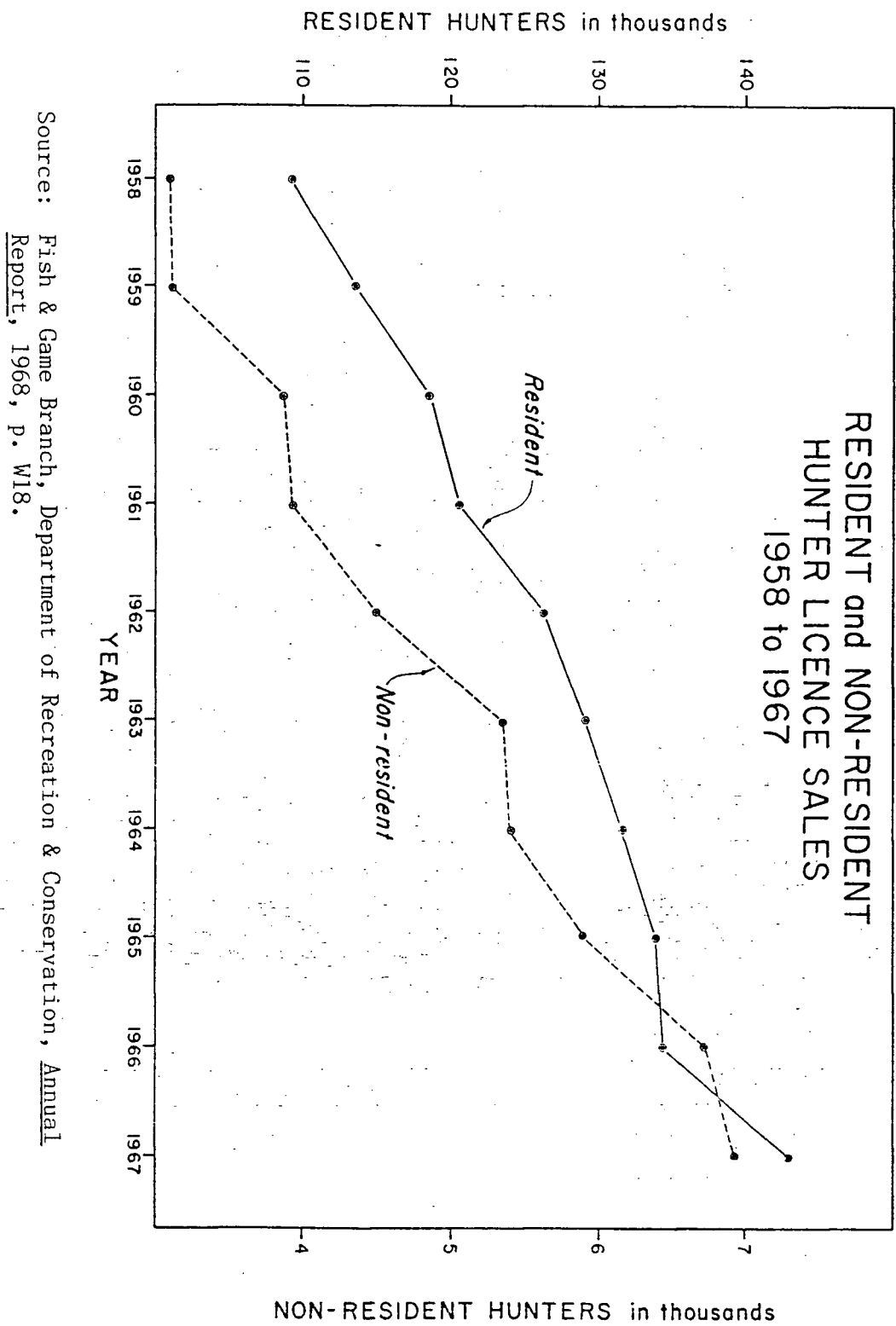


Figure 9

Roderick Haig-Brown, and Conservation in B.C.

In B.C., there was one sportsman who became very well-known for his contribution to conservation in the province, partly through political activism, but mostly through his writing. Roderick Haig-Brown was an Englishman who became a writer and conservationist in British Columbia. Besides being involved in many conservationist organizations and commissions, he was well known for his books about fishing and for his children's books. His concern for the place of human beings in nature is central in his writings, as is his view that people have a moral obligation to protect their environment from abuse. He also stressed the importance of community efforts towards conservation. Haig-Brown was neither a purely pragmatic conservationist, nor a romantic nature-lover, but an English gentleman/sportsman who was taught to believe in the good of civilization and economic development, but who also had a very personal relationship with nature. Haig-Brown spent much of his life trying to resolve the conflict between logic and emotion that plagued him - he felt he should be loyal to progress and civilization, but he also wanted to preserve the wilderness that he loved.

Roderick Haig-Brown arrived in British Columbia in 1928. As an Englishman in B.C., he probably did not feel much out of place. At the time, approximately thirty percent of British Columbians were British-born. The largest influx of British migrants took place before the first world war - between 1901 and 1914, the number of British immigrants in B.C. increased from 31,392 to approximately 150,000.⁵⁶ This was mostly a working-class migration, but there were also many middle or 'better' class migrants. Many of them left B.C. during World War I, but in 1928, B.C. society was still primarily British.⁵⁷

Haig-Brown grew up in England during a time when ideas about conservation were gradually becoming widespread, but hunting and outdoor sports were still an important part of British male culture. Outdoor sport was a big part of Haig-Brown's up-bringing. He was born into a fairly wealthy family in Sussex, England, in 1908. His father, a school-teacher and writer, died when he was ten years old, so he grew up on his grandfather's 3,000-acre estate. Here he learned about fly fishing, the cultivation of crops, the keeping of livestock, and the management of woodlands and game. He spent a lot of time with his uncles, one of whom, in particular, had a significant influence on him. This uncle, Major Greenhill, took upon himself the responsibility of his nephew's sporting education, which emphasized fishing and hunting. From his uncle, Haig-Brown learned how to observe nature closely, and to understand the behaviour of the animals, birds, rivers, and fields. Major Greenhill taught him the "discipline of the sportsman's ethic", and provided him with a moral framework that included "self-respect, respect for others, good and decent conduct in private and public affairs; and . . . an integrated sense of self."⁵⁸ This moral framework, central to the idea of the "civilized" English gentleman, was taken very seriously by the young Haig-Brown, and influenced him throughout his life.

He was interested in writing and in wildlife conservation at a very young age. This was partly because his father had written many articles about hunting and fishing for sporting magazines, and partly because of his own experiences in the English countryside. When he was sixteen years old, Roderick wrote an article lamenting the pollution of fishing streams in England, which was published in a magazine.

Haig-Brown came to North America from England in 1927, at the age of

eighteen. His opportunities for making a living in England were limited - there was no fortune for him to inherit, and his mother could no longer afford to support him. He was interested in writing, but his family did not take this very seriously. His expulsion from public school as a teenager and his intense dislike for rules and regulations prevented him from attending a university respectable enough for a young man of his background (Oxford or Cambridge). His mother wanted him to join the army, but at eighteen, he was still too young to write the entrance exams. Luckily, he had an uncle in Washington state who agreed to help him find a job there. Roderick was to go to America for a couple of years and return to England when he was old enough to write the army entrance exams.

He worked in a logging camp near Mount Vernon, Washington for several months, but soon had trouble getting his visa extended. The company he worked for also operated in Canada, however, so he came to British Columbia and worked at Nimpkish Lake on Vancouver Island. He remained on Vancouver Island for the next two years or so, first working as a surveyor for the logging company. His job required that he spend a lot of time alone in the bush, and this early contact with wilderness affected him profoundly. In letters to his mother he expressed the feeling that being close to nature was like being close to God.⁵⁹ He remained interested in a career as a writer, and in 1928, quit working for the logging company so that he could spend more time writing. He moved into a cabin on a friend's farm and took up fishing, trapping, and beachcombing to make a living. He tried to get his articles published in English journals, but was largely unsuccessful.

In 1930, Haig-Brown returned to England for a year, and rather than writing the army entrance exams, he talked his family into giving him an allowance so that he could

live in London and become a writer. During his year in London, he wrote several short stories and published his first book, Silver: The Life Story of an Atlantic Salmon. After a year in London, Haig-Brown longed to return to Canada. In a later essay, he described his feelings: "I think I knew then that I was Canadian, that I might go elsewhere but my heart would settle for nowhere else."⁶⁰ It seems that his dislike for authority, as well as his love of nature, attracted him to British Columbia. He returned to Vancouver Island in 1931, got married a few years later, and bought a house and small farm in Campbell River. He remained in this house, called "Above Tide", until his death in 1976.

Roderick Haig-Brown had an extremely varied career. He served as an appointed magistrate and judge in Campbell River from 1941 to 1975, was a personnel officer for the Canadian Army during World War II, and was even Chancellor of the University of Victoria for some time. Throughout his life, he was involved in many conservationist organizations and commissions. He still found time to write, however - between the end of World War II and his death, he wrote twenty-two books, several radio talks and historical dramas for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and many articles for sporting magazines. The dominant themes in Haig-Brown's writings were the interdependence of all creatures and the relationship of humans with their natural environment. He focused on the cultural values and traditions which shape our relationship with nature, and emphasized public rather than private life, and community rather than the individual. His books about fishing were concerned mainly with the relationship between people and nature and the obligation of hunters and anglers to protect the resources that they used - as well as with fishing techniques. Haig-Brown was much more successful at writing about nature than he was at

writing about people. He became quite well-known for his non-fiction and his books for young people, but his two most serious and ambitious novels were not very well received by the Canadian public.⁶¹ For this reason, and because he himself was never entirely satisfied with the quality of his novels, he felt he had failed in his ambition to be a novelist.

Haig-Brown's attitudes toward conservation changed gradually throughout his lifetime, and the changes are reflected in his writings. During his first few years in Canada, he clearly favoured civilization and economic development over wilderness preservation. He loved nature, but had, after all, been brought up as a "civilized" gentleman loyal to the British empire. His concern for wildlife populations was based on ideas about the efficient use of resources, not merely their preservation. He regarded nature as a resource that was meant to be used, not just preserved. Later, his attitudes changed - he eventually stopped hunting and traded his fishing rod for a camera. Nature, to him, increasingly became something that had a value in and of itself and was not only there for the use of people.

Haig-Brown was raised to be a "civilized" gentleman, and had no contact with real wilderness until he came to North America. As a young man working in logging camps he was so caught up in the romance and excitement of work in the wilderness that he failed to notice the ecological consequences of the industry he was involved in.⁶² He was not opposed to logging itself, however, and was convinced that forest land did not support much wildlife ('game'), and that logging could actually increase populations of game animals.⁶³ In an early short story about his logging days, "The Homestead",⁶⁴ he described the forest as a dark and oppressive place, that people needed to escape from. Wilderness was like a prison, and the clearing of the forest to let in space and light led to the freedom of civilization:

The ranch was part of Canada, a part of the country; from it would grow many other timber free acres, each one a symbol of progress, progress from harsh and barren emptiness to something capable of producing and supporting life.

People could not live in the wilderness - they needed some sort of civilization, at least a "homestead" on the edge of the wilderness - a place that could provide links of memory and association necessary to humans.

His next book, Pool and Rapid (1932), is also a story of the conflict between civilization and nature, and shows great uncertainty as to which was more important. It is the story of the life of the Tashish River, and begins with an Indian legend of the birth of the river. It goes on to tell of a family farming on the banks of the river. Eventually, the area is discovered by a developer who wants to dam the river and develop the surrounding area for pulp mills and other industry. The farmer, named "Redhead", is asked to sell his farm so it can be used as a construction camp. Redhead loves his farm and the river, but also believes in progress and development:

Redhead was confused and miserable. To sell his farm to Mr. Goodman would be to betray the River; to deliver her pools and rapids, her green walls, her fish and animal and bird life to destruction. To refuse to sell his farm might be to stand in the way of progress.

The developer, Mr. Goodman, portrayed as a kind, understanding man, eventually convinces Redhead to give up his farm and work for him after the dam is built. When Redhead points out to him that damming the river will destroy the salmon runs, Mr. Goodman replies:

"Yes, I'm afraid you're right That's development for you. It always kills something, always hurts somebody. But if it's real development it gives something better in place of the dead things."

"Right", answered Redhead. "And I guess that's the kind of

development your dam'll bring to this country. That's why I'm going to sell you the farm without making any more trouble."

Redhead felt a moral obligation to give in to progress, but still felt uneasy about his decision at the end of the story.

Haig-Brown justifies the outcome of the book by saying that the dam would not make such a big difference to the river:

A puny mass of masonry set by man against all the terrific might of the River herself; . . . Within a short space of her life the River would be flowing on as always before; the only difference in the whole length of her, from Tashish Lake to the sea, would be just one new rapid where she flowed over a pile of crumbled masonry.

It would be some time before Haig-Brown would realize how permanent the damage of economic development could be. There is some indication, however, that he was not entirely pleased with Pool and Rapid - after the second printing of the book in 1936, he deliberately kept it out of print.⁶⁵

Haig-Brown's view of conservation was in many ways a pragmatic, utilitarian one, based on ideas of the efficient use of natural resources. Natural "resources" were meant to be used - not just preserved:

. . . conservation is a dynamic, not a static, conception. It does not mean simply hanging on to things, like a miser to his gold. It means putting them to use, seeking a valuable return from them and at the same time ensuring future yields of at least equal value.⁶⁶

At the same time, however, he had a much deeper appreciation of nature than most people who shared this view, such as Gifford Pinchot. Haig-Brown had a very deep personal relationship with nature; conservation, for him, was almost a religion. He cannot, however, be put into the category of transcendental preservationists such as John Muir. Nature, to

Haig-Brown, was not an object for contemplation; it was an integral part of him. He wrote: "When I go fishing I want to be part of the river and all my surroundings, not a stranger thrusting in upon them."⁶⁷

His view that human beings should be part of nature rather than separate from it can be seen in Measure of the Year (1950). In some ways, Measure of the Year is similar to Thoreau's Walden Pond, but there is a critical difference. Haig-Brown, in his book, attempted to mediate between civilization and nature, rather than withdrawing from civilization as Thoreau did. In Measure of the Year, Haig-Brown described the natural world around him, and the changes that came with the seasons. After each chapter about nature, there is a chapter about people - Haig-Brown's community, his family, and people in general. He believed that the idea of community could offer a way of understanding the interdependencies in nature.⁶⁸ He stressed the importance of community and family involvement in conservation. Fighting for conservation at an individual level was not enough. Haig-Brown believed that informal organizations developed in small communities to deal with environmental problems could eventually become involved with the government, and really make changes. It is interesting to note that Measure of the Year was written before Haig-Brown's involvement in the Buttle Lake issue, during which he discovered how difficult it really was to influence government policy.

Haig-Brown's kind of conservation emphasized community and cooperation, but did not attack the essentials of the political/economic system, so it was essentially acceptable to the political, academic, and even industrial elite of B.C. With regard to the industrialists, E. Bennett Metcalfe, author of a biography on Haig-Brown states: ". . . they

might well have regarded him as the perfect icon for the troublesome new religion of ecology."⁶⁹ Haig-Brown was commissioned by the government to write several books,⁷⁰ and was acquainted with the elite of U.B.C. and with certain industrialists such as Prentice Bloedel. He clearly believed that he could influence these men of money and power more effectively from within their social circle than from without.

During the late 1940's, Haig-Brown began fishing in Strathcona Park with a group of academics from U.B.C. They made regular trips to Upper Campbell Lake, where they stayed at Strathcona Lodge. The group included N.A.M. Mackenzie, the president of the University, Neal Harlow, the librarian there, and several other professors and Deans. On a fishing trip in 1953, after discovering that they had caught more fish than was allowed them by law, they formed the "Harry Hawthorn Foundation for the Inculcation and Propagation of the Principles and Ethics of Fly-Fishing". The foundation was meant to enforce the laws, principles, and ethics of fishing, and to collect money for books related to the history of fly-fishing, to be donated to U.B.C.'s library. It was named in honour of Harry Hawthorn, a New Zealander who was head of the Anthropology/Sociology department at the time. Its members met annually, first at Upper Campbell Lake, and later, after the lake was dammed, at other lakes in the interior of B.C. Eventually its membership expanded to include some politicians (Leon Ladner, an M.P., and future Lieutenant Governor of B.C.), businessmen (yes, indeed, they were men), and lawyers.

Although the members of the Harry Hawthorn Foundation were not all from England, they had very traditional British ideas regarding the sport of fly fishing and the ethics involved. They referred to themselves as "Waltonians",⁷¹ in reference to Izaak Walton,

author of The Compleat Angler, or The Contemplative Man's Recreation, first published in England in 1653. In this book, Walton discusses the history and practice of angling, and is very explicit in his descriptions of the character of anglers, and how they practice their "art". He frequently refers to characters in the bible who fished, describing them as "prudent, and pious, and peaceable men."⁷² Angling was not simply a sport, but a ". . . laudable and ancient Art;. . . worthy the knowledge and practice of a wise man."⁷³ It was a virtuous pastime for virtuous gentlemen. It was more the idea of being close to nature than actually catching fish that was important. Nature, and in particular running water, was soothing and calming, and provided a perfect setting for quiet contemplation. Walton's ethics of fishing included a respect for nature and a deep appreciation of its beauties. In his book are also ideas about conservation and the dangers of interfering with natural processes: ". . . the taking of fish in spawning-time may be said to be against nature."⁷⁴ To go against the laws of nature was clearly immoral. Walton's book directly influenced Haig-Brown's ideas about fishing - he often referred to Walton in his writing.⁷⁵

The members of the Harry Hawthorn Foundation fit in well with Walton's concept of the ideal fisherman. They were all well-educated gentlemen, who fished for relaxation and recreation, and appreciated the time their fishing trips gave them, for discussion and contemplation. They became close friends, part of a team or club, much like the angler in Walton's book who refers to himself as a "Brother of the Angle", and declares that all anglers love one another. The Harry Hawthorn Foundation was run with a certain formality, and the members frequently used Walton's formal, old-fashioned style of English in their correspondence with each other, often referring to each other as "piscators", and

using the word as a title in front of each other's names.⁷⁶ Quotations from The Compleat Angler can be found throughout their correspondence and in the minutes of their annual meetings.⁷⁷ They even wrote poetry similar to that found in Walton's book.⁷⁸ In the mid-1960's, the foundation officially expanded its aims and objectives "to assist in the conservation of wild life, including fish, and of parks and wilderness areas."⁷⁹

CONSERVATION AND PROGRESS

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keep what progressiveness has accomplished"*

—ROBERT FULTON

In developing progressive woodlands operations, Abitibi is adding to the wealth of our nation and establishing conditions that conserve Canada's valuable natural resources of forest and wildlife.



ABITIBI POWER & PAPER COMPANY, LIMITED

Executive Offices: Toronto, Canada

Source: Forest & Outdoors/Rod & Gun Magazine, Feb., 1960, p.3.

Figure 10



BIG GAME IN CANADA

The Finest Hunting
Grounds in America

ARE CONVENIENTLY REACHED VIA

CANADIAN PACIFIC

Open Seasons, 1919

BRITISH COLUMBIA

MOUNTAIN SHEEP	Sept. 1 to Nov. 15
MOUNTAIN GOAT	Sept. 1 to Dec. 15
MOOSE	Sept. 1 to Dec. 15
CARIBOU	Sept. 1 to Dec. 15
DEER	Sept. 14 to Dec. 15
BEAR	Oct. 1 to June 30, 1920

FUR-BEARING ANIMALS (Except Foxes)

North of Main Line C.P.R. and in Electoral District of Columbia
..... Nov. 1 to April 30, 1920

South of Main Line C.P.R., including Vancouver Island and adjacent islands Nov. 1 to Mar. 31, 1920

FOXES

Nov. 1 to March 15, 1920


Copy of Game Act giving all particulars may be obtained from the Conservation Board, Victoria, B.C. Full information regarding transportation, outfitting and guides furnished on request.

General Passenger Department
VANCOUVER, B. C.



Source: Williams, A. Bryan. Rod and Creel in British Columbia, Vancouver: Progress Publishing Co. Ltd., 1919.

The Handiest Streams are on the B. C. Electric



It is only an hour and a half's ride from Vancouver to the

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VEDDER RIVER

For a week-end of sport go to the Vedder. Take train to Sardis. Stage to Vedder Crossing Inn arranged by our agents. Three trains daily.

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Phone or write for latest fishing reports, schedules, fares, etc.

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Signs of Protest

Although the organized hunters and anglers of B.C. frequently worked with the government (at least, with the Game Commission), their wishes were sometimes directly opposed to those of the government. The three major controversies that they were involved in during the mid - late 1940's and early 1950's involved lakes - Duck Lake, Lower Campbell Lake, and Buttle Lake. In each of these controversies, the sports organizations proved to be powerful as a group, and were led to believe that decisions were being made in their favour. In each case, however, the government misled them, making false compromises, and in the end, went ahead as originally planned.

When the government decided to "reclaim" (drain and use for agriculture) the marshlands around Duck Lake in the south Kootenays, the sportsmen opposed it, wanting to use the area as a waterfowl refuge and public hunting ground. They attended hearings of the International Joint Commission on Waterways, and it was decided that only one third of the area would be reclaimed. The sport hunters were led to believe that the two thirds of land withheld from reclamation (8,000 acres) would be used for their refuge and hunting ground. When the B.C. Game Commission applied to the Department of Lands for permission to develop the area, ". . . they were met by most effective delaying tactics."⁸⁰ Three years later, in 1949, they had still not been granted permission to proceed with development.

The next major controversy involving the rod and gun clubs began in 1948, when the B.C. Power Commission decided to dam Lower Campbell Lake, just outside of Strathcona Park. Local residents lobbied to make sure that the recreational qualities of the lake for fishing and tourism would be maintained. They wanted the shoreline of the lake to

be cleared before the water level was raised, to preserve fish spawning areas, small boat accessibility, and "scenic" appeal. Haig-Brown and his fishing friend, William Reid, an influential millionaire, were also involved in this action. Reid had a cabin on the shore of Buttle Lake, and was chairman of Ducks Unlimited, a wildlife preservation organization founded by sport hunters during the 1930's. Ducks Unlimited had not yet been established in B.C., but it was through Reid that the B.C. Natural Resources Conservation League (BCNRCL) became involved in the dispute.

The B.C. Power Commission agreed to clear the lakeshore before building the dam, but invested little money and effort in the process. Many lakeshore properties were damaged, and parts of the lake were jammed with logs.

The Buttle Lake debate of the early 1950's was the issue that received the most public support and attention.⁸¹ Roderick Haig-Brown was the main spokesman for the organized hunters and anglers of B.C., and led the way in the protest.

Haig-Brown's involvement with the protection of Strathcona Park began in 1942, when he discovered that the British American Timber Company and the Baikie Logging Company planned to log the eastern shores of Buttle Lake. They had received timber licenses before the creation of the park. Haig-Brown, through his contacts with the B.C. Forest Branch of the Department of Lands and Forests, and the local Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce, was able to put enough bureaucratic pressure on the logging companies to force them to give up their timber licenses in exchange for new ones outside the park. William Reid and the BCNRCL were also involved.

After this close call, Haig-Brown was worried about the future of Strathcona

Park. He attempted to get the main trail to the park re-opened (it had been damaged by a logging road), hoping that if the park was used by more people, it would be better protected from similar development plans. The provincial government refused to take responsibility for the development of the park, however, because, having been created under its own act, it was not part of the provincial parks system. The federal government was not interested in making it a national park either. The Parks Division of the B.C. Forest Branch, however, under the direction of E.G. Oldham, began planning to develop the tourist potential of the park, hoping that it could eventually be incorporated into the provincial parks system.

When plans to dam Buttle Lake were announced in 1950, the organizations involved in the campaign to save Lower Campbell Lake immediately came together to oppose it. Haig-Brown wrote to the Minister of Lands, E.T. Kenney, suggesting an alternative dam site at the foot of Upper Campbell Lake. The damming of this lake would not cause nearly as much environmental damage as the damming of Buttle Lake would, because the area around it had already been clear cut. Damming Upper Campbell Lake would also leave Strathcona Park untouched. Haig-Brown was assured that there would be a public hearing on the issue before any plans were put into effect.

The BCNRCL then organized a publicity campaign to stimulate protest against the damming of Buttle Lake, with Reid providing the bulk of the funding, and Haig-Brown as the main spokesperson. Haig-Brown and Reid managed to gain the support of B.C.'s major newspapers - the Victoria Daily Times, the Vancouver Province, (the editor of the Province was a personal friend of Reid's, and a member of Ducks Unlimited), and the Vancouver Sun. All three newspapers published articles and editorials that supported the

position of the BCNRCL, and attacked the positions of the Power Commission and the provincial government. Haig-Brown spoke to many community groups on Vancouver Island, explaining that a dam at Buttle Lake would drown large woodland areas, and would ruin spawning grounds for salmon and wintering areas for wildlife. The dam would destroy "the heart of the last untouched forest wilderness"⁸² on the island, and would ruin the potential for Strathcona Park to become a major tourist attraction. Haig-Brown won the support of many communities, and by the time the hearings began, he and the other conservationists were quite confident. Two months before the hearings began, Haig-Brown wrote: ". . . everything that comes up seems to make our arguments stronger and more complete." ⁸³

Haig-Brown made the first submission at the hearings, representing the Affiliated Fish and Game Associations of Vancouver Island. He argued that the damming of Buttle Lake would ruin both the ecological balance and tourist appeal of Strathcona Park. The flooding of the lake would produce ". . . ugly and depressing shoreline conditions."⁸⁴ Fish spawning areas would be destroyed, along with wintering areas for blacktail deer and trumpeter swans.

The conservationists brought forth other expert witnesses at the hearings - biologists who confirmed the excessive damage that a dam would cause to trout spawning grounds, and to the habitat of grouse, elk, and other species. E.G. Oldham, Parks Division chief, drew attention to the risk of fire that the removal of lakeshore timber would cause, and described the Parks Division's plan for the recreational development of the area.

Other organizations, including the Sportsman's Council, the Campbell River Chamber of Commerce, and the Vancouver Island Auto Courts and Resorts Association,

appeared at the hearings, in support of limited recreational rather than hydro-electric development in the park. They also urged the B.C. Power Commission to consider damming Upper Campbell Lake instead of Buttle, as Haig-Brown had suggested earlier.

The B.C. Power Commission had not yet conducted thorough surveys of Buttle or of Upper Campbell Lake, but still insisted that damming Upper Campbell would cost more than damming Buttle. Upper Campbell Lake, they said, was broader than Buttle, had less storage capacity, and because the land around it was privately owned, would require high compensation costs.

In response to this, the protestors turned to the economic value of the park as the basis for their argument, estimating it at about \$100 million (based on revenue earned by U.S. parks). They also suggested that an increase of a few cents a month to the power bill of the B.C. Power Commission's subscribers would cover the extra cost of damming Upper Campbell. The Power Commission, however, was concerned mainly with supplying cheap power to the pulp mills on Vancouver Island, so this proposition was not taken very seriously.

The economic arguments of the protestors were made in response to similar arguments of the Power Commission, but the emotional and moral side of their involvement remained central throughout the debate. It was a matter of human values against short term material gain. The damming of Buttle Lake, according to Haig-Brown, would mean ". . . a grotesque loss to the province and to the island,. . . not merely in dollars and cents, but in values that. . . all the ingenuity of man can never replace."⁸⁵ Haig-Brown suggested that the B.C. Power Commission could not comprehend the scientific, educational, and inspirational

values of wilderness, the appreciation of which were "a part of being civilized".⁸⁶

When the hearings were over, the conservationists were sure that a decision would be made in their favour. Not only did they have the support of the majority of British Columbians, but the weight of the evidence presented at the hearings was also in their favour.

When the B.C. Power Commission was granted a license to dam Buttle Lake, they were outraged. Haig-Brown stated: "This is the biggest defeat conservation. . . has taken and the biggest mistake in the history of B.C."⁸⁷

There were, however, certain conditions attached to this license that were meant to minimize damage to the park. Trees would have to be cleared from the areas that would be flooded, as well as any other debris, a public road to the park would have to be built, as well as campsites and other recreational facilities, and the lake would have to be stocked with fish.

Still, the protestors did not give up. They appealed to the Minister of Lands and Forests to form a committee to re-examine the issue. Premier Johnson promised a discussion of the problem, but was replaced by W.A.C. Bennett before anything was done. Bennett was in need of public support, so in 1952, Buttle Lake was again put under review. The damming of the lake was approved once again. Apparently Bennett had decided that he needed the support of the business community more than that of the general public. There was still very little progress in the actual construction of the dam.

In 1954, a new group of commissioners was appointed to the B.C. Power Commission, and it was decided that the Buttle situation would be reviewed again. In 1955, Bennett announced that Upper Campbell Lake would be dammed instead of Buttle. This

sounded like a great compromise until it was discovered that the water level of Buttle Lake would also be raised by fifteen feet. By raising the level of both lakes, thereby creating one very long, single lake, the B.C. Power Commission would be able to generate much more power than it would have had it just dammed Buttle. Requests for public hearings regarding this new proposition were rejected.

In 1955, the Strathcona Park Act was amended by the Provincial cabinet to authorize the raising of the water level of Buttle Lake. Soon after the 1,500 acres of forest around the lake were cleared, there were several fires in the area, as had been predicted at the hearings. The lakes were then flooded, and , Haig-Brown wrote: "[a] superlative natural asset, developed through 10,000 years, was reduced to something of quite ordinary dimensions within a year or two."⁸⁸

Although the protestors had the bulk of public support, the government was able to successfully diffuse the controversy and defeat the conservationists by letting the issue continue on unresolved for as long as possible, and then making what appeared to be a compromise. Buttle Lake was ruined, and Haig-Brown disillusioned. This was the first and last time he ever became involved in a conservation issue to such an extent. In doing so, he had disappointed some of his friends, who relied on the industrialists of the province for their livelihoods, and who supported his ideas of conservation only as long as they did not cause any real disruptions. During the debate, Haig-Brown was awarded an honorary degree in literature from U.B.C. It was rumoured that he was given it at this time so that he would be distracted from the Buttle debate, and hopefully, give up on it.⁸⁹ He stuck with Buttle until the very end, but, when it was over, decided that he was a writer, not a politician. He

continued to work for various conservation organizations and commissions, but his failure to save Buttle Lake had undermined his confidence in his ability to change things.

His involvement in the Buttle Lake controversy would not likely have been as intense, had it not been so close to his home. Throughout it, he never questioned the need for economic development and hydro-electric power - he just suggested that the dam he built elsewhere. Although he never really challenged the foundations of resource development in B.C., he did express a bitter distaste for what was going on. In 1965, he said:

Perhaps I should admit I hate practically everything British Columbia stands for today - the shoddy, uncaring development of natural resources, the . . . mentality that favours short-term material gain over all other considerations, the utter contempt for human values of every kind.⁹⁰

In the same year, he saw Strathcona Park downgraded from a totally protected, class "A" park (it was brought under the Provincial Parks Act in the late 1950's), into various class "B" and "conservancy" areas, allowing a lead and zinc mine to be built at the south end of Buttle Lake. A townsite was built there, and tailings from the site were dumped into the lake.

It was his upbringing as an English "gentleman", and his quiet nature that prevented Haig-Brown from becoming part of the new environmental movement during the 1960's and 1970's. When he heard of environmental protests, he was appalled, and defended "law and order" and "good manners".⁹¹ He considered environmentalists "insolent".⁹² Although he spent most of this life in Canada, he retained his English class-consciousness - he would not allow his son to play an instrument in the high-school band, for example, because "People like the Haig-Browns don't do that sort of thing."⁹³ He even remained loyal to the school from which he had been expelled in England - in 1972, he went there for a centennial celebration, along with other "gentleman rovers abroad".⁹⁴ His role as a

gentleman, first and foremost, allowed him to criticize resource development in B.C. to some extent, but did not allow him to challenge its foundations. He remained well-respected by all sides - the public, the government, and the corporations.

Haig-Brown's influence as a writer, however, must not be underestimated. Anyone who reads his books must develop a deeper appreciation of nature as a result, and perhaps realize that they, too, are responsible for the protection of their environment. Haig-Brown's involvement in conservation issues, even if it did not have the immediate effects he desired, at least brought many problems to the attention of the public. He was never able to make as many changes as he wanted to, but he was instrumental in changing people's attitudes, which is always the first step in changing their behaviour.

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CHAPTER 5

The Environmental Movement

Sometime during the 1960's and 70's, the conservation movement gave way to a very different environmental movement. North Americans became increasingly aware of environmental degradation, and concern for the environment, which had previously been limited to the realm of experts in government and industry, moved into the public sphere.

Samuel P. Hays, historian of the conservation and environmental movements, describes the transition from older ideas about conservation, which were based on economic concerns and the opinions of experts, to ideas about "environment", which demand consideration of amenities, health, and ecology, as well as public participation. These ideas developed gradually after the second world war, and were related to massive social and economic changes taking place throughout North America. The changes involved a rising standard of living and a huge increase in leisure time, which led to a demand for qualitative experiences in addition to material goods. People were no longer satisfied with commodities, but wanted amenities to enhance the quality of their lives. A desire for better health and well-being also led to a concern for environmental quality, particularly air and water quality in urban areas. Rising expectations of health and well-being were accompanied by an increased interest in preventive health care.

Hays stresses the differences between the conservation movement and the environmental movement. The environmental movement, he claims, did not grow out of the earlier conservation movement, but has very different roots. While the conservation movement was part of the history of production, the goal of which was efficiency, Hays

describes the environmental movement as being part of the history of consumption, the goal of which is to raise the standard of living.¹

Another important factor in the transition to a new environmental movement was the rise of ecology, which moved beyond the realm of professional biologists to become very popular in the 1960's and 70's, and much more broadly defined. Rachel Carson, in particular, helped bring ecology into the public realm. Her book, Silent Spring, published in 1962, helped spread knowledge of natural processes and the threat of toxic chemicals in the food chain. It made people aware of the interconnections of natural processes and cycles, and led to the realization that environmental problems did not always have technological solutions. The problems were much more complex than people had ever realized before, and required basic changes in society. This led to a need ". . . to challenge the very foundations of industrial society" ²

The Environmental Movement and the Counter Culture

Although Samuel Hays acknowledges the search for alternative life-styles in the 1970's, and recognized that they emphasized a simpler life with fewer material possessions, he denies that these developments had any links with the counter culture. In his opinion, the counter culture was simply a negative reaction to the problems of society, that "emphasized personal expression in dress and speech, the use of drugs, and unconventional sexual behavior, . . . ".³ Such behaviour, in his opinion, had nothing to do with the rise of ecology and the environmental movement. Yet others have argued that the counter culture challenged the very foundations of North American industrial society, and in doing so, also

challenged the dominance of that society over nature.

According to Theodore Roszak, in The Making of a Counter Culture, the counter culture was a direct attack on the technocracy, which he defines as: "that social form in which an industrial society reaches the peak of its organizational integration."⁴ This integration involves the dominance of technology over human life, but more importantly, it reduces all aspects of human life to the "technical". When things become technical, they become the subject of professional attention. According to Roszak, even the most personal aspects of people's lives have become the realm of experts, because it is only they who have access to "real", objective knowledge. In sum, mid-20th century America had become a place

in which those who govern justify themselves by appeal to technical experts who, in turn, justify themselves by appeal to scientific forms of knowledge.

Further, Roszak insisted, "beyond the authority of science, there [was] no appeal."⁵ The counter culture, according to Roszak, was a reaction by the alienated young people of North America against the technocracy. It was a search for identity, a demand for the right to be a person rather than just part of a larger system - part of a machine, to be controlled by experts.

In Charles A. Reich's highly influential account of the counter culture, The Greening of America, the broad outlines of Roszak's "technocracy" are described as the "Corporate State". The "Corporate State" is an autonomous system, superimposed on the country, and runs just like a large corporation. People simply play roles that they are trained to play; there is no room for individuality. People become alienated, largely due to the unwise use of technology, and the imposition of "The System" upon them; they become lonely, and life loses all meaning. The counter culture, as Reich saw it, was a revolt of

young people against the whole system, and a demand for more control over their own lives. People were being controlled by technology, rather than controlling it, and it was becoming a substitute for life, rather than an addition to it. In Reich's view, it was not only people who had been exploited and controlled by technology, but also nature.⁶ Nature, as well as people, he claimed, needed to be protected from and by technology, just as people. Technology should be controlled and used to benefit both people and nature. At the end of the book, Reich described his hopes for the counter culture:

For one who thought the world was irretrievably encased in metal and plastic and sterile stone, it seems a veritable greening of America.⁷

The counter culture was a desperate search for an alternative to the technocracy, but was characterized by a certain amount of confusion. It was not a very well-defined critique of society, and so it lasted only a short time (at least, in its original form).

Writing some years after the counter culture had begun to wane, Roszak, in Person/Planet: The Creative Disintegration of Industrial Society, expanded on The Making of a Counter Culture, and more explicitly linked counter cultural concerns with the movement to preserve the environment. He argued that although the counter culture is no longer as visible as it once was, its ideas have infiltrated society as a whole, in the form of "a prevailing mood of disgust and discontent".⁸ Be this as it may, the connections that Roszak makes between the needs and rights of the individual and the needs and rights of the planet are important. They are one and the same, he argues, because both people and the planet are threatened by the same thing - the "bigness" of things - industry, institutions, world markets, political organizations, bureaucracies, cities, etc.⁹ The huge, autonomous systems and structures that govern our lives are the same ones that endanger the environment. Roszak is

convinced that people are now, more than ever, concerned with self-discovery and the search for a personal identity, and that in doing so, they are compelled to demand the same rights for the planet. This preoccupation with the "self" also connects with Samuel Hays' view of the environmental movement as a quest for a better quality of life and better personal health.

There was a spiritual or mystical element within the counter culture, which was a way of rejecting the scientific world view, and which included a wonder and respect for nature. Some of those in the counter culture turned to eastern religions, such as Zen Buddhism, which focused on the "commonplace splendors of the world"¹⁰ (as opposed to a heaven far removed from the earth). Others embraced pagan religions, which were based on a harmony with nature and closely linked with a personal definition of self. This revival of pagan religions and mysticism did not disappear with the counter culture, but continues today. Ecofeminism, which is now becoming a powerful aspect of the environmental movement, contains elements of witchcraft, goddess-culture and other pagan beliefs, and is also closely linked with personal development. The counter culture may not be the one and only cause of this "pagan" spiritual revival, but it was an initial revolt out of which came a whole series of other ideas and social movements.

Philip Slater, in The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point, reminds us that the counter culture was not a uniform movement. He describes two main approaches to the counter culture - the "activist" and the "drop-out" approaches.¹¹ The activists wanted to change society, and the drop-outs renounced it in favour of "inner experience" - they are the self-indulgent young people of whom Hays writes. Hays does not include the "activists" in his definition of the counter culture, but describes a separate search

for alternative life-styles in the 1970's, which was "infused with a commitment to positive alternatives, the creation through personal learning and entrepreneurship of alternative institutions on a more human scale."¹² Many of the people involved in the search for alternative lifestyles in the 1970's, however, were the same people who were involved in the counter culture earlier, and even those who were not based their actions on ideas that were made public through the counter culture. The counter culture, although it lasted only a brief time, planted the seeds of discontent that prompted people to attempt to change their lives in positive ways later.

Although the counter culture was a revolt against the dominant American culture, Slater reminds us that it was also a product of that culture. Much of it was nostalgic - based on traditional romantic views of the old West, the "simple life", the utopian community, native cultures, and wilderness. These values were always a secondary aspect of American culture - the counter culture made them primary.¹³

British Columbia was clearly influenced by the counter culture movement, although it reached its peak slightly later than in the U.S. (late 1960's, early 1970's). During the Vietnam War, particularly, many young Americans came to B.C. to avoid military service. Many of them stayed in Canada, and some of them are now leaders in the environmental movement. Although many dismissed the counter culture as composed of self-indulgent "drop-outs", several members of the provincial establishment regarded the counter culture as distasteful, or even as a threat. In 1970, Premier Bennett linked the counter culture with the environmental movement when he said:

You see a whole bunch of people who don't pay too much attention to hygiene; you know, dirty feet and stuff. They are polluting the countryside

even when they are carrying banners against pollution.¹⁴

J.V. Clyne, chairman and chief executive officer of MacMillan Bloedel, felt threatened enough by the counter culture to take a trip to California to address the Town Hall in Los Angeles in 1969. His speech was entitled "The Establishment", and stressed the need for the "leaders" of society to defend themselves against an "anti-Establishment" attitude that was becoming prevalent as more and more people honoured "negative cults of confusion and whimsy".¹⁵ He defined "the Establishment" as being composed of people in government, business, and the church. The establishment was "the instrument of all constructive change", and the counter culture was posing a serious threat to it:

. . . the initiative seems now to have passed to a militant minority which, in the streets and in the campuses, threatens with a loud voice the tranquillity and the liberty of the majority . . .¹⁶

The counter culture, by questioning the "expertise" of the politicians, business people, and scientists who controlled the world, was indeed a threat to the establishment. The rise of the environmental movement in B.C. accompanied the rise of the counter culture. Environmental degradation became too obvious to be ignored, and the "experts" were no longer trusted. One of the main differences between the new environmental movement and the earlier conservation movement was a loss of faith in technology and in the opinions of experts. The counter culture helped bring about that loss of faith, and prompted people to demand an active role in policy making.

One of the most internationally-renowned environmental interest groups, Greenpeace, grew out of the social changes taking place in B.C. during the late 1960's. It was associated with the counter culture and expressed many of the ideals of that movement.

Greenpeace was a revolt against the "Establishment" itself, which was allowing the world to be controlled, contaminated, and possibly even destroyed by technology (i.e. nuclear bombs), and it dealt with problems throughout the world. It was founded in Vancouver in 1970 by a group of well-educated middle class people, three of whom had left the United States because of their opposition to the Vietnam War and their fear of nuclear war.¹⁷ They were members of the Sierra Club, but because they wanted to protest nuclear war, formed their own organization to promote both peace and the protection of the environment. Their early protests revolved around nuclear testing and were based on the Quaker tradition of "bearing witness" to something that they opposed, or passive resistance. Later, they organized campaigns against whale and seal hunts, the use of forest insecticides, acid rain, chemical waste, and many environmentally destructive practices. Greenpeace became very influential and now has offices in twenty different countries throughout the western world. It is also trying to establish itself in Latin America and Eastern Europe.

By the early 1970's, many other environmental interest groups had been established in B.C., and were struggling to gain the political power they required to achieve their goals. Diane Draper, in an M.A. thesis,¹⁸ describes these interest groups. Most of them were established in response to immediate, local issues, and once the problem was resolved, the group disbanded. These early interest groups were reactionary - they reacted to immediate problems but did not anticipate possible threats. Their actions were also often emotional rather than rational. These characteristics allowed them to influence some government decisions, but made it difficult for them to influence government policy more generally.¹⁹

Today, there are still many transitory interest groups that deal with single issues, but there are also some very powerful permanent groups that deal with a variety of issues and long-term problems. The most vocal of these at present is the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, which was established in the early 1980's, and had over 30,000 members by 1991. It deals with environmental issues in all parts of B.C. and internationally, focusing mainly on wilderness preservation. There are still many interest groups forming around particular areas and issues, but they are becoming less reactionary and more concerned about the long-term preservation of wilderness areas, or long-term land use planning, so they tend not to disappear as soon as the immediate crisis is over. Their techniques for dealing with the government and with industry are also improving as they gain experience.

Strathcona Park Revisited

The controversy over Strathcona Park did not end with the damming of Upper Campbell and Buttle lakes in 1955. Exploitation of the park's mineral, forest, and water resources continued until the simmering discontent of the local residents broke out into full-scale protest in the late 1980's. This protest was much more successful than that in the 50's, largely because of a well-organized interest group, the Friends of Strathcona Park. By the 1980's, there was much more public support for the protection of the park than there had been during the protest of the 50's, and interest groups in general were somewhat more skilful in dealing with the government. The Friends of Strathcona formed around a single issue, but rather than disbanding after the main crisis was over, they became involved in

long-term planning for Strathcona Park. They insisted on being part of the policy-making process, and are now working with the government to form a long-term development plan for the park.

In 1957, following the failure of Haig-Brown and his associates to prevent the damming of Buttle Lake, Strathcona was transferred from the Strathcona Park Act to Class A park status under the Provincial Park Act, with the assumption that the park would be better protected if it were in the main park system.²⁰ Three years later, Western Mines Ltd. staked 151 mineral claims along Myra Creek. There was little public opposition to the staking of these particular mineral claims, but in 1961, at the "Resources for Tomorrow Conference", the National and Provincial Parks Association (a citizen's group), and the B.C. chapter of the Canadian Society of Wildlife and Fishery Biologists criticized the management of the park and voiced their opposition to mining in the park.²¹

In 1964, Kenneth Kiernan, the new Minister of Recreation and Conservation, passed an Order in Council that allowed mining exploration and development in all parks of 2,025 hectares or more, regardless of classification.²² This Order in Council was soon replaced by the new Park Act in 1965, which catered to the mining companies even more when it downgraded Strathcona Park from Class A status to Class B status. This made it even easier for development to take place within the park. For wilderness protection, several "nature conservancy" areas were set aside. At this time, many mineral claims were staked in the park, and timber rights were granted to some companies in exchange for desirable land elsewhere in the province, which was added to the park system.

There was not too much public concern over these events until, in 1966, it was

revealed that mine tailings would be dumped into Buttle Lake, and Campbell River's drinking water supply could be contaminated. The tailings were composed of finely ground waste rock containing cyanide and other poisonous chemicals. Eight hundred tons of them were to be disposed of daily.²³ They were mixed with water and treated with chemicals before being piped into the lake, to make the finer particles clump together into larger and heavier ones, but it was still likely that fish would be affected, and possible that the solids would not remain at the bottom of the lake.²⁴ By this time, many people were aware of the dangers of the build-up of toxins in the food chain, largely due to Rachel Carson's book, Silent Spring, published in 1962. Still, public protest at this time was minor.

The mining operation had many other requirements which greatly affected the park. In 1968, R.H. Ahrens, Parks Branch Director, described the Western Mines development:

This requires a hydro-electric power development, a portable sawmill for pit props, a tailings disposal site, a mining mill town, mill effluent disposal sites, many roads, a camp, a town site, barge shipping and tugs on a major lake, leading out works, then a highway through the park (along water grades) - all just for a starter. That 10 acre hole influences 100,000 acres of the choicest part of the park.²⁵

Throughout the 1970's, Western Mines (later known as Westmin Resources) continued operating in Strathcona Park. In 1973, the provincial government placed a moratorium on industrial development in Strathcona Park. Grand in appearance, this meant in practice that no new applications for mineral rights would be accepted. But developments already in the park were allowed to remain in operation, and the Westmin mine was to be closely watched to prevent further damage to the park. Logging, which had taken place in the park since at least the 1920's,²⁶ continued, although stumpage fees tripled.²⁷

Six years later the Cream Silver mining company took legal action against this moratorium, claiming compensation from the province for the breach of its rights to explore and develop its mineral claims in Strathcona Park. It took until 1986 for the B.C. Supreme Court to rule that Cream Silver was not entitled to compensation, but while this case was in the courts, tensions were rising over other events in the park.

In the early 1980's, there was some public concern over the effects of waste from the Westmin mine on Buttle Lake and downstream waters. Westmin made some efforts to control pollution, and then announced in 1983 that it would be expanding its operations due to the discovery of new ore reserves at Buttle Lake. It planned to triple its milling and production rate.²⁸ In 1985, as part of its expansion plan, the company was given permission to dam Jim Mitchell Lake, for more electric power. This gave Westmin the exclusive use of 2,529 hectares of land for 25 years at a rate of only \$60 per year.²⁹

Such developments raised public concern and led to a Symposium on Parks in B.C. in 1984.³⁰ Representatives from several government ministries, academics, resource consultants, the Mining Association of B.C., the Council of Forest Industries, park naturalists and superintendents, and many other individuals and organizations, were invited to speak on park-related issues. Seventeen other papers were contributed voluntarily, some by individuals, but most by organizations such as outdoors and naturalist's clubs, environmental interest groups, and the B.C. & Yukon Chamber of Mines. Altogether, 330 people participated in the symposium. The vast majority expressed aversion to industrial development in parks.

At the symposium, the president of the Mining Association of B.C. made a

presentation emphasizing the small amount of land required for mining in B.C., and with regard to the Westmin mine in Strathcona Park, said: "It is sensitively run and does not disrupt the park's atmosphere."³¹ The mine, according to him, was not even noticeable until one drove right up to it. He also claimed that having miners in parks could be a good thing; to drive home the point, he noted that miners from the Westmin mine had helped fight a forest fire in Strathcona Park.

He did not mention the contamination of the fish in Buttle Lake, or the decline in the numbers of fish both there and in Campbell River. He also failed to mention the noise, dust, and danger caused by mining trucks in the park, as well as the plans for the expansion of the mine, including the hydro-electric plant that would have to be built as a result. These problems were all brought up by Jim Boulding, the owner and manager of the Strathcona Lodge and Outdoor Education Centre, in his presentation at the same symposium,³² and would be brought up again and again during the massive protests that were soon to take place at Strathcona Park.

The President and Chief Executive Officer of the Council of Forest Industries of B.C. also made a presentation at the parks symposium,³³ in which he expressed his belief that logging could not possibly cause any permanent damage or change to the natural assets of parks, because, after all, trees could be replanted.³⁴ He also claimed that a walk in Stanley Park could be a "wilderness experience".³⁵ Jim Boulding later pointed out that logging had been detrimental to Strathcona Park, and that in the Elk River Valley, it had been "devastating".³⁶

Meanwhile, conflicts over wilderness areas in B.C. were rising. The

provincial government set up a "Wilderness Advisory Committee" and gave it three months to make recommendations on 24 controversial areas in B.C. The government was harshly criticized for this: "Unable to take the heat generated by a few high-profile environmental issues - Meares Island, the Stein Valley, and especially South Moresby - it has grasped one of the oldest political gimmicks, an ad hoc committee to get it off the hook."³⁷ The provincial government, for ten years or more, had been unable to come to grips with wilderness issues, and now a committee was expected to do it in a few months!

Among the committee members were a lawyer, a senior executive of Cominco Mining, the vice-president of the IWA (International Woodworkers of America), a lawyer and executive officer of Carrier Lumber in Prince George, and three academics. In the eyes of many observers, the committee was biased in favour of industrial interests. The academics may have provided some balance, but one of them, forestry professor Les Reed, was known for his view that decisions on the preservation of parkland areas should be made "on strictly economic grounds".³⁸ There was no one on the committee to represent conservationists, outdoor sports enthusiasts, the tourist industry, or natives. Besides the extreme one-sidedness of the committee, there was concern that the committee was undermining the credibility of previous opportunities for public participation, and the credibility of professional park managers. The decisions of the committee could also override the results of other public review processes.³⁹ Widespread opposition to and distrust of the Wilderness Advisory Committee led to the addition of another member, Ken Farquarson, a well-known environmentalist.

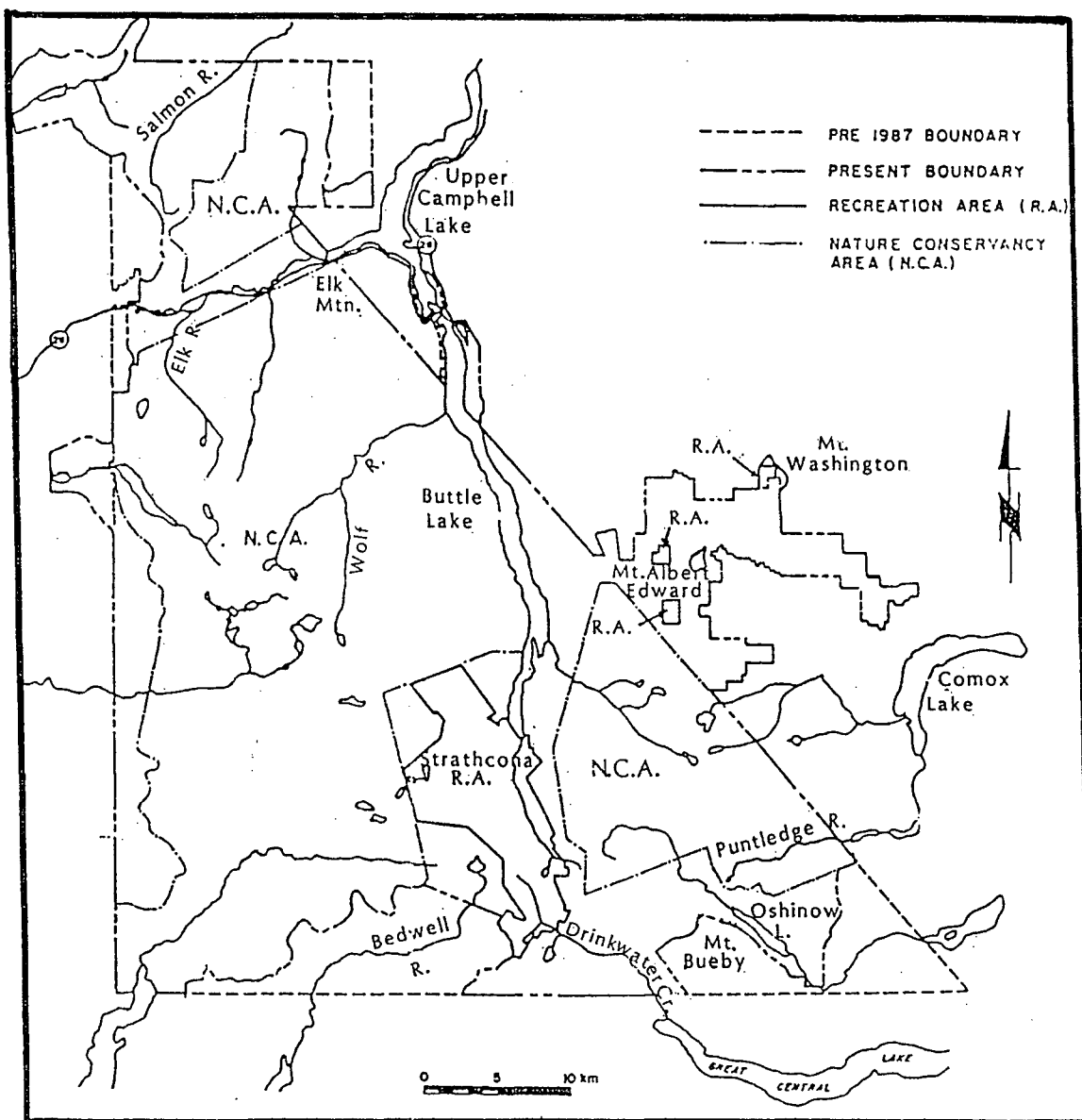
The final report of the Wilderness Advisory Committee (WAC) recommended

that certain areas within parks - namely those containing mineral claims and/or timber rights - be designated "recreation areas", where mining and logging would be permitted. Boundary changes for individual parks were also recommended. The park land remaining outside recreational areas was to be protected, Class "A" park land. In its report on Strathcona Park, the WAC stated that the park boundaries were irrational and needed to be changed, but made no specific recommendations as to how they should be changed. One specific recommendation that it did make was that the Westmin area and the Cream Silver claims area be joined in a "recreation area", where mining would be permitted.⁴⁰ It also recommended that certain areas be added to the park.⁴¹

Supporters of the preservation of Strathcona Park were not pleased with the recommendations of the WAC. Ruth Masters, a long-time wilderness preservationist and member of the Friends of Strathcona Park described the report as "inadequate and superficial", and claimed that "scores of submissions" to the committee, against industrial development in the park, had gone unacknowledged.⁴²

Despite opposition, the government lost no time in implementing the recommendations in the WAC report. In 1987, Environment and Parks Minister Stephen Rogers announced: "There will be no more Class B parks, no more logging or mining in parks."⁴³ This was technically true, but the boundaries of six provincial parks were to be changed, taking 50,000 hectares out of the parks system completely. As well, 110,000 hectares in five parks were to become "recreation areas" where logging and mining would take place. More than 30,000 hectares of land were removed from Strathcona Park, and about 8,000 hectares were added (see fig. 12). Basically, mining areas including the Cream

STRATHCONA PROVINCIAL PARK BOUNDARIES and CLASSIFICATION



Source: Strathcona Park Advisory Committee. Strathcona Park: Restoring the Balance, Victoria, 1988, Figure 2, p. 15.

Figure 12

Silver claims, were included in one of four "recreation areas"(these areas covered 10,250 ha altogether). The 122,000 ha of Nature Conservancy areas established in 1965 remained the same, and the rest of the park (60,000 ha) was upgraded to Class "A". These changes to Strathcona Park were all made without public hearings (note: The WAC had recommended that all changes to parks be preceded by public hearings, but this part of the report was disregarded by the government). Public hearings were to be held on the development of a master plan for the park, but it was made clear that they would not include discussions of park boundary and classification changes⁴⁴ This was contrary to promises that three former environment ministers had made.⁴⁵ Meetings were held in Campbell River to inform people of what was going on, but there was no public consultation. In an editorial entitled "Save your breath", the Campbell River Mirror reported: "That meeting you attended did nothing more than give you a close up view of what the government has planned and a night out of the house. Your comments are going nowhere."⁴⁶

As soon as these decisions were made, environmental activists prepared to protest. Leading the way were the Friends of Strathcona Park, and supporting them were the Environmental Council, the Campbell River Hiking Club, The Oyster River Enhancement Society, The Vancouver Island Resources Society, The Comox District Mountaineering Club, and the B.C. Federation of Mountain Clubs. Vancouver Island newspapers were full of letters to editors and to politicians from concerned individuals. The Friends of Strathcona called for the resignation of Environment and Parks Minister Stephen Rogers when it was discovered that he owned shares in Westmin Resources Ltd.⁴⁷

The first public protest took place in early March, 1987. About 100 people

blocked traffic to and from the Westmin mine. Among them was Ann Haig-Brown, wife of the late Roderick Haig-Brown (it would have been interesting to see his reaction to this, had he still been alive!). Before long, the Campbell River municipal council and the regional district board voted to support a resolution urging the provincial government to hold public hearings on land use and boundary changes in Strathcona Park.⁴⁸ It would take much more than this, however, to sway the provincial government.

The Friends of Strathcona soon became the main group protesting the actions of the government. They lobbied politicians, flooded the newspapers with letters, and even set up an informational display next to that of the environment and parks ministry, which visited certain communities on Vancouver Island.⁴⁹ They convinced all of the local town councils and the regional district to call for a moratorium on mining in the park and to request public hearings on the boundary and land use changes. All to no avail.

Since the political route did not work, the Friends of Strathcona continued to organize other forms of protest. The first was a wilderness gathering in the park, in September, 1987, which was attended by approximately 200 people. At least two of these people had been involved with Strathcona Park since the Buttle Lake debate of the early 1950's - Ruth Masters and Don McIver. Matters were made worse when Casamiro Resources, a mining company, continued to work in the Strathcona Park recreation area despite a stop-work order from the Parks Branch. The company refused to comply with the restrictions of its park use permit.⁵⁰ This led to protests in Port Alberni, outside of the Casamiro Resources Office and the Socred office.⁵¹

Early in 1988, about fifty people stopped Cream Silver prospectors from

entering Strathcona Park. The Friends of Strathcona were determined that the company would not begin exploratory drilling as planned. By this time, they had approximately 1,000 members, most of whom lived in the Comox Valley and Campbell River areas. They also had the support of the Green Party, natives of the Nuulchanulth and Laich-kwil-tach Nations, the Sierra Club, the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, the Stein Valley Alliance, the Valhalla Wilderness Society, the Friends of Clayoquot Sound, and Project North (an interchurch coalition working with natives).⁵² The hereditary chiefs of the Nuulchanulth and Laich-kwil-tach Nations had filed a title claim to the land in Strathcona Park in 1985, and wanted the park protected and respected until their land claims were resolved.

The next blockade to prevent Cream Silver from drilling involved over 300 people. Still, exploratory drilling began, and the protests continued. After two weeks of protesting, 13 people had been arrested - after two months, the number had risen to 64. The protesting did not stop until the drilling stopped, at the end of March, 1988 (explorations were over). It had lasted for 63 days, 24 hours a day. By the time it was over, the Friends of Strathcona had approximately 2,000 members - about twice as many as before the conflict.⁵³

During the two months of protesting, the Friends of Strathcona were busy with other strategies as well. They had hired a lawyer to determine whether the government could successfully stop mining in the park without having to pay compensation. When the "recreation areas" were set up in the park system to allow mining, Environment and Parks Minister Stephen Rogers had said that the "only alternative to permitting controlled exploration would be to pay unacceptably high compensation fees to the owners of existing

tenures."⁵⁴ This statement did not make much sense in the case of Strathcona Park, as the B.C. Supreme Court had already ruled that Cream Silver was not entitled to any form of compensation. The case was to go to the Supreme Court of Canada, but two weeks before it was to be heard (in 1986), the company withdrew its appeal. Three months later, it was given permission to mine the new "recreation area" in Strathcona Park. After the Friends of Strathcona obtained a legal opinion that confirmed the decision of the B.C. Supreme Court, Bruce Strachan, the new parks minister (Stephen Rogers had been forced to resign because of his involvement with Westmin Resources), acknowledged the possibility that the government's legal opinion was "flawed".⁵⁵

The protesting at Strathcona led Strachan to propose a provincial park review in March, 1988 - a review panel was to listen to people in four Vancouver Island communities and make recommendations on all provincial parks in B.C., within a couple of months. The review was to include discussions of the Strathcona Park boundary and status changes of 1987, as originally recommended by the WAC.⁵⁶ Still, the Friends of Strathcona were not satisfied, first of all because they did not believe that the fate of parks throughout the province should be decided only by people on Vancouver Island; second, because they wanted a detailed inquiry into the legal uncertainties related to Cream Silver.⁵⁷ The protests in the park continued even after the review was announced, and despite the urgings of the government for them to stop. (The government published articles in local papers, saying the Friends should stop protesting during the review). The Friends, by now, were so disillusioned by government reviews that they viewed this one as simply an attempt to "cool down an uncomfortably hot situation", or convince them to stop protesting.⁵⁸

The provincial park review was turned into a review of Strathcona Park only. The Strathcona Park Advisory Committee was chaired by Dr. Peter Larkin, a U.B.C. professor who was also a member of the WAC. The other members were Jim Rutter, executive director of the B.C. Federation of Mountain Clubs, Roderick Naknakim, a native lawyer, and Frances Jones, a resident of Qualicum Beach. The reasons for the inquiry were described as follows:

The Park now embraces a reservoir that once was a lake, logged-over forest land that has not been replanted, a number of mineral claims and an operating mine, a power line right-of-way, and a boundary that defies Park principles, not only by its original straightness, but also by the revisions that have been made over the years. The Parks Agency pays the Park scant attention. The Park is not used for recreation as it might be. There is little effort to attract visitors to the Park. Far from realizing the vision of its founders, the Park, in a word, is a mess.⁵⁹

The review was not to include discussion of native issues or policies regarding recreation areas.⁶⁰

In May, 1988, the Indian chiefs of Vancouver Island appointed their own three-member commission of inquiry into the future use of Strathcona Park.⁶¹ The committee was chaired by environmental consultant Tony Pearce, and the other two members were native elders.

The Strathcona Park Advisory Committee made greater effort to take the public seriously and consider all submissions than had the WAC. By this time, after months of protesting and over sixty arrests, there was no alternative. The members of the committee went into the review knowing full well that one of the major obstacles they would have to overcome was the lack of public confidence in the Parks agency and the government more generally (see foreword to the report). One of the main problems was that Peter Larkin,

chair of the committee, had also been a member of the WAC. Many people, including the Friends of Strathcona, did not think that he was in a position to judge the validity of recommendations that he himself had helped make. The Friends of Strathcona felt that the committee was just another public relations gesture of the government, and decided not to give a formal presentation at the hearings, although many individual members attended.⁶² Once it was made clear that the public would be taken seriously, there was no lack of participation - the committee received 252 written submissions from individuals and organizations, and 145 presentations were made. The Friends of Strathcona also decided to participate.

In June 1988, the committee submitted its report to the government. The report recommended that permanent boundaries of the park be established as soon as possible, and included in the Park Act. About 34,000 ha were proposed as additions to the park - some of them were areas that had been excluded from the park in 1987. The report also recommended that no further mineral exploration and development take place in the park, although the Westmin mine should continue its operations with due regard for environmental considerations, particularly water quality. It also recommended that no further logging take place within the park. With regard to land classification and zoning procedures, it recommended that these be used to defend park values, rather than to legitimise industrial development in parks. Strathcona Park should be entirely Class "A", except in the Westmin lease area. The report also dealt with forestry tenures, enhancement of recreational values on the Buttle-Upper Campbell reservoir, the management of commercial uses of the park, planning and decision-making, and park development and promotion. The report was vastly

different from previous public reviews of parks - its main concerns were wilderness preservation and the enhancement of recreational values: "Strathcona Park is foremost an important wilderness reserve, with considerable potential for associated tourism and outdoor recreation." ⁶³

Surprisingly, the government acted on many of the recommendations, and agreed that no more mining or logging would be permitted in the park. The "recreation area" was changed into Class "A" park land. This was the first time the B.C. government had ever denied mineral exploration for claims with development potential!⁶⁴ In December, 1988, the government announced that no further mineral exploration was to take place in any provincial park.⁶⁵ This was a major change in public policy. A steering committee was formed to act on recommendations of the Larkin Report, and is currently working with the Ministry of Parks to coordinate a public planning process for the park. Public hearings are held regularly to help devise a master plan for the park.

The Friends of Strathcona Park and the other interest groups supporting them clearly had more success in dealing with the provincial government than did Haig-Brown and his associates in the 1950's. Their success, however, was more the result of their willingness to go to extremes than a change in the attitude of the government. None of their initial efforts to deal legally with the government were successful, although they were very well equipped to do so - they were well-informed about all aspects of the park - ecological, economic, and political; and familiar with the problems related to logging, mining, and water contamination.

The fact that they had so much more public support than the group the 1950's

also helps to explain their success. This was partly the result of their public education campaigns, and partly the result of changing social values. The post-war economic boom was over, and wilderness was becoming an important amenity. People no longer trusted the government or industry. The "Friends" gained the widespread support of people in many Vancouver Island communities, including the town councils and local MLA's. They also had the support of local native tribal councils. The threat of water contamination was a major uniting factor. There had already been problems with acid mine drainage in Strathcona Park in the 1970's, and nobody wanted a repeat of the problems of acid mine drainage in the nearby Tsolum River, which had been a problem for years and had destroyed major salmon runs. The contamination of water in Strathcona Park would affect many communities, including Port Alberni, Parksville, Qualicum, Courtenay, Comox, Campbell River, and Gold River.

The Friends of Strathcona Park were fairly successful in undermining public support for the government. The legalities of the Cream Silver case and the discovery that the Financial Assistance for Mineral Exploration program was actively promoting mining in provincial parks (\$60,000 had been given to Cream Silver to mine Strathcona Park) were both publicized by the Friends.⁶⁶ The forced resignation of environment and parks minister Stephen Rogers was also largely due to the Friends' publicity campaign.

It was clear that the Friends of Strathcona and the other groups involved in protecting the park were not just a bunch of radical "hippies" or emotional tree-huggers. They were concerned, well-informed citizens, who turned to civil disobedience after trying the legal route. They were people of all ages and professions, and they were extremely well-

organized, knowledgeable, and determined. By the late 1980's, environmental interest groups had gained considerable experience in dealing with the government, and were familiar with the tactics it used to deal with dissent (i.e. the public review trick). The efforts of the people involved, however, despite widespread public support, would probably have not made a difference if hundreds of people had not been willing to risk going to jail.

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CHAPTER 6

The Response of the Forest Industry - Public Relations at MacMillan Bloedel, 1960 - 1980

Because the forest industry is one of the most important industries in B.C., and because it uses such vast amounts of land, it has received by far the most criticism from the public. There are few unlogged wilderness areas remaining in southwestern B.C., and interest in preserving them has been growing. Most of these areas are in Tree Farm Licenses. Native land claims further complicate the issue. For the past twenty years or so, the forest industry has been under constant attack from environmentalists, natives, and the public in general, and has responded with advertising campaigns stressing responsibility towards the environment and the future supply of timber. In some cases, forest management policies have been changed, but the controversy continues.

The main part of this chapter is based on the documents of MacMillan Bloedel Limited, a major B.C. forest products company. This collection of records is a significant source for primary research concerning forest history in British Columbia, and was recently acquired by Special Collections at U.B.C. It contains a variety of textual records, photographs, maps, and drawings, from 1861 to 1982. The records of the three major predecessor companies: the Powell River Company; Bloedel, Stewart & Welch; and H.R. MacMillan Export are included, in addition to the records of the amalgamated corporation: MacMillan & Bloedel; MacMillan, Bloedel & Powell River; and MacMillan Bloedel Limited. Although the company has had several different names throughout the period I am dealing with, primarily the 1960's and 1970's, I will refer to it, for the most part, as MacMillan Bloedel. The "corporate communications" section of the company records shows the attempts

of MacMillan Bloedel to cope with the changing concerns of the people of British Columbia.

MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., the largest forest company in B.C., is an amalgamation of three major B.C. forest companies: Bloedel, Stewart & Welch; the Powell River Company; and the H.R. MacMillan Export Company. H.R. MacMillan came to B.C. from Ontario in 1912 to become the province's chief forester. He left his position in 1916 to work for the Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing Company in Chemainus, a company over which he later gained control. In 1919, he established what was to become a very successful lumber exporting company, H.R. MacMillan Export. J.H. Bloedel, from the United States, began logging in B.C. in 1911. By the time his company, Bloedel, Stewart & Welch, merged with the MacMillan Export Company in 1951, it had constructed four mills and had extensive timber holdings.¹ The 1951 merger created the largest forest products company in Canada at the time: MacMillan and Bloedel. The Powell River Company was established in B.C. in 1909, also by an American company, Brooks-Scanlon. By the time it was taken over by MacMillan and Bloedel in 1960, it was the leading western Canadian newsprint producer, and operated the largest newsprint mill in the world.² By the 1970's, MacMillan Bloedel was no longer just a regional enterprise; it had established subsidiaries in the United States, Great Britain, Spain, Brazil, Malaysia, Indonesia, France, and Holland.³

By the 1960's, the company was well on its way to becoming what A.D. Chandler calls a "modern multiunit business enterprise".⁴ It was making the transition from a company managed by its owners to one managed by professionals. The new managerial hierarchy would ensure the permanence, power, and continued growth of the company, allowing it to acquire a 'life of its own'. Its existence would no longer depend on a group

of individuals. They would come and go, but the institution would remain. The transition began when J.V. Clyne replaced MacMillan as chairman of the company in 1958. Clyne, a circuit court judge, had little experience in business and the forest products industry, but he recognized the growing importance of professional business management. In 1962, he hired management consultants to assess management in the firm and recommend improvements. As a result, the fifty-seven separate units of the company were reorganized into four self-sufficient business sectors, according to their areas of production, all answering directly to Clyne.⁵ Each group was responsible for its own manufacturing, sales, profits, and expansion, so that top management and the chief executive officer would be free to deal with long-term planning and major policies. Clyne then hired a professional business manager (Charles A. Specht) from the U.S. as president of MacMillan Bloedel.

The transition from the traditional owner-operated business to the professionally managed, 'modern multiunit business enterprise' became possible, perhaps even necessary, when administrative coordination proved to be more profitable than coordination by market mechanisms.⁶ Ian Mahood, manager of Forestry Operations at MacMillan Bloedel during the 1950's, associates this change with the company's move into the pulp and paper industry, and points out that it had serious implications for forest management:

The kind of corporate structure that operates in the pulp and paper industry demonstrates a lack of commitment to B.C. These companies reside in highrise towers in distant locations, employing fixers intent on shuffling, prodding and using their economic muscle to gain control of the forest crop. They are delinquent in forest management in B.C., while at the same time they are investing in lands in the southern hemisphere to grow pine trees on a fifteen-year rotation. When that is achieved, operations will be phased out in B.C. During their passage in this province, they will have displaced independent business, stripped off the easy timber, scarred the mountainsides with huge clear-cuts and carried out crop-replacing silviculture at only a token

level.⁷

Mahood resigned from his position as manager of Forestry Operations when J.V. Clyne joined the company in 1958.

Because the emphasis was now on administration rather than markets, there was a need for corporations to establish social legitimacy in their institutional environment, as opposed to their market environment.⁸ Hence the rise of corporate communications - a way of dealing with the institutional environment. The public can be seen as one of the 'institutions' that corporations have to deal with. During the past three decades or so, both business and government have had to respond to public expectations and needs more than ever before. Within the forest products industry, public interests (often in the form of government regulations) influence the supply of raw materials, production, financial issues, and market activities.⁹ The 'public affairs environment', therefore, has become just as important to its operations as the 'market environment'.¹⁰

In 1948, a "Report on Industrial Relations in the H.R. MacMillan Export Company"¹¹ indicated that the relationship between the company and its employees was an important issue - a personnel relations department had been established at the company's head office. The report recommended that the industrial relations department be made a major division of the company, so that its director would have closer contact with the company's president. Communication with employees was discussed in detail, but there was no mention of communication with the general public. This kind of communication clearly did not become a priority of the company until at least the 1960's. Raymond V. Smith, who joined MacMillan Bloedel in 1957, and became president in 1980, recently described the company's

earlier attitude toward the public.¹² He recalled the days ". . . when everyone knew who was boss", and when the company paid little attention to public opinion:

It's not so much that we ignored them as we took them for granted. We believed that public support would follow from the jobs we provided and the products we produced.

By the early 1960's, public relations had some significance at MacMillan Bloedel. This was made clear in a memo sent to group general managers and staff department heads in 1964 by J.V. Clyne, outlining the responsibilities of MacMillan Bloedel's employees regarding the public. The chairman and chief executive officers were responsible for liaison with shareholders, the business and financial community, the government, and the press. The Public Relations Department was to evaluate and interpret public attitudes towards the company, identify problems, and develop policies and programs to deal with them. It was also the responsibility of the Public Relations Department "to present approved plans, decisions, and policies to the public and employees in the most favourable light."¹³ The managers of other groups and departments were expected to consider the public relations aspects of all decisions they made and make sure their employees were aware of the importance of public relations. All managers and employees were encouraged to participate in community activities and organizations, and in government.

In 1965, a much more detailed public relations policy statement, entitled "Public Relations: What does it mean at MB & PR?", was distributed to senior level managers. Here, public relations was discussed in the broader context of "Corporate Communications", which was defined as embracing "every utterance the company makes to a variety of audiences, not all public."¹⁴ Corporate Communications was:

a planned program of evaluating the attitudes the Company has aroused in others, capitalizing on the favourable responses and attempting to correct those that are unfavourable.¹⁵

The policy statement stresses the importance of a good relationship between the public, government and business. Favourable laws, public policies, and public attitudes were crucial to the future success of the company. Public relations was regarded as an "educational technique"¹⁶ and different people had to be dealt with in different ways. The "public" that MacMillan Bloedel had to deal with was divided into eighteen categories, under the broad headings of 'Internal', 'Internal-External' and 'External'. The 'Internal' public consisted of the employees, both general and supervisory; the 'Internal-External' group was the shareholders; and the 'External' public consisted of customers, suppliers, and the general voting public; the press, radio, and television; all levels of government; educators, clergymen and other opinion leaders; business and labour organizations; industry and professional associations; recreationists, investors, and financial houses. The biggest responsibility for public relations fell upon the supervisory employees because they had direct contact with other employees and with the public, and could provide a link between these two groups and the senior level managers. They were provided with a detailed guide to public relations, also in 1965.¹⁷

Public relations continued to be an important part of company policy throughout the 1970's, and may even have increased in importance. Certainly it was significant enough for the company to undertake extensive research projects into public and employee attitudes. In 1974, Project "P"¹⁸ was undertaken - it was a confidential report, the purpose of which was to explore the attitudes of British Columbians towards many aspects

of life in their province. The interviewees were told that the research was being done for the Social Studies Institute, and answered questions regarding society, government, business, the forest products industry, the media, labour unions, and other aspects of life in B.C. MacMillan Bloedel received both favourable and unfavourable comments when compared with other forest products companies. The favourable comments were linked with the economy, the company's interest in people, good advertising, and fairness to the public.¹⁹ The negative comments were linked with the depletion of the forest resource, pollution, profits, and the political influence of the company.²⁰

Concern for the public image of the company in the mid-1970's led to the construction of an information centre in the VanDusen gardens in Vancouver: MacMillan Bloedel Place. A research project was undertaken two years later to determine the public response to MacMillan Bloedel Place. One of the resulting recommendations was that more information on harvesting be included, stressing how it ensures the preservation of wildlife, the environment, and future forests.²¹ This recommendation was based on the results of interviews with visitors to MacMillan Bloedel Place, "a sizable minority" of whom felt that the exhibit presented a biased view of the company, leaving "the more undesirable facets of the company's involvement with B.C.'s forests . . ." ²² unmentioned. Young people in particular were concerned about wildlife preservation.

In 1979, both employees and members of the general public were interviewed in another research project.²³ This report showed that reforestation was becoming an area of considerable concern, and recommended that the company track public opinion closely and make reforestation a priority area for communication, ". . . to try to head off any further

escalation of the issue."²⁴

The fact that MacMillan Bloedel took the trouble to research public attitudes to such an extent during the 1970's seems to indicate that the people of B.C. were interested in and involved with what was going on in the forest industry. The results of the studies point to a growing concern with environmental problems, and at least some negative attitudes towards MacMillan Bloedel and the forest industry in general. These negative attitudes were not confined to members of the general public - a questionnaire sent to MacMillan Bloedel's hourly employees in 1978²⁵ shows that they also had negative views of their employer and of the forest industry. Their concerns, however, were not the same as those of the public in general. They were not too concerned with environmental issues, but felt that MacMillan Bloedel was more concerned with profits than with the welfare of its employees, that communication between company and employees was poor, and that there should be heavier taxation of the industry and more stringent government controls.²⁶

Public relations became an important part of company policy during the 1960's, and as public concern about the forest industry escalated in the 1970's, its importance increased. The way in which the company portrayed itself to its employees, however, can be expected to be somewhat different to how it portrayed itself to the general public.

Internal Communications at MacMillan Bloedel

Environmental conservation was not a significant part of MacMillan Bloedel's communications with its employees during the 1960's and 70's. It only appears in the most widely distributed newsletter, meant for all employees and their families, and even then it

remains largely in the background. Inter-departmental communication with the supervisory staff revolved around daily problems, and the financial and social aspects of the company.

A few months after J.V. Clyne sent out his memo on public relations in 1964, a newsletter, MB News, was established to keep employees informed about the company's operations, plan, and policies. It was also meant to provide a link between employees in different fields - loggers, salespeople, mechanics, stenographers, and others who had little or no contact with each other in the workplace.²⁷ This was not the first newsletter ever published by the company, but it was certainly much more extensive than previous ones, which had consisted mainly of one or two page memos. MB News was more like a newspaper than a memo, complete with illustrations. Its length and detail reflected the increased effort required to maintain contact with such a large staff. MB News was published every month and was widely distributed throughout the company's operations. Employees and their families were invited to submit photographs and story ideas for publication, and photography competitions were established to encourage their participation. Much of the newsletter devoted itself to human interest stories about employees and their families. Similar articles dealt with MacMillan Bloedel's public relations campaigns - charitable acts such as the donation of a giant cedar log to the Cowichan Indians so they could carve a war canoe,²⁸ the donation of land for a public park,²⁹ and the sponsorship of an educational visit to Vancouver for two Cree girls from northern Manitoba.³⁰ The main purpose of the newsletter was to provide a sense of community among employees and to maintain a positive image of the company.

As far as company policy was concerned, the early newsletters emphasize

technological developments and the expansion of the company. There are occasional reports on forest policy - the employees are kept up to date on the number of trees planted, the "intensive forestry" program, fire fighting, and the amount of money spent on pollution control, but there is not much emphasis on conservation issues until the 1970's. From 1970-74, there were twenty-nine articles on pollution control, as opposed to only five between 1964 and 1969. There were also more articles on forest management in the 1970's. They emphasized technology - "Foresters improve on nature to produce bigger and better forests for British Columbia"³¹ Articles on public access to company forest lands (multiple use) did not appear until 1970, articles on recycling were published only in 1973 and '74, and those on environmental control and protection appeared only between 1973 and '75.

There were two other newsletters, much smaller than MB News: one was for head office personnel, and one for supervisors. Head Office News (later named Tower Topics), was published from 1972-77.³² It was concerned mainly with social events and activities such as Christmas parties and team sports, educational opportunities and other benefits for employees, and various items of human interest. It contained little or no information about company policy. The Supervisor³³ was concerned solely with the financial aspects of the company - descriptions of business meetings and details on what the company was planning and doing, accompanied by statistics.

The shareholders are the only group in the "internal/external" category of MacMillan Bloedel's public relations policy statement. They are mainly interested in the financial aspects of the company, and the communications from MacMillan Bloedel to them reflect this. There are, however, some indications that shareholders and potential

shareholders were provided with at least a small amount of information on forest management. A financial analysis of the company published in 1952, probably for potential investors, contains information on patch logging, fire prevention, and "tree farming".³⁴ A similar report published in 1955, concerned mainly with finances, various wood products, exports, and timber holdings, mentioned that trees were harvested by MacMillan Bloedel "on a perpetual yield basis".³⁵ In 1970, the company is represented by a photograph of a man planting trees in the "Investor's Reader", a publication containing basic information on a variety of companies for potential investors.³⁶

By the 1960's, MacMillan Bloedel began to make more effort to create a good impression of itself regarding conservation: In 1964, a pamphlet entitled "Modern forest management through Tree Farm Licenses" was sent to shareholders, to inform them of how Tree Farm Licenses worked, stressing good forest management as a responsibility of the company. The Tree Farm Licence was described as "A partnership of government and industry to protect and scientifically harvest the forest resources of British Columbia".³⁷

If MacMillan Bloedel had to appear concerned about conservation to its employees and shareholders, who essentially supported the forest industry, it had to make an even greater effort when faced with people who were ignorant of it or even hostile.

External Communications at MacMillan Bloedel

In 1948, Mr. Prentice Bloedel gave a speech to a group of company executives and employees,³⁸ in which he discussed the history of Bloedel, Stewart & Welch, the importance of technological diversification and refinement, and the importance of pleasing

the public. What the public wanted from the company, he told his employees, was quality products, good service, responsibility to the community, integrity, technical progressiveness, large profits, and a permanent operation.³⁹ The concept of a permanent operation implied that reforestation was necessary, but the emphasis was mainly on the development of technology to make currently inaccessible timber accessible.

By the 1960's and 1970's, British Columbians were much more concerned about resource management and environmental degradation than ever before. Pollution was a major issue, and concern about reforestation was growing. People were beginning to become aware of the adverse impacts of careless logging, such as soil erosion, and the destruction of wildlife habitats such as salmon spawning grounds. It has been estimated that by 1970, there were at least fifty well-established environmental interest groups in B.C., and possibly hundreds of smaller, more transient ones.⁴⁰ British Columbians were no longer content to rely upon experts and politicians to make decisions for them, and were fighting for a more active role in policy making. This distrust of decision-makers was by no means confined to environmental issues, but problems of environmental degradation overwhelmed other concerns. MacMillan Bloedel was not unaware of these growing concerns, and its public relations policies reflect this.

In 1965, the Public Relations Department launched an advertising campaign, the theme of which was: "Building the forests of the future. Building the future of the forests".⁴¹ The emphasis of these advertisements was on how MacMillan Bloedel, through good forest management and technology, could create larger payrolls and make a greater contribution to the economic prosperity of B.C. One of these advertisements, published in

B.C. newspapers and in Maclean's and Time magazines, featured a picture of a pair of logger's boots, accompanied by the caption: "Five years ago, these boots were idle four months out of every twelve. Today they're on the job the whole year round". Another caption read: "Nature wouldn't replant this timberland for at least five years. Our foresters already have." An advertisement that focused on fire-fighting technology referred to fire as a "terrible enemy", with the potential to wipe out "all the products and all the payrolls represented by then . . . valuable timber."⁴² Trees were seen as having a primarily economic value, and forest management, through science and technology, was superior to natural processes: "Fire could destroy more than 50% of this forest if we let Nature take her course. But we don't." A television programme developed by MacMillan Bloedel in 1966, entitled "The Incredible Forest", also stressed technology. One of the topics covered was "how man created a more productive forest. . . ."⁴³

A series of promotional pamphlets on forestry topics, published by MacMillan Bloedel between 1966 and 1969 also promoted science and technology, and the economic value of trees as the only reason for replanting them. They emphasized the more efficient use of the forest resource, the protection of forests from fire and insects, and the "role of research in broadening the benefits of the forest resource through development of more productive forests, new and better uses for wood, improved methods of harvesting and manufacturing, and more complete utilization of wood."⁴⁴ These pamphlets, often accompanied by film strips, were distributed to teachers of science, social studies and business, and to counsellors in B.C. schools. Some of their titles were: "Building better forests in B.C.", "Full use of the timber crop", and "Making the most of the Forest Harvest".

A 1969 pamphlet entitled "Forests Forever", assured people that "No more wood is removed in a year than will be replaced by growth."

During the late 1960's and early 1970's, MacMillan Bloedel continued its attempts to sell concepts as well as products, but there are some indications that values were beginning to change. Emphasis began to shift away from technology and the economy, and towards environmental health. The following quotation refers to a 1969 television advertising campaign:

We must be perceived as a substantial and responsible company, responsible for the natural resource we use and restore, and one concerned about the quality of air and water around our mills.⁴⁵

Some promotional pamphlets published in the early 1970's⁴⁶ also indicate a change in public, and perhaps also corporate, attitudes. They concede that forests have more than just an economic value. In a pamphlet entitled "Balanced use of forest land in the White River Valley", for example, MacMillan Bloedel promised that its plans to log the valley in question over a fifty-year period would do little environmental damage to the area and would protect wildlife habitats. Another pamphlet claimed that "Mt. Arrowsmith timberlands are being managed to provide both jobs and recreation." Finally, there was a pamphlet that looked as though it had been published by an environmental organization rather than by a logging company. Entitled "Where the tree dwells", it was full of beautiful, large photographs of the plants and animals of B.C.'s forests. The few words in the pamphlet described the beauty of the forest. The people who worked in the forest were described as feeling a "kinship" with it, and working with a policy of "enlightened" forest management. Disease and decay were portrayed as the enemies of the forest, and MacMillan Bloedel

claimed to "improve" the forests and preserve the "balance of nature".

MacMillan Bloedel's news releases from 1963-71 reveal an attempt to let the public know what was going on with the company, and at the same time, to portray the company in as good a light as possible. In 1963, the company announced its five million dollar "intensive forestry" program, which included plans to plant forty million young trees, in order to increase productivity and create more jobs for British Columbians.⁴⁷ A few months later, a group of "Newsmen" were given a tour of the Sproat Lake Logging Division, and were provided with additional information on "intensive forestry".⁴⁸ In 1963 there were also signs that the multiple use concept of forestry was making an impact. The company made some of its forest land and logging roads accessible to hunters and sport fishers.⁴⁹ In 1965, there was some indication that the forest industry was meeting with criticism or at the very least, with restrictions that it was not used to. The company had to abandon a planned project at Kitimat because the Minister of Lands, Forests and Water Resources refused to give it the full amount of timber land requested. J.V. Clyne did not take kindly to this kind of intervention in his company's operations:

To those who are interested in the progress of the economy of B.C., it must be a source of anxiety that persons occupying responsible positions in the community . . . should seek to denigrate an industry which is contributing to the prosperity . . . of the province as a whole.⁵⁰

MacMillan Bloedel was clearly accustomed to getting its own way. Ray Williston, the Minister of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources at the time, gave his view of the company:

My view of the MacMillan company tended to change over the years, but from the very beginning it always observed a stance that it was bigger than the province's administration. It seemed to stand apart as being almost above reproach. While it had very little to do, actually, with the provincial government, it was so large and had the largest percentage of timber it could

do things on its own initiative that no one else could do. There was no other company that approached it in size.⁵¹

In spite of its economic and political power, MacMillan Bloedel had to respond to public concerns. In 1966, the company announced the planting of its fifty millionth tree and used the opportunity to publicize its reforestation program: "No company in Canada plants more trees than MB & PR - four for every one it harvests . . .".⁵² These figures sound good but are relatively meaningless, since the survival rate of seedlings is variable, and many of the surviving trees are cut down in a process of "thinning" before they reach maturity. Pollution control was not mentioned in the news releases until 1968, when the company began regularly announcing the amount of money it was spending on pollution control at various mills. Between 1968 and 1971, thirteen pollution control projects were announced.

In 1970 and 1971, MacMillan Bloedel continued to publicize its concern for environmental quality. It also donated land to several parks, and adopted an expanded land use policy which would incorporate pocket wilderness areas, or "green belts" into the forest land.⁵³ This policy was " . . . designed to meet the growing recreational and environmental needs of a rising population." It would include the development of picnic sites, boat launching ramps, and "measures to preserve fish and wildlife habitats and natural scenic beauty." In 1971, the company delayed logging the Carnation Creek area to accommodate a long-term study of the effects of logging and reforestation on small, 4 coastal salmon and trout streams. The Executive Vice President of the company, John Hemmingsen, said:

MacMillan Bloedel welcomed the opportunity to participate and assist in the study. Being a natural resource based industry, we are as concerned as anyone about environmental and ecological matters.⁵⁴

In 1970, MacMillan Bloedel announced to the media that it had twenty-eight full-time employees involved in environmental and pollution control work in its mills and in a research centre in Vancouver.⁵⁵

Towards the end of the 1960's, and in the early 1970's, MacMillan Bloedel was certainly trying to portray itself to the public as being concerned about environmental conservation. The news releases always made it seem as though the company was installing pollution controls of its own accord; environmental regulations were never mentioned. Between 1963 and 1971, the emphasis of the news releases shifted away from the company's expansion and the economic value of trees, to a concern for the recreational uses of timberlands and the preservation of wildlife.

The newspaper clippings from MacMillan Bloedel's corporate library are in some ways more revealing than the company's news releases, because they include news that was not necessarily released by the company voluntarily. In 1979, for example, the company was charged with violating the newly-amended federal Fisheries Act. It had been putting slash and debris into water frequented by fish in the Queen Charlotte Islands, thereby destroying their habitat. The federal fisheries department was eventually forced to drop the charges because of pressure from the provincial government.⁵⁶ As logging was the responsibility of the provincial government, the federal government was not able to interfere, even though it was responsible for managing fisheries.

MacMillan Bloedel made more and more effort to present itself to the general public as being concerned about good forest management, environmental and pollution problems, and the preservation of wildlife as the 1960's and 70's progressed. Speeches given

by various company executives to more specific groups of people, however, reveal different priorities and opinions. In 1976, after his retirement, Clyne gave a speech to students in the Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration at the University of British Columbia, in which he displayed antagonism towards the environmental movement. People were becoming too emotional about forests, he felt: "we should not let our emotions overwhelm the idea of the sensible economic use of the forest . . ."⁵⁷ The beauty of the forest and its value in terms of wildlife preservation was being exaggerated:

I do know of vast areas of our rain forest in this province which are not beautiful but which are dark and gloomy and to a large extent, untenanted by animal life.⁵⁸

The Assistant Chief Forester of MacMillan Bloedel, Grant Ainscough, in a speech to the Canadian Institute of Forestry in 1971, defined the main goal of a forest company: "to make a profit". The title of his speech was "The Industrial Forester Responds According to his Goals", and "his" goals were clearly to make as much money as possible. Forest preservation and protection were necessary if one wanted to make the forest "yield the highest relative return on investment".⁵⁹ Unfortunately, government regulations for environmental protection were costing the industry a lot of money, but public pressure demanded that the industry respond. The "multiple use" approach to forest management was important - the forest companies must allow the public to use their timberland. If not, they would lose their tenure. Ainscough described the Sierra Club's definition of excellent forestry as being "pitiful".⁶⁰ He did not say that it was important to manage forests wisely, but that it was important to "create great confidence in the public that our resource is well-managed . . ."⁶¹

Speeches given to chambers of commerce, rotary clubs, and financial institutions generally focus on economic and political matters, and say very little regarding forest conservation. By the late 1970's, however, C.C. Knudsen (Chief Executive Officer) was mentioning matters of conservation, albeit briefly, in many of his speeches, even when talking to security analysts⁶² and chambers of commerce.⁶³ In 1981, a supervisor involved in log marketing gave a speech to the North Vancouver Rotary that dealt solely with reforestation at MacMillan Bloedel.⁶⁴ Some of the reasons for this are clear in the newspaper clippings of 1979. Some of the headlines were: "Vancouver forest district trees 'running out'",⁶⁵ "The emerging crisis in B.C. timber: government action urged as overcutting, underseeding erode forests",⁶⁶ and "Shortage of trees threatening B.C.". ⁶⁷ Knudsen's speeches of the late 1970's, to forestry students,⁶⁸ to the press,⁶⁹ and to the general public (on television)⁷⁰ called for more provincial and federal investment in reforestation. MacMillan Bloedel's Chief Forester, Grant Ainscough, in a speech to the Westwater Research Centre in 1979, admitted that the forest companies had been cutting too much, but claimed that it was the government's responsibility to fund reforestation programs.⁷¹ The blame was shifted from the forest industry to the government.

Conclusions

MacMillan Bloedel's portrayal of itself as a resource manager throughout the 1960's and 1970's varied considerably, depending on its audience. To the general public, it was a company concerned with the preservation of forests and wildlife, and the recreational needs of the people. To the financial institutions, other businesses, and people involved in

the forest industry, it was concerned about reforestation and forest management only in terms of economic benefits. Obviously the primary concerns of the company are economic. It has, however, through provincial legislation, also been given considerable responsibility for forest management. Unfortunately the company has not always been willing to accept that responsibility. When a crisis in timber supply received media attention in the late 1970's, for example, MacMillan Bloedel's spokespeople attempted to shift the responsibility for forest management to the government.

Up until the 1960's, the company took it for granted that as a provider of jobs and supporter of the economy, it would automatically have public acceptance and support. Growing concerns about the environment and a growing distrust of government and industry during the 1960's, however, soon changed this. Public relations became extremely important to the company's welfare.

Through public relations, the company first had to address public concerns about the sustainability of the forests. Advertising of the early 1960's focused on technology and the ability of the company to manage, control, and improve nature. By the 1970's, however, people were no longer willing to believe that technology could solve problems of ecology. Public relations at MacMillan Bloedel shifted to other concerns - mainly pollution control, wildlife and scenic preservation, and alternate uses of forests, such as outdoor recreation. The economic benefits of the forest industry were emphasized more to the business community than to the general public, but were present throughout the period studied.

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4. Chandler, A.D. The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1977.
5. Mackay, 1982, p. 247.
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7. Mahood, Ian, and Ken Drushka. Three Men and a Forester, Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1990, p. 184.
8. Sonnenfeld, J.A. Corporate Views of the Public Interest: Perceptions of the Forest Products Industry, Boston, Mass.: Auburn House, 1981, p. 2.
9. Sonnenfeld, 1981, p. 242.
10. Ibid, p. 239.
11. MacMillan Bloedel Collection, hereafter MBC, box 50, file 33.
12. "MacMillan, critics find no middle ground", Globe & Mail, March 30, 1990, B9.
13. MBC, box 116, file 34, Feb. 25, 1964.
14. MBC, box 116, file 32, p. 3.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid, p.4.
17. MBC, box 116, file 32, "Your Part in Public Relations: A guide for Supervisory Employees".
18. The project was undertaken by Gelfand, Derry & Associates.
19. Ibid, p. 68.
20. Ibid, p. 69.

21. MBC, box 114, file 17, Project # 789004, "MacMillan Bloedel Place", prepared by Goldfarb Consultants, 1978, p.3.
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23. MBC, box 114, file 17, Project # 799109, "MB Corporate Communications Evaluation", Goldfarb Consultants, Oct. 1979.
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25. MBC, box 114, file 11, Project # 789043, "MacMillan Bloedel: The Hourly Employees' View", Nov., 1978.
26. Ibid, p. 4.
27. See first issue of Newsletter, MBC, box 110, May, 1964.
28. MBC, box 110, Dec., 1964, p. 4.
29. MBC, box 110, July 1972.
30. MBC, box 110, Aug. 1966, pp. 1 & 2.
31. MBC, box 110, Aug. 1970, pp. 4, 5, & 6.
32. MBC, box 125, files 17 & 18.
33. MBC, box 109, file 20, 1971-72.
34. MBC, box 125, file 9, "MacMillan & Bloedel Ltd.: An analysis prepared by James Richardson & Sons, Research & Statistical Department, Executive Offices, Winnipeg, 1952.
35. MBC, Box 125, file 9, "A MacMillan & Bloedel Ltd. information pamphlet", published by Dominick & Dominick, p. 11.
36. MBC, box 125, file 9, Investor's Reader, Jan. 21, 1970.
37. MBC, box 125, file 7.
38. MBC, box 125, file 10.
39. Ibid, pp. 8 & 9.
40. Draper, D.L. "Eco-Activism: Issues & Strategies of Environmental Interest Groups in British Columbia". Unpublished Master's Thesis, Univ. of Victoria, 1972, p.3. Draper does not give the exact number of interest groups, but estimates there were as many as 300; many of these groups would be small and short-lived.

41. MBC, box 110, MB News, May, 1965, p. 3.
42. MBC, box 111, file 3, "Announcements", May 19, 1965.
43. MBC, box 110, MB News, Jan. 1966, p.7.
44. MBC, box 114, file 1, "Unlocking the Secrets of the Tree", 1969.
45. MBC, box 111, file 3, "Announcements", Nov. 21, 1969.
46. MBC, box 114, file 4.
47. MBC, box 111, file 14, News Release, March 5, 1963.
48. MBC, box 111, file 14, News Release, June 10, 1963.
49. MBC, box 111, file 14, News Release, Sept. 10, 1963.
50. MBC, box 111, file 16, News Release, April 27, 1965.
51. Mackay, 1982, p. 259.
52. MBC, box 111, file 17, News Release, April 14, 1966.
53. MBC, box 111, file 23, News Release, June 15, 1971.
54. MBC, box 111, file 23, News Release, Sept. 13, 1971.
55. MBC, box 111, file 21, News Release, Dec. 1, 1970.
56. MBC, box 125, file 2, Vancouver Express, March 28, 1979.
57. Ibid, p. 3.
58. Ibid, p. 2.
59. MBC, box 125, file 15, p. 6.
60. Ibid, p. 5.
61. Ibid, p. 6.
62. MBC, box 125, file 13, Nov. 29, 1977.
63. MBC, box 125, file 13, March 20, 1978.

64. MBC, box 125, file 15, John R.C. Allan, June 21, 1981.
65. MBC, box 125, file 2, B.C. Business Week, May 9, 1979.
66. MBC, box 125, file 2, The Financial Times, Aug. 27, 1979.
67. MBC, box 125, file 3, The Vancouver Province, Sept. 19, 1979.
68. MBC, box 125, file 13, Nov. 3, 1977.
69. MBC, box 125, file 3, The Vancouver Province, Sept. 29, 1979.
70. MBC, box 125, file 16, Transcript of CBC Television's "B.C. Newsmakers", Jan. 12, 1978, p. 6.
71. MBC, box 125, file 2, B.C. Business Week, May 9, 1979.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Since the 1970's, controversy regarding the use of forest land in B.C. has increased. The province's tourist industry, which relies heavily on the image of "Super Natural" B.C., demands wilderness preservation, and environmental interest groups have become larger and more powerful. The government has had problems trying to please all three groups. Change does not come easily, and as the forest industry claims to need timber from new areas of the province, natives and environmentalists demand explanations. Surely, if sustained yield policies have been implemented for the past forty years, as both industry and government claim, there should be no need to log new areas now. Public trust in business and government has been eroded, and faith in technology, once so predominant in our society, has declined.

The response of the government to environmental conflicts, whether they involve the forest industry or other resource industries, according to political scientist J. Wilson, has been to resist change, protect the industry, and attempt to "contain" the environmental movement.¹ The government has also undertaken a public relations campaign to help improve the image of the forest industry, and has increased public involvement in policy making. Still, the government stresses "multiple use" rather than "single use" alienation of land. Parks and wilderness preserves usually come under the category of "single use". In the case of Strathcona Park, environmentalists soon came to believe that "multiple use equals multiple abuse" (This slogan was used by environmentalists during the protest in Strathcona Park). Changes in forest tenure have ensured that the industry's control over

forest land remains secure.

The B.C. government has consistently denied requests for a comprehensive assessment of wilderness in B.C. Many environmental groups have requested a study of all of the remaining wilderness in the whole province, and have actually come up with plans of their own (for example, the Valhalla Wilderness Proposal). The government, however, has kept the wilderness debate confined to a limited list of areas. The closest it has come to a comprehensive study was the Wilderness Advisory Committee, which was limited to 23 controversial areas, and which was given only three months to come up with a plan. The WAC, as an advisory committee, had only the power to advise, and required no commitment on the part of the government. Some of its recommendations were considered, and some were not, at the discretion of the decision-makers. Advisory committees make it possible for the public to participate, but do not have any real power to make decisions.

Although the picture looks bleak, the government has also begun to move towards making some real changes. In 1987, the Forest Act was amended to allow for wilderness designation in provincial forests, and environmental regulations have become more stringent. The extent to which these regulations are enforced, however, remains questionable. Ideas regarding forest management policies have also changed: since 1980, the idea of "sustainable forestry" has begun to replace sustained yield and multiple use.² in an attempt to integrate environmental and economic concerns and pay more attention to long term forest productivity and ecological constraints.

MacMillan Bloedel is still the largest forest products company in B.C., and faces constant public criticism and harassment. Even at a recent shareholders' meeting,

company executives found themselves trying to convince environmentalists that their policies reflect a concern for forest conservation.³ The company is being forced to account for its actions, and people are no longer easily convinced or placated by its advertising campaigns.

A report prepared in 1989 by a Vancouver forestry consultant for MacMillan Bloedel's Corporate Communications Department⁴ indicates that the company has not been successful in dealing with changing public values, and suggests new ways of coping with environmentalists. This involves creating a more "feminine" image of the company, using both language and visual images. This change in image would be most successful if accompanied by changes in spokespeople. The report suggests the use of foresters, ecologists, women, and retired employees as company representatives. These people, according to the report, tend to be associated with caring for the forest and represent "gentler" values than the businessmen who normally represent the company in public. Representatives of the company are advised to present a "matriarchal" view of issues discussed in the public sphere: "talking as a parent not an employee, expressing emotion as well as fact, promoting consensus, not conflict."

Not all of these ideas are entirely new: images of tree "farming" and the nurturing and protection of forests have been used by the company before. It is unlikely that the public will be placated by new tactics of this sort, however, particularly when every move the company makes is closely watched by environmental organizations all over the province. People want real changes in forest management, not just new techniques in advertising. This was made clear when MacMillan Bloedel's recent "Forests Forever" advertising campaign was discontinued due to public outrage.

The trend seems to be continuing, however. Rather than concrete changes in forest policy, the public is getting more slick advertising campaigns. The latest hopeful-sounding campaign for the "B.C. Forest Alliance", promising to help solve problems of forest management with the help of a "citizens' advisory board", turns out to be nothing more than an exercise in public relations, funded by thirteen forest products companies, and run by a public relations firm with a scandalous reputation. The company in question, Burson-Marsteller Ltd., has been involved in "smoothing over" many of the world's major crises in order to attract investment.⁵ In 1976, the company was hired to take over public relations for the Argentinian government, which was trying to attract foreign investment despite its death squads that were torturing and "disposing of" thousands of people. When a gas leak at a Union Carbide pesticide plant in India killed 3,500 people, Burson-Marsteller was also called. In 1985, when 37 people got food poisoning from eating at a White Spot restaurant in Vancouver, the same company "handled" the crisis. Now, the B.C. forest industry has hired Burson-Marsteller to help it manage its crisis, or, to "smooth[ing] over the problems in order to enhance investment".⁶ The B.C. Forestry Alliance claims that it is not under the control of the industry which funds it. While there are some environmentalists involved, including a Greenpeace representative, its board members also include MacMillan Bloedel chairman Ray Smith, the chief executive officer of Crestbrook Forest Industries, Stuart Lang, and several other people involved in the industry.

Another supposedly unbiased "coalition" designed to deal with conflicts regarding natural resources calls itself "Share B.C.". "Share" groups, also known as "Share our Resources" or "Share our Forests" have sprung up in communities throughout the

province during the past several years, and although they outwardly promote the "sharing" of resources, their emphasis is on jobs versus the environment, and they have caused much unnecessary conflict between labour groups, environmentalists, and natives. The share groups are connected with the U.S. "Center for the Defence of Free Enterprise", and while they claim to be community-based citizens' groups, they are funded and essentially controlled by the forest industry.

The main source of conflict between groups is the idea that wilderness preservation and a healthy economy are incompatible. During the South Moresby controversy, for example, the IWA (International Woodworkers of America) issued a pamphlet to residents of the Queen Charlotte Islands, asking them to make a choice between "Jobs and growth or wilderness, isolation, and unemployment"⁷. The idea that people must choose between jobs and wilderness preservation is frequently promoted by the resource industries of B.C., either directly or through organizations such as the Share groups and the B.C. Forest Alliance.

Despite the powerful forces working against them, environmental interest groups continue to thrive in B.C. Involved in the movement are groups with long histories: fish and wildlife clubs, such as The B.C. Wildlife Federation; naturalists' groups, such as The Federation of B.C. Naturalists; and outdoor recreation clubs, such as The Federation of Mountain Clubs of B.C. The more recent environmental interest groups have emerged only since the mid-1960's. They range from the broad (i.e. Greenpeace and the Western Canada Wilderness Committee) to the specific (i.e. The Friends of Strathcona Park).

In this thesis, I have discussed their backgrounds, hoping to shed some light

on the motives behind their actions. Environmental interest groups in B.C. are both a reflection of the changing attitudes of British Columbians toward their natural environment, and an influence on those attitudes. They have managed to gain a lot of public support over the years, and even if they are unsuccessful in bringing about immediate change in government and industrial policy, they have come a long way in increasing public awareness of environmental problems. If government policy is at all a reflection of public attitudes, change must follow.

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