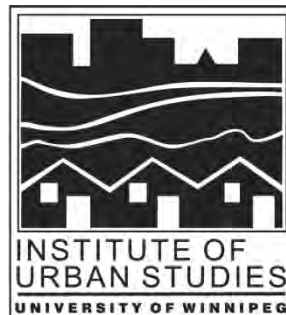
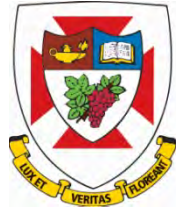


Planning in the Tourist Towns of Canada's National Parks

**by Leslie Bella
1986**

The Institute of Urban Studies





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PLANNING IN THE TOURIST TOWNS OF CANADA'S NATIONAL PARKS

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OF CANADA'S NATIONAL PARKS

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by

Leslie Bella

Institute of Urban Studies

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PREFACE

The University of Winnipeg was the location of a major national urban studies conference, hosted by the Institute of Urban Studies in August 1985. The "Canadian Urban Studies Conference" addressed the general theme of "The Canadian Urban Experience - Past and Present." More than ninety specialists spoke during forty separate sessions on such topics as housing and the built environment, economic and community development, planning and urban form, women and the urban environment, and urban government and politics.

This publication is a result of the Canadian Studies Conference. The Institute of Urban Studies is publishing many of the papers presented at the conference in the Institute's publication series. Some of the papers will also appear in the scholarly journal, the Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine and in book form.

This conference represented a major effort on the part of the Institute of Urban Studies in terms of fulfilling its role as a national centre of excellence in the urban studies and housing fields.

Alan F.J. Artibise
Director



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PLANNING IN THE TOURIST TOWNS OF CANADA'S NATIONAL PARKS

by

Leslie Bella

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Tourist towns exist in most of Canada's older National Parks. Although the best known towns are Banff and Jasper in the Rocky Mountain National Parks, smaller townsites have been developed in Yoho, and Waterton (also in the western mountains), and in Prince Albert Park in Saskatchewan and Riding Mountain Park in Manitoba.¹ A townsite also existed in Elk Island Park, near Edmonton, Alberta, but was eliminated as inappropriate to park values. Planning within these towns has been exceptional in the North American context, for National Park status has given federal government bureaucrats and planners powers more extensive than those available to most North American urban planners. The planners' powers in Canada's National Parks are more like those available to planners in European cities, rather than to planners in North America. This paper outlines the major factors leading to this concentration of powers in the hands of the planners of Canada's National Park towns, and describes some of the ways those powers have been used.

The planning literature includes several attempts to contrast urban planning in North America and in Europe. A text on comparative public policy published ten years ago describes North American urban

planning as being "privatist" and "individualistic." Planning instruments are passive and responsive, and an emphasis is placed on freedom from government interference and the rights of citizens to participate in decisions affecting their lives and communities. In contrast, the authors outlined the more extensive powers available to European town planners, and the greater legitimacy of planning in that context. Citizens of European countries were more likely to accept the decisions of local governments and their planners, and lacked a sense of being entitled to participate in the planning process.² Another text explicitly compares planning in the United Kingdom and the United States, suggesting that although practice in the United Kingdom is more interventionist, the powers of the bureaucracy are increasing in both countries. In addition, opportunities for citizen participation may be more available in the United States, but local politics in the United Kingdom afford opportunities for participation through ward politics.³

Canadian urban planning inherited elements from both European and North American traditions. The City Beautiful movement, exemplified in the Chicago Exposition of 1893, dominated the thought of Canadian planners until the First World War. The primary concern was aesthetic, and monumental public buildings and formal open spaces were the result. The British influence, in the form of the Garden City movement, then intermingled with the concern for the City Beautiful. Ebenezer Howard's proposals for self-contained small towns, surrounded by green belts, and with zones for housing, commercial and industrial uses, were also promoted in Canada. However, Canadian political values did not permit widespread implementation of the ideas of either the City Beautiful movement or the Garden City movement. Canada shared with the United States an individualistic and privatist approach to urban planning, and most cities and towns were left to develop in response to market processes.⁴

In Canada's National Parks, however, market processes were not



FIGURE 1. McCabe and McCardell's Hotel at Cave and Basin, c. 1883.

SOURCE: Archives of the Canadian Rockies.



FIGURE 2. The Bow Valley around Banff in 1888, showing the damage resulting from forest fires.

SOURCE: Archives of the Canadian Rockies.



FIGURE 3. The Sanitarium (part hospital, part poolroom, and part bar) was built by Dr. Brett in 1887. Fire destroyed the building in 1892 and the Park Administration building now stands in its place.

SOURCE: Archives of the Canadian Rockies.



FIGURE 4. The mainstreet of Banff in 1887, still little more than a scruffy frontier town.

SOURCE: Archives of the Canadian Rockies.

allowed to completely dominate town planning. The first park town, Banff, Alberta, was planned to meet the requirements of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The C.P.R., with its monopolistic control of transportation and accommodation, wanted the federal government to be a "wholesome terror," ensuring that standards of construction and development in the town met those of a major international resort. With the advent of the automobile, passenger traffic declined as a significant source of railroad income. However, the Parks Branch retained these planning powers, though for some years they were little used. Since the rebirth of a second conservation movement in the 1960s and 1970s, planning has increased in legitimacy. Parks Canada has become more aggressive in preserving park values, using the tools originally given them for the benefit of the C.P.R. Some urban development has been eliminated, and in other instances growth has been curtailed. Standards of design and development have been more strictly maintained.

2.0 THE C.P.R. TOWN

The birth of Canada's first National Park at Banff has been well documented elsewhere.⁵ The hot springs were found by two working men, who tried to register a claim to them. The C.P.R. president, William Van Horne, had already proposed a park for Lac des Arcs, but was disappointed when he later saw the area without benefit of a cover of fresh snow. William Pearce, then working in the west for the federal government, proposed to his minister, Thomas White, that a park reserve be located at the springs. He presided over a hearing at which existing claims of ownership of the springs were disputed and disposed of.

Then in 1885 Pearce drafted the Order-in-Council creating the park reserve at Banff.⁶ The Canadian government sought advice about the management of the park. A department official inspected the private

concessions operating in the hot springs reserved at Atkansas by the Department of the Interior in the United States. He found problems with privately owned bath houses, including obsolete plumbing and other potentially health threatening situations. It seemed obvious that a higher level of government involvement would be desirable in the Canadian resort. In 1887, the Parks Act was passed, giving the government the power "to adopt rules and regulations for proper order in the park."

The C.P.R. and its president were hoping to maximize the business opportunities for their railroad. At the time of creation of the park Banff was a scruffy frontier railroad town, not the kind of resort that could attract tourists from all over the world. Van Horne was building a company hotel at Banff, and wanted the new park status of the townsite used to produce a suitable environment for a world class resort. He wanted to influence the government's choice of regulations, and sent a certain Dr. Lynch to inspect the place, and to make recommendations on its "qualifications as a resort for invalids and tourists, but especially in its relations to the Company's enterprises there, and more particularly with the hotel now being erected."⁷

Lynch extolled the virtues of Banff. The scenery was "unrivalled;" the valley was a "natural amphitheatre;" there was plenty of small game and good fishing. Also, since the C.P.R. was the single major economic interest in the area, Lynch expected that the Company would want to influence the government's policies. He then outlined the policies that he recommended as in the best interests of the C.P.R.

First, he recommended that the springs be owned by the government, since only the government could ensure "salutary, safe and cleanly" operation. No leases should be granted for use of the water except to "hotels of a reputable character," and to hospitals operating under the license with inspections by the government. The government, he suggested

should administer the bath house, with a sewage system, an attendant within call, and an area for cooling off.

Second, he recommended that something be done to prevent forest fires. Van Horne's engine drivers should take more care, and a system of roads built for both fire fighting and for visitors.

Third, he recommended that all hotels and boardinghouses be licensed to ensure good quality. Certainly, he acknowledged, competition would look after the matter of quality to some extent, but "stringent regulations" were also necessary.

Also, he recommended there be a police force; that "good language" and "steady" behaviour be required of those working in the park; that the use of the term "saloon" be forbidden, and that no spirits be sold, only beer and wine; that buildings be designed to be "in harmony with their natural surroundings;" that a tariff be established to control prices; and that "roughs, gamblers, improper female characters and saloon keepers" should not be allowed to "obtain a foot-hold" at all, and recommended that "their complete exclusion cannot be commenced too soon." He summarized his suggestions with the comment that the government of Banff should be a "wholesome terror:"

The law should be so strongly and vigilantly enforced that the whole region may never obtain anything but the highest reputation for order and good government. 8

He anticipated some community opposition to this form of wholesome terror, "owing to the peculiar relations of the people with the authorities, in being deprived of the privilege of self government." But this was necessary, he believed, if Banff was to be "in the front rank," and "similar to the most celebrated European spas."

The new regulations introduced by the federal government included many of the ideas proposed by Lynch, and also showed that the Canadian government had learned from the negative experience in the hot springs in the United States. By 1890 the new regulations had been drafted, and officials told the C.P.R.'s company doctor, James Brett, that he had "pretty much" what he wanted, but to keep it to himself "until the regulations are out."⁹ Residents and businesses in Banff were given leases on the land they occupied, rather than free title. The major tourist attractions, such as the hot springs in Banff, were retained under the careful eye of the parks branch. What was not operated directly by the government was regulated instead. Town plans were created, reflecting concern for the landscape beyond the townsite, as well as for economy and convenience. Finally, to ensure that planning authority remained securely within the hands of the government, Lynch's proposal to preclude local self government within park boundaries was also implemented.

However, none of these measures were implemented as originally intended. In each instance political and economic realities led to modifications, usually to the benefit of the major economic interests present in the community of Banff. Initially these were to the benefit of the C.P.R., its friends and dependents. Subsequently, other entrepreneurs involved in the tourist industry also gained concessions.

3.0 LEASEHOLDS IN THE PARKS

The first reservation of land for a park at Banff had involved removing squatters from the area, although they were granted some compensation after a public hearing chaired by William Pearce.¹⁰ With the land restored to the public domain, government officials decided that freehold title should not be granted to any of the subsequent occupants of the space. This would provide the government with "full and thorough

control" of the park, allowing the government to manage municipal development.¹¹ The original proposal was for 21 year leases, but this was opposed by Prime Minister Macdonald on the basis that "people will not build handsome houses on 21 year leases. If there is to be a limit at all, there must be the right of renewal."¹²

So, a policy was implemented providing for 42 year leases, transferable with the consent of the government, at an annual rental to the government. After 42 years the arrangement could be reviewed and renewed for a similar period. The leases included a clause indicating that they would be renewable "in perpetuity," which proved contentious when redevelopment of parts of the townsite became necessary. In actual operation the leasehold policy became very much like a system of freehold ownership, with speculation rampant and development scattered throughout the subdivisions.¹³

There were to be major exceptions to the leasehold policy in the parks. First, the C.P.R. was entitled to receive freehold land adjacent to its railroad stations. In Banff they accepted land on a 999 year lease. Dr. James Brett was also allowed favoured treatment, receiving his choice of lots for a "sanitarium." However, in the caustic words of one oldtimer, Brett developed an establishment that was "part hotel, part hospital, part pool room and part bar." In spite of Dr. Lynch's good intentions, Banff retained some aspects of a frontier town. The railroad's influence continued, as in 1927 the company exchanged the lease on this land in the townsite for a long term lease on a golf course.¹⁴ Subsequently, the Company also influenced the location of an airfield.¹⁵

However, in spite of these exceptions,¹⁶ the lease provision has the potential to allow Parks Canada some control over urban development within the parks. In several parks cottage development was permitted along the shores of lakes. This decision was later reversed, in favour of returning

lakeshore to their natural state. Development of this type along Lake Minnewanka in Banff National Park was displaced after hydro development in the area, but due to purchase of the leases by the power company rather than through their expiry. Also, at Lake Astotin in Elk Island Park leases on lots were finally all extinguished in 1972.¹⁷

In spite of the exceptions made for the C.P.R., and more recently for the Quebec provincial government, the principle that the Canadian government should own all the lands within a National Park, including the townsites, has recently been reaffirmed. The Parks Canada Policy of 1979 reads:

4.3.12.3. Parks Canada will continue to own all land and administer all land-use planning in national park towns. 18

However there appears to be little evidence that park authorities have fully used the powers that come with ownership of the land within the parks. They have hesitated to extinguish leases, except through purchase. A measure originally intended to give control over townsite planning in the parks to the government has in practice operated in a way very similar to that which would result from a freehold system. The only action that has been successful, apparently, has been the requirement that leaseholders improve maintenance on their property just prior to lease renewals.¹⁹

4.0 GOVERNMENT OPERATION AND REGULATION

Experience at the hot springs at Arkansas, and the advice of Dr. Lynch to Van Horne, had favoured government control and regulation of key facilities such as Banff's cave and basin and hot springs. In Banff from the first the government did not operate all the facilities itself, but controlled the distribution of water from the hot spring, and leased

out sites for bathhouses to be supplied with water from the cave and basin at a rental based on an annual charge for each tub installed.²⁰ The bathhouses were regulated to ensure satisfactory equipment and design, but one of Lynch's proposals for a government operated bathhouse with a medical attendant was rejected, at least for the time being.

While the government managed the water from the cave and basin, the upper hot springs remained under private management. A man called Whitman had put up a tent, and served meals there. In 1886 he built a log cabin, and his patrons "loll[ed] on stretchers and soaked their aching limbs in a pool within a cave." Dr. Brett had his eye on this resource, and "encouraged" Mr. Whitman to leave, so that he himself could establish a second hotel, and pipe water down to his own sanitarium. By 1909 Brett had established himself financially, and was able to build another hospital in Banff.²¹

Lynch's proposals for government management were accepted as long as it meant expropriating small business people. The government was used as a tool for displacing squatters and small businesses, the small fry, so that larger interests such as the C.P.R. and Brett could establish their own enterprises. The major objective of this policy was not the public interest, but the private interests of the railroad. With the help of government policy, the C.P.R. and its friends could control its competitive environment, and displace people whose lifestyle was not sufficiently aesthetic for a major tourist resort, or whose business interests competed with their own.

However, the upper hot springs remained primitive, even under Brett's management. In 1905 the government built their own change rooms and bathhouse at the upper springs, and in 1914 improved those at the cave and basin in 1976, but it has been re-furbished and re-opened in 1985, to celebrate the centennial of Canada's National Park system.

In other parks, also, the springs are now operated directly by the government. In Kootenay a rather seedy commercial operation was displaced when the park was created in 1919.²² It appears that in most instances government operation is supported by entrepreneurs in the tourist business, on the basis that government operation ensures that their own clientele will be admitted and will be pleased with the standards of service.

However, while the government has operated key facilities in the parks, this has always appeared subsidiary to government regulation of commercial businesses. The legislation of 1887, and the first Parks Act of 1911 both provided for extensive regulation of commercial activities in the townsite. The latter provided for the "control and licensing of trades and traffic of every description and the levying of license fees."²³ Under the authority of this legislation, and the amendments of 1931, parks officials developed regulations related to forest fires, sanitation, traffic control, construction, electricity, protection of wild life, timber management, grazing, fishing, businesses and trades, camping, natural gas, telephone, theatres, ice, boat launching, signs, cemeteries, and of course, mineral hot springs.²⁴ The recent popularity of "privatization"²⁵ has led Parks Canada to re-state this emphasis on the commercial sector provision of services. The 1979 Parks Canada policy document emphasizes:

4.3.4. Parks Canada will encourage involvement of the private sector including non-governmental organizations in the development and operation of certain approved services and facilities for visitors in national parks. 26

5.0 TOWN PLANNING

The planning references cited above suggest that North American privatist urban planning tends to produce a grid-like street pattern,



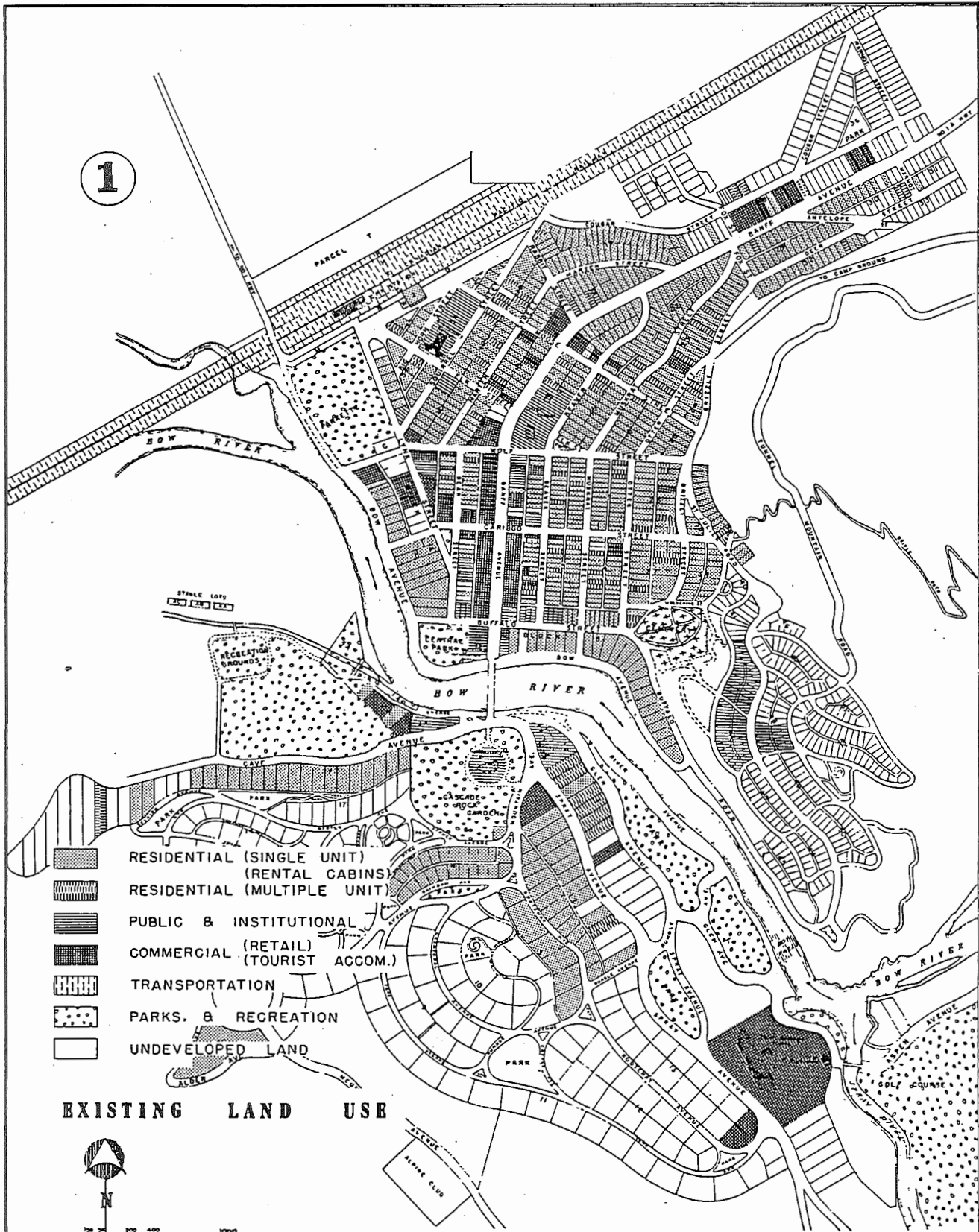
FIGURE 5. The original Banff Springs Hotel (c. 1920) was built by the Canadian Pacific Railroad to accommodate tourists arriving by rail. The architecture was designed to attract attention rather than blend in with the mountain environment.

SOURCE:



FIGURE 6. Banff Avenue, looking north from the Administration Building, in 1982.

SOURCE: T. Grant, Parks Canada.



URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN, BANFF ALTA.

FOR THE NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES, OTTAWA.

since this is most easily expanded and adapted. In the words of Mumford, quoted by Heidenheimer et al., "on strictly commercial principles, the gridiron plan answered as no other plans did, the shifting values, the accelerated expansion, the multiplying population required by the capitalist regime."²⁷ The City Beautiful movement that followed tended to favour wide boulevards and massive public squares and civic buildings. The Garden City movement, whose influences intermingled with both of those outlined above, emphasized a more suburban character, with irregular lot sizes and curving streets. The experience of town planning in Canada's first National Park at Banff shows all of these influences.

The first plan for the townsite at Banff was developed by George A. Stewart, a civil engineer, who completed the survey of the hot spring reserve in 1886, and was then asked to survey another 13,000 acres and lay out two townsites. Lots on the north bank of the river were laid out in traditional rectangular fashion, with some adaptation to accommodate the railroad and station. Here the planning practices were close to those typically found in North American prairie towns of the period - designed with one eye on the railroad and the other on main street market values. However, the main street of Banff Avenue showed some influence of the "City Beautiful" movement. The street was deliberately aligned to provide a view of Cascade Mountain to the north,²⁸ and of a major public building (first Brett's Sanitarium, and later the parks administration office) to the south. Across the river to the south, however, the lots were on a more generous scale, and resembled the contemporary planned spas of Europe. Here the plan for Banff incorporated a version of the Garden City, but designed for tourists rather than permanent residents.²⁹

The lots south of the river were used for residential purposes, with commercial development focused around the main street north of the river. However, as some of the northern lots still remained vacant, some of these were also filled in with residential development. In 1913 the park

administrators, anticipating some future growth, looked for some help from a professional planner. No doubt influenced by the work done by the Committee of Health of the federal government's Commission on Conservation, which was to invite Thomas Adams to become their Advisor on Town Planning in 1914,³⁰ the parks administrators asked for help from another planner of the British School.

They asked T.A. Mawson to recommend an "artistic layout" for the town. He recommended no changes to the landscaping but suggested a recreation ground, another swimming pool, and a toboggan slide be built. In addition, a circular drive should be built around Tunnel Mountain, more bridges built across the river, and the zoo should be moved to the other side of the railroad tracks.³¹ Mawson had no major proposals for redesign of the townscape, even though two years earlier he had produced a plan for Calgary that was a "grandiose fantasy."³² Also in 1913, even though many lots remained undeveloped, more were opened and auctioned to the public. Further sales ensued in 1915.³³ Three decades later, in 1945, an Edmonton architect, Cecil Burgess, recommended a zoning system, but also to little effect.³⁴

Expert advice had not produced a model townsite. Land uses were mixed, and many residences had substandard shacks or tents in their back yards. The government indicated in 1938 that these would be destroyed, but by 1961 Oberlander noted that 205 such cabins still existed. Some were occupied year round, and classified as residential land use.³⁵ Federal government buildings were scattered throughout the town, as were various facilities intended for tourist use. There appeared to have been little attempt to be systematic in locating various land uses, and a system of zoning (that planning tool favoured by most North American city planners) was not introduced until 1956. This was amended in 1966, following the advice of Dr. Peter Oberlander who had completed his study in 1962.³⁶ The zoning system was reviewed again during the recent "Four

Mountain Parks" planning program.³⁷

The character of Banff, however, owes more to the tourist industry than to the attempts of planners to use zoning and the other tools available to them. Stephen Jones compared Banff with the nearby mining town of Canmore, as they both existed in 1933. He suggested that Banff's character was due to its key position in providing services to tourists. Canmore, although originally laid out when the town was within park boundaries, was intended to serve as a mining town. The distinctions between the two were the result of economic forces, he suggested, rather than the result of planned intervention by the government bureaucrats.³⁸ Mining has since been phased out at Canmore, and the growth of tourism, the limits on urban expansion at Banff, and the developments within the Alberta government's Kananskis country have all had an impact on the town. Canmore is now a tourist town, similar to Banff, but without the restrictions on development now implemented in Banff.³⁹

The Parks Canada Policy approved in 1979 attempted to strengthen the conservationist and preservationist aspects of park policy. Urban development was recognized as generally inconsistent with National Park values. Tourist facilities in future would be located outside town boundaries, rather than within them. Banff and Jasper were acknowledged as exceptions, and were to be allowed to remain. They were, however, to be contained within boundaries as set in legislation.⁴⁰ Also during the 1970s Parks Canada improved the standards for architectural design in the parks, suggesting unobtrusive buildings were preferable to monuments typified by such buildings as the Banff Springs Hotel.⁴¹ Then, in 1979 an Urban Concept Plan was approved for Banff, limiting the capacity of the townsite, and suggesting infill development rather than an extension of boundaries. A similar plan was developed for Jasper, where the pressures for expansion and redevelopment were less extensive.⁴² The more recent Four Mountains Parks Planning program has attempted to limit further the expansion of

Banff and the other townsites in the mountain parks. However, a change of government in Ottawa may produce a shift in emphasis, towards commercial expansion rather than limiting growth.

6.0 LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The last measure to be discussed here is the original decision, advocated by Lynch, to ensure that Banff residents did not have the right to local self-government. The residents and business people of Banff were legitimately concerned that many regulations governed their community, and plans had been established, but that as citizens they lacked any access to democratic processes to influence those decisions. Also, the absence of municipal government structures did not mean that the town went without the services usually provided by a municipal government. Sewage disposal, road building and maintenance, and other municipal services were all introduced. People wanted input into the way their town's affairs were administered, and local business leaders expressed to the government their desire for local self-government.

For several years the residents of Banff had sought a mechanism for input into decisions about the town's future. They petitioned the Minister of the Interior in 1920, who agreed to the formation of a group to represent the citizens. In 1921 the residents of Banff elected their first Banff Advisory Council. The group met annually with either the parks commissioner or the minister, discussing such matters as traffic control, local employment and the provision of public services. They also met regularly with the park superintendent.⁴³ The success of this group led to the creation of similar groups in Canmore (then within park boundaries), Jasper and Waterton.

Chambers of Commerce have also been active in the various towns, and have on occasion been vocal in their advocacy of local self-government.

Dissatisfaction was sufficient in the 1950s for Professor Grant Crawford to be hired to review the means of government in the towns. However, faced with the potential of a change to town status, most interests in the parks changed their position. Crawford could find no significant support for self-government.

The movement for self-government was reborn in the 1960s, and in 1970 a plebiscite was held in Banff and Jasper under the auspices of the school boards. A majority was in favour of the two towns becoming municipalities under the government of Alberta, but the turnout had been low.⁴⁴ A provincial study was tabled in the Alberta legislature in 1972, recommending municipal status for the two towns. The Parks Branch followed up with discussions and consultations in the parks, and attempted to remove some of the substantive causes for concern among park residents. They were promised greater consultation in future, but not self-government.

The citizens are now allowed to operate some programs themselves. The Parks Canada Policy of 1979 permits "the formation of local government to administer services and certain facilities." For example, the school board runs in the same way as any other, and there are recreation boards and family and community support service boards comparable to those in other Alberta communities. However, Parks Canada remains the owner of the land, and still administers all land use planning in the towns.⁴⁵ The full rights of local self-government have not been granted.

Joe Clark, in his election campaigns, has promised to work for self-government for the National Park towns of Banff and Jasper, one of which is in his Yellowhead constituency. Now that Mulroney's Conservatives have been elected, and Clark is once more part of the government, the issue of local self-government in the parks towns will probably be raised again.

7.0 CONCLUSION: THE WHOLESOME TERROR

Banff, and later the towns in the other National Parks, benefited from the C.P.R.'s self serving proposals. Following the advice of Lynch, Brett and William Van Horne, the federal government had given parks officials the powers to control development in the towns. A leasehold rather than freehold system of land tenure, government operation and regulation of key resources, townscapes laid out in the best of contemporary traditions, and an absence of local self-government. All four elements, taken together, would have allowed for a very firm control on the future of Banff, Jasper and the other townsites.

However, these powers were introduced as a means of benefiting the railroad, as part of Macdonald's program for ensuring the C.P.R.'s financial success. As the railroad declined in significance as a means of passenger transportation, the company's interest in Banff and the other parks along its routes also declined. With the C.P.R. less aggressive in advocating government intervention, the use of these means of intervention also declined. There was no-one advocating the firm implementation of leasehold requirements, so in practice the arrangement became almost indistinguishable from a freehold system. Government operation of key facilities appeared to benefit entrepreneurs to start with. But, much of the operation has always been private, even before the current popularity of "privatization." Town planning proposals were also implemented less firmly than originally intended. Only recently have those responsible for planning in the parks been professional planners. There was no zoning system until 1956, and no policy limiting growth until 1979. Local self-government has been advocated by business people in the towns, but resisted by some conservationists and by parks officials. Until recently those officials have had political support from their ministers.

The value of Banff and Jasper as tourist attractions is in the scenery, the views of the mountains, the wildlife; the opportunities for camping, skiing, hiking and picnics, and in the amenities of the town-sites. The tragedy of the commons⁴⁶ reminds us that in such a situation the very success of a public resource such as the mountain parks and their towns can bring their failure. Popularity produces overuse and environmental damage. Uncontrolled competition between businesses for the tourist dollar can produce strip development, garish neon signs,⁴⁷ and ultimately a decaying town core.

The continued success of a collective resource such as a national park is rooted in strict management and control of the use of that resource. As Harrington suggests in his analysis of the success of Disneyland and Disney World, a totalitarian (but invisible) government is necessary to preserve the environmental quality of such a resource.⁴⁸ The continued success of Banff and the other park towns will be in continuing the "wholesome terror," in using the management tools made available to Parks Canada to manage the towns in the collective interest.

In future, though, that "wholesome terror" will not be promoted by a railroad seeking to monopolize the tourist industry. That monopoly ensured that the tools would be available - but no longer ensures that they are used. Instead, after 100 years, it will be necessary for use of those tools to be advocated by others. Parks officials may themselves support firm management of the townsites in the parks, but they will also need support from pressure groups such as N.P.P.A.C. (National and Provincial Parks Association) and the Alberta Wilderness Association. Without this support the political will to protect the National Park towns from further commercial development may well weaken, particularly during the Progressive Conservative Party's tenure in Ottawa.

NOTES

1. The historical development of planning in each of these townsites is outlined in W.F. (Ferg) Lothian's A History of Canada's National Parks, Vol. III (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979).
2. A.J. Heidenheimer, Hugh Heclo and Carolyn Teigh Adams, Comparative Public Policy: the Politics of Social Choice in Europe and America (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), Chapter 4, "City Planning and the Control of Open Space," 103-129.
3. R. Hambilton, Policy, Planning and Local Government (New Jersey: Allandheld, 1979), 89-113.
4. A.F.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter, The Usable Urban Past (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), 167-176.
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