"Middle Parks: Development of State and Provincial Parks in the United States and Canada, 1890-1990"

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By

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Abstract

This dissertation is a comparative study of the development of state parks in the United States and provincial parks in Canada from 1890 to 1990. The study focuses on four park system cases studies: Pennsylvania and Idaho in the United States and Ontario and Alberta in Canada. This study relies on three main levels of comparison. Firstly, it compares the development of parks at the national level. Secondly, it compares the development of parks in the East and West. Thirdly, it compares the development of rural and urban/near-urban state and provincial parks. These comparative levels of analysis are aided by two primary methodological techniques. The first method is a timeline visualization of park development through time that relies on a colour-coded categorization system. Under this system, each park in each park system is mapped on the timelines based on the *primary* reason each piece of land was chosen. The eight categories are as follows: Education (Environment), Historical, Post-Agriculture, Post-Industry, Post-Timber, Preservation, Recreational, and Resource Extraction. This methodology is paired with an individual park case-study approach that illustrates how the patterns identified by the timelines affected individual parks, both socially and materially.

In the first half of the century, all four park systems prioritized the acquisition of affordable land in rural regions. By the second half of the century, all four park systems had altered their park development priorities to accommodate geographic accessibility over economic viability. In both cases, preservation was not the primary objective of park development. The timelines demonstrate that preservation did not become a priority of any of the park systems until the 1980s. This study asserts that park history should look beyond park borders to the peripheries and greater regions in which each park lies in order to fully understand each park in its entirety and how each park relates to broader historical forces. This study shows that parks were not simply tools of preservation or recreation. Rather, forces that supported *use* of these parks and *protection* of these parks coexisted and were often one and the same.

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Abbreviations

AFA – Algonquin Forestry Authority

AIM – American Indian Movement

AWL – Algonquin Wildlands League

CCC – Civilian Conservation Corps

CFA – Cook Forest Association

DCNR – Department of Conservation and Natural Resources

DLF- Department of Lands and Forests

FOAP – Friends of Algonquin Park

FON – Federation of Ontario Naturalists

FPP – Friends of Pinery Park

NCPS – National Conference on State Parks

NPPAC – National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada

NPS – National Park Service

OFIA – Ontario Forest Industries Association

OHF – Ontario Heritage Foundation

PPA – Pennsylvania Parks Association

QEW – Queen Elizabeth Way

SLUP – Strategic Land Use Planning

UFA – United Farmers of Alberta

WSR – Wild or Scenic River

Chapter One: Introduction: Middle Park Syndrome

Middle child syndrome includes "neglect, forgotten dates, and sometimes in bad cases forgetting they even exist," writes one *Urban Dictionary* user.[1] In developmental psychology, middle child syndrome refers to a general feeling or exclusion by middle children in families of three or more siblings. The eldest child receives privileges and responsibilities not bestowed to the middle child, and the youngest child is more likely to receive special treatment and indulgences.[2] This relationship dynamic mirrors the way in which provincial and state parks are treated both in the public imagination and within park historiography. National parks are akin to a first-born. They are the overachievers, and they get the most privileges and attention. They are the United States and Canada's "best idea."[3] Urban parks, on the other hand, enjoy a fruitful connection to urban history that ensures higher historiographical coverage.

Provincial and state parks hold a pivotal middle position in North American parks, both in regards to recreation and conservation. Former Florida State Park Director and park historian, Ney C. Landrum, commented that "state parks occupy a central position in the overall gamut of public outdoor recreation, bridging the critical gap—often a yawning chasm—between the largely playground types of recreation provided by America's cities and towns and the contrasting backcountry recreational experience available in vast national parks."[4] In addition to holding this central position in the provision of outdoor recreation, provincial and state parks also hold a central position in North American landscape conservation and preservation. Their design often lies somewhere between the idealized wilderness of national parks and the

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[1] yeayeayea, "Middle Child Syndrome," *Urban Dictionary*, accessed 10 October 2018, https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Middle%20Child%20Syndrome.

[2] Raymond J. Corsini, "Middle Child Syndrome," in *The Dictionary of Psychology* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Brunner/Mazel, 1999), 595.

[3] This quote refers to the popular 2009 six-part documentary series, *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*, produced by Ken Burns and Dayton Duncan.

[4] Ney C. Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America: A Critical Review* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), xi.

simulated nature of rewilded urban parks. Despite holding this important central position within North American outdoor recreation, historians and the popular imagination have largely ignored state and provincial parks, demonstrating a kind of 'middle park syndrome' amongst scholars and the public. State and provincial parks are often treated as footnotes to national park stories, lumped in with national park historiography despite that fact that they had different trajectories and played different roles in society.

Between 2004 and 2015, for instance, approximately eighty percent of presentations and posters that dealt directly with park history at the annual American Society for Environmental History meeting were about national parks. Provincial and state parks only made up about ten percent of these presentations (Figure 1.1).[5] This imbalance is indicative of general trends in history and puzzling when one looks at state and provincial park statistics. In the United States, state parks encompass eighteen million acres of land. There are 6,624 state parks in the United States, and according to the National Association of State Park Directors, state parks had over 800 million visitors in 2017 in comparison to the 330 million visitors to American national parks.[6] This study starts to fill this gap in park historiography and takes steps to acknowledge the unique contribution that state and provincial parks have had in North American society during the twentieth century. In their 2012 special issue of *Environment and History*, "Special Places and Protected Spaces: Historical and Global Perspectives on Non-National Parks in Canada and Abroad," Keith Carlson and Jonathon Clapperton argued that provincial and state parks have largely been ignored by historians because they lack a centralized, and thus easily analyzable

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[5] This statistic is based on all presentations and posters that directly mentioned a park in the title. Find programs for the annual American Society for Environmental History meeting on their website: "Conference Archives," *American Society for Environmental History*, https://aseh.net/conference-workshops/conference-schedules-archive.

[6] "State Park Facts," *America's State Parks*, accessed 11 October 2018, https://www.stateparks.org/about-us/state-park-facts/; "Visitation Numbers," *National Park Service*, accessed 11 October 2018, https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/visitation-numbers.htm.

structure like that which binds national parks.[7] Landrum comments that creating a cohesive state park history is difficult because of the "do-it-my-way" attitude of different state park systems.[8] Carlson, Clapperton, and Landrum are correct. State and provincial park history is difficult to write because of the diverse nature of these park systems and the decentralized locations of the historical sources that pertain to them. This study uses a case study and comparative approach to overcome that obstacle and to present a fuller portrait of the development of provincial and state parks in Canada and the United States.
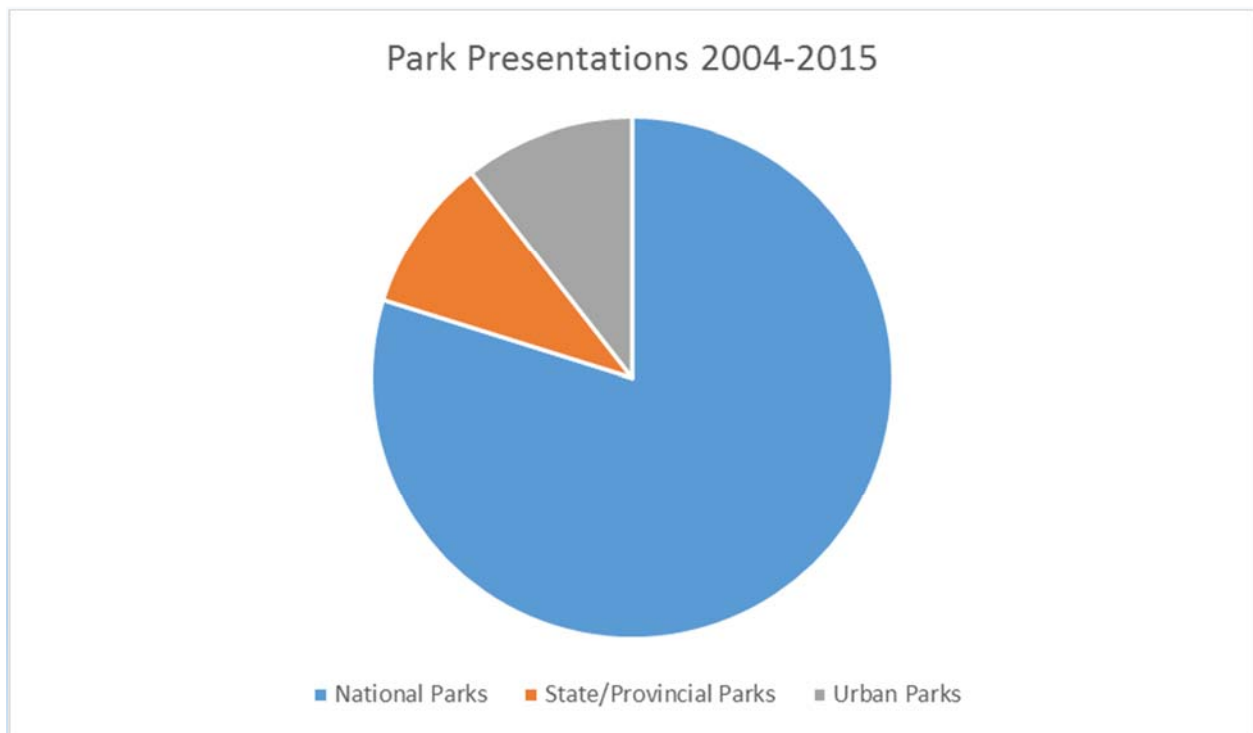
Figure 1.1: Representation of kinds of parks represented in titles of presentations and posters at the annual meeting of the American Society for Environmental History, 2004-2015.

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[7] Keith Thor Carlson and Jonathan Clapperton,"Special Places and Protected Spaces: Historical and Global Perspectives on Non-National Parks in Canada and Abroad," *Environment and History* 18 (2012).

[8] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 254.

'Urban parks' is a general umbrella term that encompasses a variety of park-types from small neighbourhood playgrounds to large greenspaces located within densely-populated urban centres.[9] These parks are also managed by a variety of government types and private organizations. North America's first areas dedicated solely to recreation were city parks, which were descendants of European urban planning doctrines.[10] New York City's Central Park, which opened in 1859, was one of the first of these new types of parks to be developed. It was different, Kenneth Jackson notes, because "it was the first grand open space that [was] intentionally set aside for the ordinary public in a prosperous and ambitious city."[11] Central Park represented the ultimate juxtaposition of city and nature, urban sophistication and commonplace frivolity. Central Park developed into a social institution that was symbolic of a new, nineteenth century trend towards centralized and organized recreation within urban contexts.[12]

An increase in public services was also a symptom of urbanization in the latter half of the 1800s. Public education programs, funded by city and local governments, led citizens to be more familiar with concepts of health and physical fitness. This awareness paired with an increase in public services, led to a proliferation of active recreation programs. At this same time, technological advancements led to a gradual increase in leisure time for wealthy, middle, and to a lesser extent, working-classes. The combined interest in active recreation and increased leisure time acted as a catalyst for the development of recreational areas and parks across North America. Parks became a defining aspect of North American society.[13]

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[9] Pages 4-10 adapted from: Jessica DeWitt, "A Convergence of Recreational and Conservation Ideals: The Cook Forest State Park Campaign, 1910-1928" (M.A. Thesis, University of Rochester, 2011).

[10] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 6.

[11] Kenneth Jackson, "Preface," in *Central Park: An American Masterpiece*, by Sara Cedar Miller (New York, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2003), 7.

[12] Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 1-5.

[13] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, xii, 7-8.

This acknowledgement of the population's need for recreational outlets grew largely at the same time as the conservationist and preservationist forces that led to the creation of the American and Canadian national park systems, in 1872 and 1885 respectively. The origins of the state park movement in the United States go back just as far. Before the term "state park" was used, areas of land that could now be categorized under the label of state park were established. Some of the earliest attempts at state provision of recreation and conservation include the now famous Yosemite Park in California (1864), Adirondack Park in New York (1885), Mackinac Island in Michigan (1895), Mount Greylock Reservation in Northwestern Massachusetts (1898), and the Palisades Interstate Park (1894), located in New York and New Jersey.[14]

New York's first state park, the Niagara Reservation State Park—better known as Niagara Falls—was opened on July 15, 1885 after a fifteen year campaign to save the Canadian and American sides of the falls, which were already popular tourist destinations, from complete industrial ruin. This park is now the oldest natural area state park still in operation. This park precedent set by New York acted as a catalyst for the development of state parks elsewhere in the United States. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, six other states created parks.[15] During this same period in Canada, Ontario created its first park at the provincial level, the so-called Algonquin National Park, in 1893. However, the official state park movement in the United States would not begin for another couple decades.

The term "state park movement" should always be used loosely. Although scholars, like Landrum, use the term to refer to park creation prior to 1900, the parks established sporadically

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[14] Yosemite was originally given to the state of California as a piece of property to be held for public use, resort, and recreation. Mismanagement and inaccessibility caused the land to be re-ceded to the United States in 1905. "An Act Granting Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Tree Grove to California, June 30, 1864," In *Conservation in the United States: A Documentary History, Recreation*, edited by Phillip O. Foss (New York, Chelsea House Publishers, 1971), 226; Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 30-31; Roderick Frazier Nash, "Wilderness Preserved," in *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 108-121.

[15] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 37-47.

before 1920 were not recognized by the people of the time as part of a nation-wide campaign for recreation-based, state-sponsored preservation projects. It was not until 1921 that a series of events that can be called a proper "state park movement" began. This crusade was begun, not by a state-based government official or private citizen, but rather by Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the National Park Service (1917-1929).

Mather arrived in Washington D.C. in 1915 driven by a general affection for the country's national parks. He believed that the federal government was neglecting its national parks and allowing them to deteriorate. Mather wrote a letter to the federal government about what he found to be unacceptable conditions in the national parks. This letter caught the attention of the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, who subsequently hired Mather to protect the national parks about which he felt so passionate.[16]

As the first director of the National Park Service (NPS), Mather had an enormous undertaking ahead of him. He had to organize and overhaul the national parks that already existed and he had to administer the creation of new national parks. Mather made short work of organizing the existing national parks. However, the second task, that of choosing the next generation of parks, was exceedingly difficult for Mather. Landrum notes that, "especially in the Northeast and Midwest, many of the intelligentsia and the civic-minded leadership…were seeking out places to save and the means to save them" at this time.[17] The most popular course of action for these activists was to champion their preservation project as a possible new national park. The result of this rise in grassroots preservation efforts for the NPS was to cause an overload in new park proposals, which frustrated Mather and other NPS officials. Mather believed that this bombardment was largely a waste of the department's time because the majority of these park proposals were not of national park caliber. For instance, of the sixteen proposals submitted in 1916, only two became national parks.

Ironically, this increase in interest in national park creation and preservation was hampering the activity of the NPS. Mather recognized that he needed to find a solution to these

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[16] Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks* (New York: Knopf, 1951), 7.

[17] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 48.

excess national park proposals quickly.[18] He was also, however, cognizant that these areas, though not appropriate for inclusion in the national park system, deserved to be preserved for the public's benefit.[19] He believed that enthusiasm in the public sector for park development was praiseworthy and needed to be capitalized on. What was needed to achieve this capitalization was a new category of park between the national and urban park levels. It became clear to Mather that the most desirable solution was at the state-level. If the states stepped in to assist with the preservation of these lands, then the NPS would be able to select only the finest pieces of land.[20]

By 1921, Mather and other NPS officials observed the unification of the nation's attitude for state parks under several amalgamating points. Firstly, the term "state park," earlier used only sporadically, was now in general use. Secondly, differentiations between the state's accountability for parks and that of other levels of government were being made. And lastly, there was mounting recognition of what Landrum calls a "fundamental state park rationale." Mainstream opinion was now supporting the idea that state parks were beneficial additions to society and all states should attempt to acquire such holdings. The political and social atmosphere at this time was ready for a full-fledged state park movement, and all that was needed was an impetus to bring the hypothetical movement into reality.

Mather's solution was a conference that would bring together the top community leaders from across the country. This conference was held in January 1921 in Iowa, one of the early state leaders in park creation. The two hundred attendees represented a large spectrum of the population, including sportsmen, garden clubs, academics, and government officials.[21] In his speech, "The United States of America and Its Parks," Mather managed to define the purpose of the gathering. The message that arose from this oration provided the basis from which the National Conference on State Parks (NCSP) emerged. Mather's speech focused more on

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[18] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 1, 48, 77.

[19] Phyllis Myers and Sharon N. Green, *State Parks in a New Era: Volume 1: A Look at the Legacy*, (Washington D.C.: The Conservation Foundation, 1989), 3.

[20] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 1, 78-79.

[21] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 73-81.

recreation than on conservation in order to appeal to a larger portion of the audience. The most noteworthy point from Mather's speech was his assertion that "every state in the Union should have a park commission" managed in comparable, if not identical, fashion.[22] This concept evolved into the NCSP's rallying cry: "A State Park Every Hundred Miles." This goal was enthusiastically pursued by most states over the next several decades. Mather and the NPS assisted forty-six states in the development of their own state park systems. The most significant accomplishment of the conference was to create enough momentum for the continuation of annual meetings of the NCSP for several decades.[23] In 1926, Raymond H. Torrey, a nature writer, preservationist, and organizing member of NCSP, wrote "that the majority of the United States [was] adequately discharging or [were] rising to their responsibilities in providing means for the outdoor recreation of their people, through State parks and forests or equivalent preserves."[24]

It was not the National Conference on State Parks or its offspring institutions alone, however, that propelled the nation into a more discernable state park movement. It was the effect of various changes and trends, such as the rise of the automobile and increased leisure time, paralleling increased park awareness, across the nation that had the largest effect in spurring park development. There was no discernable "provincial park movement" in Canada that mirrored or resembled that which took place in the U.S. in the first half of the twentieth century. In fact, it was not until after World War II that much of Canada supported parkmaking at the provincial level.

The majority of national and non-national park historiography is grounded in perceptions of wilderness and wilderness literature. In his seminal work, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, Roderick Nash traces the evolution of the concept of wilderness in North America. In colonial

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[22] Stephen T. Mather, "The United States of America and Its Parks," *'Wildways.' Representing the Order of Wild Life and Conservation of the Out-of-Doors* 5 (1921): 10-14.

[23] Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America*, 13, 85-88.

[24] Raymond H. Torrey, *State Parks and Recreational Uses of State Forests in the United States*. (Washington D.C.: The National Conference on State Parks, 1926), 9.

America, due to their Christian heritage, wilderness was something that colonists and early Americans viewed as the enemy. Wilderness was something to be conquered, domesticated, and turned into civilization. A romanticized and spiritual view of wilderness, according to Nash, developed in the early nineteenth century parallel to the industrial revolution. This romanticism contributed to the establishment of the first national parks in the United States and Canada. The perceived end of wilderness paired with the rise of scientific knowledge in the twentieth century created the conditions that led to the modern environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s and the Wilderness Act of 1964. This act represented an official governmental recognition that wilderness has value outside of the natural resources that it contained. Nash presents national parks as representations of so-called pristine wilderness that are preserved by park boundaries. "The final irony," he writes, "in the history of the American wilderness is that this very increase in appreciation may ultimately prove its undoing."[25] The very tourism that led to national park creation is damaging the environment that the national parks are meant to preserve, according to Nash. His analysis emphasizes a divide between man and nature and does not acknowledge the presence of Indigenous peoples within park boundaries prior to park establishment.

In *The Idea of Wilderness*, Max Oelschlaeger presents a similar narrative of the development of the concept of wilderness to Nash, but he rejects anthropocentric nature of the concept.[26] In the "The Trouble with Wilderness," William Cronon argues that the concept of 'wilderness' in and of itself is a problematic human-created idea because it creates an artificial divide between human and non-human life. Wilderness is a product of civilization not the antithesis of it, according to Cronon.[27]

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[25] Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 235.

[26] Max Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

[27] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 69-90.

Support of a declensionist national park narrative—i.e. a decline narrative—is reliant on the connection of national park development to the concept of preservation. Traditional and popular canon argues that national parks were an outgrowth of wilderness preservationist forces. In *Phantom Parks*, for instance, Rick Searle provides a declensionist narrative that decries the assault on Canada's national parks' ecological integrity, an argument that relies on the idea that national parks are made up of pristine wilderness that was preserved in perpetuity by prior generations.[28] Preservationists, most notably John Muir, at the turn-of-the-century, argued that wilderness and other natural areas should be saved for their own sake. This view of wilderness is connected to American western mythology, most popularly represented in Frederick Jackson Turner's famed "Frontier Thesis," which connected the development of a unique American character partially to the conquest of wilderness by civilizing forces.[29] This definition of wilderness relied on the idea that the land was pure and unpopulated. Preservationists believed that a landscape had inherent value. Conservationists, most readily represented by Gifford Pinchot, on the other hand, argued that a landscape should be managed and *used* in order to provide "the greatest good for the greatest number for the longest time."[30] Rational use of a natural resource in order to maximize its consumptive value was the primary goal of conservationists. According to Samuel P. Hays, the conservation movement was not a moral movement, but rather a scientific movement that embraced science, technology, and bureaucracy.[31] National parks in both Canada and the United States, according to many historians, are more accurately categorized as examples of conservation rather than preservation.

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[28] Rick Searle, *Phantom Parks: The Struggle to Save Canada's National Parks* (Toronto, Ontario: Key Porter Books, 2000).

[29] Jackson Turner, Frederick,"The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921), 1-38.

[30] Gifford Pinchot, "The Fight for Conservation (1910)," *Project* Gutenberg, accessed 14 October 2018, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11238/11238-h/11238-h.htm.

[31] Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959).

In his 1968 article, Robert Craig Brown argues against the narrative that labelled Canadian national parks as examples of preservationist impulses. Park creation undertaken in Canada was not done with preservation in mind, Brown contends, but rather an assurance of future efficient and profitable use and control of the country's natural resources. Using Canada's first national park, Banff, as an example, Brown demonstrates that Canadian national parks were not a break from resource exploitation, but rather a continuation of it.[32] In relation to the American context, Alfred Runte argues that exploitation in American parks was not frowned upon, but merely limited to that exploitation which benefitted the nation as a whole, rather than an individual developer or businessperson.[33] Similarly, in *Parks for Profit*, Leslie Bella contends that Canada's national parks were created with exploitation in mind, whether it was for sole control of an area's resources or from tourism. Bella asserts that in a capitalist society preservation is not feasible because the forces of the market insist that preservation be coupled with the profitable forces of accessibility and tourism. Rather than ensuring that these areas remained untouched, Bella demonstrates that the formation of parks guaranteed that these areas would become centers of development.[34]

This early national park exploitation was connected to the way in which the landscape of the American and Canadian West was represented in North American culture. Anne Farrar Hyde contends that in order to commodify the land, railroad industrialists and other capitalists packaged the Western landscape as a perfect balance of the familiar, as in the European landscape, and the new, as in unique American attractions. National parks and their lodges were a result of this commodification.[35] Earl Pomeroy also supports the idea that the first national parks were part of an early commodification of the West and western mythology, which included

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[32] Robert Craig Brown, "The Doctrine of Usefulness: Natural Resource and National Park Policy in Canada, 1887-1914" in *The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow*, eds. J.G. Nelson and R.C. Scace (Calgary: The University of Calgary, 1968).

[33] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

[34] Leslie Bella, *Parks for Profit* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1987).

[35] Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American West: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1990).

the myth of pristine or untouched wilderness. Pomeroy demonstrates that the Western myth was not just a legend placed upon the West by outsiders, but one perpetuated by the Westerners themselves in order to meet the demands of the outside world.[36] In the Canadian context, J. Keri Cronin, focusing on visual materials, demonstrates how the Canadian government provided a manipulated experience for tourists that supported the perception of the Canadian West as an untouched wilderness.[37]

Other scholars have argued that national parks are the product of *both* preservation and conservation and that the two forces are continuously fighting for prominence in park policy. The mandate for accessibility and consequent recreational tourism is always at odds with preservationist ideals, each battling continuously for supremacy, J.G. Nelson argues in *Canadian Parks in Perspective*.[38] E. J. Hart highlights this dualism in his biography of Canada's first national park director, J.B. Harkin. Harkin acted with the best interest of the Canadian park system in mind. At times it was best to promote tourism and accessibility in order to drive profit during budget crises, and at other moments it was best to prioritize the preservation of nature and wilderness.[39] In *The Capacity for Wonder*, William R. Lowry contends that both the American and Canadian park systems were built with exploitation in mind, but that since the late 1970s and early 1980s, the two park services have gone down separate paths. The NPS has become more focused on profit, while Parks Canada has enjoyed increased political consensus surrounding the agency's preservationist ideals and increased public and government support.[40] Writing a decade after Lowry, Paul Kopas largely agrees in *Taking the Air* that the 1980s were dominated by preservationist sentiment, but observes that recently national park policy in Canada has moved

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[36] Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

[37] J. Keri Cronin, *Manufacturing National Park Nature: Photography, Ecology, and the Wilderness Industry of Jasper* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

[38] J.G. Nelson, *Canadian Parks in Perspective* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1969).

[39] E.J. (Ted) Hart, *J.B. Harkin: Father of Canada's National Parks* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2010).

[40] William R. Lowry, *The Capacity for Wonder: Preserving National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994).

back into the hands of bureaucrats after a period of public participation in the 1970s, and has subsequently refocused on utilitarian, profit-driven recreation.[41] The collection, *A Century of Parks Canada*, edited by Claire Elizabeth Campbell, also supports the idea that national park priorities have evolved through time, but rejects the concept that eras can be neatly divided between public and private intervention and emphasis on preservation and conservation. Rather the essays in the collection argue that these seemingly opposing forces have always coexisted together.[42] In *Natural Selections*, Alan MacEachern challenges preservation-based analyses of national parks by complicating the narrative with the story of national park creation in Atlantic Canada. Because the Atlantic national parks did not boast awe-inspiring peaks or formidable and exotic wildlife and were created in areas that were not wilderness and were already populated, MacEachern contends, Canadians had to reshape their understanding of nature and national park character in order to incorporate these new pieces of land into the nation's esteemed conservation system.[43]

National park histories that concentrate on individual groups of people, whether they be visitors or others associated with parks, as well as the material environment appear more recently in park historiography. These volumes challenge or outright dismiss arguments that national parks are exemplars of pristine wilderness. In *Wilderness and Waterpower*, Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles look at the way in which the landscape of Banff National Park was altered to accommodate hydroelectric storage. These development projects required that the

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[41] Paul Kopas, *Taking the Air: Ideas and Change in Canada's National Parks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

[42] Claire Elizabeth Campbell, *A Century of Parks Canada, 1911-2011* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 2011).

[43] Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

Canadian government both redefine the park's boundaries and its definition of wilderness. "Wilderness," they argue, "is an intellectual construct projected on the landscape."[44]

In *Climber's Paradise*, PearlAnn Reichwein uses the Alpine Club of Canada to examine the evolution of Canadian national parks. Mountaineering is a way to examine the way in which humans interact with the environment and create meaning. Reichwein portrays the mountains and the national park boundaries that encompass them as both physical and imagined borderlands, a place where differences and identities are created and managed.[45] Bill Waiser's *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks* is unique in that it explores national parks as a place of work. Waiser contends that Canadian national parks did not hold value based on their supposedly-pristine, ecological uniqueness, but were rather treated like any other natural resource commodity, garnering only as much value as their scenic and recreational prospects promised economically. Wartime labour enabled the parks to reach their full economic potential by making them more accessible by way of road and facility creation.[46] In *Saskatchewan's Playground*, Waiser uses Prince Albert National Park as a case-study lens through which to envision historical events and trends. Waiser pays particular attention to park tourism and park workers, such as wardens.[47]

In contrast to the literature on national parks, the majority of histories about state and provincial park systems are commissioned by state or provincial governments and written by non-academic historians. This study relies heavily on William C. Forrey's *History of Pennsylvania's State Parks: 1893-1983*, *Alberta's Parks—Our Legacy* edited by Donna von

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[44] Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, *Wilderness and Waterpower: How Banff National Park Became a Hydroelectric Storage Reservoir* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2013), xiii.

[45] PearlAnn Reichwein, *Climber's Paradise: Making Canada's Mountain Parks, 1906-1974* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2014).

[46] Bill Waiser, *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks, 1915-1946* (Calgary: Fifth House Publishers, 1999).

[47] Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan's Playground: A History of Prince Albert National Park* (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Publishers, 1989).

Hauff, and *100 Years: Idaho & Its Parks* edited by Rick Just.[48] Distinct from the others, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System* by Gerald Killan is an example of a government commissioned history written by an academic historian. In *Protected Places*, Killan traces the development of Ontario's provincial park system with a focus on the public and private groups that led to park creation and affected park management and policy.[49] George Warecki adds to the story of Ontario provincial park development by focusing on wilderness politics in *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness: A History of Changing Ideas and Preservation Politics, 1927-1973*. Warecki supports the assertion that the close association between nature and Canadian national identity often reinforced a myth of abundance, which led the majority of Ontarians to have little interest in preservation until the 1960s. The late timing of environmentalism in Ontario can also be attributed to the province's geographical characteristics. Ontario experienced much less population and industrial pressure in its wilderness hinterland than in the United States. This difference that Warecki points out can be discerned in Ontario's pattern of provincial park development, which is explored in Chapter Two.[50]

There is no monograph that attempts to trace the development of provincial parks across Canada, nor any work that identifies a clear "provincial park movement." The only work that synthesizes the development of state parks in the United States is Landrum's *The State Park Movement in America*. Landrum identifies two major events that jumpstarted the state park movement: the advent of the automobile and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Landrum traces the development of state parks into a fixed social institution by the 1960s and 1970s. This ubiquity was paired with increased commercialization, which Landrum considers to be troubling.

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[48] William C. Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania's State Parks, 1893-1983* (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Environmental Resources, Office of Resources Management, Bureau of State Parks, 1984); Donna von Hauff, *Alberta's Parks—Our Legacy* (Edmonton: Alberta Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation, 1992); Rick Just, *100 Years: Idaho & Its Parks* (Boise, Idaho: Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, 2008).

[49] Gerald Killan, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System* (Toronto: Dundurn Press Limited, 1993).

[50] George Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness: A History of Changing Ideas and Preservation Politics, 1927-1973* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

State parks in the twenty-first century are facing an identity crisis, he concludes, and they are in danger of becoming places of entertainment, rather than recreation.[51]

In *The Park Builders*, Thomas R. Cox traces the development of state parks in the Pacific Northwest by focusing on the individuals, mainly government officials, who championed park development in the region during the twentieth century. Cox focuses on the way in which state parks in the Pacific Northwest were never sold as progressive pieces of preservation like they were in the East, but were rather presented as "investments that would in time yield good returns not just in aesthetic values, but also in tourist dollars."[52] In *Everyone's Country Estate*, Roy W. Meyer provides a detailed account of the rationale behind the addition of each park to Minnesota's park system by looking at legislation and park policy.[53] In *Places of Quiet Beauty*, Rebecca Conard provides an account of the development of state parks in Iowa that connects the state's history to nationwide trends. Conard contends that "state parks are places that augment our concepts of state and local identity."[54]

All of these provincial and state park histories have two main characteristics in common. Firstly, they focus on bureaucracy and policy. Secondly, they focus on park origin stories. Both of these themes provide a limited view of park history that undervalues the significant role that these parks have played in North American society and the material effects that these parks have had on the environment. A focus on policy does not illuminate what happened on the ground in these parks and how these changes affect people visiting, working in, and living near the parks. Additionally, ending park narratives at the creation of the park incorrectly assumes that parks

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[51] Ney C. Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America: A Critical Review* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004).

[52] Thomas R. Cox, *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 13.

[53] Roy W. Meyer, *Everyone's Country Estate: A History of Minnesota's State Parks* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1991).

[54] Rebecca Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism* (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1997), 1.

were static entities that did not evolve through time. This dissertation makes clear that parks were, in fact, dynamic, evolving alongside social and political developments.

A look at the individuals that are drawn and pushed to the boundaries of parks moves state and provincial park history past political and institutional histories that tend to focus on elite members of society and visitor-focused histories that erase those that live and work in and around parks.[55] Examination of the peripheries of parks and the people that inhabit these areas— whether they be business owners, volunteers, Indigenous persons, or others—enables historians to examine the ways in which economic and cultural practices interact with and change the environment at the ground-level by taking park landscapes, their people, and their flora and fauna out of the abstract and placing them at the forefront of park histories. This research pathway requires that studies of small-scale conservation or environmental organizations expand to include individuals and groups that do not readily fall into conventional perceptions of environmental activism, but whose actions, be they cultural, recreational or work-based, have tangible effects on the creation and management of state and provincial parks.

One reason for the neglect of ordinary people living at the peripheries of state and provincial (and other) parks is the general disconnect between environmental and social history.[56] The very nature of the field of social history rests on its focus on "ordinary people, rather than the elite."[57] Further, it claims that these ordinary people have complex pasts that shaped greater historical processes and deserve the same kind of serious analytical attention

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[55] Pages 22-28 originally appeared in: Jessica DeWitt, "Parks For and *By* the People: Acknowledging Ordinary People in the Formation, Protection, and Use of State and Provincial Parks," in *Environmental Activism on the Ground: Processes and Possibilities of Small Green and Indigenous Organizing*, eds. Liza Piper and Jonathan Clapperton (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2019): 127-152.

[56] Stephen Mosley, "Integrating Social and Environmental History," *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 3 (2006): 915-933.

[57] Peter R. Stearns, "The New Social History: An Overview" *in Ordinary People and Everyday Life: Perspectives on the New Social History*, ed. James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams (Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, 1983), 4.

given to political and intellectual figures.[58] The strength of social history to illuminate the common person's experience is one of environmental history's shortfalls, despite the fact that both fields "seek the structures lurking behind the more conspicuous but short-term events" and are typically grounded in "present-mindedness."[59] In his article, "Modes of Prophecy and Production: Placing Nature in History," William Cronon argues that the greatest weakness of environmental history is its failure to look at individual stories and "[tease] apart the diverse material roles and perceptual experiences of different people in the holistic 'system.'"[60] Stephen Mosley explicates on this issue further, stating that in environmental history "ordinary people, with their different interests, desires, and experiences, can disappear from view."[61]

Provincial and state park historiography is a microcosm of this larger divide between social and environmental history. One reason is that environmental history which does succeed in a "from-below" approach, tends to have what Karl Jacoby calls a "lopsided understanding of the past" that focuses primarily on the urban working and middle-class and ignores rural residents and working/middle-class experiences gained outside of the urban landscape.[62] Individuals within the common populace tend to be lumped into vague groups—"the public supporters," "the people," "park users," "environmentalists," "conservationists"—enabling their inclusion in the narrative without a clear understanding of who these people are and what motives may be driving them.

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[58] Stearns, "The New Social History," 4.

[59] First quotation from Alan Taylor, "Unnatural Inequalities: Social and Environmental Histories," *Environmental History* 1, no. 4 (1996): 8; second quotation from Donald M. MacRaild and Avram Taylor, *Social Theory and Social History* (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 6.

[60] William Cronon, "Modes of Prophecy and Production: Placing Nature in History," *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (1990): 1129.

[61] Stephen Mosley, "Integrating Social and Environmental History," *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 3 (2006), 920.

[62] Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), xvi.

The role of ordinary people in provincial and state park history is arguably just as vital, if not more so, than their role in national park history. Provincial and state parks were created as part of wider attempts to democratize recreation in Canada and the United States. Yet, they typically are not prominent battlefields in the tug-of-war between recreation and preservation as national parks. Accessible recreation and its resulting revenues have almost always been the main objective of provincial and state parks.[63]

Recent developments in state and provincial park historiography have begun to include more ordinary voices and experiences. In their introduction to a special issue of *Environment and History*, Keith Thor Carlson and Jonathan Clapperton point out the general neglect of non-national parks in historical literature despite their arguably greater impact on the lives of the general populace. Carlson and Clapperton highlight the opportunity for non-national park histories to illuminate the role that parks played in local processes of community-building ideology, along with the prospect of unearthing subaltern perspectives. One of these underdeveloped perspectives in provincial and state park history, to which Carlson and Clapperton pay especial attention, is that of Indigenous peoples. They argue that too often Indigenous voices are lost in the sea of vagueness that characterizes historical treatments of adjacent park citizenry, failing to acknowledge the unique experiences and concerns that separate Indigenous groups from the dominant society.[64]

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[63] For further discussion of the argument see Keith Carlson and Jonathan Clapperton, "Introduction: Special Places and Protected Spaces: Historical and Global Perspectives on Non-National Parks in Canada and Abroad," *Environment and History* 18, no. 4 (2012): 481-483.

[64] For examples of Indigenous experience integration into park historiography, see: Jonathan Clapperton, "Desolate Viewscapes: Sliammon First Nation, Desolation Sound Marine Park and Environmental Narratives," *Environment and History* 18, no. 4 (2012): 529-559; Roger Spielmann and Marina Unger, "Towards a Model of Co-Management of Provincial Parks in Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 20, no. 2 (2000): 455–86; Bruce W. Hodgins and Kerry A. Cannon, "The Aboriginal Presence in Ontario Parks and Other Protected Places," in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*,

To create a more complete history of provincial and state parks, historians must also turn their attentions to the peripheries of the parks, for the effects of park formation and management are more far reaching than park boundaries suggest. In order for this to happen, historians need to broaden their scope when looking at park histories. Stephen Mosley offers three main frameworks under which environmental and social history can begin to grow together: environments and identities, environmental justice, and environment and consumption.[65] These frameworks are helpful for thinking about how park historians can better acknowledge the experiences of a broad spectrum of people, and also make connections between local histories from across Canada and the United States. In park history, stories of identity and stories of consumption and the environment tend to blur together. For example, the consumption of the environment at children's summer camps in and around Algonquin Provincial Park, as shown in Sharon Wall's *The Nurture of Nature*, facilitated the development of a modern Ontarian identity anchored in performative anti-modernism.[66] Additionally, research that addresses the development of tourism in state and provincial parks demonstrates how the selling and purchasing of outdoor experiences contribute to the identity-formation of both business owners and tourists. Issues of environmental justice stand to enrich park historiography significantly. Recent efforts to integrate such issues have been made most notably in William E. O'Brien's *Landscapes of Exclusion*. O'Brien traces how Jim Crow laws affected the development of the American South's state park systems and African American access to outdoor recreation.[67]

The connection between tourism and park history is also a burgeoning area of scholarship. Scott Moranda observes that "in many ways, historians of tourism have always written about the environment," but it is not until relatively recently that historians have

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ed. John S. Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1998), 50–76.

[65] Mosley, "Integrating Social and Environmental History," 924-928.

[66] Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920–55* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

[67] William E. O'Brien, *Landscapes of Exclusion: State Parks and Jim Crow in the American South* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015).

purposely and successfully meshed the fields together.[68] Aaron Shapiro's *The Lure of the North Woods: Cultivating Tourism in the Upper Midwest* draws from the "Minnesota Resort Industry Oral History Project" and other collections to create a more complex understanding of the interconnection between the environment, tourism, and personal experience.[69] Shapiro demonstrates that "like earlier lumbermen, [tourist business owners] also saw profit in nature … they relied on the regenerative forces to provide a new cash crop, a forested and lake-dotted countryside offering outdoor recreation for the masses."[70] Shapiro's study is only partly about state parks; most of his analysis is directed toward the larger region in which the parks were situated. The role of privately owned tourism operations outside and inside provincial and state parks accentuates the importance of looking at developments within and along park peripheries.

In the broadest sense, this study fills in a large gap in non-national park historiography by undertaking the first comparative study of state park development in the United States and provincial park development in Canada. This study encompasses a span of approximately one hundred years, from 1893 to 1990. In order to make this endeavour possible, four primary park system case studies are featured: Pennsylvania and Idaho in the United States and Ontario and Alberta in Canada. They were chosen in order to facilitate a comparison of park development and management in relation to two different dichotomies: Canada v. United States and East v. West (Figure 1.2).

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[68] Scott Moranda, "The Emergence of an Environmental History of Tourism," *Journal of Tourism History* 7.3, 3, DOI: 10.1080/1755182X.2015.1102975

[69] To access these interviews, visit "Minnesota Resort Industry Oral History Project, 1991–2000," *Minnesota Historical Society*, http://collections.mnhs.org/voicesofmn/index.php/10002530.

[70] Aaron Shapiro, *The Lure of the North Woods: Cultivating Tourism in the Upper Midwest* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), xiii.
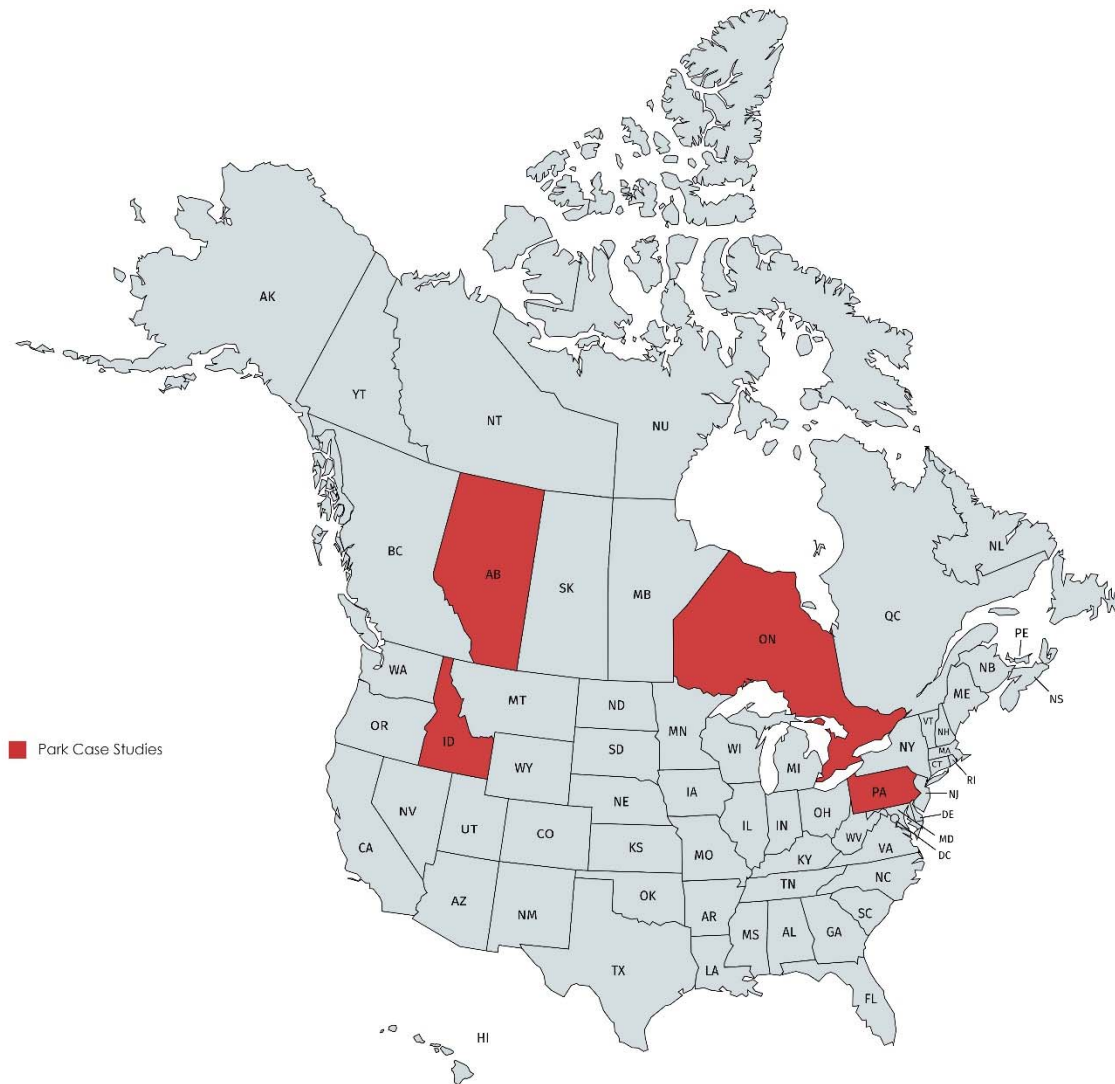
Figure 1.2: Park System Case Studies: Alberta, Idaho, Ontario, and Pennsylvania.

Within each park system two to three individual parks are examined closely. At least one park in each system is representative of an early, rural state/provincial park, and one park in each system is indicative of a later urban or near-urban state/provincial park. The individual case studies are presented in Table 1.1.

Park System	Rural	Urban/Near-Urban
Pennsylvania	Cook Forest State Park	Point State Park
Ontario	Algonquin Provincial Park and Rondeau Provincial Park	Bronte Creek Provincial Park
Idaho	Heyburn State Park	Eagle Island State Park
Alberta	Aspen Beach Provincial Park	Fish Creek Provincial Park

Table 1.1: Individual Rural and Urban/Near-Urban Park Case Studies

These comparative categories are explored within the text in order to illuminate similarities and differences between each country, park system, and kind of state/provincial park.

State and provincial park sources are often scattered amidst large and small archives and at the parks themselves. Because of the nature of provincial and state park sources and the expansiveness of this study's scope, a variety of archives were visited to complete this study. One of the most important sources of historical material were the parks themselves. Algonquin Provincial Park is unique in that it houses its own official archive, Algonquin Park Archives and Collections. Other parks—Bronte Creek, Heyburn and Cook Forest—provided access to the wealth of random historical documents located in their park office files.

In addition to the documents housed at the individual parks, this study also relies heavily on provincial and state park government files, the personal papers of several key figures and organizations in North American park-making, and numerous newspaper clippings. Major archives were visited in each state/province. In Pennsylvania, I consulted the personal papers of several conservationists, including J. Horace MacFarland, as well as the general correspondence of the Department of Forests and Waters (1920s and 1930s) at the Pennsylvania State Archives (Harrisburg). At the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh), I accessed the papers of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, which provided the main information about Point State Park. In Ontario, the personal collection of J.G. Nelson held by the Laurier Archives (Waterloo) provided the material on Rondeau Provincial Park, and at the King's University College Library archive (London), I was able to consult the Gerald Killan fonds, which contained many of his notes from writing *Protected Places*. In Alberta, I visited the Provincial Archives of Alberta (Edmonton), the Glenbow Archives (Calgary), and the public history room at the Calgary Public Library. And in Idaho, I visited the Idaho State Archives

(Boise), which housed a wealth of park and recreation newspaper clippings that act as the basis for the analysis of both Heyburn State Park and Eagle Island State Park.

Chapter Two introduces a visualization methodology for analyzing park creation through time. This methodology is based on mapping a park system's development on a timeline. The focus of these timelines is on the *primary* reason each piece of land was chosen and made into a park. This study identifies eight categories of state and provincial parks: Educational (Environment), Historical, Post-Agriculture, Post-Industry, Post-Timber, Preservation, Recreational, and Resource Extraction (Chapter Two). This methodology facilitates two key levels of analysis. Firstly, it enables one to examine the way in which a singular park system changed through time and identify key eras of park creation. Secondly, it allows one to more easily compare the development of parks and identify patterns of development in multiple park systems.

Using this methodology, this study provides the first large-scale comparative study of provincial and state parks ever undertaken. The findings challenge the assumption that national borders are the most important comparative characteristic. Rather, the timelines reveal that there is a stronger correlation between park development and management on an East v. West scale than a United States v. Canada scale. The macro-approach of the timelines is augmented by a second methodological approach that focuses in on individual park case studies. These two methodologies complement each other in two fundamental ways. The timelines provide a clearer portrait of where each individual park case study lies in the eight-category spectrum. Additionally, the two methodologies paired together facilitate an analysis of how evolving attitudes toward parks and the shifting characteristics of new parks affected existing parks materially and socially through time.

The timelines demonstrate that over the span of the twentieth-century, provincial and state park development changed significantly. In the first half of the century, the majority of parks created were in the east and on 'post-timber' and 'post-industry' land. This phenomena is due to the fact that the priority of park systems was placed on acquiring inexpensive land rather than ecologically significant land. An emphasis on the financial sustainability of park creation rather than on preservation is also why 'resource extraction' parks, which only occurred in

Ontario in this set of case studies, were only created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. After the Second World War, due to population increases and urbanization, the focus of provincial and state park systems across North America turned to providing accessible outdoor recreation, and thus led to the rise of 'recreational' parks. The timelines demonstrate that it was not until the 1980s—after the rise of environmental consciousness in the 1960s and 1970s trickled down into policy—that provincial and state parks prioritized preservation.

The individual case studies, which are focused on in Chapters Three through Seven, provide specific examples of how these twentieth-century park trends affected individual parks through time. Ontario's Algonquin Provincial Park was initially established as a resource extraction park. This study shows how Algonquin and the resource extraction that took place in it had to evolve in order to accommodate changing expectations surrounding the provision of recreational experiences and the rise of environmental objections to timber extraction in the park. Pennsylvania's Cook Forest State Park demonstrates how the post-war focus on the provision of recreation changed the way in which the park was used, and how this change in usage affected and was affected by the reclamation of the park's river. When Cook Forest was founded, recreational emphasis was placed on its stand of old-growth timber; however, as the park's river became cleaner throughout the twentieth century, it took over as the recreational focus of the park (Chapter Four). Chapter Five further explores the way in which recreational ideals, specifically in regards to water recreation, altered the landscapes of specific parks and park systems in the form of dam creation and lake water-level management. In addition to analyzing the way that changing recreational attitudes led to alterations in the environment, this study also explores the way in which the evolution of provincial and state park systems altered the lives of communities living on park peripheries (Chapter Six). Finally, this study looks at the way in which the prioritization of accessible and democratic recreation altered the geographic location of new provincial and state parks and necessitated a broadening of each park system's conception of 'natural' (Chapter Seven).

This study demonstrates how anthropogenic exploitation of the natural environment and stewardship of the natural environment are not mutually exclusive. Parks are constructed areas that justify the alteration of the environment based on evolving human desires. This study uses state and provincial parks to illustrate that the need for this type of justification leads humans to

modify both the material environment and the cultural conceptions of a landscape to fit the contemporary needs of humanity at any given time.

Chapter Two: The Growth of the Provincial and State Park Concept

This study uses four park systems—two state and two provincial—to explore and explicate major environmental and social trends related to park history over the course of the twentieth century. The four park system case studies are Pennsylvania, Ontario, Idaho, and Alberta. These case studies were chosen for several key reasons. Firstly, they facilitate a comparison of park creation and management in the United States and Canada. Secondly, they facilitate an east/west comparison at the state and provincial level. Although Ontario is often referred to as "central Canada," for the purpose of this study categorizing Ontario as in the "east" is appropriate due to a shared demographic and geographic development pattern with Pennsylvania and the rest of the northeastern United States. Thirdly, the study demonstrates how Pennsylvania/Ontario and Idaho/Alberta as comparative pairs relate to one another on a climatic and ecological level, as well as a political level.

Making sense of the overarching history of state and provincial parks in the United States and Canada requires one to process the history of thousands of parks.[1] In this study, 557 provincial and state parks are under examination—121 state parks in Pennsylvania, thirty in Idaho, 330 provincial parks in Ontario, and seventy-six in Alberta. In order to make the overall history of these park systems more manageable, the parks are mapped on four separate timelines using a categorization system.[2]

The categorization of the individual parks is based on the original purpose for their purchase and creation. Emphasis is placed on the original impetus behind the acquisition of the land on which each park was created. Looking at the types of land turned into state and provincial parks reveals specific social and political patterns. Although multiple categories may apply to each park, or the parks may evolve to fit different categories through time, they are organized on the timeline based on the original and primary reason for the land's acquisition

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[1] There are over 10,000 state parks in the United States and over 1,000 provincial parks in Canada.

[2] The timelines include all parks that are currently included in each park system. Any park that was a part of a park system and later decommissioned is omitted.

and/or park creation. Provincial and state parks were almost always created with recreation as an objective. However, for the purpose of these timelines, the parks are categorized based on the primary reason that that *particular* piece of land was acquired and made a park.

The categories used throughout this dissertation are as follows:

Educational (Environment): State or provincial parks that consist primarily of an educational center. These centers focus on providing hands-on environmental education to the public. They may contain portions of preserved landscapes, but these landscapes are maintained for the explicit purpose of education. (White □)

Historical: State or provincial parks created to preserve a specific historic building or landmark of significance to local and/or national heritage. Any recreation or preservation in these parks are secondary priorities. (Yellow ◨)

Post-Agriculture: State or provincial parks created on former agricultural land (i.e. farmland or ranchland). In some cases the historical agricultural aspects of these landscapes, such as farm buildings or crop fields, were preserved fully or in part. In other cases, the agricultural landscapes were erased and replaced by rewilded landscapes. (Light Green ▮▮)

Post-Industry: State or provincial parks created on land used for industrial purposes, such as mining or iron furnaces. Post-industry land was purposefully procured cheaply by the state or province because it was usually deemed useless for further industrial purposes, environmentally denuded, and in need of ecological restoration. In some instances, evidence of the industrial past of the land was preserved. However, more often the industrial past was erased and replaced by a rewilded landscape. (Dark Blue ◪)

Post-Timber: State or provincial parks created on land on which timber was once extracted. This parkland was usually clear-cut and/or burned over and purposefully procured by the state directly from timber companies for relatively little money. Efforts to reforest these parklands were undertaken by the state and/or federal government. (Dark Green ◨)

Preservation: Parks created to specifically preserve and protect a specific natural landmark or natural landscape. (Red ▣)

Recreational: Parks created specifically to provide recreational opportunities. Most often these parks were located on bodies of water and offer some combination of water recreation activities. Any preservation or restoration of a natural landscape in recreational parks was a secondary priority. (Pink ▣)

Resource Extraction: State or provincial parks created specifically to protect a natural resource, which is to be extracted for the financial benefit of the state or province. In this study, Algonquin Provincial Park and Quetico Provincial Park in Ontario are the only parks that fall under this category. (Light Teal ▣)

The park system timelines are used throughout this study to demonstrate patterns of park creation and to compare park development in separate park systems through time. This chapter explores why and in what forms state and provincial park systems developed in the United States and Canada.

Pennsylvania

The history of Pennsylvania's state parks can be broken down into four basic eras. First was the State Forest Park Era, 1900-1929. Pennsylvania's early conservation efforts were indelibly intertwined with its forestry background; this fact is most effectively highlighted by the state's early use of the term of "state forest park" rather than the broader and more popular term "state park."

1. The State Forest Park Era (1900-1929)[3]

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[3] The first state park in Pennsylvania was a historical park, Valley Forge State Park, established in 1883. Valley Forge was the location of a winter encampment for the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War. This park is not included on the timeline because it is no longer a state park. It was transferred to the Federal Government and became Valley Forge National Historical Park in 1976.

In the late 1890s, the recreational use of land in Pennsylvania was limited to a few municipal park areas in and around Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Geographical restrictions in the pre-automobile days kept families close to home, even on holidays. However, as the decade progressed it became evident to some public officials that municipal parks were not meeting the needs of citizens. In addition to recreational deficiencies, the late 1800s also ushered in troubling environmental problems for Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania was one of the only eastern states to preserve, by the 1800s, a large enough section of its woodlands to remind one of the primeval forests that once covered the northeastern section of the country.[4] The original amount of timber (over twenty-seven million acres) in Pennsylvania, led early settlers to mistakenly believe that the state's forestry reserves were limitless, a falsehood believed elsewhere in the United States as well. The forests proved to be sufficient until the mid-nineteenth century; despite some clear-cutting, the interior woods of the state remained largely unharmed. However, once the Industrial Revolution began, the forests fell with frightening rapidity.[5]

By 1860, Pennsylvania was the leading producer of timber in the United States.[6] This economically advantageous undertaking proved disastrous for the environment. Loggers left in their wake scenes of devastating spoliation. Where once dense stands of hemlocks and white pine stood, a wasteland of dry soil, stumps, and patchy undergrowth remained.[7] Loggers were not the only ones to practice clear-cutting; settlers, clearing the land to raise food and erect

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[4] Ralph R. Widner, *Forests and Forestry in the United States: A Reference Anthology Compiled by the National Association of State Foresters* (Missoula, Montana: National Association of State Foresters, 1968), 22.

[5] William C. Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania's State Parks* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Bureau of State Parks, Office of Resources Management, Department of Environmental Resources, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1984): 3.

[6] H.B. Rowland and A. B. Mickalitis. *Historical Highlights in Pennsylvania Forestry: Milestones on the Road to Conserving Penn's Woods* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters, 1966), 2.

[7] Widner, *Forests and Forestry in the United States*, 24.

buildings, were also guilty of the practice. Pennsylvanians gave little thought to the damage caused because there were always, or so they thought, more forests. Also, forestry was a dubious enterprise. Fires, fueled by the undergrowth and scraps left behind by loggers, ravaged the state every summer and caused settlers to believe that they needed to cut the trees as soon as possible before they were destroyed by fire. Individuals were deterred from owning land for a long period of time by high taxes; it was not deemed important by landowners to reforest one's land because one would most likely move on within a couple years in order to avoid property taxes.[8] These four conditions—over-taxation, harvesting, clearing, and forest fires—caused a large part of the northern section of the state to be known as the "Pennsylvania Desert."

Joseph Trimble Rothrock, a botanist who trained with German foresters in the late 1870s, eventually came to the forefront and almost single-handedly established the forest conservation movement, and later the state park movement, in Pennsylvania.[9] Under his leadership, the Pennsylvania Forestry Association (PFA) was founded on June 2, 1886.[10] The actions of the

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[8] Lester A. DeCoster, *1895 to 1995 The Legacy of Penn's Woods: A History of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1995), 11.

[9] In the late 1870s, Rothrock went to Germany to study the scientifically managed forests of Europe under the renowned botanist, Heinrich Anton de Bary, at the University of Strasburg. While there he spent a great deal of time walking through the well-managed European forests, and, in these forests, learned a great deal about scientific forestry. The European forests left a permanent impression on him, and caused him to resolve to make the improvement of Pennsylvania forests one of his main ambitions in life. For biographic details of Rothrock's life see: Joseph S. Illick, "Joseph Trimble Rothrock: Father of Pennsylvania Forestry," in *The Pennsylvania German Society: Proceedings and Addresses at Bethlehem, PA., October 5, 1923, Vol. XXXIV*, (Norristown, Pennsylvania: Norristown Press, 1929), 86-87; Eleanor A. Maass, *Forestry Pioneer: The Life of Joseph Trimble Rothrock* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Forestry Association, 2002).

[10] The mission, stated in Article 2 of the organization's constitution, of the PFA was: "The object of the Pennsylvania Forestry Association shall be to secure and maintain a due proportion of forest area throughout the State; to disseminate information concerning the growth,

PFA, including an 1895 report, led the Pennsylvania legislature to create a Bureau of Forestry in the newly created Department of Agriculture that same year.[11] Rothrock was named the first Commissioner of Forestry, a position that he held from 1895 to 1904.[12]

The most pressing issue for the unseasoned Bureau of Forestry was the fact that the state owned practically no land on which to manage forests. In fact, the only land that Pennsylvania

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protection and utilization of forests; to show the great evil resulting from forest destruction, in the decrease and unequal distribution of soil, the injury to various industries, and the change in the climate; to secure the enactment of legislature of such laws, and the enforcement of the same, as shall tend to increase and preserve the forests of the State." "Advertisements," *Forest Leaves* Vol. XXI-No. 2 (April 1927): 33. "Pennsylvania was not the only state where concerns about the plight of the forests were being expressed by groups of influential citizens. At a meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1883, the newly formed American Forestry Congress had passed a resolution to be forwarded to state governors and legislatures calling for the appointment of state forest commissions which would establish nurseries for tree seedlings and would employ various measures such as lectures and publications to inform and educate the public on forestry matters. Following this action, several of the states did appoint commissions and several short-lived state forestry associations were founded. The resolution, however, was careful to avoid the appearance of interfering with private property rights by calling for state regulation of forest land." Maass, *Forestry Pioneer*, 63.

[11] Four main points were highlighted in the 1895 Report of the Forestry Commission of Pennsylvania. Firstly, the state did not own any other land than that which was directly under their public buildings; the state could not conserve what was not theirs. Secondly, the amount of forested land had plummeted from ninety percent of the state's land area to thirty percent. This percentage was seriously dipping below the level safe for wood supply, water protection, and public health. Thirdly, there was no clear-cut cause for the destruction of the state's forests. Clearing land for agriculture that would be better left forested, uncontrolled fires, destructive logging all played a hand in depleting the state's forests. And lastly, excessive taxation and the common threat of fire were driving land owners to clear forests beyond the needs of agriculture and lumber supply. DeCoster, *The Legacy of Penn's Woods*, 8-9.

[12] Widner, *Forests and Forestry in the United States*, 28.

owned at the time was that directly under its government buildings. Thus, Rothrock's first action was to launch one of the most aggressive, state land-acquisition campaigns in the country. This acquisition began in 1898. By the end of 1900, the state owned 110,000 acres; by the end of 1910, Pennsylvania had acquired 924,798 acres (1925: 1,131,611 acres; 1968: 1,892,303 acres).[13] The State Forests were purchased with the understanding that they would be put to their "highest use," that which benefited the state and its citizens the most.[14] Rothrock was passionately against the purely preservationist tactics of other states such as New York.[15] According to him, the land was to be used:

> 1. For the production of a timber supply to meet the needs of present and future citizens of the State.

> 2. That watersheds might be acquired and maintained with forest cover so as to secure an even flow of water to foster the industries of the State and feed her springs and streams.

> 3. That the 'State Forests should combine themselves not only charm of scenery that would attract our population to them, but that they should also possess such altitude, purity of atmosphere, and general health-giving conditions as would make them sanitariums for those of our population who do not desire or cannot go to remoter points for renewal of strength.'

> 4. 'To fill the largest measure of usefulness, prospectively due regard should be had to the capacity of such reservations to serve as collecting grounds for the water which the cities of the future might require, and also (this is not remote) in

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[13] Maass, *Forestry Pioneer*, 102; Widner, *Forests and Forestry in the United States*, 109; R.Y. Stuart, *Recreational Use of Pennsylvania Forests* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Department of Waters, 1925), 4.

[14] Stuart, *Recreational Use of Pennsylvania Forests*, 4.

[15] Widner, *Forests and Forestry in the United States*, 109.

furnishing water fall for generation of electrical power which may be carried to points more or less distant for use.' [16]

The land acquired with these purposes in mind was usually purchased at remarkably low prices, as it was considered valueless by the general public. The earliest lands acquired were at the headwaters of the state's three major rivers: the Susquehanna, the Allegheny, and the Delaware.[17]

However, acquisition was only a small part of the battle. Rothrock, the Bureau of Forestry, and other officials and preservationists had to deal with the triple threat of fires, floods, and the challenge of regrowing decimated forests.[18] These obstacles to reforestation highlighted the principal problem surrounding the new Bureau of Forestry. There was no one to execute forest fire laws, no one to monitor stream levels, and no one to manage a state tree nursery.[19] Rothrock understood that Pennsylvania needed its own trained employees to address the commonwealth's forestry situation. He worked to open the Pennsylvania State Forest Academy at Mont Alto in 1903, making Pennsylvania the first state to train foresters for its own forestry service.[20] Mont Alto was also the site of Rothrock's last major endeavor and the state's first State

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[16] Stuart, *Recreational Use of Pennsylvania Forests*, 3.

[17] Widner, *Forests and Forestry in the United States*, 109.

[18] Maass, *Forestry Pioneer*, 86, 89.

[19] The Biltmore Forest School was established in 1898 by the German forester, Dr. Carl A. Schenck, and was the first of its kind in the country. The school educated 300 individuals over fifteen years and provided the United States with many of its first generation of foresters. "Biltmore's Lasting Legacy of Forestry," Biltmore, http://www.biltmore.com/our_story/legacy/forestry.asp.

[20] Established in 1903, the Forest Academy was only the fourth of its kind in the United States. Strict in structure, Rothrock envisioned the academy to work in a similar fashion to West Point and other military training institutions. Students were carefully selected after extensive intelligence and physical examinations. Once accepted into the program, enrollees had to promise that they would serve the Commonwealth for at least three years after graduation. Although there was no law stating that the State Forest Service had to be made up of technically-

Forest Park. Around 1901, he expressed a wish to develop a series of camps in state forests where people with lung afflictions, such as tuberculosis, could recover in the fresh mountain air.[21] In 1902, the state acquired Mont Alto Park from private, industrial landowners; this, already popular, recreation area became Mont Alto State Forest Park and was the first of its kind in Pennsylvania.[22]

The connection between the simultaneous development of scientific forestry and state parks in Pennsylvania is crucial to understanding the way in which this state park system's history is unique. An emphasis on conservation and restoration rather than preservation was a key characteristic of Pennsylvania's initial park strategy. Pennsylvania's landscape was severely ravaged by industry by the 1900s, making "pristine" landscapes rare and valuable. Pennsylvania did not own any land and thus had to acquire all land for its new forestry and park systems. The reality of denuded post-industry and post-forestry land coupled with limited state budgets, led Pennsylvania to acquire cheap, denuded landscapes abandoned by industry. The new professional forestry service used its own employees to reforest these "state forest parks."

Mont Alto marked the beginning of a long period of park acquisition. The parks provided an ever-increasing urban population with attractive, accessible places to relax and participate in recreational activities. R.Y. Stuart outlined in 1925 exactly the role that the state forest parks played in Pennsylvanian society. "The State Forests are," he stated:

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trained foresters, the Bureau of Forestry, thanks to the resounding success of the forest academy at Mont Alto, was able to build up the largest workforce of technical foresters in the country, and perhaps played one of the biggest roles in professionalizing forestry. Widner, *Forests and Forestry in the United States*, 107-108.

[21] Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Parks, 1893-1993*, 6.

[22] Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Parks 1893-1993*, 6; Mont Alto was at one point the location of the Mont Alto Charcoal Iron Furnace and Works (1807) and the Mont Alto Railroad Company and is an example of a post-industry state park. "History of Mont Alto State Park," *Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources*, accessed 29 April 2018, http://www.dcnr.pa.gov/StateParks/FindAPark/MontAltoStatePark/Pages/History.aspx.

The people's property for the people's use. They must be made to serve

continuously the citizens of the State. Their resources must be developed and used

to yield the greatest good to the greatest number. Recreation in them will play an

increasingly important part, not by usurping areas susceptible of higher use nor by

curtailing the utilization of needed resources, but by the use for that purpose of

areas best suited for that purpose and by the recreational appeal of all properly

protected and managed forest land.[23]

Several parks followed closely behind Mont Alto. However, development was rather slow

(Figure 2.1). Between 1903 and 1920, Pennsylvania only added five more parks: Caledonia State

Park (1903 – post-industry), Promised Land State Park (1905 – post-timber), Linn Run State

Park (1909 – post-timber), and Buchanan's Birthplace State Park (1911 – historical). During the

first two decades of the twentieth century, legislators and citizens were not yet entirely sold on

the benefits of state park development.
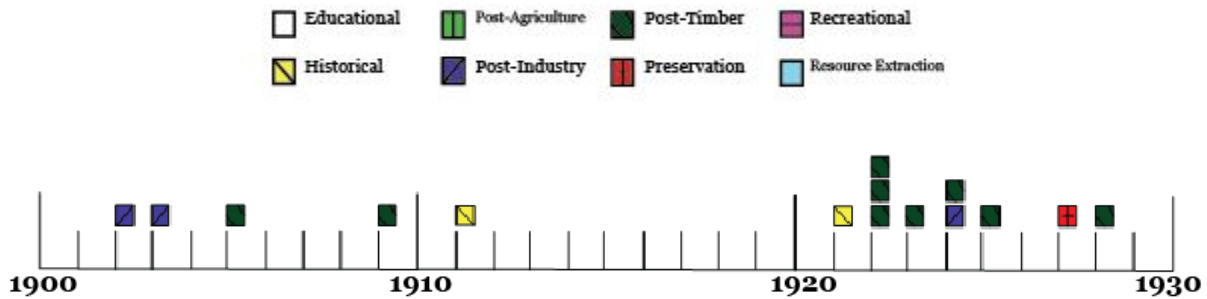
Figure 2.1: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1900-1929.

Emphasis on purchasing cheap post-industry and post-forestry land continued after the

beginning of the official State Park Movement in the United States (1921), through the 1920s,

and into Pennsylvania's second state park era, The Civilian Conservation Corp "CCC" Era,

1930-1945."

2. The Civilian Conservation Corp "CCC" Era (1933-1945)

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[23] Stuart, *Recreational Use of Pennsylvania State Forests*, 11.

In 1929 a new Division of Parks was created within the Pennsylvania Bureau of Forestry. The creation of this division officially acknowledged the need for separate management of the commonwealth's "state forest parks," and foreshadowed the start of The Civilian Conservation Corps Era. The CCC was a New Deal unemployment relief program that focused on conservation projects. The program employed primarily young, unmarried men from 1933 to 1942. During this era the responsibility of reforesting and restoring newly acquired parkland shifted from the state forestry service to the federal work relief agency. There were 152 CCC camps in Pennsylvania that employed 194,572 men; this was the second highest number of camps in any state in the country. CCC work crews massively restructured the Pennsylvania environment, mainly through tree planting. However, CCC camps also participated in soil conservation projects and the development of facilities. [24]

The CCC conducted work in over thirty state parks.[25] The labour provided by the federal program provided Pennsylvania the freedom to improve and add to their state park system without having to worry about funding to develop and restore these new parklands. Coordination problems between state and federal agencies caused some conflict, particularly when state employees needed to obtain federal approval for relatively small decisions and actions. Pennsylvania did not allocate increased funding to its park system during economic climate of the Depression. In fact, legislation cut funding for state park acquisition by approximately forty-five percent between 1931 and 1934.[26] The continued dominance of post-timber and post-industry parks, as demonstrated in Figure 2.2, shows Pennsylvania's reliance on the acquisition of cheap, denuded land for expansion of the commonwealth's park system through the 1930s. The conservation-based labour of the CCC created a transitional period between early twentieth-

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[24] Joseph M. Speakman, *At Work in Penn's Wood: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Pennsylvania* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006): 95-98, 161; Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Park 1893-1993*, 26.

[25] For a detailed list of many of the projects conducted by the CCC in Pennsylvania's state parks see "Appendix 2" in Speakman, *At Work in Penn's Woods*.

[26] Dan Cupper, *Our Priceless Heritage: Pennsylvania State Parks, 1893-1993* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for Department of Environmental Resources, Bureau of State Parks, 1993): 23.

century conservation and postwar environmentalism.[27] Correspondingly, the CCC Era and its labour that placed importance on both the creation of recreation facilities *and* conservation projects, represents a transitional period in Pennsylvania state park history, a transition between an emphasis almost entirely on affordable land acquisition in the 1910s and 1920s to a post-war emphasis on the provision of accessible recreation.
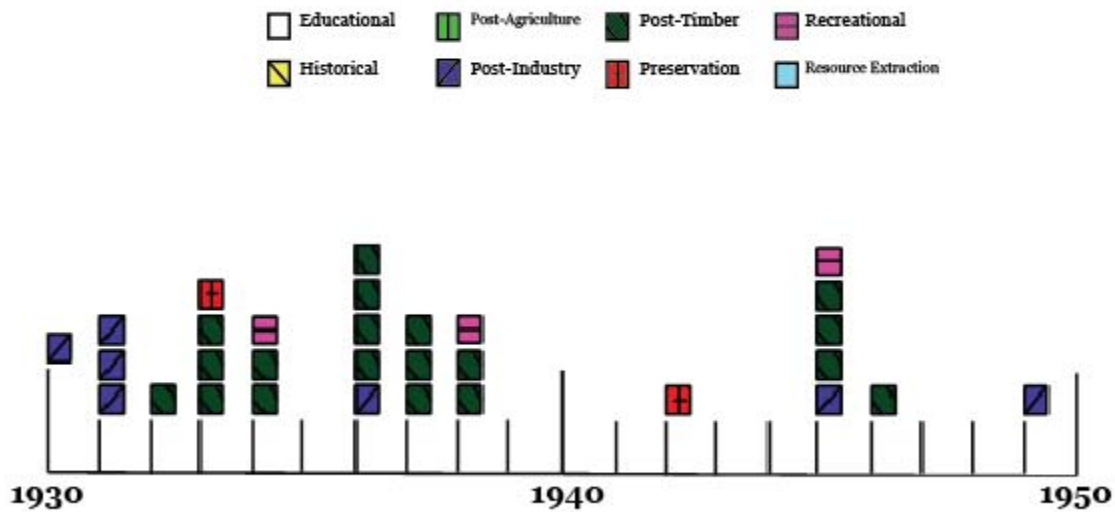
Figure 2.2: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1930-1949.

In response to the growing nationwide State Park Movement, private outdoor recreation advocates formed the Pennsylvania Parks Association (PPA) in 1930. This group of private individuals worked closely with the Department of Forests and Waters to push forward an agenda fostering even more recreational use of State Forests and increased acquisition of land close to urban centers. In 1930, the PPA released the commonwealth's first strategic plan for state park acquisition titled "An Outline of a Balanced State Park System for Fifteen Million People" (see Chapter Seven).[28]

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[27] Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (Oxford Scholarship Online, January 2008), DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195306019.001.0001.

[28] Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Parks 1893-1993*, 21.

Despite calls for expansion of Pennsylvania's state park system, it only added six parks during the 1940s. The only park obtained during World War II was Rickett's Glen. In 1945 and 1946, the federal government gave the states five more parks.[29] The downturn in park acquisition during the war is visible on the timeline.

3. The Goddard Era (1955-1980)

The third significant era of Pennsylvania's state park system was the "The Goddard Era," which began in 1955 and continued through the 1970s. This era is named after Maurice K. Goddard who served as Secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Forests and Waters from 1955-1970. Goddard led a massive expansion of Pennsylvania's state park system. He established a goal of creating a state park within twenty-five miles of every resident of Pennsylvania.[30] This time span is the only period when the state purposefully allocated a large amount of state funds to expand and maintain its park system. Officials feared that urbanization and urban sprawl threatened to swallow any available land suitable for recreation and that the land needed to be acquired soon or be lost to development.[31] An increase in the state park budget and an emphasis on the *need* for accessible outdoor recreation is evident in Figure 2.3 in the transition from post-timber and post-industry parks to recreational parks. Recreational parks served the primary purpose of providing recreation. In Pennsylvania, the prominence of accessibility and recreation during this time period is evident in the standards set for new state park sites in 1957. These standards specified, first and foremost, access to water, as well as close proximity to Pennsylvania residents, desirable topography, and a size large enough to accommodate 25,000 visitors a day.[32]

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[29] Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Parks 1893-1993*, 32-33.

[30] Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Parks, 1893-1993*, 36.

[31] The Widener School of Law's Environmental & Natural Resources Law Clinic, *A Citizen's Guide to Pennsylvania's Project 70 Land Acquisition and Borrowing Act*, Summer 2010: 2.

[32] Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Parks, 1893-1993*, 36-37.
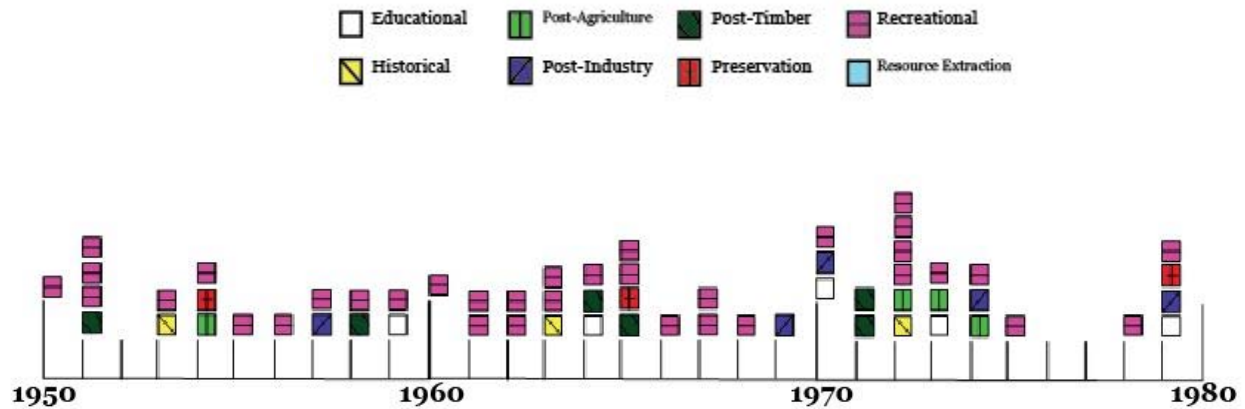
Figure 2.3: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1950-1979.

In 1964, Goddard spearheaded the Project 70 Land Acquisition and Borrowing Act. Project 70 was made possible by an amendment to the State Constitution that allowed "the Commonwealth to create debt and issue bonds in the amount of seventy million dollars, specifically for the purpose of acquiring land for State parks, reservoirs, and other conservation, recreation, and historical preservation purposes."[33] Land acquisition was prioritized in counties with less than ten percent public land and in counties with metropolitan areas with over 25,000 people.[34] The Department of Forests and Waters chose and approved for acquisition of land for

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[33] *A Citizen's Guide to Pennsylvania's Project 70 Land Acquisition and Borrowing Act*, 2; *Project 70 Land Acquisition and Borrowing Act, Act of Jun. 22, 1964, Special Session 1, P.L. 131, No.8*, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, http://www.docs.dcnr.pa.gov/cs/groups/public/documents/document/dcnr_001984.pdf, 1.

[34] "At the time of effective date of this act, in Pennsylvania, the public owned less than 10% of the total land or there was an urban area of more than twenty-five thousand individuals in the following counties: Adams, Allegheny, Armstrong, Beaver, Berks, Blair, Bradford, Bucks, Butler, Cambria, Carbon, Chester, Columbia, Crawford, Cumberland, Dauphin, Delaware, Erie, Fayette, Greene, Indiana, Lackawanna, Lancaster, Lawrence, Lebanon, Lehigh, Luzerne, Lycoming, Mercer, Montgomery, Montour, Northampton, Northumberland, Philadelphia, Schuylkill, Somerset, Susquehanna, Venango, Washington, Wayne, Westmorland, Wyoming,

Project 70 by way of purchase agreement or eminent domain proceedings. It then presented a proposal to the citizens of the county in which the park would be located at a public hearing before the finalized acquisition.[35] Pennsylvania added twenty state parks to its system and seven parks gained additional land under the Project 70 umbrella. A second bond act passed before Project 70 ended. "Project 500" was an approved $500,000,000 bond issued in part to fund the planning, administration, and development of recreation facilities in parks acquired as part of Project 70. In 1970, the Department of Forest and Waters, Department of Mines and Mineral Industries, and portions of several other agencies merged into the new Department of Environmental Resources. Goddard served as the secretary from 1970-1979. By 1970, there were seventy-one state parks in the Pennsylvania system, totaling 158,770 acres. Rapid expansion, as is visible in Figure 2.3, continued through the 1970s.[36]

4. Post-Goddard Era (1980-2010)

The retirement of Goddard in 1979 marked a transition to the "Post-Goddard Era." This era was characterized by two main developments, visible in Figure 2.4. Firstly, funding for state parks plummeted and so did, relatedly, new park creation. Secondly, the few new parks that were created were primarily for preservation. The scramble to provide accessible recreation that drove park acquisition in the 1950s through 1970s was over. For the first time, preservation came to the forefront of the park system's agenda.

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and York." *A Citizen's Guide to Pennsylvania's Project 70 Land Acquisition and Borrowing Act*, 2.

[35] *Project 70 Land Acquisition and Borrowing Act, 8-9; A Citizen's Guide to Pennsylvania's Project 70 Land Acquisition and Borrowing Act*, 2-3.

[36] Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Parks, 1893-1993*, 53-57.

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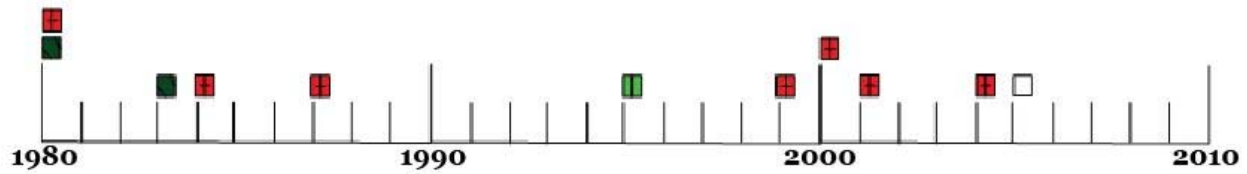
Figure 2.4: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1980-2009.

Ontario

1. Utility and Profit Era (1893-1949)

Despite starting earlier, the Ontario provincial parks system developed much more slowly than that in Pennsylvania. Ontario's provincial park development can be divided into three eras. The province's first park, Algonquin, was created in 1893, which started the era of "Utility and Profit" (Figure 2.5). This era is characterized by an emphasis on utilitarian conservation and the protection of the "perpetual use and profit" of the province's natural resources. Preservationist voices did not hold major influence on public or government opinion until the 1930s, when the Federation of Ontario Naturalists rose to prominence. Inevitable conflict between these preservationists and the utilitarian conservationist old-guard led to the adoption of a multiple-use doctrine in Ontario, modeled on American federal policies, between 1930 and 1967. Multiple use encouraged uses of parkland—i.e. resource extraction and recreation—to happen alongside one another, instead of separating such activities into different zones.[37]

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[37] Gerald Killan, "Ontario's Provincial Parks and Changing Conceptions of 'Protected Places'," in *Changing Parks: The History, Future and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, eds. John S. Marsh and Bruce W. Hodgins (Toronto, Ontario: Natural Heritage/Natural History, Inc., 1998): 35-39; The *Multiple Land-Use Sustained Yield Act of 1960* states that: ""'Multiple use'' means: The management of all the various renewable surface resources of the national forests so that they are utilized in the combination that will best meet the needs of the American people; making the most judicious use of the land for some or all of these resources or related services over areas large enough to provide sufficient latitude for periodic adjustments in use to conform to changing needs and conditions; that some land will be
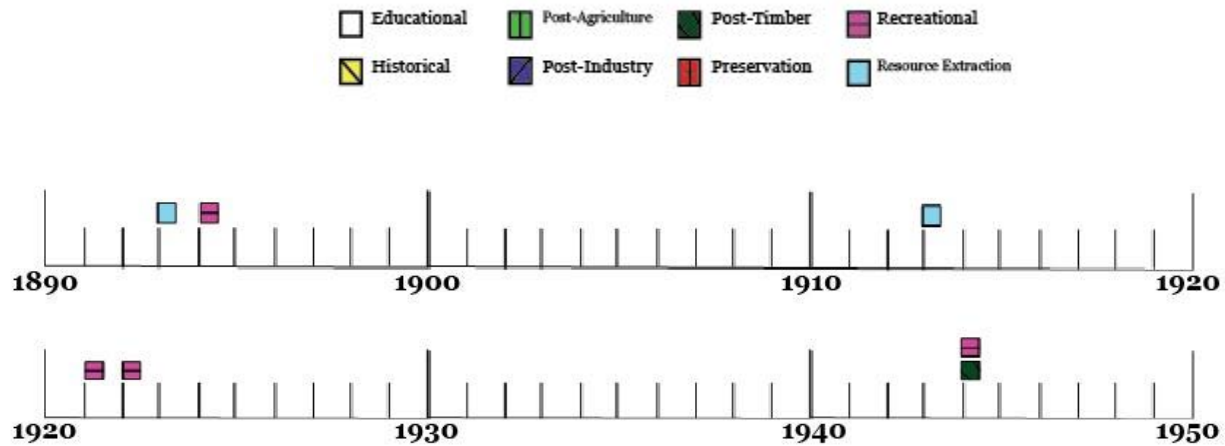
Figure 2.5: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1890-1949

Algonquin and Quetico Provincial Park, for instance, were initially created primarily to protect timber resources and to keep control of the extraction of these timber resources in the hands of the province. Unlike in Pennsylvania, where the majority of timber resources were already exhausted, Ontario still had large forest reserves remaining when it started creating parks. Although not specifically preserved for resource extraction, timber extraction did also occur in Lake Superior Provincial Park. When the park was initially proposed in 1943 by N.O. Hipel, Minister of Lands and Forests, he assured the provincial government that it would not cost the province a great deal of money because the land in and around the proposed park was not useful for agricultural purposes and was already cut-over by the timber industry.[38]

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used for less than all of the resources; and harmonious and coordinated management of the various resources, each with the other, without impairment of the productivity of the land, with consideration being given to the relative values of the various resources, and not necessarily the combination of uses." "10. MULTIPLE-USE SUSTAINED-YIELD ACT OF 1960 [As amended through December 31, 1996, P.L. 104–333]," accessed February 24, 2017, https://www.fs.fed.us/emc/nfma/includes/musya60.pdf.

[38] Gerald Killan, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System* (Toronto: Dundern Press, 1993): 34.

In the first six decades, Ontario also developed recreational, lake and beach-centered parks earlier than other three park systems. Ontario's second provincial park, Rondeau, was created in 1894 primarily to protect an already popular recreation spot, but also to protect the stands of timber that made this recreation spot appealing to visitors. Unlike in Pennsylvania, Ontario encouraged the development of private cottage communities in their provincial parks during the first half of the twentieth century. Algonquin, Rondeau, Long Point, and Presqu'ile Provincial Parks all had expansive cottage development. This development supported recreational and tourism revenue for the province, but had detrimental effects on the environment. In Long Point, for example, by 1949 there were 550 cottages, which left only eight percent of the park's land available for public use.[39] This first era in Ontario's provincial park history was characterized by a total lack of planning on the part of the provincial government, which did not yet envision a cohesive provincial park system. Neither were there any preservation park initiatives. This lack of organization contributed to Ontario's slow park development. Ontario added only seven more provincial parks after Algonquin during its first era (1893-1950).[40]

2. Post-War Recreation Boom (1950-1979)

After World War II, Ontario's park system, like Pennsylvania, changed and expanded due to a massive boom in outdoor recreation, a parallel demand for outdoor recreation spaces, the continued rise of automobile culture, increased American tourism, population growth, increased standards of living, and increased urbanization. During the Post-War Recreation Boom era, which took place from 1955 to 1970, the Ontario Park System expanded from eight parks to 108 parks (Figure 2.6).[41]

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[39] Killan, "Ontario's Provincial Parks," 36-37.

[40] Killan, *Protected Places*, 35.

[41] Killan, "Ontario's Provincial Parks," 39-40; Killan, *Protected Places*, 74-76.
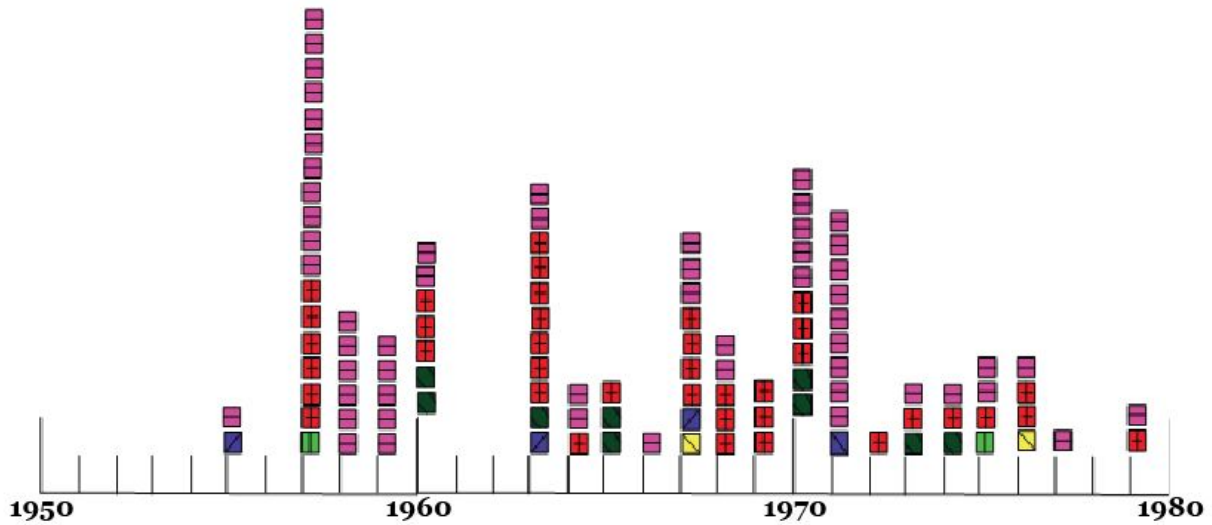
Figure 2.6: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1950-1979.

In 1953, seven Ontario regional foresters visited a number of American states—including Arkansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—to examine their park systems and take back advice and feedback to the province.[42] They noted the number of parks, particularly near densely populated areas, visitor service programs, and an emphasis on access to water recreation facilities, as well as picnicking and camping facilities. Their exploration of the state park systems particularly highlighted how far Ontario had fallen behind its neighbours to the south in park creation, as well as how overcrowded the eight parks in existence had become. There was a real sense of a recreation crisis in Ontario during the mid-1950s.

The 1954 Provincial Parks Act called for a dual policy of creating and maintaining parks for the purpose of recreation and conserving "natural advantages." The Ontario park system, as Figure 2.6 demonstrates, moved forward aggressively, acquiring land in southern part of the province, by donation or purchase, and by designating Crown Lands in the northern areas.[43] The park system moved forward without a clear agenda until 1958 when the Federation of Ontario

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[42] Killan, *Protected Places*, 84.

[43] Killan, *Protected Places*, 84-89.

Naturalists (FON) released their "Outline of a Basis for Parks Policy for Ontario" (Chapter Three). This report influenced the next decade of park opinion in Ontario, eventually leading to adoption of a groundbreaking, five-tier park classification system in 1967.[44] All existing and future parks were classified and managed under this system, which was designed to balance the aims of the park system between recreation and preservation and facilitate future development of the park system. The classifications were: Primitive, Wild River, Natural Environment, Recreation, and Nature Reserve.[45] Today Ontario Parks uses the same classification system, with the addition of a sixth class, "Cultural Heritage," and "Primitive" parks are now referred to as "Wilderness" parks. The current classifications are:

> **Recreation class parks** - typically have good beaches, many campgrounds and lots of outdoor recreation opportunities. Most recreation parks provide services that may include toilets and showers, laundromats, interpretive programs, playgrounds, boat launch facilities, hiking trails and picnic tables." (Wasaga Beach, Sibbald Point)

> **Cultural Heritage class parks** - protect elements of Ontario's distinctive cultural heritage in open space settings, for their intrinsic value and to support interpretation, education and research. (e.g. Petroglyphs,)

> **Natural Environment class parks** - protect outstanding recreational landscapes, representative ecosystems and provincially-significant elements of Ontario's natural and cultural heritage and provide high-quality recreational and educational experiences. (Algonquin, Lake Superior, Frontenac, Sandbanks)

> **Nature Reserve class parks** - protect representative ecosystems and provincially significant elements of Ontario's natural heritage – including distinctive natural habitats and landforms – for their intrinsic value, to support scientific research and to maintain biodiversity.

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[44] Killan, "Ontario's Provincial Parks," 41-45.

[45] Killan, *Protected Places*, 166-167.

Waterway class parks - protect recreational water routes, representative land and water-based ecosystems, and associated natural and cultural features, to provide high-quality recreational and educational experiences. (e.g. Missinaibi, French River)

Wilderness class parks - are large areas that are left just as nature created them. Generally, motorized travel is not allowed in these parks (unless permitted by regulation). Here, visitors engage in low-impact recreation to experience personal challenge, solitude, and feel at one with nature (e.g. Polar Bear, Quetico, Killarney).[46]

The adoption of the original park classifications in 1967 had four major effects on the Ontario park system. Firstly, it enabled the province to better tailor its management strategies to each park's needs. Critics asserted that the Ontario government used the classification system to justify the continuance of business-as-usual practices at their more established provincial parks. This critique was not necessarily wrong. The classification system enabled the park system to standardize land-use practices, including resource extraction in Algonquin, in a manner that assured more responsible land-use practice. Secondly, it provided a universal set of expectations and management goals across the entire park system. Thirdly, it better enabled the coexistence of conservation and preservation within the park system. However, the classification system did not solve tensions between the province and resource industries, particularly in large primitive (wilderness) parks in Northern Ontario. Resource industries opposed the fact that their creation would move significant resources out of extractive industries. Polar Bear Provincial Park—Ontario's largest park at 1.8 million hectares located in the far north of the province—came into existence partially because the land held little potential for either timber removal or mineral

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[46] 1967 Ontario park classifications equated to categories used in this study: "Primitive" or "Wilderness" and "Nature Reserve" = Preservation (Red); Natural Environment = Resource Extraction (Light Teal) and Recreation (Pink); "Recreation" = Recreation (Pink); "Wild River" = Recreation (Pink); "Cultural Heritage" = Historic (Yellow). "Travel Media," *Ontario Parks*, accessed 6 September 2018, http://www.ontarioparks.com/travelmedia/background.

extraction.[47] Fourthly, classification of Nature Reserve and Primitive/Wilderness parks directed a growing public environmentalism in the 1970s toward the third era of park creation in Ontario that began in 1980: the Preservation Era.

3. Preservation Era (1980-2009)

The Preservation Era, as Figure 2.7 demonstrates, was defined by a sharp increase in the creation of provincial parks in general and a growing concern for preservation (red) in both new and existing parks.[48] Strategic Land Use Planning (SLUP) sought to provide broad direction for the management of Ontario's Crown lands and resources. It directed park creation in the 1980s during the post-recreation boom era of Ontario's park system.[49] Any new park established during the preservation era could not negatively affect access for other non-recreation natural resource users.[50] SLUP recommendations led the legislature to create five new wilderness parks and 149 other provincial parks in 1983.[51] The small number of new wilderness parks as well as their lack of planning disappointed preservationists. On the other side of the coin, resource industries, sportsmen, commercial-tourism operators, and some Indigenous groups criticized SLUP for prioritizing wilderness.[52] In order to assuage the concerns of the mining industry and Indigenous hunters, the province initially stated that "non-conforming activities," such as hunting and

[47] Gerald Killan, "The Development of a Wilderness Park System in Ontario, 1967-1990: Temagami in Context," in *Temagami: A Debate on Wilderness*, ed. Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 87.

[48] For an example of increased concern for preservation in existing provincial parks in the 1980s, see Claire Elizabeth Campbell's discussion of the topic in: *Shaped by the West Wind: Nature and History in Georgian Bay* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 179-183.

[49] "Guide for Crown Land Use Planning," *Ontario*, accessed 16 May 2018, https://www.ontario.ca/page/guide-crown-land-use-planning.

[50] "'One of the finest park systems in the world': Managing Ontario's Provincial Parks and Protected Areas," *Ontario Forest History*, http://www.ontarioforesthistory.ca/files/Ontario_Provincial_Parks_.pdf.

[51] Killan, "Ontario Provincial Parks," 46-48.

[52] Killan, "The Development of a Wilderness Park System in Ontario," 91.

mining exploration would be allowed under certain conditions. The Ministry of Natural Resources reversed this decision in 1988. It decided that no further commercial resource extractive activity would take place in its parks, with the exception of logging in Algonquin and Lake Superior Provincial Parks. This decision was also paired with another year of impressive park creation in 1989. After the 1980s, the province focused on the maintenance and finance of existing parks, instead of large numbers of new acquisitions. However, financial and managerial ingenuity in Ontario enabled the province to expand its park system in the 1990s and 2000s in a way that was not possible for the other three park systems in this study.[53]

Ontario was not exempt from the budgetary problems that constrained park development elsewhere. One way that the province fueled further park expansion was by embracing business and stewardship partnerships with private organizations and individuals, most importantly the Ontario Heritage Foundation (OHF).[54] As a trust, donations to OHF were tax exempt so park officials hoped that a partnership with the OHF would result in increased land donations for Nature Reserves by private owners. In 1981, the Ministry of Natural Resources created a volunteer program for Ontario's provincial parks, which grew to 500 volunteers in just three years. In 1983, the province created a groundbreaking partnership with its first "friends" group, The Friends of Algonquin Park. The province also launched a provincial park marketing campaign in 1981 designed to draw more visitors and revenue. This marketing campaign paired with improvements in park facilities led to a marked increase in park visitors during the 1980s; from five and a half million in 1981 to over eight million in 1987. In 1986, the park system generated $500 million in economic activity.[55] Early and resourceful private/public partnerships

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[53] "'One of the finest park systems in the world,'" 12-16.

[54] Killan, "The Challenge of Constraints: 1978-1988," in *Protected Places*, 288-322. The 1967 Ontario Heritage Foundation Act outlined the objectives of the organization as "to receive, acquire by purchase, donation or lease, hold, preserve, maintain, reconstruct, restore and manage property of historical, architectural, recreational, aesthetic or scenic interest by municipalities or organizations for the use, enjoyment and benefit of the people of Ontario." "Chapter 315: The Ontario Heritage Foundation Act" in *c315 Ontario Heritage Foundation Act III* (1970): 113.

[55] "'One of the finest park systems in the world,'" 11-12.

and a willingness to spend money to make money contributed to Ontario's high rate of park creation in the 1980s that was not present in the other three park systems.

Most of the new "preservation" parks fit into the "Nature Reserve" category in Ontario's park classification system. Parks in this classification were created to protect and preserve specific landscapes and their ecology. They did not have facilities, and many of them did not allow camping or other recreational activities. Such parks were inexpensive to manage because they require little to no upkeep or personnel. The ability to create this kind of park that does not have facilities and that is specifically for preservation further enabled Ontario to continue and accelerate park creation in the 1980s and 1990s when other provinces and states chose or were forced to cut back on their park systems.

| ☐ Educational | ▥ Post-Agriculture | ■ Post-Timber | ▥ Recreational |
| ◪ Historical | ◪ Post-Industry | ▥ Preservation | ☐ Resource Extraction |
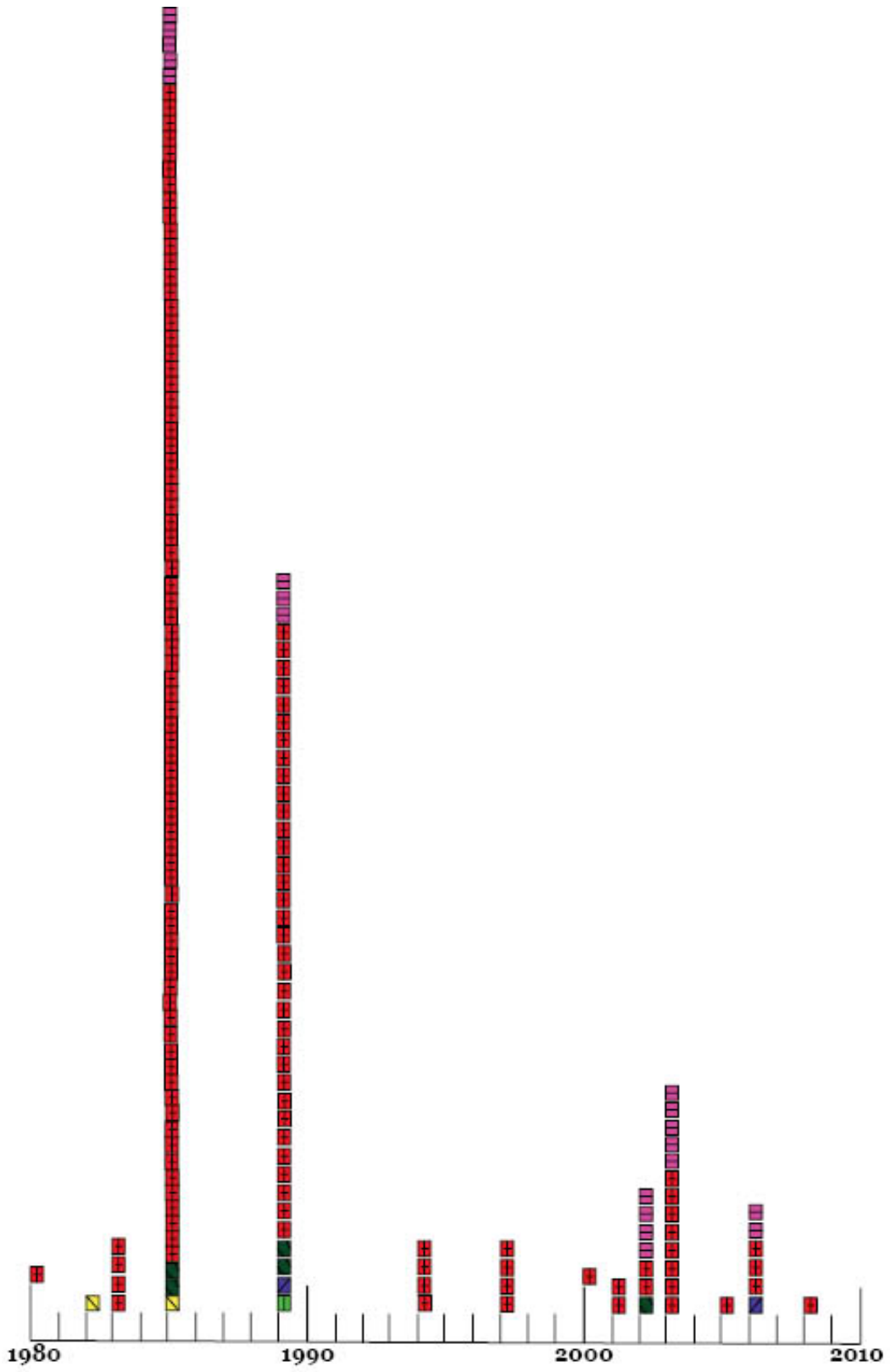
Figure 2.7: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1980-2009.

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Idaho

The state park system in Idaho, like in Pennsylvania, was related closely to forestry. However, unlike in Pennsylvania where the rise of professional forestry also drove state park creation, the presence of federal national forests in Idaho stymied state park development. In 1907, just before the first state park in Idaho was created, national forests accounted for 20,336,427 acres of the state's area.[56] Although a majority of Idaho residents were suspicious of government control of any land, there was a marked divide between south and north. The south, which relied on irrigation for grazing and other agriculture, welcomed protection of watersheds further north in the state. The north, populated largely by miners and lumbermen, did not welcome the arrival of the U.S. Forest Service. Political opponents of the forest service in the state included Senator Weldon B. Heyburn who stated that the state needed men, not trees and scoffed at the idea that the state's forests needed protection and management. Eastern conservationists, including Gifford Pinchot, did not convince Idaho's residents of the need for planned forest management, but succeeded in imposing it on the state anyway.[57]

Throughout the twentieth century, Idaho's conservation and preservation efforts were inconsistent. Historian J.M. Neil states that "on the one hand, [Idahoans] hated to lose any opportunity to profit from development of the state's natural resources, but on the other hand, they had a nagging sense that they really ought to preserve some of the best of the state's scenery and, just maybe, could make a profit at the same time."[58] At the turn-of-the-century, Idaho

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[56] J.M. Neil notes that national forests in Idaho in 1907 "covered more ground than the total areas of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland combined." *To the White Clouds: Idaho's Conservation Saga, 1900-1970* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 2005): 1.

[57] J.M. Neil, "I. The Forest Service Arrives," in *To the White Clouds: Idaho's Conservation Saga, 1900-1970* (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 2005): 1-14.

[58] Neil, *To the White Clouds*, 28.

abandoned a possible national park at Shoshone Falls in favour of a major irrigation project.[59] As a western state, Idahoan politicians, ranchers, and other conservative figures were involved in decades of organized, anti-conservationist and anti-federal land ownership activities, which culminated in the "Sagebrush Rebellion" of the 1970s and 1980s.[60] Sagebrush rebels, led primarily by western ranchers, energy officials, and timber executives, and their likeminded forbearers argued that all federal land should be transferred to the states because individual states would be better managers, economic growth in the West was stunted due to unfair federal land-use restrictions, and that all states should have the right to control all of the land within their borders. Federal conservation initiatives in the West were viewed as an Eastern elitist, neo-colonialist effort to stifle individual rights.[61] More broadly, Idaho residents subscribed to a general belief that governments at all levels should not intervene in "business as usual."[62] This belief extended to park creation and contributed to Idaho's stunted state park development.

1. Era of Disinterest (1908-1929)

Idaho's state park history can be divided into three eras. Idaho's first state park, Heyburn, was created relatively early in 1908. Although the park, as indicated in Figure 2.8, was technically created to preserve a piece of land, it was also expected to be financially self-

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[59] Neil, *To the White Clouds*, 25-28.

[60] William L. Graf argues that although the term "Sagebrush Rebellion" was coined in the 1970s, the label can be used to describe several other similar political skirmishes in the American West during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including irrigation debates in the 1880s and 1890s, forest land debates in the early 1900s, and grazing land debates during the 1920s, 30s, and 40s. *Wilderness Preservation and the Sagebrush Rebellions* (Savage, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1990). See also: James R. Skillen, *The Nation's Largest Landlord: The Bureau of Land Management in the American West* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2009), 120-123.

[61] C. Brant Short. *Ronald Reagan and the Public Lands: America's Conservation Debate, 1979-1984* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1989): 13-25.

[62] Graf, *Wilderness and Preservation and the Sagebrush Rebellions*, 49.

sustaining, which eventually led to both logging and cottage leasing in the park.[63] Idaho did not provide funding for a large park system like that in other states and as a result the park system did not grow in size during an "Era of Disinterest" for nearly fifty years after the creation of Heyburn State Park.
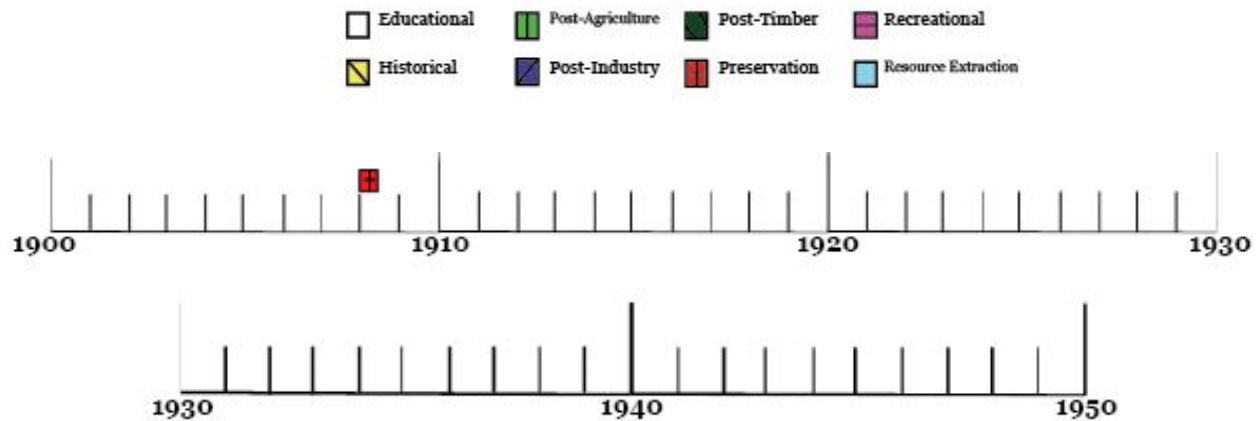
Figure 2.8: Idaho State Park Development, 1900-1949.

The lack of park activity in Idaho during the first half of the twentieth-century was due to political reasons. Idaho citizens supported state's rights and were distrustful of conservation initiatives and conservationists. The largely rural population considered park creation to be part of a systemic attempt to make natural resources inaccessible. Wilderness preservation was considered elitist.[64] Another factor that slowed park creation was the high percentage of federal land in the state, including national forests. Park enthusiasts who did exist in Idaho turned to federal land for parks. National forests were also created to include and emphasize recreational uses of the federal timber reserves. Park cynics and anti-conservation forces pointed to the high

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[63] Thomas R. Cox, *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988): 118.

[64] Neil, *To the White Clouds*, 124.

percentage of federally-owned land as a reason why the Idaho state government did not need to spend money on developing a park system and pull even more land out of private ownership.[65]

2. Conservationist Governors Era (1950-1979)

The 1950s marked the beginning of a second era of Idaho state parks, the "Conservationist Governor Era," (1950-1980), during which two governors led state park creation initiatives (Figure 2.9). Governor Robert E. Smylie (R) led a 1950s and 1960s charge to build a more robust state park system.[66] Despite this initial push for parks in Idaho the state only added two more parks in the 1950s: one preservation park given to the state by private donation (McCroskey) and one recreational park created at the site of a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers hydropower dam and reservoir (Lucky Peak).[67] The latter represented the way in which Idaho thought that it could have both preservation and economic development occur simultaneously.[68] In 1965, Smylie supervised the creation of the Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, the first state government agency specifically responsible for overseeing Idaho's park system.[69] This agency acted as a catalyst for the creation of five more state parks—two historic, two recreation, and one preservation—between 1965 and 1970.

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[65] Cox, *The Park Builders*, 106; Neil, *To the White Clouds*, 13.

[66] Thomas R. Cox, "Chapter 7: Robert E. Smylie and Idaho's State Parks" in *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988): 104-120; Neil, *To the White Clouds*, 149.

[67] Brian Miller, "Lucky Peak State Park," in *100 Years & Idaho Its Parks*, ed. Rick Just (Boise, Idaho: Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, 2008): 100-103; Keith Peterson and Mary Reed, "Mary Minerva McCroskey State Park" in *100 Years & Idaho Its Parks*, ed. Rick Just (Boise, Idaho: Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, 2008): 112-115.

[68] Neil, *To the White Clouds*, 83.

[69] "History of Idaho State Parks," *Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation*, accessed June 29, 2018, https://parksandrecreation.idaho.gov/about-parks-recreation.
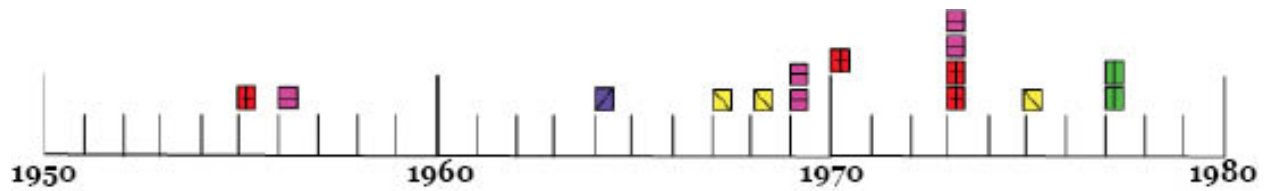
Figure 2.9: Idaho State Park Development, 1950-1979.

Another surge of state park creation in the 1970s corresponded to the election of Idaho's first pro-conservation governor, Cecil Andrus (D). Andrus most notably oversaw the creation of the Sawtooth Wilderness Area in 1972, a major preservation victory over mining interests.[70] During his first term as governor (1971-1977), Idaho added seven state parks to its system—two recreation, two preservation, two post-agriculture, and one historic park. The most notable was Harriman State Park. The 11,000 acres of land was a cattle ranch, known as "Railroad Ranch," owned by the Harriman family of New York, descendants of deceased railroad executive, Edward H. Harriman. The Harrimans were passionate wildlife conservationists and donated the land to the state with the stipulation that the land be managed professionally. This requirement led to the creation of the Idaho State Parks and Recreation Department.[71]

3. Reluctant Responsibility Era (1980-2009)

As is evident in Figure 2.9, even after Idaho began to add state parks it did not do so to the same extent as other states and provinces. Park creation was never a preferred means for conservation or preservation in Idaho.[72] Idaho's "Reluctant Responsibility Era," was characterized by a continued distrust of public land ownership and a desire to minimize state park expenditures (Figure 2.10). Today Idaho only has thirty state parks, far fewer than most

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[70] Neil, *To the White Clouds*, viv-xiv.

[71] Jodi Vincent, "Harriman State Park" in *100 Years: Idaho & Its Parks*, ed. Rick Just (Boise, Idaho: Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, 2008): 59.

[72] Neil, *To the White Clouds*, 29-30.

states, particularly for a state of its size.[73] Because the state was not inclined to spend money on developing or maintaining state parks, many of Idaho's parks originated from private land and money donations. Because of the high percentage of federally-owned land in the state, Idaho also has a higher number of parks that are managed in cooperation with the federal government.[74] Harriman State Park, for instance, represents an example of both private donation and federal co-management. Harriman is surrounded by a 16,000 acre wildlife refuge that is maintained jointly with the U.S. Forest Service.[75] This wildlife refuge was another conditional stipulation that the Harriman family asked for before donating the land to Idaho.[76] Three Island Crossing State Park (1969) is made up of 513 acres and another one hundred acres of adjacent Bureau of Land Management land that is managed by the state park.[77]
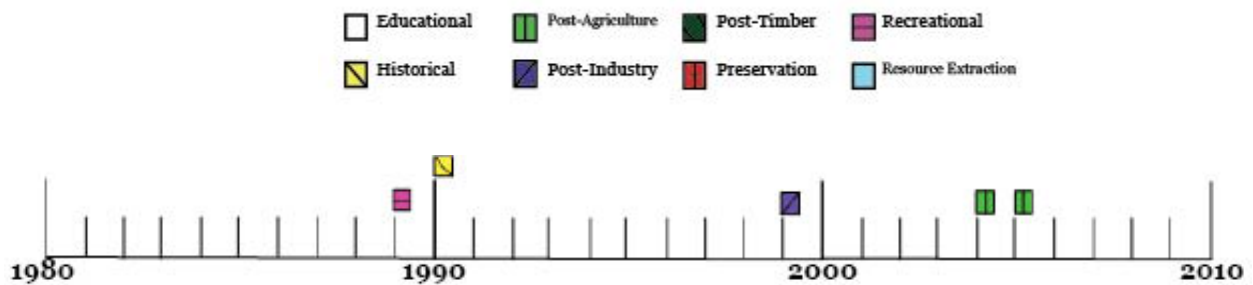
Figure 2.10: Idaho State Park Development, 1980-2009.

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[73] Alabama has the fewest number of state parks at twenty-two. Margaret Walls, "Parks and Recreation in the United States: State Park Systems," *Resources for the Future*, January 2009, http://www.rff.org/files/sharepoint/WorkImages/Download/RFF-BCK-ORRG_State%20Parks.pdf: 3.

[74] Joshua M. Bernard, "From Dreams Came This: The Story of Idaho's State Parks" in *100 Years & Idaho Its Parks*, ed. Rick Just (Boise, Idaho: Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, 2008): 163.

[75] "Harriman Wildlife Refuge," *Audubon*, accessed 11 September 2018, https://www.audubon.org/important-bird-areas/harriman-wildlife-refuge.

[76] Vincent, "Harriman State Park," 59.

[77] John Frank, "Three Island Crossing State Park" in *100 Years: Idaho & Its Parks*, ed. Rick Just (Boise, Idaho: Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, 2008): 147.

Alberta

1. Depression Era (1930-1949)

As Figure 2.11 demonstrates, Alberta did not enter the provincial parkmaking business until the Great Depression. Despite not having access to federal labour as with the American CCC, unique conditions in Alberta, which were not present in Idaho or Ontario, drove a first push for provincial park creation in the early 1930s. Alberta's first provincial park was technically Aspen Beach Provincial Park, however seven other parks were also established on the same day, November 21, 1932.[78] These parks are the only parks that were created during the first era of Alberta Parks—the Depression Era. The political, economic, and environmental conditions that led to this act and drove the formative years of Alberta's park system were outlined in a 1935 report, "Provincial Parks for Alberta," written by the Provincial Parks Board's first secretary, William Thomas Aiken. The report illuminated three aspects of the early years of Alberta's provincial parks. Firstly, the report highlighted what Albertans envisioned a provincial park to be and what needs provincial parks were expected to serve in the province. Second, the report revealed some of the intricacies of the relationship between federal and provincial management of preservation and natural resources. Lastly, the report unveiled, similarly to Ontario, a close connection between early park development in Alberta and the state park movement in the United States.

☐ Educational	▥ Post-Agriculture	◼ Post-Timber	▦ Recreational
▨ Historical	◪ Post-Industry	▥ Preservation	☐ Resource Extraction

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[78] Figure 2.11 shows four parks in 1932 because Alberta decommissioned three of these parks and they are no longer owned by the province.
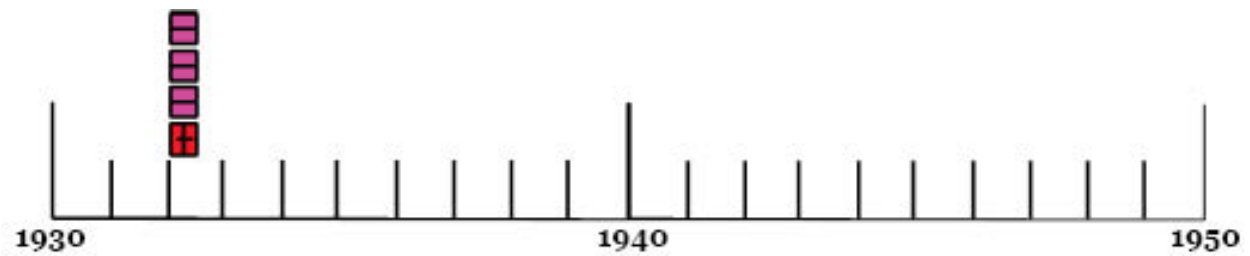
Figure 2.11: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1930-1949.

Provincial park creation started rather late in Alberta in comparison to other provinces and states primarily due to the fact that Alberta did not have control over its natural resources until the Alberta Natural Resources Act of 1930, which transferred control over land and resources from the federal government to the province.[79] In anticipation of this transfer, the Alberta government passed the Provincial Parks and Protected Areas Act on March 21, 1930; shortly thereafter it created the Provincial Board of Management (Provincial Parks Board) for parks.[80] This legislation originated in the enthusiasm of Premier John E. Brownlee. After a trip to Britain in 1928, Brownlee was reportedly inspired by the common British farmer's deep connection to the countryside and called for Alberta to save its natural heritage in order to benefit from its beauty and its potential wealth. Brownlee, a member of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) political party, viewed provincial park development as a way to improve rural life and make it more attractive for Alberta residents.[81] Alberta's population was still primarily rural in the 1920s and 1930s. Approximately seventy percent of the population lived in communities of less than 1,000 people. In a population of under 800,000, there were around 100,000 farms.[82]

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[79] "Alberta Natural Resources Act," S.C. 1930, c.3. (30 May 1930).

[80] "Our History," *Alberta Parks*, accessed 24 May 2018, https://www.albertaparks.ca/albertaparksca/about-us/our-history/.

[81] Donna von Hauff, "An Evolving Legacy" in *Alberta's Parks—Our Legacy* (Edmonton, Alberta: Alberta Recreation, Parks & Wildlife Foundation, 1992): 26-27.

[82] Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989): 14-15.

Imagery of Alberta as a rural province was important to both its self-concept, as well as the way in which the rest of the world perceived the province.[83] Historian Bradford J. Rennie describes the UFA, which was created in 1909 and came to power in 1921, as 'idealistic' and 'utopian' and this vision for an Alberta park system fit these characteristics.[84] Many of Alberta's farmers were in dire economic straits.[85] Approximately 2o,000 farmers lived in a drought-affected area in 1921. Some had not had any crops to sell since the mid-1910s. Farmers were leaving the province and those who did not were in despair.[86] The UFA anticipated that parks would provide much-needed hope and physical and mental relief to the province's agricultural families and communities. The UFA sought to enrich rural life, and parks were part of this vision.[87]

Alberta's first provincial park was located on the southwest shore of Gull Lake, north of Red Deer. When the park was created in 1932, it included only seventeen acres. Aspen Beach was next to an established summer cottage community and consisted of land formerly owned by cottage owners. Nine other provincial parks were created in 1932 without a concrete plan in place to manage them. Most were similar to Aspen Beach: small in size, created to enable beach access for rural citizens, and established on land already used as a summer resort destination. All ten parks struggled for existence during the first several decades. The creation of these parks in 1932 coincided with the dire economic atmosphere and drought conditions of the Depression. Between 1929 and 1935, the Albertan government spent only $40,000 on parks, including the

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[83] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1990): 106.

[84] Bradford J. Rennie, "From Idealism to Pragmatism: 1923 in Alberta," in *Alberta Formed Alberta Transformed: Volume 2*, eds. Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell, and Catherine Cavanaugh (Edmonton and Calgary, Alberta: University of Alberta Press and University of Calgary Press, 2006): 443.

[85] Alvin Finkel, "1935: The Social Credit Revolution," in *Alberta Formed Alberta Transformed: Volume 2*, eds. Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell, and Catherine Cavanaugh (Edmonton and Calgary, Alberta: University of Alberta Press and University of Calgary, 2006): 500.

[86] Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 210.

[87] Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 151.

cost of acquiring the land. Several of the original parks—Ghost River, Lundbreck Falls, and Sylvan Lake—were almost immediately removed from the system due to budgetary constraints and Hommy received no funding for years despite technically being a provincial park.[88]

It was in this period of financial uneasiness and lack of managerial cohesion that the Provincial Parks Board wrote the "Provincial Parks for Alberta" report. Situating provincial parks in relation to the province's national parks, the report stated that the "Provincial Parks which, while not attaining to the dignity and expansiveness of a Federal Park, will preserve for our citizens areas of outstanding beauty and create a necessary area for outdoor recreation and enjoyment within easy access of every community."[89] The report identified three levels of park purpose as outlined by the Parks Act of 1930. Firstly, and most importantly, provincial parks in Alberta were to serve the recreational needs of citizens of Alberta. Secondly, the parks were to support the "propagation, protection, and preservation of wild animal life and wild vegetation."[90] This emphasis on wildlife protection was unique when compared to other early provincial and state park mission statements, but something that Alberta shared with Ontario's decision to create Algonquin forty years earlier. The third purpose for Alberta provincial parks was to preserve historical heritage and support education programs and scientific research.

Parks, according to the report, were to be procured for minimum expenditure and were expected to bring in substantial financial returns by way of tourism. The land would be cheap because it would be privately-owned land unfit for agricultural use, and thus economically useless to its owners. The government hoped to pay for the parks through increased gas tax revenue from the hordes of people that would be driving through and around the province. The appropriation of a small percentage of the gas tax over a ten year period was expected to be more

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[88] Note that Figure 2.11 does not include parks removed from the system. All of the timelines only consider parks that are still in existence today (2018). von Hauff, "An Evolving Legacy," 38.

[89] William T. Aiken, "Provincial Parks for Alberta," 1935, 71.212, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[90] Aiken, "Provincial Parks for Alberta."

than enough to fund the parks. Aiken wrote that there was absolutely no reason to doubt this assertion.

The report states that national parks and American state parks paired with the increased mobility of Albertan citizens due to the rise in automobile accessibility were taking business away from potential Albertan provincial parks. All other parks, both Canadian and American, were Alberta's competitors. The Provincial Parks Board wanted to promote "a greater tendency to travel within home boundaries." [91] National parks were too far away for spur-of-the-moment trips for most rural Albertans. The government wanted citizens to travel less distance to get to parks, but also wanted to fund the parks based on increased driving via gas taxes. This plan did not work out well.

The key distinction of Alberta's provincial parks was this emphasis on rural citizenry. Most provincial and state park systems emphasized parks for nature-starved urban residents. The rural character of Alberta in the 1930s led the province to plan and advertise their provincial park system as an amenity built specifically for farmers and other rural residents. The parks would be common centers at which rural residents could gather and nurture a sense of community, which, park planners argued, was difficult for isolated, rural households. Provincial parks, Aiken wrote, were to "reduce the monotony of farm life and encourage a spirit of co-operative endeavor."[92] They would alleviate the rural Albertan despair of the Depression; these small, provincially-owned beaches were to serve as oases in the Albertan desert.

Anti-urbanism was present throughout the report. Provincial parks were to provide a line of defense against the encroachment of urbanization. Reflecting the values of the UFA, as well as the economic and environmental situation facing farmers and other rural citizens, the report stated that "the crowding of any country's population to urban centres is not in the best interest of the country as a whole. Anything which tends to create a more prosperous, attractive, and contented life on the farm is therefore a matter of national importance which will create greater stability of government and government institutions."[93] Nourishment of rural contentment was

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[91] Aiken, "Provincial Parks for Alberta."

[92] Aiken, "Provincial Parks for Alberta."

[93] Aiken, "Provincial Parks for Alberta."

the job of the provincial government; the federal government was not as well-suited to this task, according to Aiken. HE did not specify whether this was because of federal disinterest in rural areas or because of natural divisions in government levels.

Similarly to Idaho, the presence of the federal government in the province and its role in preserving wilderness and managing natural resources shaped the way that Alberta approached provincial park development. Aiken wrote that "no province in the Dominion of Canada has been so generously dealt with by the Federal Government in the matter of parks as the Province of Alberta."[94] The presence of the national parks in Alberta also posed an obstacle for early provincial park advocates who wanted to prioritize nature conservation and wildlife protection. Many individuals pointed out that the federal government had already established large parks for the preservation and protection of flora and fauna, and thus the establishment of parks further dedicated to this goal was not necessary. Aiken argued against this assertion and provided a plan for a three-tiered system of provincial parks, which would guarantee that the province would be responsible for the protection of ecologically significant pieces of land. Class 'A' parks would be dedicated to areas of significant scenic, scientific, and historical importance. Class 'B' parks would be dedicated to recreational areas with a bathing beach as the main attraction, and Class 'C' parks would consist of auto parks, picnic areas, and scenic, roadside viewpoints.

Aiken got this park classification idea from Iowa. He turned to Iowa, Indiana, New York, California, and other states for guidance. Aiken wrote that "in planning a system of Provincial Parks there are certain fundamental problems which demand careful consideration. Fortunately our American neighbours have been experimenting with a system of state parks for a number of years…"[95] Not once did Aiken mention another Canadian provincial park system nor is there evidence of correspondence between Alberta and other provinces about parks in the formative years, despite the fact that other provinces had also been 'experimenting' for a number of decades.

Aiken was in correspondence with Herbert Evison, secretary of The National Conference on State Parks. Evison particularly advised that Alberta should try not to acquire too many small

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[94] Aiken, "Provincial Parks for Alberta."

[95] Aiken, "Provincial Parks for Alberta."

parks. "It is very easy for a state or provincial agency to load itself up with a large number of small holdings which are very much more expensive to maintain and develop than an equal acreage in a few fairly large holdings," Evison wrote.[96] Evison also warned against letting "parasite" development (i.e. privately-owned, small business tourism) grow around the province's parks.[97] Aiken viewed American state parks as both examples of what to do and what to avoid. Aiken and other Albertan officials viewed Eastern state parks as efforts to recreate what had been lost, to create a kind of second nature. It was the duty of the Albertan people, according to Aiken, to avoid this fate. The Albertan countryside had not yet been despoiled and therefore it was imperative that the province save its land for future generations now, rather than later. In 1930s Alberta, provincial parks were a consequence of dire agricultural conditions, as well as a desire not to fall behind the states and other provinces. The parks were to help the mental and physical health of the farmers and stem the tide of emigrants fleeing the countryside for urban areas and other regions. They would also bring legitimacy to the Albertan government's new right to control its own natural resources. Preservation concerns were not, despite Aiken's wishes, at the forefront of the Albertan provincial park system.

As instruments of development the first Albertan parks were not imbued with the same kind of emotional or symbolic weight as the national parks in the province. As early as 1932, Aiken expressed regret that the province had created provincial parks. Writing to Evison, he stated that "no doubt you have come to the conclusion that we have made a similar error to some of the states in purchasing too many small areas. This may prove to be true. Already difficulties can be seen in the way of proper development at some of the bathing beaches where property has been purchased."[98] Until 1951, when a new Parks Act passed, Alberta considered its provincial parks disposable. They existed in an insecure state of neglect. For nearly twenty years, no new

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[96] Herbert Evison to William T. Aiken, December 3, 1932, 1983.0092, Box 9, Folder 51, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[97] Herbert Evison to William T. Aiken, December 3, 1932, 1983.0092, Box 9, Folder 51, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[98] William T. Aiken to Herbert Evison, December 29, 1932, 1983.0092, Box 9, Folder 51, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

parks were added, four were closed, and the province attempted to pawn most of the rest of the parks on to other organizations and the parks' neighbouring communities.

One explanation for the change in attitude was a change in provincial leadership. The Alberta Social Credit Party took over the provincial government from the UFA in 1935 (and stayed in power until 1971), reluctantly inheriting a struggling and nascent provincial park system. Although the political base of the Social Credit Party was similar to the UFA, the socialist and utopian aspects of Alberta receded to the margins.[99] While the UFA's principal doctrines were politically radical and based on democratic group government, Social Credit focused more on the economic than the political.[100] The philosophy of the social credit system, on which the political party was based, placed power in the hands of the individual, rather than government. It was a philosophy that did not, at least initially, jive well with park creation, administration, and maintenance. "The state," in a Social Credit society, "exists solely to promote the individual's welfare, freedom, and security."[101]

2. Urbanization Era (1950-1979)

Figure 2.12 shows that the 1950s, and to a lesser extent the 1960s and 1970s, marked a period of growth in the Alberta provincial park system. This post-World War II growth corresponded with changes in Alberta's economy and demography. Industrialization, including a burgeoning oil industry, overtook agriculture as the primary driver of the province's economy. Alberta's population increased and urbanized. Rather than places of escape for rural residents, provincial parks began to draw primarily urban residents with access to automobiles. These visitors soon overloaded existing provincial parks, driving park creation. Alberta passed a new provincial parks act in 1951 that transferred administration from Public Works to Land and Forests, created a three-member Parks Board, and hired full-time personnel for the first time. Between 1951 and 1971, Alberta established forty-six provincial parks. As the timeline shows, the vast majority of these parks were recreationally-based. Alberta's population was still small

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[99] Finkel, "1935: The Social Credit Revolution," 491-510.

[100] Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 278-280.

[101] John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

and the amount of nearby wilderness seemed inexhaustible. There was not yet an ecological appreciation for the need to preserve diverse landscapes, and thus Alberta provincial parks focused on recreation, rather than preservation. After 1970 this changed a bit, and the provincial park system started to focus more on preservation and on urban recreation. However, as Figure 2.13 demonstrates, Alberta did not start to focus on preservation at the provincial level until the 1990s.[102]
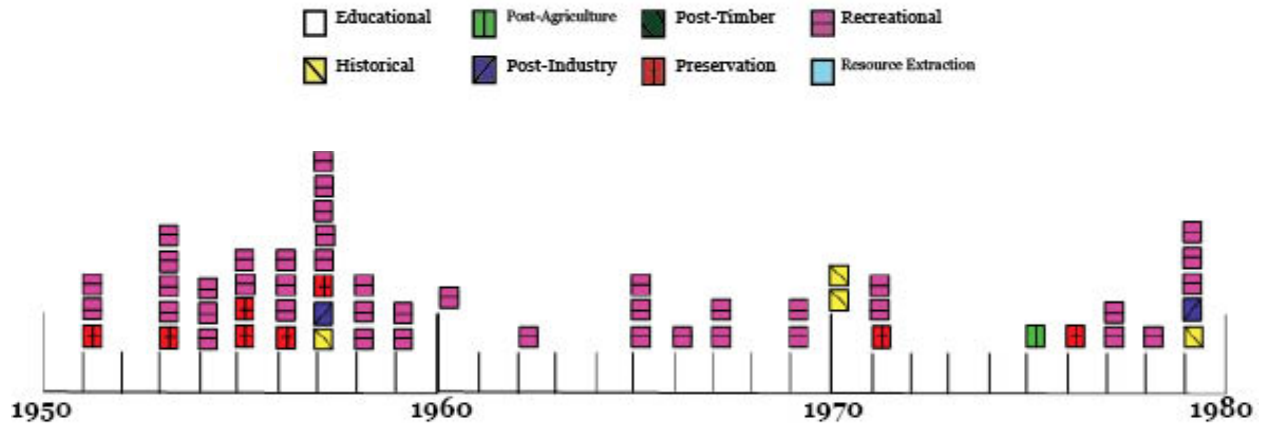
Figure 2.12: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1950-1979.
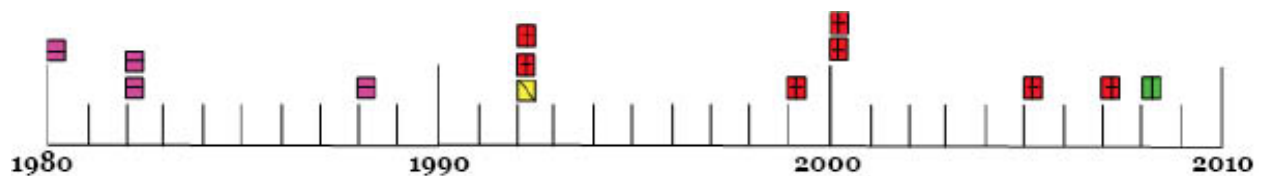
Figure 2.13: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1980-2009.

Drawing Comparisons

The timeline visualization of the development of parks in these four states/provinces makes comparison of park development in each system easier on both a national and regional

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[102] von Hauff, "An Evolving Legacy," 55-70.

level. Examination and comparison of the first three decades of the twentieth century reveals a stark contrast between Pennsylvania and the other three park systems (Figures 2.14-2.17).

Figure 2.14: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1900-1929.

Figure 2.15: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1900-1929.

Figure 2.16: Idaho State Park Development, 1900-1929.

Figure 2.17: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1900-1929.

Pennsylvania's jumpstart on state/provincial park creation was due to several reasons. Firstly, Pennsylvania had a much higher population total and population density than either three

of the states/provinces.[103] Pennsylvania's population was also more urban than the other three states/provinces. The need to provide green space recreational activities for urban residents was a main driver for early state park development. The lack of this perceived social need led to delayed development of provincial and state parks, particularly in Alberta and Idaho, which both had a small rural populations. Secondly, Pennsylvania was one of the first states to develop its own forestry service and this fueled early state park creation in the commonwealth. Thirdly, the federal government owned little land in the eastern United States and since national park creation focused in the west, the Pennsylvania state government took the lead in park creation and landscape preservation in a way that did not happen in Idaho and Alberta, where the American and Canadian governments owned large swathes of federal land. Relatedly, Pennsylvania's landscape was already ravaged by the effects of industrialization in a way that was not the case in Idaho, Alberta, and much of Ontario. The local citizenry and government officials still viewed sources of 'untouched' wilderness as inexhaustible at the turn-of-the-century in Idaho, Alberta, and Ontario, in stark contrast to Pennsylvania. Historian George Warecki argues that Canadians, including Ontarians, shared a belief in a myth of abundance. Unlike in Pennsylvania, where this myth was disproven by the turn of the twentieth century, the general Ontario population did not embrace a preservationist sentiment until as late as the 1970s; a trajectory that more closely resembles Idaho and Alberta than Pennsylvania.[104] This difference between the development of an environmental consciousness in Pennsylvania and Ontario contributed to the fact that Ontario lagged so far behind Pennsylvania in park development despite similar demographic and ecological conditions in the first half of the twentieth century. A much higher percentage of land in Ontario was still publicly owned, and thus the province did not have the same land-acquisition

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[103] In 1900, Pennsylvania had a population of 6.3 million in 1900 and 8.7 million by 1920 in contrast to Idaho—161,772 (1900) and 431,866 (1920); Ontario—2.1 million (1900) and 2.9 million (1920); and Alberta—73,022 (1901 and prior to becoming a province in 1905) and 588,454 (1920).

[104] George Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness: A History of Changing Ideas and Preservation Politics, 1927-1973* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

pressures that drove Pennsylvania's park creation in the early years of its park system.[105] It is

important to note that the uptick of park creation in Pennsylvania in the 1920s correlated to the

beginning of the official State Park Movement in 1921.

Alberta was legally unable to create parks prior to 1930 even if it had wanted to because

the government of Canada controlled all public land and natural resources when the province

was created in 1905.[106] The Alberta Natural Resources Act of 1930 transferred control of "public

lands generally" from the federal to the provincial government.[107] This obstacle is why, although

the UFA expressed interest in provincial park creation in the late 1920s, Alberta did not create its

first provincial parks until 1932.

Even after 1930, development of parks in Alberta, as Figures 2.18 and 2.21 indicate, was

far slower than in Pennsylvania, which enjoyed a source of labour that the other three park

systems did not: the Civilian Conservation Corps. The CCC greatly altered and accelerated the

trajectory of state park development. Figure 2.18 shows that the CCC also affected the type of

parks created during this decade. Because the CCC provided free labour, Pennsylvania was able

to continue to focus on acquisition of inexpensive post-timber (dark green) and post-industry

(dark blue) land because CCC workers could reforest these landscapes and do other restoration

work and facility development. Without this source of free labour, Ontario did not add to its

provincial park system at all in the 1930s, despite the fact that it was demographically,

ecologically, and politically similar to Pennsylvania. In Idaho, the CCC built facilities in

Heyburn State Park, but were mostly deployed to work on other projects, primarily on federal

lands, because state park creation was not a priority in the state.

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[105] Richard S. Lambert, *Renewing Nature's Wealth: A Centennial History of the Public Management of Lands, Forests, and Wildlife in Ontario 1763-1967* (Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, 1967).

[106] Alberta Government: Land Policy Branch, "History of Public Lands in Alberta" (April 2017), 1. http://aep.alberta.ca/forms-maps-services/directives/documents/HistoryPublicLands-Apr2017.pdf.

[107] Alberta Natural Resources Act, S.C. 1930, c. 3. http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/A-10.6/page-1.html#docCont.
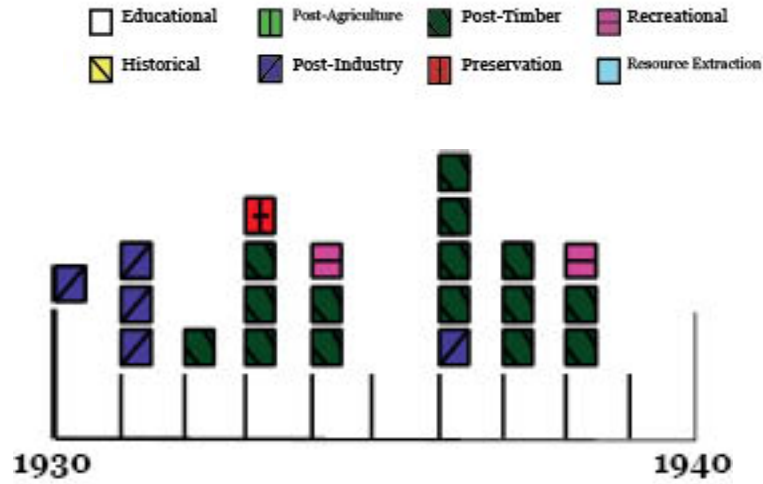
Figure 2.18: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1930-1939.
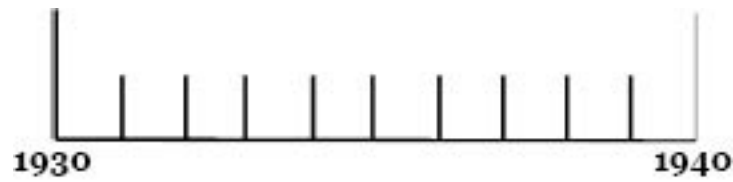
Figure 2.19: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1930-1939.
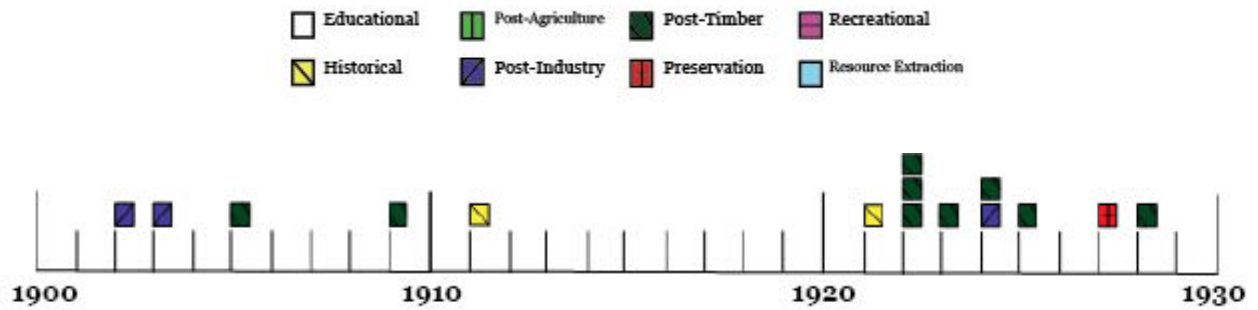

Figure 2.20: Idaho State Park Development, 1930-1939.
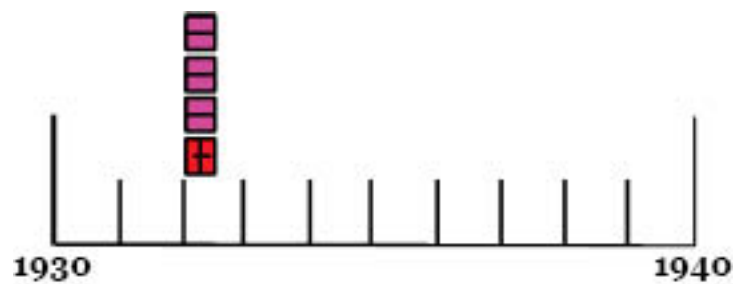
Figure 2.21: Alberta Provincial Park Development

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After the first four decades of the twentieth century, Figures 2.22-2.25 demonstrate that park creation in all four park systems share comparable trajectories. Firstly, one can discern the way in which World War II (1939-1945) significantly slowed down, stopped, or contributed to a continued lack of park creation entirely in all four states/provinces. What park creation that did occur in Pennsylvania and Ontario occurred in the final year or right after the end of the war.
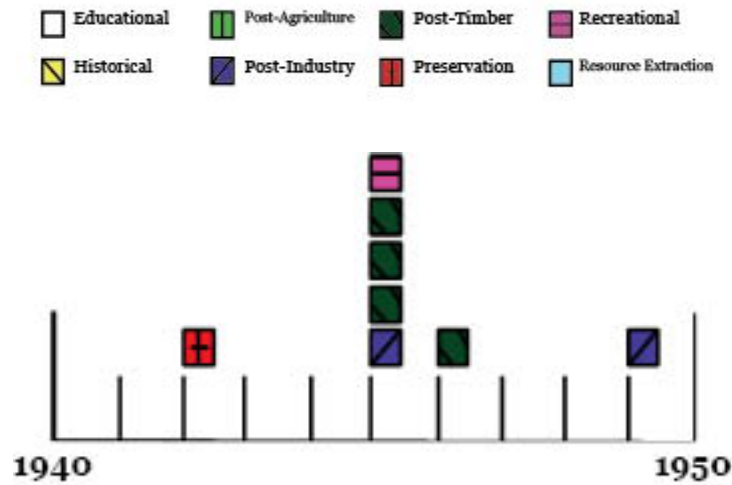
Figure 2.22: Pennsylvania Park Development, 1940-1949.
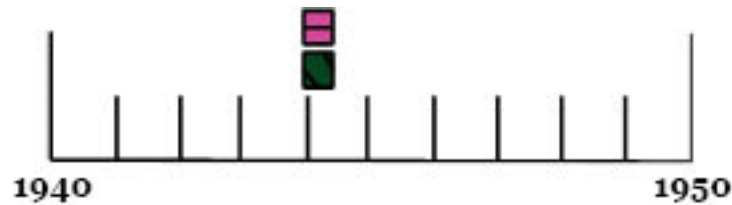
Figure 2.23: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1940-1949.

Figure 2.24: Idaho State Park Development, 1940-1949.
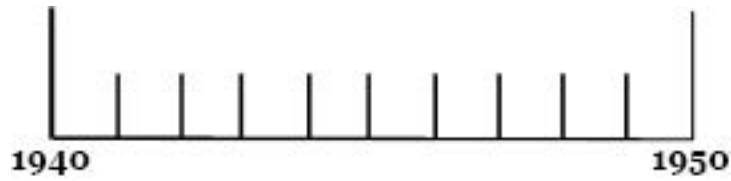
Figure 2.25: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1940-1949.

The common lack of park development during the 1940s stands in stark contrast to the general increase in park development during the Post-World War II era (1950-1980). All four states/provinces were altered by changing economic and social forces: the post-war economy fueled a population boom, urbanization, increased mobility, and increased wealth and related leisure time. These converging factors led to increased demand for outdoor recreation and destinations, and ushered in the "golden age" of state and provincial park development (Figures 2.26-2.29).
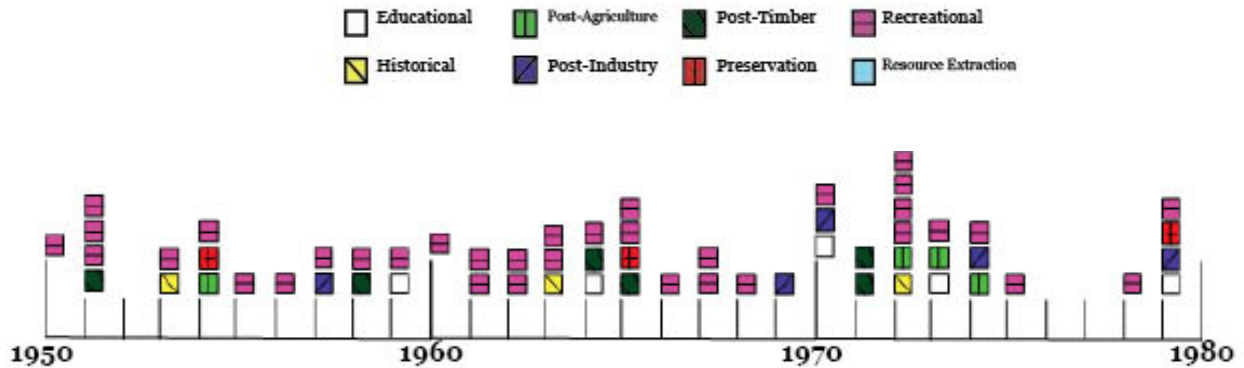
Figure 2.26: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1950-1979.
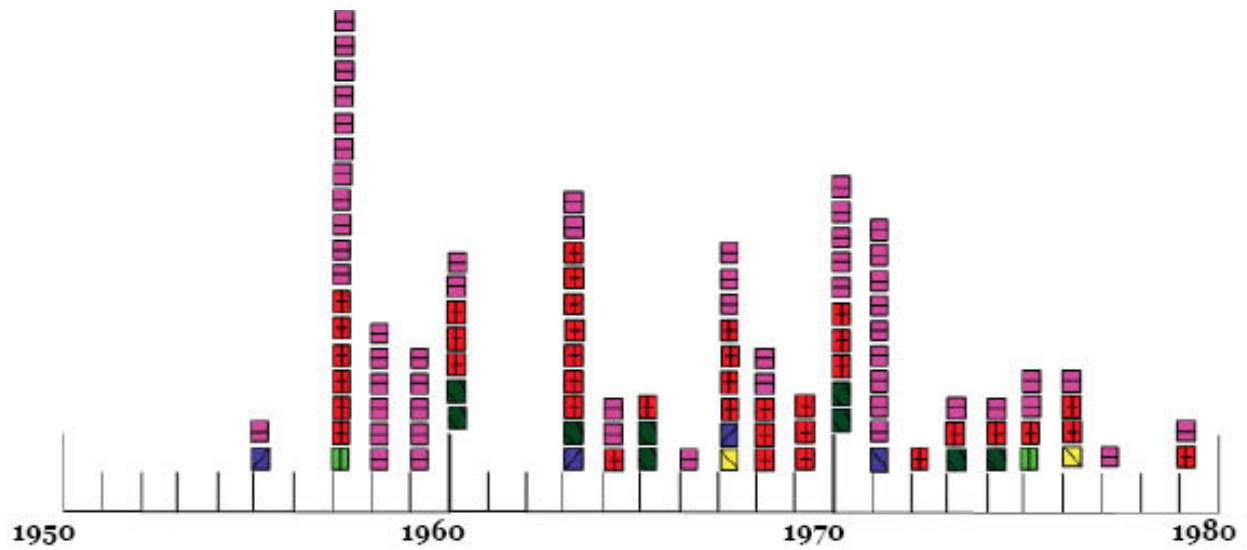
Figure 2.27: Ontario State Park Development, 1950-1979.
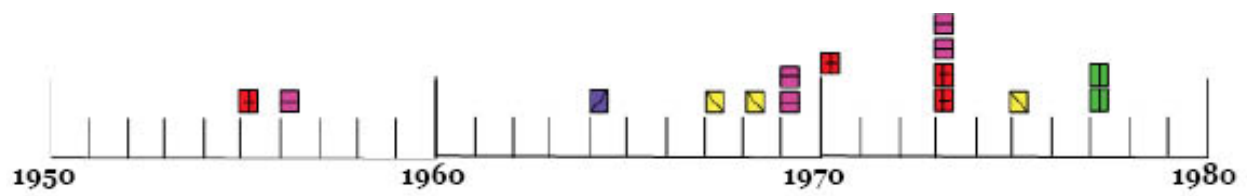
Figure 2.28: Idaho State Park Development, 1950-1979.
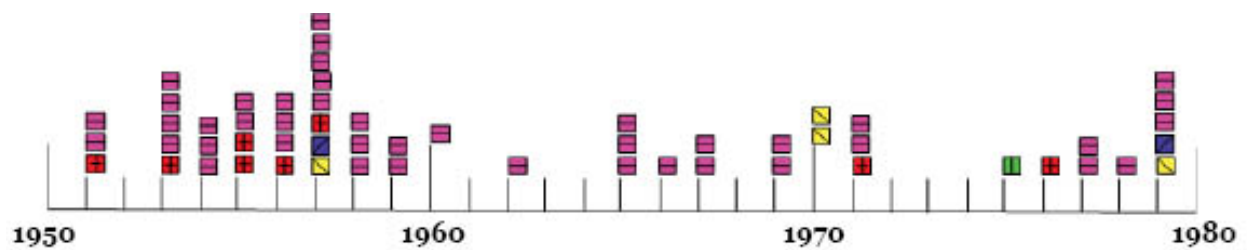
Figure 2.29: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1950-1979.

The domination of recreational (pink) parks in Pennsylvania, Ontario, and Alberta during these three decades demonstrates that the provision and democratization of places of recreation, particularly water recreation, was the main priority of the park systems. In Pennsylvania, cheap or free land acquisition no longer drove park selection, rather accessibility was the primary objective, as evident from the drop-off in post-timber (dark green) and post-industry (dark blue)

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parkland. Although growing environmental consciousness throughout North America was a distinct movement during the 1960s and 1970s, as the timelines demonstrate, it was not until the 1980s that preservation (red) began to be a primary objective of all four of the park systems (Figures 2.30-2.33).
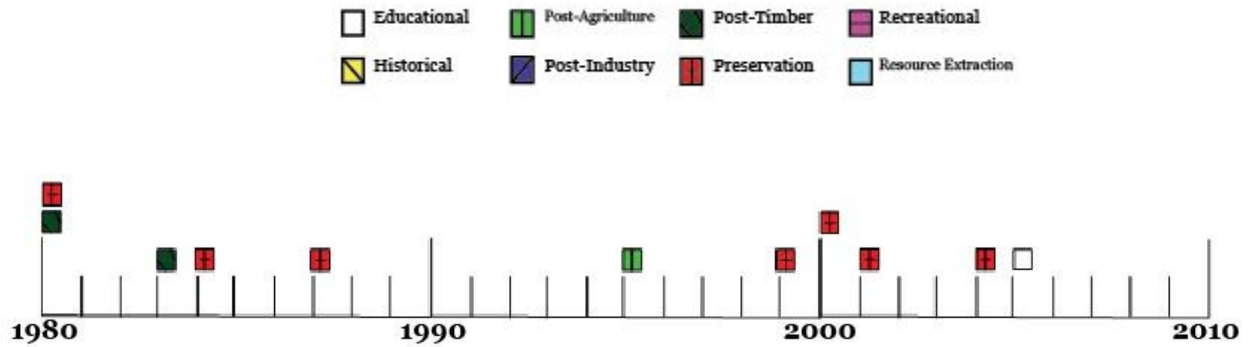
Figure 2.30: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1980-2009.

Figure 2.31: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1980-2009.
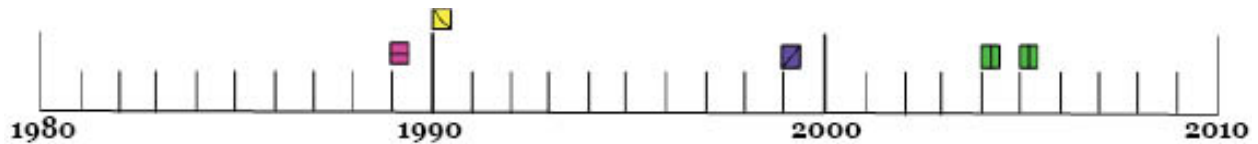
Figure 2.32: Idaho State Park Development, 1980-2009.
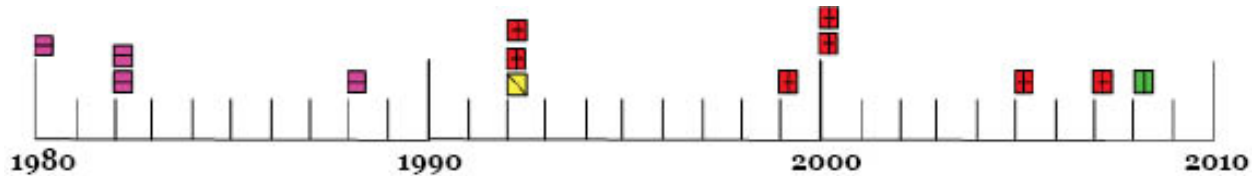
Figure 2.33: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1980-2009.

The timelines highlight the aftermath of rampant park creation in most states and
provinces during the 1950s, 60s, and 70s. After a sharp rise in the number of parks during those
decades, park fervor and the funding that fueled it declined sharply, as is shown in the
Pennsylvania and Alberta timelines. However, as is also quite discernable from the timelines,
this pattern did not hold for Idaho, which continued to be fairly disinterested in state park
creation, or Ontario, which saw a massive increase in the number of provincial parks in its
system during the 1980s.

The timelines demonstrate that correlations between park development and park
management were more discernable when making East/West comparisons, rather than
Canadian/American comparisons. Conservative, rural populaces, an abundance of undeveloped
land, and a strong federal presence in Alberta and Idaho made both places less enamored by the
state/provincial park concept and took both governments down similar park non-development
paths. Although Pennsylvania had a head start, both Pennsylvania and Ontario embraced the
concept of state/provincial parks with fervor after World War II. Because the federal government
did not have a large federal land presence in the east, whether it be national forests or national
parks, the province/state came to the forefront of land preservation and park creation initiatives
in a way that did not happen in the west. A bigger and more concentrated urban population in
Pennsylvania and Ontario also led to larger park systems compared to Alberta and Idaho. Each of
the four park systems was developed under complex and unique circumstances, but the timelines

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reveal patterns, differences, and similarities to become apparent without combing through the minutiae of each park system's history. In comparison to the more celebrated and studied national parks, the large number of state and provincial parks allowed greater diversity and flexibility in the state and provincial parks model as they evolved over the decades in response to political, economic, and social patterns. State and provincial parks reveal how modern North American people have interacted with nature and attempted to control it for their own consumption through time.

The timelines, however, do not tell the entire story. The history of park systems and individual parks continued well after their initial creation. The rest of this study explores some of the patterns and historical forces that shaped state and provincial parks in the United States and Canada by focusing on specific parks and themes, presented in a semi-chronological manner. The following chapters demonstrate how the forces that shaped the kind of parks created at any given time, as illustrated by the timelines, also drove changes in the use and management of already-established parks. The parks highlighted in the following chapters exemplify the dynamic nature of parkland.

Chapter Three, "Average Man's Wilderness: Algonquin and its Timber," analyzes the evolution of Ontario's Algonquin Provincial Park and the management of timber from its creation in 1893 to the wilderness debates of the 1960s and 1970s. Not all provincial and state parks, particularly before 1980, were created to preserve natural landscapes or to provide recreation. Algonquin also demonstrates how the Post-World War II increase in demand for outdoor recreation and an increased environmental awareness altered the way the public used and viewed the park, its natural resources, and its history.

Because state and provincial parks were not primarily dedicated to preservation and conservation, they provide a window through which to analyze how conceptions of outdoor recreation have shaped the landscape of North America. Chapter Four, "Reviving the Distant Clarion: Cook Forest State Park, Its Trees, and Its River,"expands beyond park borders to investigate how park creation was affected by and affects regional ecosystems. Parks were not always pristine pieces of land ironically sullied by overuse by visitors, but rather can act as regional instruments of ecological change and restoration. The ecological restoration of the

Clarion River was connected to the creation of Pennsylvania's Cook Forest State Park, and the evolution of park use and recreational demands altered both the river and the way that the public used and viewed the park. Further exploring the correlation between water and recreation in state and provincial parks, Chapter Five, "'A Park Must Have Water': Water Management and Recreation," examines how desire for water access led to material changes of the environment. This chapter analyzes dam and artificial lake creation in Pennsylvania's state park system and the regulation of Gull Lake's water level in Alberta's Aspen Beach Provincial Park.

Expansion of park history to include park peripheries enables analysis of communities displaced or drawn to the perimeter. Chapter Six, "People on the Peripheries: Expanding the Social History of Provincial and State Parks," considers four distinct communities—cottagers, Indigenous groups, tourism business owners, and volunteers—that work and live at the peripheries of parks. Lastly, Chapter Seven, "Nearby and Natural: Urban and Near-Urban Parks," examines how desire for increased accessibility and democratization of outdoor recreation in the latter half of the twentieth century affected the development of state and provincial park systems. Analyzing four specific parks—Pennsylvania's Point State Park, Idaho's Eagle Island State Park, Ontario's Bronte Creek Provincial Park, and Alberta's Fish Creek Provincial Park—this chapter evaluates changing priorities and broadened definitions of 'nature' and 'natural' in order to provide outdoor recreation opportunities to a larger portion of the population.

Chapter Three: Average Man's Wilderness: Algonquin and Its Timber

"Thousands of tourists and summer campers come and go in Algonquin Park. They admire it for its natural beauty. Nature is practically unmolested, and wherever any disturbance is made, it generally is for the better of the people of Ontario who call their park their own," Leonard Pegg wrote in 1907.[1] The 'disturbance' at the core of Ontario's Algonquin Provincial Park's history is logging. From its inception in 1893, resource extraction in the park mingled with the dueling prerogatives of recreation and preservation in Algonquin in a manner that highlights the Ontario park system's unique history.

The mid-nineteenth-century conservation movement acted as the primary catalyst for the establishment of provincial parks in Ontario.[2] George Perkins Marsh's seminal work, *Man and Nature* (1864), stands as one of the founding texts of early conservation. Marsh discussed the negative changes made to the environment by man and provided groundbreaking suggestions for stemming this damage. The most revolutionary part of *Man and Nature* was Marsh's emphasis on deforestation. Before Marsh's work, the public gave little attention to deforestation and believed it was an inevitable consequence of progress. Marsh argued that forests were crucial instruments of ecological balance and that they regulated climate and water resources.[3] The nineteenth-century conservation movement split into two main ideological camps: utilitarian conservation and preservation. Gifford Pinchot, figurehead of utilitarian-conservation, defined it as the management of natural resources for "the greatest good to the greatest number for the longest time."[4] Conservationists emphasized the employment of scientific and technological

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[1] Leonard Pegg, "85-Year-Old Patriarch Recalls Four Rescues," *Windsor Daily Star*, August 2, 1907.

[2] Gerald Killan, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System* (Louisville, Quebec: Dundurn Press Limited, 1993), 1.

[3] George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 113-280.

[4] Gifford Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation*, 1910, accessed February 20, 2017, http://wps.pearsoncustom.com/wps/media/objects/2429/2487430/pdfs/pinchot.pdf.

knowledge to efficiently and rationally manage the environment.[5] In contrast, preservationists operated under the rallying call "preservation for preservation's sake." Land, according to preservationists, should be placed aside and protected from most man-made disturbances and all forms of resource extraction. An early model of preservation was the "nature sanctuary." As the term denotes, nature sanctuaries were areas where *all* nature was protected from man-made interference.[6] Preservationists did not argue that preserved lands should not be *used*; rather they believed that parks and other preserved land should be used for recreational, educational, and other supposed no-to-low-impact purposes.

The multi-tiered park system that exists in Ontario today is a product of the province's deep entrenchment in the theory of multiple-use. Multiple-use land management is based on the idea that a piece of land can support a variety of uses. This management philosophy eventually fell out of favour in regards to park management. Its critics believed that multiple-use was ecologically detrimental and that a piece of land could not be all things to all people. Although multiple-use is still used in some places, zoning is now preferred. Land management based on zoning is characterized by defined, limited, and separated uses for specific pieces of land.

From its beginning, Algonquin Provincial Park was a piece of land expected to meet the demands of various groups invested in its existence: recreationists, lumbermen, capitalists, preservationists, and even wildlife. Ontario's first provincial parks were the product of a wide spectrum of diverse and otherwise competing interests that found common cause in park creation: preservationists concerned with aesthetics worked alongside tourist businesses, sportsmen worked with naturalists to protect game and fish, and timber companies found allies in bureaucrats and intellectuals that were interested in modern forestry.[7]

At the heart of this self-interest veiled both in altruism and free-market steadfastness, was the tree. It was Ontario's spiritual and exploitive relationship with its forests that drove the

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[5] Jeff Crane, *The Environment in American History: Nature and the Formation of the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 219.

[6] George M. Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness: A History of Changing Ideas and Preservation Politics*, 1927-1973 (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 62.

[7] Killan, *Protected Places*, 2.

creation of Algonquin Provincial Park and shaped the development of the province's park system. Human relationships to forests are not relegated to the scientific. Forests, and how we define forests, are as much products of human emotion as they are ecological entities. Forests hold symbolic relevance to society on a number of different spiritual and cultural levels. Trees also play a key role in shaping individual experiences and memories.[8] Algonquin was originally a 'resource extraction' park. This chapter demonstrates how the same post-war demand for outdoor recreation that led to an upswing in park creation in the Ontario park system paired with a growing environmental consciousness amongst both experts and the general public altered how Algonquin and its history was regarded, manipulated, and used to advance specific group agendas. This chapter looks at Algonquin's history, with an emphasis on the preservationist/timber battle of the 1950s and 1960s; accentuating both reveals the unique attributes of Ontario's park history.

"The said tract of land is hereby reserved and set apart as a public park and forest reservation, fish and game preserve, health resort and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of the Province."[9]

This excerpt from the act that created Algonquin "National" Park in 1893 is likely the most quoted line in Algonquin Park literature.[10] The line, which highlights the immediate,

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[8] K.A. Armson, *Ontario Forests: A Historical Perspective* (Toronto, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 2001), 2.

[9] Bill No. 107, *An Act to establish the Algonquin National Park of Ontario*, Ontario *Parliament*, 1898.

[10] When Algonquin was created the concept of a provincial park had not yet crystallized. Banff was the only federally-operated park and the concept of a park system entirely under federal control did not yet exist. When officials created Algonquin they believed that they were creating a park similar to Banff and saw no problem with calling it a 'national park.' Function and size, not which government was managing it, were the reasons for calling it Algonquin

multiple-use stresses solidified at the park's creation, was weaponized by every group that fought for its right to "use" the park in later decades. The inherent tension between a piece of land simultaneously designated a "public park" and a "forest reservation" came to a head in the 1950s and 1960s, and is still bubbling beneath the surface. As recently as 2009, policymakers were weighing the ways in which "the footprint" of the forestry industry in Algonquin could be further lightened in the future.[11]

Provincial and state park histories often focus on recreation. Specifically these histories focus on a declensionist narrative that traces the evolution of parks from places of preservation to places of recreation, pleasure, and commercialism—playgrounds for the general populace. A focus on Algonquin as forest reservation—a piece of protected land on which a forest is conserved as a renewable resource in order to be harvested for successive generations in perpetuity—rather than playground challenges the "park-as-island" trope that dominates park historiography and highlights the minor, in many cases nonexistent, role of preservation in the creation of parks before World War II. To focus on the forest as resource connects the park to the region's greater history and ecology, unearths stories of the park as a place of work and a stage for class tensions, and re-centers the natural world in the Algonquin story. Algonquin's historical

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National Park. Two early parks in Quebec, Mont Tremblant and Laurentides Parks, are also examples of this naming strategy. Killan, *Protected Places*, 16.

[11] "Algonquin Park is valued by many people as a natural area, a recreation and tourism destination and as a well-managed forest that provides many social and economic benefits to the local, regional and provincial economies. The forests of Algonquin are a natural system with many growth variables, and the forecasts and plans are based on models and estimates. Finding the right balance of increased protection, respecting Algonquin interests and adequate certainty of wood supply for local mills several decades into the future was a significant challenge." The Ontario Parks Board of Directors and the Algonquin Forestry Authority Board of Directors, *Joint Proposal for Lightening the Ecological Footprint of Logging in Algonquin Park*. September 15, 2009, 3.

and contemporary existence is arguably most important due to the abundance of harvestable timber that lies within its boundaries.[12]

The history of logging on the land that now contains Algonquin Park serves as a microcosm of what happened to the forests of Central Ontario. The lumber industry began in the region around 1830 and peaked in 1860, a span of years that fall within the first era of logging in eastern Canada known as the "square timber era" that was characterized by red and white pines that were cut by men with axes and made into "sticks."[13] Timber companies cut these trees largely to supply Quebec with timber to sell to Britain for shipbuilding. Transporters required the timber to be square in order for it to fit effectively and safely in the holds of ships taking the resource to Europe.[14] It took about seventy years to exhaust Central Ontario's pine reserves, both by felling and fire. Only two small stands of original, big white pine remain in the park area today—one near the Crow River in the centre of the park, and the other just outside the southwestern boundary at Dividing Lake.[15] The technique of squaring required pine logs to be large in size. The loss of big pine reserves paired with a decline in British demand for squared timber led to the slow death of the squared timber industry.

This market collapse did not end the Ontario lumber industry, however. The industry traded one export market for another. The second era of logging, which was fueled by American demand, began in the mid-to-late 1800s and continues today; it is the era in which the height of

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[12] Michael Henry and Peter Quimby, *Ontario's Old-Growth Forests: A Guidebook Complete with History, Ecology, and Maps* (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside: 2010), 62.

[13] Henry and Quimby, *Ontario's Old-Growth Forests*, 62; Dan Strickland, *Algonquin Logging Museum: Logging History in Algonquin Provincial Park* (Whitney, Ontario: The Friends of Algonquin Park, 1993).

[14] Ron Tozer and Dan Strickland point out that the demand for square-shaped timber led the loggers to waste about one half of each tree felled. Ron Tozer and Dan Strickland, *A Pictorial History of Algonquin Provincial Park* (Whitney, Ontario: The Friends of Algonquin Provincial Park: 1995), 4.

[15] Ibid., 4.

Algonquin timber drama occurred and is known as the "saw log" era. [16] This era is named after the process of transporting round logs or tree trunks from remote forests to sawmills where the logs are sawn into lumber.[17] The processed lumber trend enabled the lumber industry to cut with even more reckless abandon; no longer encumbered by square log standards, they could cut trees of all sizes. The early decades of this timber era also witnessed the rise of timber barons, such as John Rudolphus Booth and the Gillies brothers, in the now-park region.[18]

Historians credit Robert W. Phipps as the first individual to originally suggest the preservation of a large swath of land for the purpose of a forest reserve in the area that is now the park. Phipps was the clerk of forestry in the Ontario Government's Department of Agriculture and Arts.[19] In his 1884 *Forestry Report*, Phipps made a vague argument for the preservation of timber in the area in the form of a designated timber reservation. "What is desirable," he wrote, "…is to map our large reservations, and to tell the settler that here he must not come."[20] The preservation of timber reserves in this region was made easier, according to Phipps, because the territory was not suitable for agriculture. Thus, in order to make this inferior land useful, Phipps proposed to preserve it as a forest reserve from which timber could be harvested in perpetuity.[21]

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[16] Ibid., 10.

[17] Strickland, *Algonquin Logging Museum.*

[18] "John Rudolphus Booth was a lumber manufacturer and railway builder. For more on Booth's life see: Andrew Ross and Andrew Smith, *Canada's Entrepreneurs: From The Fur Trade to the 1929 Stock Market Crash: Portraits from the Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Tozer and Strickland, *A Pictorial History of Algonquin Provincial Park*, 10; For an account of the Gillies Brothers Lumber Company see: Harry Barrett and Clarence F. Coons, "The Role of the Alligator in the Ottawa Valley," in *Alligators of the North: The Story of the West & Peachey Steam Warping Tugs* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2010), 89-95.

[19] Tozer and Strickland, *A Pictorial History of Algonquin Provincial Park*, 17.

[20] Robert W. Phipps, *Forestry Report 1884* (Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing, Co., 1885), 68.

[21] Phipps, *Forestry Report*, 106-107.

The influence of Marsh on Phipps' report is undeniable. Like Marsh, Phipps looked to Europe to illustrate the tragedy of deforestation. [22] If Ontario did not do something to conserve its forests, Phipps argued, it would encounter the "sad experience" of the "evils of a deforested country."[23] Phipps also, similarly to Marsh, championed timber conservation as a means of protecting the province's headwaters and maintaining a stable climate. Phipps provided a wealth of firsthand accounts, primarily from farmers, to exemplify the connection between deforestation and water in Southern Ontario. The farmers provided accounts of a change in rainfall through time and an increase in drought conditions. They also provided accounts of disappearing bodies of water and an increase in forest fires.[24] The local, environmental knowledge of these male farmers was held in high regard by Phipps. Respect for their role in managing the land stands in stark contrast to the way in which loggers were treated later in the mid-to-late-twentieth century. Agriculture was set up as the cause of deforestation in Southern Ontario, but also the reason that timber needed to now be conserved. Continuance of agriculture and its concurrent development in the region was first priority. Phipps suggested that the area that is now Algonquin should be put aside for preservation as a reserve for the very reason that the land was not fit for agricultural use.[25] The only individuals that could make a profit in the area were lumbermen and trappers.[26]

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[22] See Marsh's discussion of the natural advantages and decay of the Roman Empire. Marsh, *Man and Nature*, 7-13.

[23] Phipps, *Forestry Report*, 17.

[24] These personal accounts are scattered throughout Phipps' report. For the accounts used specifically for this insight see Phipps, *Forestry Report*, 19.

[25] The idea that the land was otherwise useless was also enumerated upon by members of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park. "As for the land itself," the report states, "it is in general of little value for agricultural purposes, being, as might be expected from its situation on a watershed, for the greater part rough, broken and stony." *Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park* (Toronto: Warwick and Sons, 1893), 12.

[26] Audrey Saunders, *Algonquin Story* (Toronto: Department of Lands and Forests, 1963): 52. The Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park noted that "except the

It is this deforestation issue that drew the attention of Alexander Kirkwood, a chief clerk in the land sales section of the Department of Crown Lands. Kirkwood proposed "Algonkin Forest and Park" in 1885. This piece of land was to serve two primary purposes: preserve forests in order to protect headwaters and act as a wildlife sanctuary.[27] It was not until February 1892, that the Ontario government acted concretely to advance Kirkwood's idea by creating the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park. This commission made up of civil servants, including Kirkwood, met twice before submitting their report in March 1893.[28] The report recommended the creation of "The Algonquin National Park."[29] The commission likely waited nine months to meet after its creation in order to give the government time to auction the

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lumberman and the trapper, there are few who are personally acquainted with this section of country." *Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park*, 19.

[27] The commission lists the headwaters of the South River and the Muskoka, Madawaska, Petawawa, and Amable du Fond Basins as the water systems that the park was to protect. *Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park*, 13-19; Support for creation of a wildlife sanctuary was first championed by G.A. MacCallum and the Royal Commission on Game and Fish. MacCallum argued that large-scale and unmitigated slaughter of the province's animals had reached the point of crisis. He argued that the province needed a game sanctuary to help restock the province's wildlife populations and to ensure that sportsmen and outdoor recreation would not suffer from lack of game. Killan, *Protected Places*, 7. The park was to provide sanctuary for animals that did not upset human sensibilities. Wolves, bears, and other predators were to be exterminated. The act that established Algonquin states, "The preservation and protection of game and fish, of wild birds generally and of any and all animals in the park, and for destruction of wolves, bears and other noxious or injurious or destructive animals." "Bill No. 107," 2.

[28] Other members of the Commission included: Thomas W. Gibson, secretary; Aubrey White, Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Province of Ontario; Archibald Blue, Director of Mines for the Province of Ontario. Robert W. Phipps, Clerk of Forestry. *Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park*, 6-7.

[29] Algonquin officially became a "provincial park" under the Provincial Parks Act of 1913.

pine sources located within the boundaries of the proposed park.[30] Thomas W. Gibson, secretary of the Commission, referred to this auction as the "great timber sale of 1892."[31] It is also important to note that the report was not necessarily a required catalyst for creation of the park. Without it the park would have likely been created anyways. The report, however, is a valuable resource for understanding early attitudes towards timber production in Algonquin.

The title alone of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park demonstrates the Commission's preordained focus on forest production. In 1896, Gibson commented that "if the establishment of the Park had depended upon the preservation of the pine, the scheme would have had to be abandoned."[32] The fact that most lumbermen were in support of the park further illustrates the way in which the continuance of timber production within the park was an inevitability. Lumbermen viewed the park as a means of stemming settlement projects, which directly impeded timber production.[33]

Support for continued pine production within the boundaries of the park by the Commission was based on a misunderstanding of pine and general woodland ecology and an inability to foreshadow fast-approaching technological and transportation advances. Members of the commission originally thought that logging would end within the park naturally because pine did not regenerate.[34] This, of course, is false. Pine has remarkable regenerative capabilities, particularly under the management of a scientific forestry regime. The Commission also asserted that wildlife would benefit from the removal of pine because trees with edible buds would then be able to take over and flourish. "The other species of trees are so numerous and grow so thriftily there," the report stated, "that even were the pine wholly removed the utility of the forests in their climactic, water-maintaining and other aspects would *probably* not be

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[30] Killan, *Protected Places*, 9-14.

[31] Thomas W. Gibson, "The Algonquin National Park of Ontario," in *Bureau of Forestry Report 1896*, 123.

[32] Ibid., 123.

[33] Saunders, *Algonquin Story*, 92.

[34] Killan, *Protecting Places*, 37.

impaired."[35] Inclusion of "probably" suggests both a flippant regard for the future landscape of the park and an inherent ignorance of natural processes on the part of the commission's members.

The Commission also assumed that timber production would always be limited to pine production. This assumption was not based on any kind of preservationist desire, but rather because of the limits of the timber industry's transportation capabilities. Without any roads or railroads through the park, the timber industry relied solely on the region's river and lake network for transportation. The only kind of timber that was light enough to float was pine. This changed only three short years after the park's establishment. In 1896, the Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound Railway was built.[36] The railway was conceived by the timber baron J.R. Booth and was constructed with little to no opposition from the government or the public. It was after the construction of this railway that the timber community of Mowat, located in the park on the north end of Canoe Lake, grew to 600 people. The railway also enabled the public to use the park for recreational purposes on a far greater scale. It was the timber industry and its connections to metropolitan centers in Ontario and Quebec that broadened Algonquin accessibility, not demand for outdoor recreation, the drive to democratize such access, nor an official policy plan to encourage and plan for recreational use. [37]

The railway enabled timber companies to transport hardwoods out of the park. Markets for Algonquin timber and wood were as much local as national or international. In addition to connecting Algonquin to greater economic patterns, the timber within the park also linked it inextricably to local communities, such as Barrie, as a source of both employment and fuel.[38]

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[35] *Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Reservation and National Park,* 20-21.

[36] For a description of the construction of this railway line by the second Algonquin park superintendent, John Simpson, see: John Simpson, "The Ontario National Park of Ontario," in *Sessional Papers, Vol. XXVIII-Part II*, Second Session Eight Legislature of the Province of Ontario, Session 1896 (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1896), 59-60.

[37] Tozer and Strickland, *A Pictorial History of Algonquin Provincial Park*, 19; Saunders, *Algonquin Story*, 123.

[38] "Barrie Will Get Wood from Park," *Barrie Examiner*, June 20, 1918.

Many local communities relied on firewood from within Algonquin. Companies that had held timber licenses in the area before the creation of the park argued that it was unfair for them to be robbed of the ability to cut trees other than pine. In 1900, the provincial government assuaged timber company grievances by amending the Algonquin Park Act. The timber companies that held leases in Algonquin were now able to harvest spruce, hemlock, cedar, black ash, birch, and tamarack in addition to pine. Capitulation to timber company demands supported a pattern of government subservience to timber market forces within the park. Park administrators had little to no power or resources to ensure that timber companies followed the rules.

Within a decade after the 1900 expansion of harvestable timber types, the environmental impact of this heightened timber and related activity became apparent to park officials. Notably, the timber village of Mowat, which fell into dereliction, became a source of pollution.[39] Little was done or able to be done about this problem though. Utilitarian conversation drove management of Algonquin throughout the first half of the twentieth-century. Management strategies followed the patterns prevalent in Ontario's other early parks. Use and profit were front and center in all of Ontario's provincial parks. In Algonquin, this profit centered on timber exploitation. Because of focus on fast profit, inadequate staffing, and lack of forestry training, the province gave little attention to developing a reforestation program within Algonquin or other parks, such as Rondeau and Quetico, where timber harvesting took place.[40]

One reason that the province did not enforce stricter timber regulations in the early decades of the twentieth-century was due to a lack of public concern. The public did not care about timbering in the park until they could see it from their places of leisure. One of the first instances of public indignation over timber harvesting occurred in 1910 when the Munn Lumber Company clear-cut the hills around Cache Lake, making the timber devastation viewable from the porch of the Highland Inn. It was not until 1928, when the Quetico-Superior Council was

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[39] Killan, *Protected Places*, 37-38.

[40] Killan, *Protected Places*, 43.

founded, that an organized preservationist movement that questioned timber production within Ontario parks appeared. [41]

The first organized preservation group that dealt directly with Algonquin was the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON), established in 1931. FON membership was made up primarily of university-trained scientists and members of local natural history clubs. The FON was driven by a desire to prevent further destruction of the environment from the spread of industrialization and urbanization. It was one of the first organizations in Canada to promote a "wilderness for wilderness sake" philosophy. Prior to 1960, the FON focused on promoting the ecological and scientific value of provincial parks and campaigned for the creation of nature reserves or sanctuaries. The entire basis for park creation, according to FON, was to facilitate contact between the public and the natural world.[42]

Concurrent to the founding of the FON was Frank A. MacDougall's term as Algonquin Provincial Park superintendent, which began in 1931. MacDougall took the concerns of preservationists and the timber industry seriously. In addition to placing more emphasis on development of recreational facilities, he was the first park official to devise a long-term plan for the park based on the principle of multiple-use.[43] In the case of parks, these uses could usually be boiled down to preservation, recreation, and resource extraction. One of the major problems with multiple-use land management plans was that some uses ended up getting more funding and resources, even when official policies emphasized balance. Though in opposition to logging,

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[41] The Quetico-Superior Council was a primarily American wilderness lobby based in Minnesota. It was established in 1928 to campaign for the preservation of the recreational and wilderness character of the Rainy Lake watershed, which straddled the Ontario/Minnesota border. For a detailed account of the history of the Quetico-Superior Council see: R. Newell Searle, *Saving Quetico-Superior: A Land Set Apart* (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1977); Killan, *Protected Places*, 36-38.

[42] Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness*, 51- 72.

[43] Killan, *Protected Places*, 61-73, 131.

trapping, and hunting in parks, the FON was not necessarily anti-multiple-use.[44] The

organization did, however, believe that parks should be large enough to enable zoning so that

competing park interests and uses were maintained in separate locations. FON believed that areas

should be set aside in each park specifically for preservation and that recreation and other uses

should be practiced in other zones.[45]

The imbalance between recreation, logging, and preservation in Algonquin caught the

attention of the FON and the public in the late 1950s. A boom in outdoor recreation and the

timber industry placed both considerations ahead of preservation within the park. Without a

general policy or set of master plans to manage Algonquin and Ontario's other parks, the parks

themselves had very little power to ensure that preservation received enough consideration. Lack

of clear policy was an issue that was common across all of Canada. Writing in 1965, R.Y.

Edwards, a member of the Canadian Association of Wildlife and Fisheries Biologists, noted that

Canadian park administrations were guilty of dealing self-inflicted wounds due to a lack of

clarity and uniformity in park policy. Without an overarching agenda and plan, individual park

administrations were plagued by conflict between employees that supported a preservation

agenda and employees that supported a recreation and resource extraction agenda.[46] In 1957, two

environmental controversies, sparked by FON indignation, came to the forefront which served to

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[44] "The Ontario Federation of Naturalists (sic) does not advocate a complete termination
of lumbering in Algonquin Park, James Woodford, executive director of the OFN (sic) said at a
speaking engagement in Pembroke…Mr. Woodford, a noted wildlife columnist, author, biologist
and naturalist, told members of the Pembroke Outdoors Sportsman's Club his organization
would like to see some timber reserves set up, the enforcement of timber reserves along lake
shores, and a return to winter logging operations." "Some Timber Limits Okay," *Pembroke
Observer*, September 17, 1968; Douglas H. Pimlott (founding member of the Algonquin
Wildlands League) criticized the FON for not denouncing the provincial government's
wilderness and park policies in his seminal essay, "The Preservation of Natural Areas in
Ontario." *The Ontario Naturalist* 3 (September 1965), 8-24.

[45] Killan, *Protected Places*, 32.

[46] R.Y. Edwards, "No Policy and Foggy Legislation," *Peterboro Examiner*, May 14,
1965.

fuel a movement of change in the way in which Ontario's parks were managed and organized. The first controversy was over whether or not to allow deer hunting within the boundaries of the park. Timber companies supported hunting deer because the deer ate young trees, thus thwarting park reforestation efforts. Those opposed to hunting within the park believed that it betrayed Algonquin's original role as wildlife sanctuary. The second controversy was over access roads. Without a concrete management plan, park officials could change timber regulations whenever they saw fit or whenever they were pressured by timber interests. The park opened four logging roads to fishermen in 1958, giving them access to new sections of the park in the northwest and east.[47]

In 1959, due to FON's activities, the Ontario government enacted the Wilderness Act of 1959. This act used the FON's idea of nature sanctuary to preserve thirty-five wilderness areas between 1959 and 1962. These wilderness areas were relatively small in size—all except one were within the 640-acre non-utilization limit.[48] However, forestry and mining interests still held a firm grasp on the Department of Lands and Forests' agenda. Thus, under the act, the Department of Lands and Forests still allowed resource extraction in wilderness areas that were larger than 259 hectares.[49] The classification system created under the 1959 act was ultimately a failure and was for all intents and purposes abandoned within five years. In the meanwhile, technological advances and increased market demand after World War II led to a boom in the timber industry. In 1965, twenty-five companies held timber leases within Algonquin. The economic and subsequent political leverage of timber companies in Algonquin and other parks ensured that the Parks Branch continued to cater to them whilst claiming to put recreation and preservation uses ahead of timber operations.

By 1960, there were still no concrete rules for timber harvesting within provincial parks. What rules that did exist were often broken by timber companies and not strictly enforced by park officials. This laxity soon came to odds with a growing, popular environmental movement

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[47] Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness*.

[48] Killan, *Protected Places*, 128-130, 135.

[49] Laurel Sefton MacDowell, *An Environmental History of Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 276.

led by a new organization, the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (NPPAC), established in 1965, and its more effective subsidiary, the Algonquin Wildlands League (AWL), established in 1968.[50] Increased public understanding of ecological principles facilitated by the media in addition to growing pollution and environmental degradation problem led to a groundswell of public support for preservation during the 1960s in Ontario and elsewhere.[51]

Analysis of newspaper articles from the late 1950s and 1960s offers a useful pathway from which to explore some of the deep-seated, underlying currents that led to and fueled the Algonquin timber controversy that fostered the revolutionary five-tier park classification system that Ontario enacted in 1967. Unsurprisingly, one of the key characteristics of the environmental debate surrounding logging in Algonquin during this time period was the blatant disconnect between the popular narrative of wilderness conditions in Algonquin and the reality; the original purpose of Algonquin and what people assumed the original purpose of Algonquin was.

The seeds of this discontent were planted early. In the October 1922 issue of *Rod and Gun in Canada*, an article stated that Algonquin "park lands were withdrawn from settlement and private exploitation."[52] This statement was inherently false. Not only was there settlement within the park after its creation, but designation of the land as a park did not remove the land from exploitation, but rather put the provincial government in the role as intermediary. This role ensured profit for both the government and the timber industry. The fantasy of a pure Algonquin Provincial Park, free of commercial interests, was hammered into the public conscious. An amusing headline from 1954 declared "Algonquin Park Freed of Commercialism."[53] Fred Bodsworth, president and director of FON (1965-1967), stated in 1966 that Algonquin was a park in which the forest and wildlife existed "undisturbed by man."[54] Leaders of FON and AWL deliberately warped the history of Algonquin to suit their aims. The lumbermen had to be cast as outsiders, unnatural invaders. A story that acknowledged the timber companies as intrinsic

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[50] Killan, *Protected Places*, 137-159.

[51] Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness*, 101.

[52] "Change in Algonquin Park Officials," *Rod and Gun in Canada*, October 1922.

[53] "Algonquin Park Freed of Commercialism," *Huntsville Forester*, July 15, 1954.

[54] "Parks Policy a Sham," *Simcoe Reformer*, April 4, 1966.

entities within the boundaries of the park did not support preservationist arguments that resource extraction and profit were in direct conflict with the very concept of a park.[55] FON and AWL also had to sell an idea that despite what the government told the public and the hype, Ontario's park policy was a disaster.[56]

Public opinion that declared logging in the park to be 'scandalous' demonstrates the way in which attitudes toward parks and nature had changed considerably over the fifty-plus years after Algonquin's establishment.[57] Concepts of civilization were turned on their head.[58] Domination of nature was no longer synonymous with progress. 'Civilized' man was now a protector.

Efforts to draw the public's attention to the complexity of historical Algonquin land-use by the timber industry and sympathetic experts led to further ridicule. Those that challenged the idea that Algonquin was a pristine wilderness and timber harvesting was a negative force on the landscape, including Algonquin Park officials, were villainized by preservationists despite holding sound and informed opinions. One article from July 1968 stated that it should be remembered that Algonquin was not a "true wilderness" and that most of the white pine stands

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[55] See: "Parks system termed not worthy of name, domain of lumbermen," *The Globe and Mail*, February 21, 1966; "Parks for people, not profit," *Toronto Daily Star*, August 25, 1966; "No more pussy-footing, keep Algonquin a true wilderness," *Toronto Daily Star*, July 21, 1968.

[56] "If you talk long and loud enough about how wonderful Ontario's parks are, you are bound to convince somebody, but in the long run, of course, as Lincoln said, you can't fool all of the people all of the time, and eventually it will become apparent that Ontario has a bankrupt park policy. This is where the Opposition come in, for it should show the people that what they are getting is not nearly good enough, and that they could and should have something much better." "A Bankrupt Park Policy," *Port Hope Evening Guide*, October 3, 1966.

[57] Daniel Rayburn, "Scandalous to allow logging in park," *Toronto Star*, July 1968.

[58] "A desire to preserve the wilderness is a sure, if somewhat paradoxical, sign that we are becoming civilized, and, further that we recognize an obligation to pass on part of a splendid heritage to those who come after us." "Park are for People," *Hamilton Spectator*, February 23, 1966.

within the park, particularly those around lakes, were second-growth. The article also argued that lumbering was good for Algonquin when it was practiced in moderation because it provided access roads for forest-fire-fighting and helped to promote forest health by removing mature growth and enabling new growth to generate.[59] Many others pointed out that increased tourism in the park was just as much a threat to the park's ecosystem, if not more so, than logging.[60] Also writing in 1968, D.J.A. Rutherford argued that it was not the timber industry that was causing destruction in Algonquin, but rather an influx of tourists seeking to experience an artificial and commodified version of the pioneer life.[61] The Ontario Forest Industries Association (OFIA) argued that timber companies "cut timber to preserve the natural beauty" of the park. Without lumber operations, the OFIA and its supporters argued, trees would become old and either die or fall over, causing damage and marring the park's scenery.[62] Another forester, Peter M. Murray, pointed out that the claim that timber harvesting harms wildlife was false and ignored the fact that deer and bear, both species that tourists appreciate seeing, benefit from the food made accessible by timber cutting.[63]

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[59] "That Ogre in the Park," *Woodstock Sentinel Review*, July 15, 1968. In a letter to the editor of the *Globe and Mail*, Emerson L. Ward of Toronto argued that "there is no such thing as preserving a forest. It is a living, growing entity which evolves in its individual parts from birth through a living period and finally to death. So, if the harvest is properly taken, according to the tenets of a silvicultural program, we do not 'despoil' or 'gut' the forest, but simply reap the harvest as one does with any other renewable natural resource." December 2, 1968.

[60] "Says Tourists Endanger Algonquin Park More Than Logging Industry," *St. Thomas Times Journal*, February 13, 1969.

[61] D.J.A. Rutherford, "Algonquin Park," *The Globe and Mail*, 1968, *Algonquin Park Museum Scrapbook, Volume 1: 1918-1969*, Algonquin Provincial Park Archives, Algonquin Provincial Park, Whitney, Ontario.

[62] "Brunelle Reveals Master Plan For Algonquin Park," *Pembroke Observer*, November 5, 1968.

[63] Peter M. Murray, "Algonquin Park," ~1968. *Algonquin Park Museum Scrapbook, Volume 1: 1968-1969*, Algonquin Provincial Park Archives, Algonquin Provincial Park, Whitney, Ontario.

Ironically, the mold of wilderness that preservationists were cramming Algonquin into during the 1960s was one based more on aesthetic ideals, rather than ecological considerations. Douglas Pimlott, a zoologist and founding member of the AWL, argued that logging and logging roads were symbols of a neglect of Canadian aesthetic and cultural values.[64] The AWL operated as a pressure group and repeatedly equated aesthetic problems with preservation problems in their organization's literature.[65] They also promoted a separation between pristine wilderness and what they called "recreational wilderness." Their book, *Why Wilderness*: *A Report on Mismanagement in Lake Superior Provincial Park* (1971), illustrates some of AWL's contradictory positions and challenges Killan's claim that AWL was a "wilderness for wilderness' sake" organization. In his title essay, "Why Wilderness," Fred Bodsworth, naturalist and former president of the FON (1964-1967), valorized resource extraction and was insistent that conservationists were not anti-progress. This book illustrates the disconnect between outdoor-recreation-democratization rhetoric and what happened on the ground. The authors

[64] "Douglas Humphreys Pimlott, conservationist, wildlife biologist, ecologist, environmentalist (born 4 January 1920 in Quyon, QC; died 31 July 1978 in Richmond Hill, ON). A founder of the modern environmental movement in Canada, Pimlott advocated the conservation of wolves as predators with a rightful place in nature. He eliminated the wolf bounty in Ontario and launched conservation programs in Europe where only a few wolves remained. He was also one of the first spokesmen in the 1970s for protecting the northern Canadian environment. Pimlott directed a number of Canadian environmental organizations, founded the Canada-US Environmental Council and chaired an international wolf specialist group." Monte Hummel, "Douglas Humphreys Pimlott," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Accessed by February 27, 2017, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/douglas-humphreys-pimlott/; Helen Quilliam, "Douglas Pimlott, Expert Raps Province: Says Aesthetic Values Ignored in Algonquin," *Whig-Standard*, 1966. *Algonquin Park Museum Scrapbook, Volume 1: 1918-1969*, Algonquin Provincial Park Archives, Algonquin Provincial Park, Whitney, Ontario.

[65] Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness*, 149; There are many, sometimes conflicting, definitions of pressure groups. For a list of some definitions of "pressure group" see Rob Baggott, "Exhibit 1.1. Definitions of a pressure group" in *Pressure Groups Today* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 2-3.

argued for the preservation of wilderness for the use of the masses and simultaneously bemoaned the overuse and trampling of wilderness areas.[66] There was an undefined, but still present insinuation that there was a "right" kind of person that should have access to wilderness.

Similarly, the writers talked about a "right" kind of wilderness as well. The wilderness that the Algonquin Wildlands League was championing here was the useful kind. One could drive to this kind of wilderness in one day. The wilderness in northern Canada was deemed useless because "no-one" (ie. white urban peoples) could use it for entertainment. "Canada indeed does have too much wilderness. But three million square miles of boreal spruce forest and Arctic tundra are no consolation to people who seek the thrill of hiking under towering pines or paddling a wilderness waterway within a one-day drive of home," Bodsworth wrote. [67] Recreation wilderness, according to Bodsworth, is based on emotions, on feeling like one is in wilderness. Therefore, when logging companies in Superior or Algonquin degraded the river shore or built logging roads, one no longer *felt* like one was in the wilderness. This feeling lessened the experience. Wilderness was valuable to AWL, as it was to timber companies, for its consumptive opportunities.

Technological advances helped to fuel a belief that Algonquin's wilderness character was under assault in the mid-twentieth-century. The same advances in vehicular transportation that enabled more people to visit Algonquin on holiday, also enabled more timber to be transported out of the park by way of trucks. Another issue brought to the forefront due to technological advances was the problem of noise pollution.[68] New machinery and truck transport not only

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[66] "Directors of the league claim the park is "being torn to ribbons" by loggers, and is increasingly being invaded by power boats, souvenir shops, restaurants with full-course meals, pollution, other levels of government, and motor campers. It awaits only hot-dog stands they say." Glen Allen, "Algonquin Park: An Eden Ravaged?," *Toronto Star*, August 3, 1968.

[67] Fred Bodsworth, "Why Wilderness," in *Why Wilderness: A Report on Mismanagement in Lake Superior Provincial Park* (1971), 11.

[68] For examples of public outcry over noise pollution in Algonquin see: Alfred Beck, "More On New Algonquin Park Program," *Pembroke Observer*, 1968, *Algonquin Park Museum Scrapbook, Volume 1: 1918-1969*, Algonquin Provincial Park Archives, Algonquin Provincial

meant new logging roads, but also new noise. Before this noise, many tourists did not notice lumber operations just beyond scenic timber buffers. Disparagement of both logging roads and logging noise was also connected to techno-anxiety. It was not necessarily the resource extraction that bothered park visitors—they were able to overlook it for decades—but rather the means by which the resource extraction was taking place and the way in which technological advances placed this extraction in clear view. The sound of an ax was at one point a welcome sound.[69] The ax is clearly controlled by man, a symbol of man's dominion over the natural world. The logging truck and "the noisy intrusion of mechanical lumbering tools," represent, in contrast, a machine-takeover.[70] The whirr of a logging machine's engine was an unwelcome intruder in the forest.

Noise pollution in the cities of the early twentieth century was viewed as an infringement on individual rights.[71] This idea of personal infringement can be applied to parks as well. Visitors to parks believed that they had the right to a quiet vacation, a right to escape the sounds of modernity. "It was not so many years ago," wrote Economics Professor, Ralph Blackmore, "one could travel through the park and hear little besides the cry of the loons and the dip of paddles."[72] Unlike the city, where there were periods of time during which higher noise levels were deemed acceptable or at least tolerated, noise in parks was always an unwanted nuisance. In one humorous occurrence, five members of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), who vacationed in Algonquin, received a great deal of press after they left in a huff and complained that they were unable to sleep for five nights because of the noise produced by logging trucks

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Park, Whitney, Ontario; "Brunelle to probe Algonquin complaints," *Toronto Daily Star*, August 13, 1968.

[69] Peter A. Coates, "The Strange Stillness of the Past: Toward an Environmental History of Sound and Noise," *Environmental History* 10.4 (2005), 643.

[70] "That Ogre in the Park."

[71] Raymond W. Smilor, "Cacophony at 34th and 6th: The Noise Problem in America, 1900-1930," *American Studies* 18.1 (1977), 25.

[72] Ralph Blackmore, "Letters to the Editor," *The Globe and Mail*, November 9, 1968.

and boat motors in the park. One of these men is quoted as saying "some wilderness you have here—it stinks."[73]

Writing in the *Peterborough Examiner*, Doug Sadler highlights attitudes toward changes in lumber technology:

> "I have already indicated that the number of users of the park as a reserve of wilderness experiences has expanded unforeseeably. But lumbering has also changed…Today's workers no longer use the rivers, nor their muscles or hand tools. This is a highly mechanized business, as so much today must be to survive. The hum of the chainsaw rises above the whine of mosquitoes. More than that, logs are moved by heavy truck, and this means reasonable roads that can take this traffic. What was good for horses is no longer adequate. Bulldozers must clear and grade and fill. All these things go on in the park as they do wherever lumber is harvested. The problem is that these things are hardly compatible with a true wilderness experience such as most bonafide visitors come to find."[74]

It was not timber extraction that was necessarily incompatible with the concept of a park, rather it was the disruptive nature of modern forestry technology.

Disdain for the technology used by those in the timber industry was also connected to entrenched class dynamics at play in the Algonquin timber controversy. One class dichotomy at work during this time was one that compared and downplayed the local knowledge of the public to that of university-trained foresters, scientists, etc. In *The Windsor Star*, Angus Munro made the case that the "average resident" was too close to the land to see and understand the important role that trees played on the landscape. He wrote that professional foresters were well-educated and, because of this education, understood the hard facts of forest ecology and the threat made to the forest by the timber industry. He also stated that not only were these foresters book smart, but

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[73] "Algonquin Park noise drove out FBI men," *Toronto Daily Star*, August 14, 1968.

[74] Doug Sadler, "Come With Me Quietly: Algonquin Park," *Peterborough Examiner*, November 16, 1968.

they were also "bush-hardened and realistic businessmen."[75] The prevalence of academics in the anti-logging campaign opened it up to the common criticism of being an elite movement.[76] It is fair to characterize the founders of AWL as well-off men of leisure who fought to protect their access to conveniently-located wilderness.[77]

The forestry knowledge of the local residents that were working the land is repeatedly downplayed. In contrast to the way in which farmers, who owned the land on which they worked, were treated, forestry workers were treated as parasites, ephemeral objects on the land that could be discharged when they were no longer deemed useful or legitimate. Lands and Forests Minister Rene Brunelle supported logging in the park partially because local communities were dependent on the industry for their livelihoods.[78] A headline from the nearby-community of Pembroke declared "We Can't Afford to Lose Even One Forest Worker."[79]

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[75] Angus Munro, "Conservation Big Northern Job," *The Windsor Star*, November 1, 1961.

[76] Pro-logging parties tried to counter academic voices supporting the AWL with the opinions of professional foresters. In one editorial, professional foresters E.R. Caldwell and J.O. Smith wrote that "Why is there conflict between the loggers and the Wildlands League who wish a completely primitive Park interior? These extremists want to hoard the bounty of the Park for the sole purpose of canoeing, observing wildlife and similar activities. The loggers want the middle road course. They want all the natural resources used for the benefit of all. And yet, this means the loggers will remain in business providing jobs for all Eastern Ontario." "The Algonquin Park Controversy," *The Arnprior Guide*, November 27, 1968. See also, "Phoney Conservationists Are On Wrong Track," *Pembroke Observer*, January 6, 1969.

[77] Warecki, *Protecting Places*, 161.

[78] For articles on Brunelle's support of the timber industry in the park see: "Disappearing Park," *Guelph Daily Mercury*, August 17, 1968; Arnie Hakala, "Brunelle Refuses to Halt Lumbering In The Park," November 5, 1968, *Algonquin Park Museum Scrapbook, Volume 1: 1918-1969*, Algonquin Provincial Park Archives, Algonquin Provincial Park, Whitney, Ontario; "Algonquin Park Plan is Partial Victory," *Kirkland Lake Northern News*, November 5, 1968.

[79] "We Can't Afford to Lose Even One Forest Worker," *Pembroke Observer*, November 20, 1968.

Another headline stated that the "Park Plan Could Cost Pembroke an Industry."[80] Other headlines declared that loggers were "cut down" by plans to alter and halt logging in the park.[81]

One of the key strategies of the AWL was to raise public support and heighten the role of public participation in park planning. The public was directly invited to participate in the AWL's "Algonquin Alert" campaign and invited to public hearings.[82] Public participation also fostered a more possessive tone towards provincial parks. Cliff Bowering wrote that as part-owner of Algonquin he had the right to demand that lumber interests move elsewhere. He also argued that at some point in the future the lumber companies would have no rights because the rights would be in the hands of 'the people.'[83] Other articles pointed out that the area to be zoned 'recreational' in Algonquin was the area furthest to the south and thus closest to Toronto and most convenient for AWL members and supporters.[84] The concept of public ownership inherently placed the desires and needs of those from elsewhere, primarily urban centers, ahead of those that lived in the area; the hinterland was managed for urban recreationists rather than for those that were directly connected to the land and its productivity.

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[80] "Park Plan Could Cost Pembroke an Industry," *Arnprior Chronicle*, November 19, 1968.

[81] "Algonquin Loggers Get 'Cut Down'," *Orillia Daily Packet*, November 20, 1968. One unmarked (*Leader*?) editorial reads: "The Algonquin Wildands League—with the assistance of all the dreamy-eyed bird-watchers, nature lovers and poets across Canada are determined to eliminate an industry which provides thousands of jobs and helps to maintain numerous municipalities bordering Algonquin Park. The Leader is not particularly concerned with the problems of the Provincial Government in this matter nor doll we worry about the large companies involved. These groups have their spokesmen. It is from the standpoint of the average working people of this area that we see the situation—the voiceless people, whose plight is too often ignored. And we do not like what we see." *Algonquin Park Museum Scrapbook, Volume 1: 1916-1969*, Algonquin Provincial Park Archives, Algonquin Provincial Park, Whitney, Ontario.

[82] Warecki, *Protected Places*, 171, 213-223.

[83] Cliff Bowering, "Time Have Changed," *Kingston Whig-Standard*, November 14, 1968.

[84] "We Can't Afford to Lose Even One Forest Worker."

Public discontent drummed up over the decades by FON and AWL led the provincial government to aim more resources toward recreation and preservation planning in specific parks and directly to the creation of Ontario Parks' now-famous six-tiered classification system. As discussed in Chapter Two, these classifications are: wilderness, nature reserve, waterway, natural environment, recreation, and cultural heritage. This classification system attempted to mitigate conflicts over multiple-use and misuse of parklands, not by moving away from multiple-use, but rather by categorizing existing parks into specific categories. Typically these categories justified a continuation of the status-quo. Algonquin was placed in the "natural environment" category so that timber extraction could continue. Extractive and recreational practices were not prohibited or viewed as antithetical to landscape preservation in "natural environment" parks; this designation was in contrast to "nature reserve" and "primitive/wilderness" parks, which prohibited most extractive and recreational activities.[85]

Further, newspapers from the time show that support and implementation of the classification system was not entirely rooted in preservationist concern. The government believed that the classification system would actually help the park system make more money.[86] One headline suggested that the park zoning system was designed to entice more tourists to the park system. The article stated that the zoning system enabled park-users to choose which kind of park they wanted to visit at a glance.[87]

The way in which the provincial government made continued multiple-use land management in Algonquin and other large provincial parks palatable to the public, preservationists, *and* extractive industries was to zone these parks. Zoning kept more controversial activities, namely logging, out of the direct vision of visitors. Unsurprisingly, the 1967 park classification system and initial zoning strategies did not settle land-use disputes between preservationists and timber companies in Algonquin.

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[85] Killan, *Protected Places*, 166-167.

[86] See: "New System Advocated For Provincial Parks," *Kirkland Lake Northern Daily*, August 20, 1968.

[87] John Gillies, "Provincial parklands to be zoned, classified to lure more tourists," *The Globe and Mail*, March 18, 1967.

The first Provisional Management Plan for Algonquin Provincial Park was released in October 1968. The plan did not please anyone, and fueled the most intense period of conflict regarding land-use in Algonquin. Loggers, scientists, housewives, recreationists, tourist business owners, and lumber company employees were all identified as having concerns with the plan.[88]

Lumber companies and connected industries worried that the park's proposed master plan, which prohibited logging in the park during the height of the tourist season in July and August, would place their businesses in danger. They viewed the new regulations as a victory for conservationists. Harold S. Staniforth, president of Staniforth Lumber and Veneer Company, commented that the timber and road construction ban, non-renewable timber licenses, and the 500-yard no-cut reservation along rivers, streams, and lakes placed his company in jeopardy. He further pointed out that to expect lumber companies to base their extraction efforts in winter months was not realistic because winter conditions and snow-depth made it impossible to operate during some winter months.[89]

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[88] Arnie Hakala, "Park Plan Criticized in Briefs," *The Peterborough Examiner*, November 29, 1968. See also, "56 Briefs Slam Park Plan," *The Pembroke Observer*, November 29, 1968. See Also: "The public meeting to consider the proposed Master Plan for Algonquin Park held at Pembroke last Tuesday was one-sided. Of 29 briefs presented, only one supported the Lands and Forests' plan. The rest disagreed with the new and stricter regulations on lumbering. The briefs ranged all the way from emotional appeals, warning of economic disaster, to scientific argument that tree harvesting was vital to Algonquin's forests and future as park. None saw any conflict between recreation and lumbering. As was expected in an area with a century of lumbering behind it, the emphasis was on the economic necessity of a healthy woods industry. In the rest of Ontario Algonquin may be a park, in Pembroke Tuesday, Algonquin meant lumber, wages and even the future of communities around the Park." "The Park (3)," *The Renfrew Advance*, December 4, 1968.

[89] See: "Firm Oppose Algonquin Plan, Threatens to Close Park Branch," November 1, 1968. *Algonquin Park Museum Scrapbook, Volume 1: 1968-1969*, Algonquin Provincial Park Archives, Algonquin Provincial Park, Whitney, Ontario; John McLeod, "Algonquin Plan (3): Plan 'Sentence of Death' to Company," *Ottawa Journal*, December 27, 1968.

OFIA pointed out that the provincial economy would experience an annual $10 million loss if logging was prohibited in Algonquin.[90] The OFIA also noted that an additional $10 million already invested in the park operations would be lost, at least 900 jobs would vanish, and some communities might become ghost towns.[91] This economic blow would happen, according to the OFIA, so that the 2 ½ percent of visitors to the park who sought solitude could vacation without coming into contact with the logging operations taking place in the two percent of the park that is logged in any given year. To manage the park for recreation only would be 'extremely wasteful' argued the OFIA.[92] L.B. Loughlan, manager of the OFIA, added that to remove forestry management from the park would result in a chaotic "wilderness slum" and that the real intruders in the park were the "park people" and visitors.[93] Using the AWL public participation strategy to their advantage, the OFIA also held public hearings to drum up public support for a strategy to oppose anti-logging policies within the park.[94] Clip-out letters were put into newspapers to send to Brunelle. One in the *Pembroke Observer* stated "<u>EVERYONE</u> who is

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[90] Lumber-dependent industries also claimed that prohibition of timber production in Algonquin would cause a large amount of loss. W.F.McGarrity, woods manager for Weldwood of Canada, Ltd., stated that the timber in Algonquin made "up to 60 per cent (sic) of the hardwood used for veneer and furniture in Ontario," the absence of which could mean a $25 million loss. Arnie Hakala, "Algonquin Park Logs Provide 60 Per Cent of Furniture Veneers," *The St. Catherine's Standard*, November 28, 1968; "Kiosk firm concerned over logging ban in park," *North Bay Nugget*, November 15, 1968.

[91] Ibid.

[92] "Algonquin Park: New Plan Proposed for Recreation," *The North Renfrew Times*, November 13, 1968.

[93] "Logging in Algonquin," *The Kingston Whig-Standard*, November 1968; "Master Plan for Algonquin: In the Balance…Promise or Threat," Robert MacDonald, *Toronto Telegram*, November 22, 1968.

[94] "Meet in Pembroke to Map Strategy Against Park Plan," *North Bay Nugget*, November 21, 1968; "Park Plan Called Threat to Timber Exports," *The Globe and Mail*, November 28, 1968; "Algonquin Logging Restriction Proposal Protested: Woodstock Plant Closing Feared," *The London Free Press*, November 28, 1968.

genuinely interested in the welfare and job security of Pembroke and Area Forest Industry Workers, is urged to clip this letter…sign it and mail away today!"[95] In November 1968, 600 individuals connected to the lumber industry protested the proposed master plan in Pembroke.[96]

Although they accused the lumber industry of whining about the park plan, preservationists were also not happy with the 1968 provisional master plan either and met each scientific and economic point made by the timber industry with a counterpoint.[97] AWL's president, C.A. Conway called it "no plan at all" and claimed that it did nothing to protect Algonquin's natural areas because it enabled the continued destruction of the park by the commercial forestry industry.[98] The provisional master plan left 90% of the park under timber license and categorized less than 5% of the park as 'primitive,' percentages that the AWL and other preservationists did not accept.

The AWL intensified its use of the media to spread its preservationist agenda. One instance of their use of the media, an episode of CBC's *The Way It Is* on December 1, 1968, led to a particularly heated response from the lumber industry and other members of the public. Those opposed to the program argued that it omitted information and provided a skewed perspective of the situation in Algonquin that unfairly vilified the lumber industry.[99] E.R.

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[95] *The Pembroke Observer*, November 27, 1968.

[96] "600 Men and Women Protest Algonquin Park Master Plan," *St. Thomas Times*, November 22, 1968.

[97] "I have a strange disturbing feeling that the lumber industry who have been doing all the whining about the Algonquin Park issue (you know: all those people out of work, loss of revenue in neighboring towns, etc.—but not a mention of profits) will eventually get their way. That is, they will unless people speak out pretty soon." Cliff Bowering, "Ontario's Naturalists Look at Algonquin Park," *The Kingston Whig-Standard*, December 23, 1968; Killan, *Protected Places*, 175.

[98] Ibid., 175; Also see: "Park Plan: Logger Fears Future," *The Pembroke Observer*, November 16, 1968.

[99] *The Way It Is* was a CBC news and public affairs show that aired on Sunday nights at 10pm for two seasons from September 1967 to June 1969. John Corcelli, "The Way it Is,"

Caldwell, Manager of the Ottawa Division (Woodlands) of Consolidated Bathurst, Ltd., wrote in one editorial that he did not believe that the CBC had practiced scrupulous and impartial reporting on the program. He pointed out the following faults of the program: (1): the program did not mention that the park area has been logged for over 100 years or that it was not a true wilderness; (2) effects of logging were grossly exaggerated; (3) very little information was provided about past history of cooperation and coexistence between public visitors and timber operations in the park. (4) the public that lived near the park and depended on the timber industry was given no opportunity to speak; (5) comparison of strip mining in BC to timber operations was not a fair one and ignored complexities of managing timber as a renewable resource; (6) Caldwell accused the program of using pre-coached children in the audience to ask leading questions.[100] Mrs. Mernie Blakney, president of the Upper Ottawa Valley Tourist Council, called the program "unabashedly biased" and accused the program of having no clue how the timber industry actually operated on the ground. Blakney pointed out that 10,000 human beings would be affected by the proposed changes to Algonquin's management plan. She called lumbering part of the region's heritage and challenged those involved with the program to come to her community to learn the truth behind modern day lumbering in the park.[101]

Despite the black and white narratives produced by both sides, public opinion polls from the time illustrate that the public held mixed opinions towards lumber operation within Algonquin's borders. Seven fishermen who fished in Algonquin were asked by *The Pembroke Observer* to comment on whether the Department of Lands and Forests should eliminate

Canadian Communications Foundation, accessed March 23, 2017, http://www.broadcasting-history.ca/index3.html?url=http%3A//www.broadcasting-history.ca/programming/television/programming_popup.php%3Fid%3D929.

[100] E.R. Caldwell, "Letters: Logging in Algonquin Park," December 11, 1968. *Algonquin Park Museum Scrapbook, Volume 1: 1968-1969*, Algonquin Provincial Park Archives, Algonquin Provincial Park, Whitney, Ontario. See also: "Loggers Misrepresented by CBC, Liberal Charges," *Toronto Daily Star*, December 11, 1968; J.W. McNutt, "Forester Knocks Program on Park," *Arnprior Chronicle*, December 11, 1968.

[101] Mrs. Mernie Blakney, "Claims CBC TV Show Was Biased," *Pembroke Observer*, December 13, 1968.

commercial lumbering operations in the park. Responses fell across the spectrum from supporting complete elimination to supporting continued and unfettered timbering. Elmer Goltz commented that forests needed "to be worked" or they matured and died. He also stated that timber should be managed so that it did not interfere with the scenery. Similarly, Zephyr Cliché stated that he did not believe that the lumber industry was hurting the park. Cliché claimed that he had not seen any abuses in the ten years he had fished in the park and advocated stronger conservation measures that kept the timber industry in line and protected the lumbermen's jobs. Peter Furgoch held an opposite opinion. He stated that he wished that forestry be entirely abolished in the park, largely because lumber roads were enabling lumbermen and others in-the-know to fish in remote reaches of the park. This advantage was not fair to the rest of the public that did not enjoy such privileges, Furgoch claimed. His argument is not that wilderness should be preserved for its own sake, but rather, if it was to be disturbed, then it should be open to everyone: democratize the despoilment or leave it untouched. [102]

Rather predictably, local politicians largely held middle of the road viewpoints on the matter. In a feature in the *Pembroke Observer* on December 20, 1968, seven local politicians, including mayors and reeves, were asked their opinion. All seven provided an opinion that expressed that the park was big enough to provide sanctuary for visitors and cottagers and ensure the continuance of the timber industry in the park, which was central to the region's economy.[103]

Through the public firestorm of Winter 1968/1969, the Department of Lands and Forests and Minister Rene Brunelle stuck to their intention to manage Algonquin for multiple-use for the foreseeable future. Brunelle and the ten person task force developed a new park policy that still made room for both people and logging trucks. On closer inspection, some noted, it appeared to be the exact same philosophy that park officials held before the public hearings in November and December.[104] Brunelle was accused of ignoring public opinion and being a weak lackey of the

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[102] "What Do You Think About the Plans for Alqonquin Park?" *The Pembroke Observer*, November 16, 1968.

[103] "What Do You Think of the New Plan for Algonquin Park," *The Pembroke Observer,* December 20, 1968.

[104] Robert MacDonald, "Algonquin for People and Logs," *Telegram*, March 29, 1969.

lumber industry. One critical article called Brunelle 'craven' and included a cartoon comparing Brunelle's Algonquin master plan to Nazi Germany's "Final Solution."[105] Partially to mitigate public opinion and to make sure all their bases were covered, the Department of Lands and Forests decided that a master plan for Algonquin would not be finalized until 1975 (though a Master Plan was instated in 1974).[106] In the meantime, Brunelle placed new restrictions on the logging industry meant to minimize irritation for park recreationists, particularly canoeists, until a master plan could be finalized. An Algonquin Park Advisory Committee was created to further assuage public concern.

The report created by this committee played a major part in the making of the Algonquin Master Plan (1974).[107] The report recommended that satellite parks be established along the perimeter of Algonquin, in order to increase recreation opportunities and accessibility. In regards to logging, the report recommended that timber operations be taken over by the province. The committee recommended that timber companies exchange timber licenses for supply agreements between the park and the companies. This strategy enabled the park to simultaneously appeal to public interest and support the timber industry upon which the local economy relied. In regards to noise and logging roads, the report reduced buffer zones along designated canoe routes from

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[105] "Mr. Brunelle's backdown (sic) really approaches the craven. Last year he presented a masterplan for the park which would have restricted but by no means eliminated logging…This week Mr. Brunelle told the Canadian Club of Toronto that he wasn't even going to stick by his first, inadequate plan; he was going to adopt a worse one, a sort of non-plan which would plainly permit logging to go its destructive way. In the meantime a task force—what an escape hatch are these task forces becoming—made up of civil servants and experts from the private sector would report back with a final plan in 1975…the disappointment is extreme, and not least in Mr. Brunelle himself…A forestry minister who is in charge of cropping trees would have to be schizophrenic to find equally worthy trees that stay on their feet in a park and delight the eye." "The Erosion of Trust," *The Globe and Mail*, April 16, 1969.

[106] See: "Plan for Algonquin Park Not Complete Until 1975," *The Forester*, April 17, 1969; "Brunelle Says Plan for Algonquin will not be completed until 1975," *The Globe and Mail*, April 15, 1969.

[107] Killan, *Protected Places*, 177-180.

two to one and half miles. The buffer could be further reduced, the report suggested, if mufflers could be used to reduce noise disruption.[108]

After the hubbub of the 1968-1970 battle between preservationists and the lumber industry, the provincial government decided upon a compromise that allowed restricted logging and maintained the park as an "average man's wilderness." This concept of wilderness was the kind of wilderness that enabled individuals to escape and 'feel' like they had gotten away, the useful kind of wilderness that the AWL had actually championed.[109] The report stated that the park was responsible for a "low-intensity recreational experience." However, the report also stated that Algonquin played a social and economic role in the region, which necessitated that the park continue to participate in "resource production activities."[110] The report broke down the park's objectives into three main areas: (1) low intensity recreational opportunities, including scientific and educational uses; (2) production of a defined yield of forest and resource products; (3) preservation and conservation of the environment. The plan also zoned the park into natural, historic, primitive, recreation, and several other categories. This zoning system enabled the park to continue to serve its cultural, recreational, and preservationist uses whilst sustaining 15 to 17 million cubic feet of timber production per year. Under this zoning system, 21.8 percent of the park was off limits to timber production.[111]

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[108] *Algonquin Provincial Park Advisory Committee Report Government Policy* (1973): 6-7.

[109] In the *Algonquin Provincial Park Advisory Committee Report* (1973), Leo Bernier, the Minister of Natural Resource, stated that "Algonquin Park should be and should continue to be *an average man's wilderness* to be easily accessible and where the people of this province attracted to a wilderness area may find enjoyment and recreation. I know this concept of *wilderness* in relation to Algonquin Park will not satisfy a minority interest in our community but I believe that it is the Government's primary obligation to serve the complex needs felt by the majority of the residents of this province." Ibid., 4; Warecki, *Protecting Ontario's Wilderness*,214.

[110] *Algonquin Provincial Park Master Plan Highlights* (1974), 3.

[111] Ibid., 7, 11.

The 1974 Master Plan was a reasonable compromise, which sought to solve a complex debate that was fraught with emotion on both sides.[112] The plan also made it so that park managers were no longer at the behest of the whims of superintendents, negligent vacationers, or the logging industry because the park was now governed by a specific set of rules. The master plan was followed by Bill 155, which incorporated The Algonquin Forestry Authority (AFA).[113] The creation of this authority marked the cancellation of all timber leases held by outside companies in the park and placed all forest management directly into the hands of park officials. The AFA still reports to the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources.[114] With the 1974 Master Plan, Ontario and its relationship to its oldest park had come full-circle. Algonquin Provincial Park was founded to ensure that the province had a role in timber production in the region as an overseer and the 1974 Master Plan ensured that the province would continue this role, this time in the driver's seat.

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[112] Ibid., 244.

[113] Ibid., 245.

[114] Armson, *Ontario Forests*, 165.

Chapter Four: Reviving the Distant Clarion: Cook Forest State Park, Its Trees, and Its River

At first glance, Algonquin's origin as center for timber extraction in Ontario differs significantly with the creation of Cook Forest State Park in Pennsylvania. Cook Forest was ostensibly created in 1928 to preserve a large stand of old-growth white pine and hemlock.[1] The landscape of Pennsylvania differed from Ontario at the turn-of-the-century. The trees were already gone. There was little left to conserve. Cook Forest was, in part, created as a kind of memorial to the forest of "ten million sturdy giants" that once covered the entire state. There were few forests left to manage in Pennsylvania, particularly in the northern reaches of the state, which was known as the "Pennsylvania Desert."[2] An absence of trees in much of the state did not divorce park creation from forestry. On the contrary, the origin of Pennsylvania's state park system was deeply entangled with that of the state's burgeoning, professional forestry initiative. Cook Forest was the first park that was created in Pennsylvania to preserve a specific natural landmark. The fifteen parks that were founded before Cook Forest were primarily created on denuded post-industry and post-timber land. Gifford Pinchot, renowned forester, conservationist and Pennsylvania Governor (1923-1927, 1931-1935), described purchase of this land by the state for parks and forestry initiatives as an investment and "the only sure way to reclaim the five million acres which [were] producing nothing of value."[3]

Focus on Algonquin's forestry connection highlights how land-use in the park was affected by shifting attitudes toward nature and outdoor recreation during the early-to-mid-twentieth century. Similarly, the two-part story of Cook Forest also illustrates the way in which changing views toward environment and nature altered how the public used and engaged with the park through time as related to its trees and river. The Cook Forest story demonstrates the

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[1] At the time, this stand of old-growth timber was reported to be the largest remaining east of the Mississippi River.

[2] "The 'Pennsylvania Desert,' Once a Forest," *Pulp and Paper Magazine*, July 10, 1919, 556; Gifford Pinchot, "Reclamation of Pennsylvania's Desert," *Canadian Forestry Journal*, Vol. XVL, No. 7, July 1920, 347-349.

[3] Ibid. 348.

importance of considering the areas surrounding park boundaries to better understand the way in which parks are connected to the regions surrounding them, both ecologically and socially. Cook Forest defies the conventions of declensionist park narratives that present parks as pristine pieces of land in decline and threatened by overuse. Rather, Cook Forest stands as an example of the way in which parks can contribute to—often symbiotic—regional ecological and economic revivification.

Part One: The Trees

They sing to me, these well-loved trees,

Soothingly, dreamily...

They shout sometimes, these giant trees,

Wildly, exultingly...

They wail sometimes, these ancient trees,

Woefully, dolefully,

Over the vanished forests of the past,

Ten million sturdy giants such as these,

And whisper mournfully, "We are the last."

- Selected Passages from "The Pines on the Clarion" (1926) by Ralph Linn Bartlett[4]

Unlike Ontario and other Canadian provinces, Pennsylvania did not benefit from the Crown Lands system. In fact, Pennsylvania did not own any land before it started its acquisition campaign at the turn of the twentieth-century. Also, because of the smaller size of Pennsylvania, its population, and its industrial history, the state was almost entirely clear-cut in 1900. The mid-to-late-nineteenth-century lumber industry operated in a profit-driven manner with little regard

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[4] Ralph Linn Bartlett, "The Pines on The Clarion," *Pittsburgh Sun*, December 14, 1926.

for the future. Lumber companies clear-cut thousands of acres of land at a time and then abandoned the denuded land to tax delinquency. Pennsylvania's white pine and hemlock population was decimated. Stumps and leftover brush left the land vulnerable to fire. Unprotected soil along waterways caused erosion, water contamination, and downstream flooding.[5]

The state's first land acquisitions for the purpose of state park creation were almost exclusively made up of this land that was clear-cut and/or burnt-over, and, therefore, considered worthless by private investors. This land was acquired by the state for little to no money. The prevalence of post-industrial (blue) and post-timber park land (dark green) is visible on the Pennsylvania timeline (Figure 4.1).
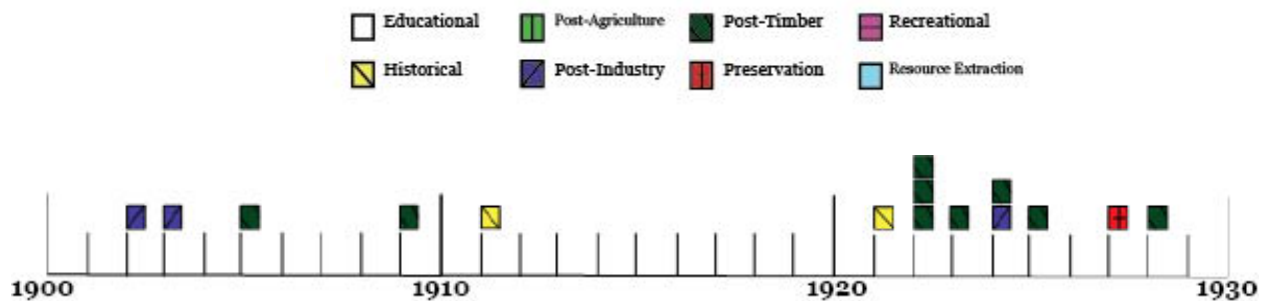
Figure 4.1: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1900-1929.

In contrast, Ontario already had control of the land on which Algonquin was created. Algonquin was created partially to avoid the deforestation that plagued Pennsylvania and other American states. Cook Forest was the first state park created in Pennsylvania to specifically preserve a natural landmark. On the timeline, one can see that Cook Forest (1927) is the only preservation (red) park during this time period. This stand of old-growth forest, which was designated a

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[5] Joseph M. Speakman, *At Work in Penn's Woods: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Pennsylvania* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 5.

National Natural Landmark in 1967, consisted of 332 acres comprised of Eastern white pine, Eastern hemlock, and mixed hardwoods.[6]

The definition of old-growth (or virgin) forest is varied and debated amongst researchers.[7] Most definitions revolve around the age and naturalness of a stand of trees. More ecologically vigorous definitions also require that the forest show signs of long-term, natural succession—signs of succession include a high percentage of trees that are over halfway through the natural lifespan of a forest, fallen trees, branches, and moss on the forest floor, and the presence of snags (dead trees).[8] When preservation of this stand of old-growth forest was first proposed in 1910, state officials scoffed at the idea of spending money on buying the stand of timber from the Cook Family. The state government was not yet ready to direct money at saving a piece of land for preservation alone, particularly when the state was able to acquire other land for little to no cost.[9] One newspaper article from 1926 claimed that Pennsylvania could not buy the Cook Forest property because "only denuded lands suitable for reforestation and land covered by second growth [could] be purchased by the state and even then the price [could not]

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[6] "National Natural Landmarks: Cook Forest," *National Park Service*, accessed 17 September, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nnlandmarks/site.htm?Site=COFO-PA.

[7] John Davis, "Foreword," in *Eastern Old-Growth Forests: Prospects for Rediscovery and Recovery*, ed. Mary Byrd Davis (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1996), xi.

[8] Robert Leverett, "Definitions and History," *Eastern Old-Growth Forests: Prospects for Rediscovery and Recovery*, ed. Mary Byrd Davis (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 1996), 4-17.

[9] Other stands of old-growth timber that were acquired by the state in later years were saved from the axe primarily because they were either inaccessible to loggers or located on disputed logging claims. Friends of Allegheny Wilderness. "Old-Growth Forests: Pennsylvania's Forgotten Giants." Filmed [1999]. YouTube Video, 29:36. Posted [May 1, 2015]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QlrXEJh5bEQ.

exceed $10 an acre."[10] State parks were also not yet ubiquitous; the term "state park" was not in regular use until the 1920s when the "State Park Movement" spread across the United States.[11]

Cook Forest State Park was named after the lumber dynasty that owned and profited from the land on which the park now stands.[12] John Cook and his wife and children first settled in the area and developed a lumber business in the 1830s.[13] In 1858, when John Cook died, his son, Andrew (Anthony) Cook took over the family business at what was now known as the "Cooksburg Property" and greatly expanded the family's timber operations, which peaked in the 1880s.[14] Despite the dwindling timber reserves on the original tract, Andrew Cook did not cut down the prime timber that surrounded the family's homes and was located in the now state park. Anthony E. Cook, Andrew's great-grandson, attributes this decision to progressive, preservationist love for the forest around him.[15] It is, however, much more likely that Andrew Cook did not want his stately and recently-built home to be set against the backdrop of a post-timber wasteland. Consideration for the aesthetic and concern for the family's place in society led to the initial preservation of this stand of old-growth timber.

In 1891, after the death of Andrew Cook, the heirs came together to form A. Cook Sons Company in order to take advantage of the remaining timber on the family's property. Anthony

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[10] "Local C. of C. to Back Cook Forest Drive," *Cook Forest Scrapbook*, Archive, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania.

[11] Ney C. Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 73.

[12] Pages 146-149 adapted from: Jessica DeWitt, "A Convergence of Recreational and Conservation Ideals: The Cook Forest State Park Campaign, 1910-1928" (M.A. Thesis, University of Rochester, 2011).

[13] William James McKnight, *Jefferson County Pennsylvania: Her Pioneers and People 1800-1915, Volume I: Historical* (Chicago: J.H. Beers and Company, 1917), 448.

[14] May F. Cook, *History of Cook Forest* (1951), 4-6; the Cook Forest State Park office is located in the village of Cooksburg.

[15] Anthony E. Cook, *Cook Forest: An Island in Time* (Helena, Montana: Falcon, 1996), 58.

Wayne (A.W.) Cook was named president of this family operation. A.W. Cook focused his efforts on expanding his family's business elsewhere, including operations in the American Pacific Northwest, and invested in mining and oil industries.[16] Outsourcing investment in resource extraction enabled the family to continue to make a profit without cutting down the old-growth timber behind their homes. In the early 1900s, the forest surrounding the private Cook sanctuary was exhausted. By 1910, it was increasingly impractical to keep the property around their homes without gaining some kind of income from it, despite the fact that the family did not want to cut the timber on the property or sell it to someone else. Some members of the family were more sentimental than others, a fact that would come to the forefront a decade later.[17] A.W. Cook was the preeminent supporter of the preservation of the timber stand within the Cook Family. Sentimentality was also connected to a utilitarian concern, the Cook family had recently established their stand of old-growth timber as a weekend excursion destination for their wealthy friends and business acquaintances. Photographs of the hillsides of Cook Forest surrounding the inner tract of virgin timber at this time show a barren environment, spotted with short, scrubby trees, an astonishing comparison to the rich forests that stand at this location a hundred years later. As Anthony Cook wrote:

> "If one were to travel from Pittsburgh to the Cook Forest in 1900, most of the trip
> would have been across the open fields that surrounded the farming communities.
> Many of those fields have now been reforested with oak, aspen, birch, and maple,
> but we can imagine what impact the sudden towering wall of coniferous forest
> would have had on those making the journey from the confines of the city to the
> Cook Forest for the first time."[18]

The old-growth tract was undoubtedly recognized as something special, a kind of paradise. It is the forest's distinctiveness, its majestic nature against the setting of desolation that originally

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[16] "Anthony Cook, Lumber Baron, Died Tuesday: Succumbs at Cooksburg Home Near Virgin Timber He Helped to Save," *Jeffersonian Democrat* (March 1936).

[17] "Each stockholder of the A. Cook Sons Company had different financial objectives," writes Anthony E. Cook. Anthony E. Cook, *Cook Forest*, 23.

[18] Ibid., 23.

mesmerized A.W. Cook and would eventually captivate the hearts of a small group of individuals who went to great lengths to save it from destruction.

In August 1910, M.I. McCreight, local banker, businessman, and conservationist, was on one of these excursions to the Cook property. He described a scene in which he and A.W. Cook were sitting on a log looking at the forest scene around them. McCreight claimed that at that moment he turned and said, "Cook, no greater crime could be committed than to destroy this; it must be saved for humanity's sake."[19] A.W. Cook purportedly agreed and thus, as legend claims, began the eighteen-year 'Cook Forest State Park Campaign.'

The campaign consisted of two phases.[20] During the first phase, from 1910 to 1921, McCreight sought the cooperation of prominent businessmen, philanthropists, and politicians in a failed attempt to preserve the stand of old-growth timber as a state park. McCreight attempted to rally supporters under the idea of "preservation for preservation's sake" and was adamant that the piece of land needed no improvement to become a park. In many ways, McCreight was well-ahead of his time. The public and the Pennsylvania government were not yet receptive to the concept of preservation, and McCreight's insistence that the piece of land should be saved for its inherent value was the primary reason that the campaign did not gain the traction it needed in its formative years. Early opponents of the park plan also brought up concerns that the tract was primarily cut-over, only "semi-wild," and thus not as valuable as the Cook Family claimed it was. The Cook Forest plan, opponents claimed, was an elaborate plan for the commonwealth's citizens to foot the bill for a rich "pleasure-resort."[21]

This time period was also coloured by internal squabbling within the Cook Family, which came to a head in 1920. The rest of A. Cook Sons and Co. attempted to sell the tract of land to

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[19] M.I. McCreight, *Cook Forest Park: Story of the Sixteen Year Battle to Save the Last Stand of Historic Penn's Woods, The When, The Why and How of It* (DuBois, Pennsylvania: The Gray Printing Company, Inc., 1936), 13-14.

[20] For a detailed account of the entire Cook Forest Campaign see: Jessica DeWitt, "A Convergence of Recreational and Conservation Ideals: The Cook Forest State Park Campaign, 1910-1928" (M.A. Thesis, University of Rochester, 2011).

[21] "The Cook Estate," *Oil City Derrick*, March, 15, 1913, 4.

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the Goodyear Lumber Company of Buffalo, New York because they were no longer willing to wait nor were they fully on board with the preservation plan. The resulting lawsuit which pitted A.W. Cook against the rest of his family ended when the sale was deemed fraudulent, and A.W. Cook opted to buy out the rest of his family.[22]

In 1921, after years of pouring energy into the campaign only to be met with blank stares and obstacles, McCreight faded into the background. It was as this point that the second phase (1921-1928) began. Thomas Liggett, a member of Pittsburgh's elite business-class, took over the campaign and founded the "Cook Forest Association," (CFA) the executive members of which were made up of other local, leading businessmen. Liggett accepted that the state was not going to buy the property outright and that the funds needed for purchase ($650,000) had to be solicited from the public. Liggett realized that two things needed to change in order for the new campaign to succeed. Firstly, he understood that the campaign needed to broaden its inclusion in order to draw in and solicit support from the general public. Liggett actively strove to gain the support of local communities and encourage small donations.[23]

Secondly, he understood that he needed to promise economic gain from tourism and recreational opportunity to local communities. At one public meeting Liggett stated that Cook Forest was "a proposition which every man and woman…should get behind and boost, if not for

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[22] "In the Court of Common Pleas of Forest County Pennsylvania at No. 1 of May Term, 1920. Between A.W. Cook individually, A.W. Cook, administrator C.T.A. of Rebecca Cook, deceased, *Plaintiffs*, and A. Cook Sons Company, a corporation; J.W. Cook, Ida M. Calvin, Hattie C. Ross, and T.B. Cook, directors of A. Cook Sons Company, and T.B. Cook, individually, T.B. Cook, Secretary, and Hattie J. Ross, Vice-President, of said corporation, *Defendants*," Archive, Cook Forest State Park, Cooksburg, Pennsylvania, 1-9.

[23] See: "$150,000 Mark Reached in Big Cook Forest Drive," *Brookville Republican*, August 5, 1926; "Thousands Visited Cook Forest Sunday," *Brookville Democrat*, August 12, 1926; "Near $10,000 First Day in Cook Drive," *Oil City Derrick*, August 24, 1926; "$5,000 Sought Here to Save Cook Forest," *Titusville Herald*, September 9, 1926; "Nearly Fifth is Subscribed to Forest Fund," *Titusville Herald*, September 24, 1926.

sentimental reasons, from a purely business standpoint."[24] Preservation and promise of a

"playground" for outsiders were not an adequate way to win over the hearts and minds of the

majority of Pennsylvania's residents, particularly in communities immediately surrounding the

park.[25]

Liggett also drew upon emotions to help move the campaign forward. One strategy that

Liggett used to garner local support was to pull on the populace's patriotic heartstrings and even

mix in a little guilt and urgency. At one meeting, Liggett asked the crowd if they loved the flag

and connected his love for his country to his motive to save the section of old-growth forest.[26] A

romanticized view of old-growth forests was also put forth to the public by campaign publicists.

The CFA referred to the Cook Forest tract as "primeval" in order to categorize the tract as

archaic and "an antecedent to humanity."[27] The descriptor enabled Liggett and the CFA to

represent Cook Forest favorably to the public without erasing the power of its supposed

wilderness state.[28] They used the trees as symbols of a more serene and innocent past, as tools of

nostalgia.[29] CFA members anthropomorphized the trees and compared them to Vikings and

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[24] "Community Has Vital Financial Interest in Preservation of Cook Forest, Says Thos. Liggett at Meeting," *Brookville Republican*, July 15, 1926. See also: "Active Work Begun by Forest Association," *Brookville Democrat*, July 29, 1926.

[25] See: "Active Work Begun by Forest Association," *Brookville Democrat*, July 29, 1926; "Thousands Visited Cook Forest Sunday," *Brookville Democrat*, August 12, 1926; "To Form 10 Groups of Volunteers to Work for Cook Forest Funds," *Franklin News Herald*, August 16, 1926; "Beautiful Cook Forest," *Keystone Topics*, October 1926, 31.

[26] "Cook Forest Association Opened Campaign Monday," *Brookville American*, July 15, 1926; "To Organize Workers to Save Forest," *Oil City Blizzard*, August 16, 1926.

[27] Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1. See: O.W. Jennings, "Cooks Forest Woods Two-Day Tour Detailed by Jennings," *Pittsburgh Post*, October 31, 1926.

[28] Roderick Nash, "The Romantic Wilderness," in *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967): 67-83.

[29] Harrison, "Forests of Nostalgia," in *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 155-195.

monarchs; the trees were described as "Earth's Perfect Ornament(s)," one of the "Seven Natural Wonders of Pennsylvania," and towers of "patriarchal strength" that towered over "awed and silent pygmy men."[30] The gendered portrayals of the trees were often contradictory. The trees were labeled "virgin," untouched, and feminized in newspaper articles when the argument centered on an entire forest and the need to protect it. However, when the argument centered on a specific tree or trees and their age and size, the trees were described using masculine descriptors and emphasis was placed on their strength.[31]

Another development that spurred the eventual creation of Cook Forest State Park was the improvement of roads in the region and the first inklings of North America's burgeoning car culture, which significantly broadened the types of destinations, activities, and geographic range that North American families and individuals, particularly members of the working-class, could consider for their increased leisure time.[32] Before the late 1920s, the stand of timber stood ten miles off of paved roads and was considered inaccessible to the average citizen—this inaccessibility was one of the pieces of evidence used by early opponents that claimed that only those wealthy enough to afford adequate transportation could reach the tract.[33] One article from 1926 noted that "public attention to Cook Forest has been attracted not only by the efforts to

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[30] "The Viking," *DuBois Express*, July 31, 1926; "Earth's Perfect Ornament," *Brookville American*, August 5, 1926; "The Last Stand of Penn's Woods," *Pittsburgh Sun*, August 9, 1926; "Monarchs of the Forest," *Clarion Republican*, August 12, 1926; "The Wonders of Pennsylvania," *Cook Forest Scrapbook*, Archive, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania; "Cook Forest Is Placed Second Among Natural Wonders of Pennsylvania By Col. Shoemaker, Who Is Member of State Forestry Commission," *Brookville Republican*, December 30, 1926.

[31] Harrison, *Forests*, 23; Gillian Rose, "Geography as a Science of Observation: The Landscape, the Gaze and Masculinity" in *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, eds. John Agnew, David N. Livingstone, and Alisdair Rogers (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 341-350.

[32] Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 209.

[33] "The Last Stand of Penn's Woods," Pittsburgh Sun, August 9, 1926.

raise money for its purchase through private subscription, but through the fact that better highways in its vicinity the past year have made the forest generally accessible to the public over good roads for the first time since the proposal to save it was launched."[34] The creation of the park, according to public opinion, necessitated that the state take responsibility for improving the roadways that led to the park and to surrounding communities. Many Northwestern Pennsylvania towns jumped on board the campaign because they viewed it as a way to get attention and much-needed funding for their communities. Nascent motorists clubs and magazines started featuring Cook Forest in weekend road trip maps and itineraries. The improvement or creation of highways was the most important determinant of tourism development in the twentieth-century; highways were more important than advertising and other infrastructure development because they determined where people could go for leisure and what paths they could take to a given destination.[35] Mobility scholars argue that movement and increased mobility defined the twentieth-century and, more generally, modernity.[36]

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[34] "Saving Cook Forest," *Oil City Blizzard*, October 21, 1926; See also: "The Last Stand of Penn's Woods"; "Cook's Forest," *Clarion Republican*, August 12, 1926; "Slocum Counts the Cars," *Cook Forest Scrapbook,* Archive, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania; "Cook Forest," *Oil City Blizzard*, August 16, 1926; "Pleasantville is Interested in Cook Forest," *Titusville Herald*, September 14, 1926; "Believe Quota Will Be Raised in Titusville," *Cook Forest Scrapbook*, Archive, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania; "Motorists Urged to Visit Cook Forests," *Kittanning Times*, September 26, 1926; "Delightful Auto Trip," *Pittsburgh Realtor*, October 26, 1926; "Motorists Asked to Save Cook Forest," *Philadelphia Car*, November 1926; "Cook Forest Purchase Plan Backed by People," *Pittsburgh Sun*, March 29, 1927; "Gateways to Cook Forest," *Pittsburgh Post*, April 12, 1927; "Cook Forest State Park," *Washington County Motor Club Edition – American Motorist*, *Cook Forest Scrapbook*, Archive, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania; "Pennsylvania's Virgin Forest," *Pittsburgh Motorist*, August 1927.

[35] William Philpott, *Vacationland: Tourism and Environment in the Colorado High Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 78-79.

[36] Jay Young, Ben Bradley, and Colin M. Coates, "Moving Natures in Canadian History: An Introduction," in *Moving Natures: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History*, eds.

In April 1927, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania agreed to pay $400,000 for the tract of land if the Association provided the other $200,000.[37] They were able to raise all but $11,000 of the needed amount.[38] In December 1928, A.W. Cook wrote a cheque for the remaining amount and Cook Forest was officially acquired by Pennsylvania as a state park.[39]

The preservation of the old-growth stand did not protect it from harm in perpetuity, however. The act of identifying and protecting a landmark, natural or otherwise, includes an underlying suggestion of permanence. It is assumed by governmental agencies and the public that the act of protection will preserve the object forever. This assumption is often false. This assumption when it is applied to a stand of aging trees is particularly troublesome. Today the stand of old-growth timber in Cook Forest State Park has aged nearly one-hundred years since it was first preserved, and it is still draped in much of the same nostalgia that tugged at the heartstrings of Pennsylvanians in the 1910s and 1920s. The stand still represents a "tenuous link

Ben Bradley, Jay Young, and Colin M. Coates (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016), 1-22.

[37] "Cook Forest Purchase Bill Passes in House," *Cook Forest Scrapbook*, Archive, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania; Thomas Liggett to Hariet K. Barreth, April 12, 1927, *Cook Forest Scrapbook*, Archive, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania; "Cook Forest Bill Sent to Governor," *Pittsburgh Post*, April 11, 1927; "Senate Passes Cook Forest Fund Bill," *Pittsburgh Press*, April 12, 1927; John Thomas, "Cook Forest Measure Sent to Governor," *Pittsburgh Sun*, April 12, 1927; "A Memorial for All Time," *Pittsburgh Sun*, April 13, 1927; "Cook Tract Will Be State Park; Governor Signs," *Wilkes Barre Tribune*, April 14, 1927; "Governor is So Informed, He Declares," *Cook Forest Scrapbook*, Archive, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania.

[38] "Give $17,885 Quick And Save Cook Forest," *Pittsburgh Sun*, February 1928; "Still Need Sum for Cook Forest," *New Castle News*, February 16, 1928.

[39] For an in-depth account of the Cook Forest Campaign see my M.A. Thesis, "A Convergence of Recreational and Conservation Ideals: The Cook Forest Campaign, 1910-1928," (University of Rochester, 2011).

to the past," a past that was supposedly more serene and more innocent than today.[40] The stand is referred to as the "Forest Cathedral," drawing upon the spiritual significance of the tract. The public has embroiled the pristine naturalness of Cook Forest's old-growth stand in many debates and scares over the past century. One of the most contentious debates dealt with the park's practice of removing fallen timber—one of the key ecological characteristics of an old-growth forest—in the park. Park officials believed that removing the timber was beneficial to the forest and helped prevent forest fires.[41] Debate over this practice lasted well into the 1990s. The most recent threat to the old-growth trees in Cook Forest that has caused alarm is an invasive pest, the hemlock woolly adelgid. This insect, which is native to Asia, originally arrived in Virginia in the 1920s and spread slowly north and westward. Ninety-five percent of the hemlocks in Shenandoah National Park have succumbed to the pest. Scientists and community-activists are banding together to educate the public and fight the pest in Cook Forest and other key hemlock stands.[42] The assumption that natural landmarks are permanent supports declensionist park narratives that focus on the despoilment of supposed pristine areas after these areas are delineated as parks.

Stories of Cook Forest's creation, including the one just presented, focus almost entirely on the preservation of this tenuous natural landmark. This story is incomplete for two main reasons, which are also linked to broader problems in park historiography. Firstly, the Cook Forest campaign narrative demonstrates the way in which most park histories, both popular and academic, are focused on origin stories. There are few accounts of how the creation of the park affected the ecology of the region or the cultural and economic status of surrounding communities after 1928. This implicitly suggests that the piece of land was protected as a park and all was well, or at least inconsequential, thereafter. Failure to rigorously explore what

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[40] Friends of Allegheny Wilderness. "Old-Growth Forests: Pennsylvania's Forgotten Giants."

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ben Moyer, "An Invasive Insect Threatens to Eradicate Pennsylvania's State Tree," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, December 21, 2013.

happens to parks and surrounding areas after they are created is a major failing of most published park research.

Furthermore, a sole focus on a park's origin divorces park histories from the regions that surround them. Scholars and the public often treat parks as if they are islands of preservation. Focusing only on the preservation of Cook Forest's old-growth stand favours a declensionist narrative and ignores the pivotal role that the park's creation played in the reforestation of the region and the restoration of the Clarion River that runs through the park.

Part Two: The River

When primal forests crowned the hills

And Indians roamed the dells,

Thy waters as crystal flowed

To join the ocean swells…

The woodsman's ax in time was heard

In accents strong and clear,

Resounding on thy mystic breast

The forest's death is near…

Thy waters clear as azure blue

Are turned to ashen grey,

While fever lurks within thy pools

And tenches mark thy way.

The stamp of "filthy lucre" now

Upon thy crest is born.

While those who loved the former days

Can little do but mourn

For liquid death, by corporate greed

Is poured into thy brink,

While thousands in the vales below

Miasmatic waters drink.

May days soon come when waters pure

As in the olden time,

Will flow between thy verdant banks

To the sunny Southern clime.

- Passages from "An Ode to the Clarion River" (1909) by Reverend H.H. Barr[43]

    The poem tells the familiar story of the pristine past of a river and its downfall at the hands of corporate greed and resource extraction. The author of this poem, Reverend H.H. Barr, writing in 1910, did not know that his wish would come true. Declared ecologically dead in 1909, the Clarion River made an ecological comeback. A portion of it is labeled a National Wild

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[43] Reverend H.H. Barr, "An Ode to the Clarion River" in *True Tales of the Clarion River*, ed. George P. Sheffer (Clarion, Pennsylvania: Northwestern Pennsylvania Raftsmen's Association, 1933), 19.

and Scenic River, and the Clarion is now a recreational focal point for visitors to Western Pennsylvania (Figure 4.2).[44]

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[44] "The National Wild and Scenic Rivers System was created by Congress in 1968 (Public Law 90-542; 16 U.S.C. 1271 et seq.) to preserve certain rivers with outstanding natural, cultural, and recreational values in a free-flowing condition for the enjoyment of present and future generations. The Act is notable for safeguarding the special character of these rivers, while also recognizing the potential for their appropriate use and development. It encourages river management that crosses political boundaries and promotes public participation in developing goals for river protection." "About the WSR Act," *National Wild and Scenic Rivers System*, accessed June 14, 2017, https://www.rivers.gov/wsr-act.php.

Figure 4.2: Clarion River[45]

      The Clarion River is a moderate-sized river that runs from Johnsonburg to just south of Emlenton, where it meets the Allegheny River, draining about 1,200 square miles of the Allegheny Plateau. It is 110 miles long. Before 1817, the river was known as Tobeco, Toby Creek, and Stump Creek. In 1817, the river gained its current name when a surveyor named it "Clarion" because he claimed that the river sounded like a distant clarion. It is at this same point that industrial use of the river increased exponentially and its ecological decline began. The timber industry was the first industry to leave its mark on river. The Clarion River corridor was the location for heavy timbering activity, particularly of hemlock, starting in the early 1800s until

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[45] Fermata, Inc., "Clarion River Recreation Assessment," 18 June, 2007.

the turn of the century. Deforestation and subsequent erosion negatively affected the conditions of the river. The northern portion of the river flowed from the deforested region known as the "Pennsylvania Desert." An industrial waste survey of the river from 1915 described this deforestation. "The upper or northeastern part of the stream," the report stated, "flows through deep valley with steep rocky sides. This part of the basin was at one time entirely covered by forests, but now the burned and waste area is the most notable feature of this region."[46] The river also served as a key transportation route for timber going to Pittsburgh.

The timber industry in the region led to robust tanning, paper, and wood chemical industries. There were eight tanneries located in the Clarion Valley (Figure 4.3). In 1915, the tanneries, combined, dumped about 1,099,122 gallons of tannery waste into the Clarion River daily. This waste included lime, blood, fleshings, decomposed organic matter, hair, tannin, dye, grease, oil, and microbes.[47] Wood chemical plants existed along the river from 1888-1948. These plants mainly used maples and beeches to produce wood alcohol (methanol), acetone, calcium acetate, and charcoal. These plants injected about 13,200 gallons of waste water into the Clarion every day. The original paper mill in Johnsonburg opened in 1890 and the paper mill still exists today having gone through different owners and major upgrades. In 1915, the plant put about twenty-five million gallons of waste into the Clarion River daily, including carbonate of lime, hypochlorite of lime, charcoal, sulphite liquor, and china clay. Coal mine run-off from the creeks that feed the river, also was, and remains, an issue. [48] One of the most problematic types of

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[46] Pennsylvania Commissioner of Health, "Industrial Waste Survey of the Clarion River Basin," 1915, 1282.

[47] Chuck Williams, "Tanneries, wood chemicals, and paper pulp: early industrial history and environment along Pennsylvania's Clarion River," (paper presented at North Fork Chapter 29, Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology, 2014); "Clarion River Greenway: Connecting Our Past with a Vision for Our Future," Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, Bureau of Recreation and Conservation, 2005, 2.

[48] "Industrial Waste Survey of the Clarion River Basin," in *Tenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Health* (1915), 1279-1296; Williams, "Tanneries, wood chemicals, and paper pulp." For information on mine run-off in the Clarion River see: Michael W. Gang and Donald Langmuir, "Controls on Heavy Metals in Surface and Ground Water Affected by Coal Mine

pollution that affects the Clarion River and its tributaries is acid mine drainage, which occurs when the bedrock over coal seams is fractured, allowing rain and ground water to permeate the rocks. This permeation results in contamination of the water with dissolved metals, such as iron, manganese, and aluminum. When this contaminated water meets oxygen it becomes highly acidic and kills most life within the stream or river.[49]

Drainage; Clarion River – Redbank Creek Watershed, Pennsylvania"; Sherry L. Stafford, Theodore J. Weaver, and Robert S. Hedin, "Geochemistry, Hydrogeology, and Effects from the Plugging of Artesian Flows of Acid Mine Drainage: Clarion River Watershed, Northwestern Pennsylvania," *2004 National Meeting of the American Society of Mining and Reclamation* (2004), 1792-1818; Michael Koryak, Linda J. Stafford, and Rosemary J. Reilly, "Declining Intensity of Acid Mine Drainage in the Northern Appalachian Bituminous Coal Fields: Major Allegheny River Tributaries," *Journal of the American Water Resources Association* (2004), 677-689; C.H. Young, "Relation of Waste Disposal to Western Pennsylvania Water Supplies," *American Water Works Association* 32.11 (November 1940): 1867-1882. On early effects of damming and silt/gravel build-up, see: Eugene Wesley Shaw, "High Terraces and Abandoned Valleys in Western Pennsylvania," *The Journal of Geology* 19.2 (1911), 140-156; Don E. Bloodgood, "Water Dilution Factors for Industrial Wastes," *Sewage and Industrial Wastes* 26.5 (1954), 643-646; "Clarion River and Mill Creek Wild and Scenic River Eligibility Report." March 1996, 11-12.

[49] Aaron M. Turner, et.al., "Acid Mine Drainage: Studies in Remediation," *The Center for Rural Pennsylvania*, 4.

MAP OF
UPPER PORTION OF
CLARION RIVER BASIN
TO ACCOMPANY REPORT ON
INDUSTRIAL WASTES SURVEY
OF THE —
CLARION RIVER
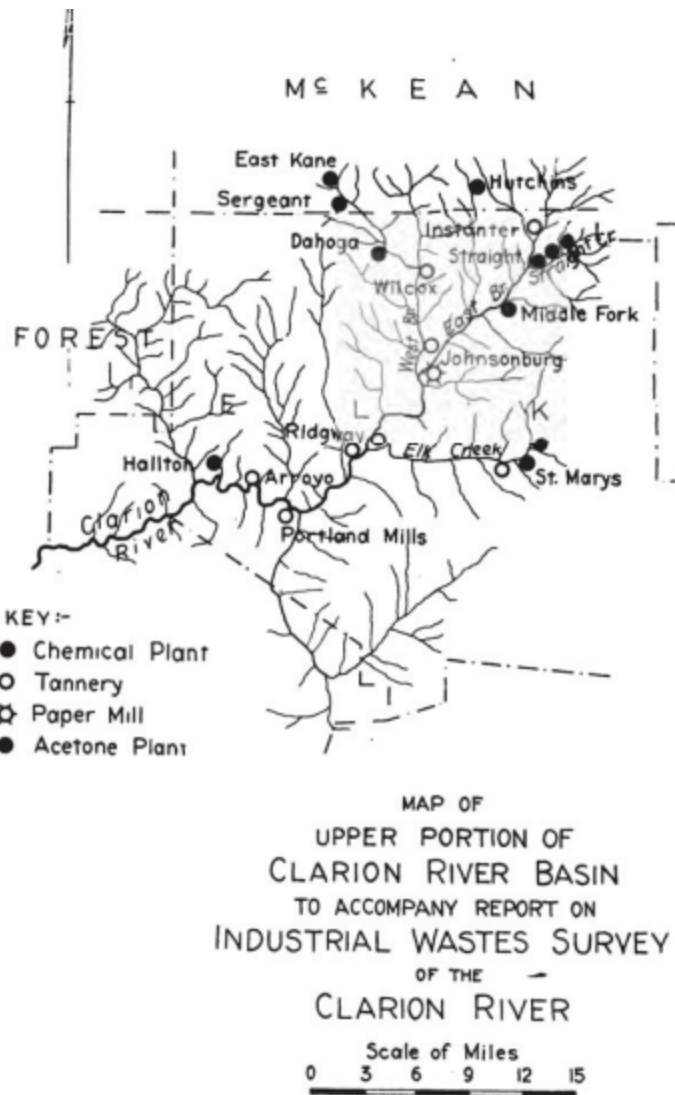
Figure 4.3: Map of Chemical and Tanning Industry on Upper Portion of Clarion River and its Basin, 1915.[50]

This "liquid death by corporate greed," as Reverend Barr put it, that poured into the river had, unsurprisingly, a highly negative effect on the river. In 1909, Carnegie Museum mussel biologist A.E. Ortmann declared the river dead. The "Clarion River," he stated, "is one of the

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[50] Pennsylvania Commissioner of Health, "Industrial Waste Survey of the Clarion River Basin," 1915, 1333.

worst streams in the state. In the region of its headwaters, in Elk County, it is not mine water, but the refuse of various establishments, such as wood-pulp mills, tanneries, chemical factories…which renders the water unfit for life…The water of Clarion River, in this region, is black like ink, and retains its peculiar color all the way down to where it empties into the Allegheny" River.[51] In 1912, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania described the colour of the river as dark brown and the smell as obnoxious. The first tannery on the Clarion River was opened in 1867, and just forty-five years later, in 1912, the river was no longer used by the public because it was too toxic for consumption, agricultural use, and even for most industrial uses (Figure 4.4).[52]

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[51] A.E. Ortmann, "The Destruction of the Fresh-Water Fauna in Western Pennsylvania," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 48.191 (1909), 106.

[52] Williams, "Tanneries, wood chemicals, and paper pulp."
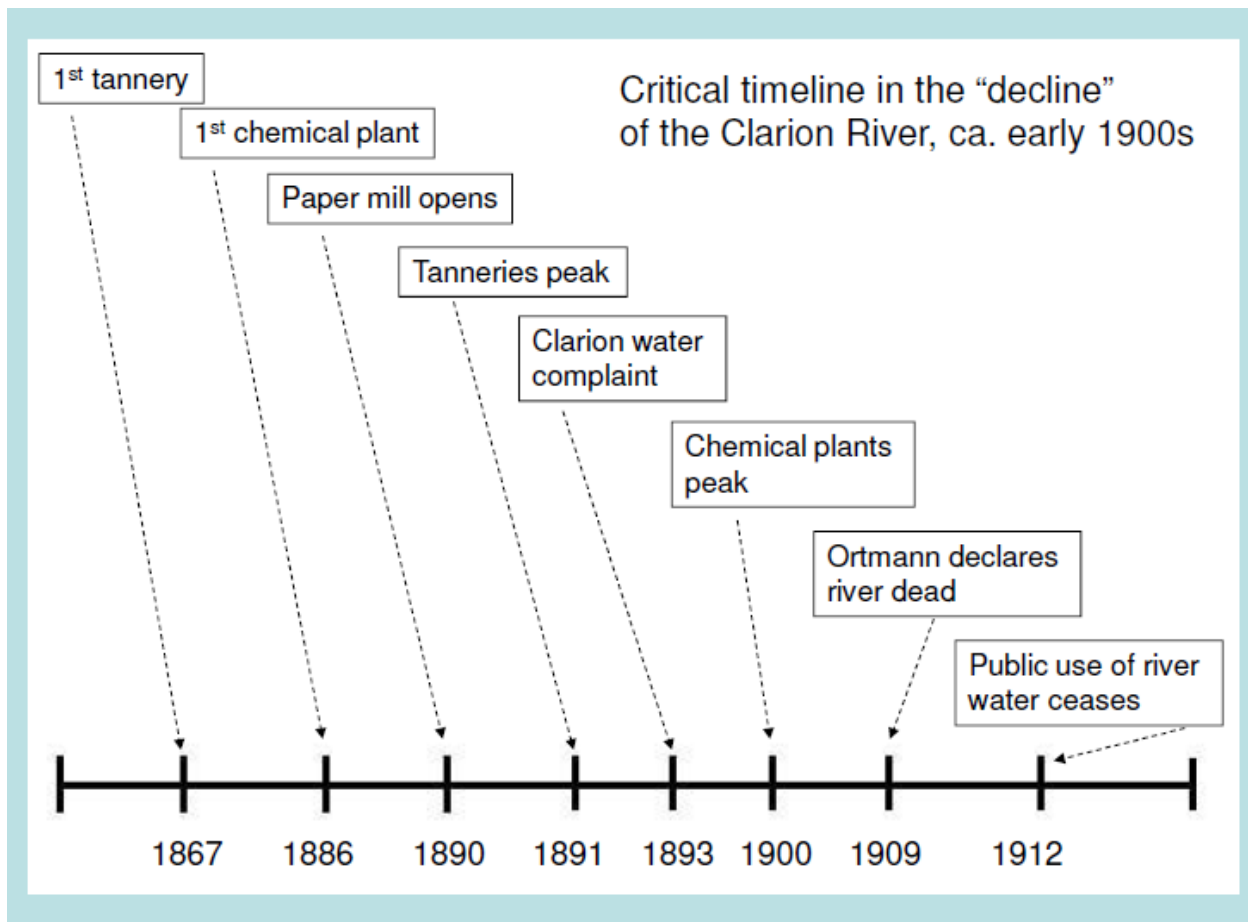
Figure 4.4: "Critical Timeline in the "Decline" of the Clarion River, ca. early 1900s" by Chuck Williams.[53]

The ecological revivification story of the Clarion River presented by the Pennsylvania government, federal government, and private environmental consulting groups typically goes something like this: deforestation caused the timber industry to decline, which led to the decline of the wood and tanning chemical plants along the river, with the last plants closing in 1948 and 1963, respectively. The paper mill in Johnsonburg slowly cleaned up its act, modernizing throughout the decades. In 1968, The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act identified the Clarion as a study river, though it did not meet the strict water quality standards at the time to become eligible for wild and scenic status. In 1975, "the Clarion River was placed on the Nationwide Rivers

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[53] Williams, "Tanneries, wood chemicals, and paper pulp."

Inventory List…based upon reevaluation of what constitutes remarkable values, and pending improvement of water quality problems."[54] Beginning around 1980, the river's water quality began to improve, and, in 1996, 17.1 miles of the river was declared "scenic" and 34.6 miles of the river was labeled "recreational" by the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System.[55]

"Scenic" rivers or river sections in the Wild and Scenic Rivers System are those rivers that are free from impoundment, with largely primitive and undeveloped shorelines, but are accessible by roads—unlike "wild" rivers.[56] According to the agency, the Clarion River offers special scenic value due to the unique topography—steeply forested hillsides—that provides a feeling of "intimacy" and "remoteness."[57] "Recreational River Areas" are readily accessible by way of road, have some development along their shores, and may have undergone some kind of man-made diversion in the past.[58] The National and Scenic Rivers System website states that "the scenery, the feeling of remoteness, accessibility and the variety of recreation activities possible and ease of canoeing of the Clarion River combine to provide a significant recreation experience in this region."[59]

Researchers and state officials largely attribute the restoration of the Clarion River to the decline of the area's industry, technological improvements in waste and waste water disposal, state and federal water legislation, and also vaguely attributed to increased public interest in the

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[54] "Clarion River and Mill Creek Wild and Scenic River Eligibility Report," 10.

[55] "Clarion River, Pennsylvania," *National Wild and Scenic Rivers System*, accessed by July 3, 2017, https://www.rivers.gov/rivers/clarion.php.

[56] "About the WSR Act," *National Wild and Scenic Rivers System*, accessed July 3, 2017, https://www.rivers.gov/wsr-act.php.

[57] "Clarion River, Pennsylvania," *National Wild and Scenic Rivers System*, accessed by July 3, 2017, https://www.rivers.gov/rivers/clarion.php.

[58] "About the WSR Act."

[59] "Clarion River, Pennsylvania," *National Wild and Scenic Rivers System*, accessed by July 3, 2017, https://www.rivers.gov/rivers/clarion.php.

river.[60] The Wild and Scenic River Eligibility Report, for instance, states that "these changed conditions were brought about, in part, by renewed public interest for long-term protection of this river and improved industrial conditions affecting the river."[61] Another report states that the recovery of the river was due partially to a "changing landscape," but the reader is left to infer whether or not this refers to the region's reforestation.

This explanation of the Clarion River's rebound does not delve deeply into why there was 'renewed' public interest in the health of the river beginning in the 1960s. Nor does it consider the role of reforestation; it also ignores three key developments along the river. These three developments are the establishment of the Allegheny National Forest in 1923, Cook Forest State Park in 1928, and Clear Creek State Park in 1934.[62] Today, 54% of the river's shore is owned by the public, including state parks, national forestland, and state game land.[63]

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[60] See: Bob and Linda Steiner, "Once Considered Dead, the Clarion River Has Made Quite a Comeback," *The Derrick*, July 27, 1995.

[61] Ibid. 10.

[62] The Allegheny National Forest is made up of approximately 517,000 acres of mixed-use forest. Pennsylvania's only national forest contains its own stands of virgin timber. The forest's motto is "Land of Many Uses," which reflects the forest's use for commercial timber production, recreation, watershed and wildlife protection, as well as forest preservation. "Allegheny National Forest," *United States Department of Agriculture: Forest Service*, accessed July 3, 2017, https://www.fs.usda.gov/allegheny/. Clear Creek, which is 1,901 acres in size, is located on the Clarion River ten miles upstream from Cook Forest. "Clear Creek State Park," *Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources*, accessed July 3, 2017, http://www.dcnr.state.pa.us/stateparks/findapark/clearcreek/. Camping was permitted in the area that became Clear Creek State Park as early as 1922, but the park did not officially open until 1934. William C. Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania's State Parks* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Environmental Resources, Office of Resources Management, Bureau of State Parks, 1984), 25.

[63] "Clarion River and Mill Creek Wild and Scenic River Eligibility Report." 16.

The role of Cook Forest in the restoration of the Clarion River is an important and neglected part of the story. Reconnecting these two elements of the region's history shows the importance of considering not just what happens within park borders, but also what happens beyond them in order to fully understand the history of any given park and the region in which it exists. The two phases of the Cook Forest campaign that were described earlier correspond with references to the Clarion River and its health. In the early years of the campaign, references to the river in campaign pamphlets and newspaper articles were basically nonexistent. Emphasis was placed entirely on the virgin timber. "Save the Last Stand of Penn's Woods!" imagery of people hugging the trees was rampant.

Around 1926, two years before the park is created, the language began to change and the Clarion River entered the dialogue surrounding the proposed park. Descriptions of Cook Forest, for the first time, included the fact that the park was located on the Clarion River. As the Cook Forest campaign placed more emphasis on the utilitarian virtues of the park, namely tourism and recreation, the potential of the river to add even more incentive for tourism to the area began to gain steam. One article from 1926 stated "through Cook Forest flows the Clarion River at present diluted by the paper mills of a great publishing company. When the forest becomes a state park, it is expected that the state will take the proper steps to stop the pollution, so that once again the river will become the delight of fisherman."[64] Another from 1928, referred to the advantages that the location of Cook Forest had for bathing and fishing if the river is cleaned up.[65] Articles like these two from 1934, highlighting the river's condition continued to increase after the park was created in 1928.[66]

The parallel development of the area's tourism industry and the restoration of the Clarion River was not a coincidence. The park became one of the most visited parks in the state, serving as the primary vacation spot for middle-and working-class families from nearby cities, like

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[64] Cook Forest Campaign Scrapbook, Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania.

[65] "The Cook Forest," *The Leader*, January 5, 1928.

[66] "Pollution Killing Thousands of Fish in Clarion River," *New Bethlehem Vindicate*, July 26, 1934; "Pollution of River Scored," *Oil City Derrick*, July 24, 1934.

Pittsburgh and Cleveland. By 1956, the Cook Forest Vacation Bureau's brochure listed over twenty places to stay in the area immediately surrounding the park. The amount of privately owned accommodations and recreational attractions, like horseback riding and canoeing, increased exponentially through the early 1990s.[67] Just as the Cook Family did not want their homestead set against the backdrop of a post-timber wasteland, the residents of the Cook Forest area and its visitors did not want their businesses and vacations set against the backdrop of an aesthetically displeasing and recreationally useless river.

The recreational businesses developed a kind of symbiotic relationship with the river. The river became the focal point of Cook Forest and the rest of the region, but, as the Wild and Scenic River eligibility report points out, the river "would not be as attractive (today) if the support facilities did not exist."[68] Similarly, the natural characteristics of the Clarion River, including its depth and flow rate, make it an easy river to navigate for individuals of all skill-levels and thus a desirable river for recreation.[69] The desirability of the river enabled the canoe liveries—businesses engaged in renting out canoes and float tubes—to both develop and succeed. The health of the river and the health of the region's tourism economy are inseparable. Looking at the history of swimming in the park gives further illustration to the increased importance of the river as a recreational zone. Initially swimming took place in a swimming hole in Tom's Run. The swimming hole was closed and turned into a fishing pond and swimming in the park was transferred to the park pool, which opened in the early 1960s. As of today, the state closed the pool over a decade ago. Why spend money on maintaining a pool, the state asks, when people can swim in the river?

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[67] For a complete account of the development of tourism around Cook Forest State Park see my senior thesis: "A Lifestyle off the Beaten Path: Cook Forest State Park and the Men and Women of Its Tourism Industry," (Bethany College (WV), 2008).

[68] "Clarion River and Mill Creek Wild and Scenic River Eligibility Report," 21.

[69] "Clarion River Water Trail Map & Guide," Pennsylvania Department of Natural Resources, U.S. Forest Service – Allegheny National Forest, Pennsylvania Fish & Boat Commission, and Western Pennsylvania Conservancy.

The clean-up of the Clarion River is connected to the broader trend in environmental recovery that developed alongside the rise of a consumer society in North America during the twentieth-century. Gregory Summers defines this consumer society as "a world in which the role of nature as a means of production had all but disappeared from the ordinary experience of life."[70] Summers further argues that consumption, not production, became the filter by which the majority of people interacted with the natural world.[71] When the basis of economic activity revolved around industrial uses of the Clarion River, individuals were willing to live with the environmental costs. However, when use of the river evolved to favour tourism and the consumption of the outdoor experience, the industry remaining on the river was forced to clean up its act and the region rallied to gain the marketable status of "wild and scenic." Both iterations of the Clarion River—industrial sink and recreational haven—served the socio-economic interests of the local populace and the commonwealth at large.

Environmental restoration as a result of consumer pressure is often characterized by consensus rather than dispute.[72] There is no clear evidence of any traditional protest behavior in regards to the restoration of the Clarion River. The restoration of the river demonstrates that tales of environmentalism are not always characterized by scenes of picket lines and shaking fists. Historians' and the public's love affair with ostentatious demonstrations narrows the definition of environmentalism to its detriment, leading to stories like that of Cook Forest and the Clarion River being ignored by the historical record. The connection of the creation of Cook Forest and the development of the area as a tourist haven with the restoration of the Clarion River is a story of "expedient environmentalism," or, as Chad Montrie defines it, environmentalism

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[70] Gregory Summers, *Consuming Nature: Environmentalism in the Fox River Valley, 1850-1950* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 7.

[71] Ibid., 8.

[72] Ibid., 9.

characterized by environmentally positive actions undertaken for a principal reason and desired outcome other than environmentalism.[73]

Local business owners, sportsmen, and tourists supported the clean-up of the Clarion River not because of the ecological benefits for the area, but because they wanted to recreationally use and profit from the river. In some instances, environmental problems were quite literally pushed to other, less-viable areas, supporting an "out-of-sight, out-of-mind" mentality. There was, and still is, a practice of plugging abandoned mining wells near Cook Forest so that polluted water will discharge at another site in a less-trafficked part of the region.[74] While the degradation of the Clarion River had once been economically viable, the restoration of the river in the mid-twentieth century became more financially viable. Expanding the definition of environmentalism to include non-altruistic actions enables the relevance of common citizens, like small business owners, in the history of parks and protected spaces to come to the forefront.

When former and current business owners were interviewed in the area in 2007, many of them described the way in which park use has changed throughout the years.[75] When the park was initially created, park visitors flocked to the Forest Cathedral, or the stand of tallest old-growth timber in the park. However, as the years went by the recreational focus of the park gradually changed to the river. Today, during the summer, the river is lined with cars, hundreds of visitors swim, canoe, and float down the river each day, while one can hike Longfellow Trail, which goes through the Forest Cathedral, without meeting another individual. It is not unreasonable to assume that many of the visitors to Cook Forest today do not even know about the old-growth timber, the existence of which was the entire impetus for the park's creation. On July 2, 2015, the Facebook page, *Abandoned, Old & Interesting Places – Western PA*, posted a

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[73] Chad Montrie, "Expedient Environmentalism: Opposition to Coal Surface Mining in Appalachia and the United Mine Workers of America, 1945–1975," *Environmental History* 5, no. 1 (2000): 76–77.

[74] "Clarion River Greenway," 51.

[75] Interviews conducted by Jessica DeWitt in 2007 are available at Jefferson County Historical Society, Brookville, Pennsylvania. Names withheld to protect interviewee identities.

photo of the Memorial Fountain on Longfellow Trail, which was installed to honour the work of the individuals involved in the Cook Forest Campaign.[76] Wendy J. Irene commented "as many times as I have been to cooks forest (sic) I did not know that existed"; most regular Cook Forest park visitors are not familiar with the motivation behind the founding of the park.[77] The story of Cook Forest and the Clarion River shows how external forces that shaped the creation of new parks also affected the way in which existing parks were used, managed, and understood and that this evolution was connected to broader regional social and environmental developments.

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[76] Longfellow Trail winds through Cook Forest's 'Forest Cathedral."

[77] Comment on *Abandoned, Old & Interesting Places – Western PA* Facebook page, July 2, 2015 (11.30 a.m.), accessed July 7, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/Abandoned-Old-Interesting-Places-Western-PA-237114536307967/.

Chapter Five: "A Park Must Have Water": Water Management and Recreation

The Clarion River's Wild and Scenic River designation ends at Piney Dam. Located downstream from Cook Forest State Park, this hydropower dam was completed in 1924, four years before the park was founded.[1] In order to be classified as a Wild or Scenic River (WSR) Area under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act a river must be free of current and past impoundments, i.e. dams. Recreational River Areas are distinct from the other two categories because these areas "may have undergone some impoundment or diversion in the past."[2] The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, according to Roderick Nash, "explicitly accepts the concept of balance which underlies the recent wilderness movement."[3] This balance is between 'wilderness' and 'civilization.' There were many low dams built along the stretch of the Clarion River that now holds scenic and recreational status during the 1800s; the remnants of these dams are gone or at least unperceivable to the untrained eye. The fact that the river was once dammed does not affect the river's WSR candidacy because any effects the prior-damming had on the river and surrounding landscape do not affect today's recreationist's experience. They can float down the river without the emotional encumbrance of past man-made afflictions upon the land. A dam, according to the WSR, ruins this outdoor experience. Dams, however, are not always considered antithetical to preservation and scenic recreation; in fact, dams are often the progenitor of recreational opportunities.

The first two parts of this chapter discuss the history of dams in relation to the development of Pennsylvania's parks. The chapter then turns to Fish Creek Provincial Park in

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[1] Piney Dam was the brainchild of Cyril C. Crick. Crick originally proposed a three-dam (Foxburg, Piney, and Millcreek) hydro-electric power project along the Clarion in 1921. "Damming the Clarion," YouTube Video, 11:20, posted by Henry M. Hufnagel, September 25, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o4_3yiJs9ro.

[2] "About the WSR Act," *National Wild and Scenic Rivers System*, accessed February 25, 2018, https://www.rivers.gov/wsr-act.php.

[3] Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 236.

Alberta to further consider the way in which the manipulation of water is often a key mark of the parkmaking and maintaining process. At the core of both sections is the pervasiveness of water recreation in twentieth-century conceptions of parks. Water recreation was the ultimate democratic diversion. Unlike the isolated and male-dominated nature of wilderness exploration trumpeted by early preservationists or the elite getaways of early twentieth-century national park resorts, the state or provincial park beach represented the democratization of outdoor recreation, a setting wherein an entire middle-class American or Canadian family could access an outdoor experience. As the focus of state and provincial park systems on recreation during the post-war era amplified, so too did their focus on the provision of water recreation. This focus led to material changes in the North American environment for the expressed purpose of recreation.

Mill Creek Dam Proposal

If the Army Corps of Engineers had built the proposed Mill Creek dam in the 1940s, the Clarion River would never have received Wild and Scenic River status. Though pollutants still ravaged the ecological health of the river in the 1930s and 1940s, the greatest concern at this time was a proposed dam on Mill Creek, located downstream from the recently created Cook Forest State Park. This proposed dam project was authorized in the Flood Control Acts of 1936, 1938, and 1941 and was part of a larger, eight-unit, flood control system designed to protect Pittsburgh and the area surrounding it.[4] Supporters also advertised the project as an additional source of cheap power. Unlike the Piney Dam, which was popular among local citizens because of these reasons, the dam at Mill Creek threatened Cook Forest's old-growth timber and thus rose the ire of both park-users and conservationists (Figure 5.1).

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[4] Michael C. Robinson, "The Relationship between the Army Corps of Engineers and the Environmental Community, 1920-1969," *Environmental Review* 13.1 (Spring 1989): 19.
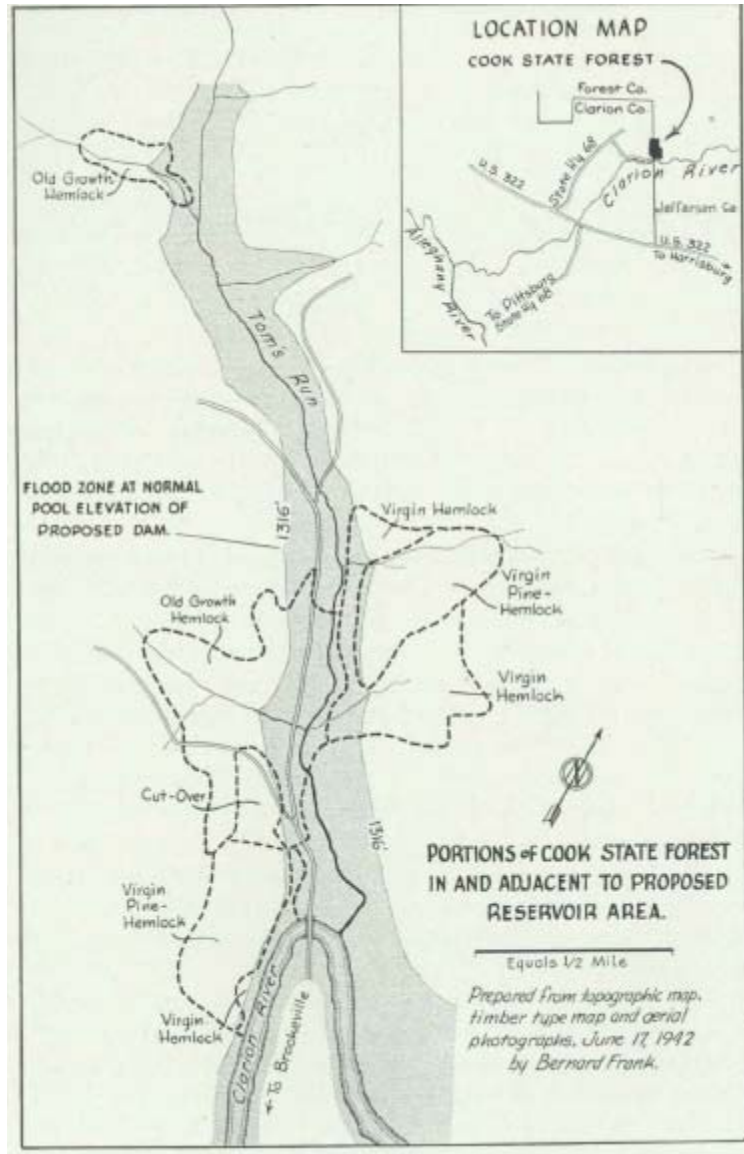
Figure 5.1: Portions of Cook Forest State Forest In and Adjacent to Proposed Reservoir Area, Living Wilderness, 1942.[5]

One of the leading dam opposition voices was that of Bernard Frank. Frank was a forester, watershed management expert, and founding member of The Wilderness Society who was hired by the federal government's National Resources Planning Board to analyze the Army

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[5] Bernard Frank, "The Cook Forest Can Be Saved," *The Living Wilderness* (December 1942), 21

Corps of Engineers' proposal.[6] In an article in *The Living Wilderness*, "The Cook Forest Can Be Saved," he contended that the proposed Mill Creek Dam offered both direct and indirect threats to the stands of old-growth timber that the state had preserved with the creation of the park less than two decades earlier.[7] The most direct effect would be to submerge parts of the park and the old-growth timber stands. "Clearing the reservoir site up to an elevation of 1,316 feet (above sea level) would remove 94 acres in large trees, of which, however, only 7 acres would be in virgin forest. With a rise in the waters to 1,330-foot level, which might occur whenever there was heavy rainfall, 17 additional acres of forest would be drowned," Frank and nature writer Anthony Netboy explained in 1950.[8] Other old-growth trees would suffer and die from an increased water table and poor drainage. [9] Still other trees would topple because the soil would no longer be able to support the old timber and wind gusts would pose a greater threat to the timber. Ultimately the result of these threats would be to completely wipe out Cook Forest's old-growth pine and to decimate a large portion of the old-growth hemlock. According to Frank, 223 acres of the 263 acres, or eighty-five percent, of the old-growth timber would be destroyed within ten years of the Mill Creek dam's inception.[10]

The Army Corps of Engineers' proposal estimated a less devastating result. They commissioned Lieutenant Colonel D. Lee Hooper to analyze the possible effects of the dam on Cook Forest State Park. Hooper reported that 103 of the 296 acres of virgin timber would be destroyed or damaged. According to historian Michael C. Robinson, the Army Corps of Engineers were critical of the public outcry over the proposed dam and reservoir because they overlooked other damage sustained by the park, such as powerline right-of-ways and trail-

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[6] Tim Palmer, *Endangered Rivers and the Conservation Movement* (Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004): 61.

[7] Bernard Frank, "The Cook Forest Can Be Saved," *The Living Wilderness* (December 1942): 23.

[8] Bernard Frank and Anthony Netboy, *Water, Land, and People* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950): 149.

[9] Frank and Netboy, *Water, Land*, and People: 149-150.

[10] Frank, "The Cook Forest Can Be Saved," 23-24.

clearing, which improved park visitor experiences.[11] This criticism was fair. Even Frank wrote that "the Cook Forest, and especially the old-time timber, is the mecca of tens of thousands of plain American people seeking emotional satisfaction of a primeval environment."[12] An article in *Outdoor America* (January 1942) on the proposed dam project stated that Cook Forest was "too valuable a shrine to permit its sacrifice" and quoted John G. Mock who stated that "practically all of the conveniences, as well as that part of the forest which [was] most attractive" would be inundated.[13] The near-religious "experience" that the state was advertising was still centered on the trees. The river was not yet the focal point. This incident is another example of how preservation is not often, particularly in the early-to-mid-twentieth century, the catalyst for park formation or conservation, but a side-effect of providing the wilderness experience to the general populace. The Mill Creek dam was unwelcome because it would ruin the experience of Cook Forest. However, when looking at other state park examples one finds that when the park experiences or proposed park experiences revolve around an artificial body of water, attitudes toward dams are much different.

In "Competing Ideas of 'Natural' in a Dam Removal Controversy," Dolly Jørgensen explores the concept of "natural" and the way in which dam removal reveals differences of opinion on nature on three different levels: epistemological, ethical, and aesthetic.[14] Jørgensen contends that environmentalists and scientists generally value different and sometimes opposing features of the environment than local residents, which sometimes leads to conflict.[15] These three

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[11] Robinson, "The Relationship between the Army Corps of Engineers and the Environmental Community," 17-18.

[12] Frank, "The Cook Forest Can Be Saved," 21.

[13] "Cook Forest Threatened By Power Dam," *Outdoor America* (January 1942): 10.

[14] These three categories are based on the three philosophical positions that drive nature valuation identified by Jacques A.A. Swart, Henny J. Van Der Windt, and Jozef Keulartz, "Valuation of Nature in Conservation and Restoration," *Restoration Ecology* 9.2 (June 2001): 230-238.

[15] Dolly Jørgensen, "Competing Ideas of 'Natural' in a Dam Removal Controversy," *Water Alternative* 10.3 (2017): 840-842.

categories are also helpful for both analyzing past attitudes toward dams and artificial bodies of water and making comparisons between historical and contemporary attitudes.

The epistemological level deals with knowledge and ways of knowing. Jørgensen writes that "it is critical to acknowledge that there are many valid ways of *knowing* nature beyond the ecological sciences. Ways of knowing included the physical experience of being in the place with all of its sensory inputs."[16] Knowledge of nature and the ways of knowing nature are different between scientific professionals studying an environment and individuals who live or work in the environment. Similarly, the knowledge base and ways of knowing of individuals in the past are different from contemporary epistemological systems. Thinking epistemologically on both of these scales is useful for both present-day and historical analysis. On an ethical level, individuals and groups typically fall somewhere in between complete anthropocentrism and complete ecocentrism. Again, the environmental ethics of individuals in the past can and should be compared to contemporary attitudes when assessing past decisions. The aesthetic level of nature valuation is based on the visual appeal of an environment and the emotional connection that this appeal elicits.[17] It is at this level that one can find the most continuity between past and present attitudes toward dams and artificial lakes.

Dams are ubiquitous to waterways in North America. On American rivers alone there are about 75,000 dams over two meters and 2.5 million small dams; Canada has about 933 large dams and thousands of small dams.[18] "Dams have two main functions," writes Patrick McCully, "the first is to store water to compensate for fluctuations in river flow or in demand for water and energy. The second is to raise the level of the water upstream to enable water to be diverted into a canal or to increase 'hydraulic head' – the difference in height between the surface of a

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[16] Jørgensen, "Competing Ideas of 'Natural' in a Dam Removal Controversy," 841.

[17] Jørgensen, "Competing Ideas of 'Natural' in a Dam Removal Controversy," 841.

[18] Colbert E. Cushing and J. David Allan, *Streams: Their Ecology and Life* (San Francisco: Academic Press, 2001), 330; "Dams and Diversions," *Environment and Climate Change Canada*, accessed 24 September 2018, https://www.ec.gc.ca/eau-water/default.asp?lang=En&n=9D404A01-1&wbdisable=true.

reservoir and the river downstream."[19] The creation of reservoirs for fisheries and recreation are only secondary to these two primary functions, according to McCully.[20] This assumption or categorization of recreational dams as less important is related to a general enamourment with large dams in environmental history historiography and in other environmentally-minded disciplines.[21] Large and mega-dams demand our attention. They stand out against the natural environment as objects of technological sublimity, testaments to human ingenuity and our mastery of nature.[22] But these, for the most part, are not the kinds of dams that will be featured in the rest of this chapter. Small dams – the kind dams that are found in many state and provincial parks – tend to blend into the landscape. Many of them have been part of the landscape for so

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[19] Patrick McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams* (New Jersey: Zed Books, 1996): 11.

[20] McCully, *Silenced Rivers*, 11.

[21] Notable histories of large, mega-dams include: Daniel Macfarlane, *Negotiating a River: Canada, the US, and the Creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015); Katrine Barber, *Death at Celilo Falls* (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2005); James Hornig, *Social and Environmental Impacts of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project* (Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); Merle Massie, "Damming Saskatchewan: creating water landscapes in western Canada," *Merle Massie: A Place in History*, accessed March 13, 2018, https://merlemassie.files.wordpress.com/2017/09/damming-saskatchewan.pdf; Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996); Matthew D. Evenden, *Fish versus Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Heather J. Hoag, *Developing the Rivers of East and West Africa: An Environmental History* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013); Jessica B. Teisch, *Engineering Nature: Water, Development, & the Global Spread of American Environmental Expertise* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Julia Tischler, *Light and Power for a Multiracial Nation: The Kariba Dam Scheme in the Central African Federation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[22] For more on the technological sublime, see: David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1994).

long that they "become, in a strange way, part of the nature to be preserved."[23] Rebecca Conard refers to these small dams in state parks as "beauty dams."[24]

The ability of a dam, particularly small-scale dams, to seemingly meld with the environment around it, at least within the collective imagination, relies on the type of environmental degradation that is primarily visible to the casual observer. Unlike other manipulations of the environment, the artificiality of the created landscape is masked by water. Although the inundation of a landscape with water can be both environmentally damaging and disastrous for any human and non-human communities once located in the now-submerged landscape, these changes to the landscape do not elicit the kind of long-term, visceral, emotional responses that a clear-cut piece of timberland or a mine might. A "reservoir is the antithesis of a river," but it is not the antithesis of society's conception of scenic nature.[25] Relatedly, resource extraction-related uses of the environment are viewed as the antithesis of environmentalism; however, the use of a reservoir for recreational purposes is not generally viewed in opposition to environmentally-conscious uses of the land.[26]

The generalization of recreation as an "add-on" benefit of dams ignores the centrality of recreation to a vast quantity of dams created within North America during the twentieth-

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[23] Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, *Wilderness and Waterpower: How Banff National Park Became a Hydroelectric Storage Reservoir* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2013): xiii.

[24] Rebecca Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997), 114.

[25] McCully, *Silenced Rivers*, 10.

[26] This point connects to Richard White's argument discussed further in Chapter Six. Richard White, "Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?': Work and Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, edited by William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995): 171-185; William R. Lowry, *Dam Politics: Restoring America's Rivers* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003), 38.

century.[27] On American rivers, the primary purpose of 35.7% of large dams is recreation; this statistic does not consider the millions of "small dams." Only three percent of large dams have a primary purpose of providing hydroelectricity.[28] Waterfronts are a centerpiece of recreation. Waterfronts are used for recreation more than any other type of landscape.[29] Where an adequate waterfront did not exist, many park-makers constructed one. National parks are not typically sites of recreational dams. Dams that are created in national parks, such as the dams in Banff focused on by Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles in *Wilderness and Waterpower*, are typically large hydro-dams for which recreation is a side-benefit.

Pennsylvania's Recreational Lakes

Pennsylvania has about fifty natural lakes. Eight of these natural lakes are located in Western Pennsylvania. The majority of these lakes are located in the northeastern corner of the state—in the area known as the Poconos—where glaciation reached during the most recent ice age.[30] Yet, it is approximated that Pennsylvania has around 2,500 lakes.[31] This fact means that

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[27] "Recreation is the last of the main 'add-on' benefits claimed for dams," writes McCully. *Silenced Rivers*, 155.

[28] Lowry, *Dam Politics*, 32.

[29] Palmer, *Endangered Rivers and the Conservation Movement*, 10-11.

[30] Margaret J. Krauss, "Why Does Pennsylvania Have Only a Handful of Natural Lakes?" *The Allegheny Front*, June 16, 2017, https://www.alleghenyfront.org/why-does-pennsylvania-have-only-a-handful-of-natural-lakes/; Timothy A. Block and Ann Fowler Rhoads, *Aquatic Plants of Pennsylvania: A Complete Reference Guide* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011): 11.

[31] The number of lakes in Pennsylvania is approximate because there is no clear consensus on what defines a lake. For instance, *National Geographic* broadly defines a lake as "a body of water that is surrounded by land." The figure is further complicated when a distinction is made between lakes and ponds. Generally, lakes are larger than ponds, but this is not always the case and the distinction is largely colloquial. See: Krass, "Why Does Pennsylvania Have Only a Handful of Natural Lakes?"; Kim Rutledge, et.al.,"Lake," *National Geographic Encyclopedia*, accessed March 13, 2018, https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/lake/; New

ninety-eight percent of Pennsylvania's lakes are man-made. Many of these lakes were created or maintained specifically for recreation and many of these lakes are located in the commonwealth's state parks.

Most of Pennsylvania's first parks were located on post-timber (dark green) and post-industry (dark blue) landscapes with already-created dams and artificial bodies of water (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). For instance, the dam at Parker Dam State Park, was constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) at the site of a former splash dam built by the park's namesake, lumberman, William C. Parker.[32] These former timber pools and industry ponds represent the first group of artificial lakes integrated into the natural landscapes of Pennsylvania's state parks. During the CCC Era, Pennsylvania made a deliberate effort to reconstruct and/or refurbish these old, industrial dams rather than to drain the dams and restore the area's former ecology. The industrial landscape, when divorced from the labour that created it, was preferred. Part of the CCC mandate in Pennsylvania was to both improve and create new recreational facilities. Between 1933 and 1937, the CCC constructed fifty-three recreational dams. Many of these dams and related bodies of water were located in Pennsylvania's burgeoning state park system. The largest CCC project in Pennsylvania was the Laurel Hill State Park recreational dam, which

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Hampshire Department of Environmental Services, "Environmental Fact Sheet: Lake or Pond— What is the Difference?" (2003),
https://www.des.nh.gov/organization/commissioner/pip/factsheets/bb/documents/bb-49.pdf.

[32] Splash dams were temporary dams, which created an upstream reservoir in which timber would be stored. The dam would eventually be dynamited and the timber would float downstream with the rush of water from the reservoir. Splash dams were often rebuilt repeatedly in the same location. Jeff Opperman, Adina Merenlender, and David Lewis, "Maintaining Wood in Streams: A Vital Action for Fish Conservation," University of California, Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources (2006): 7. "History," *Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources*, accessed March 20, 2018,
http://www.dcnr.pa.gov/StateParks/FindAPark/ParkerDamStatePark/Pages/History.aspx.

provided the park with a sixty-six acre recreational lake.[33] At Cowan's Gap State Park a recreational dam was constructed to create a forty-four acre lake.[34]
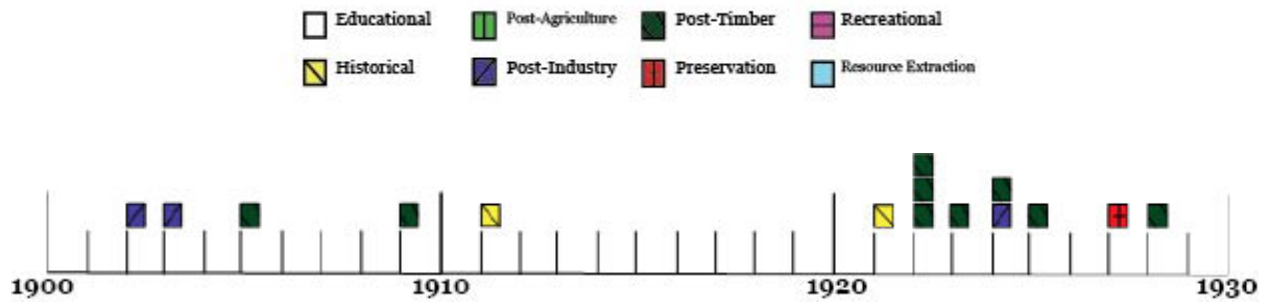
Figure 5.2: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1900-1929.
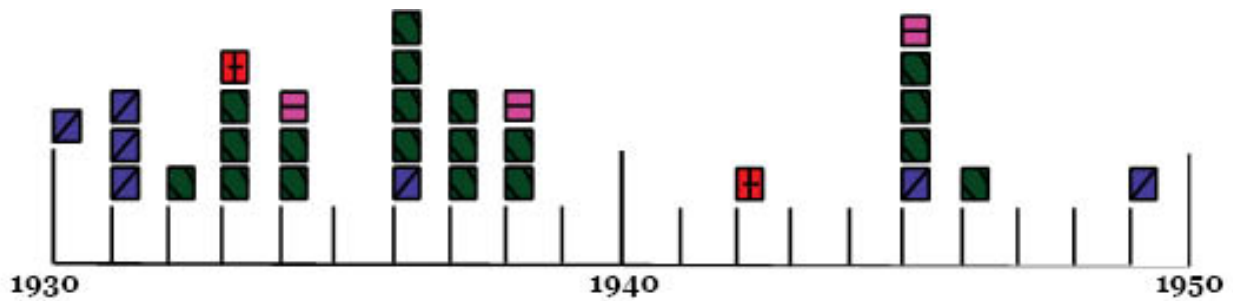
Figure 5.3: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1930-1949.

The second group of artificial lakes in Pennsylvania state parks were created during the Goddard Era. Looking at the timeline, one can see an increase in the colour pink—parks based on recreation—during the 1950s, 60s, and 70s (Figure 5.4). It reveals that the provision of recreation for the greatest number, not preservation, was the primary objective of Pennsylvania's

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[33] Joseph M. Speakman, *At Work in Penn's Woods: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Pennsylvania* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006): 95-96.

[34] A complete list of recreational dams constructed in Pennsylvania state parks by the CCC can be found in Speakman, "Appendix 2: CCC Work Projects in Pennsylvania" in *At Work in Penn's Woods*, 180-183.

park system. Specifically, Pennsylvania was focused on the provision of water recreation. The vast majority of parks created during this time period were either located adjacent to man-made lakes created for non-recreational purposes such as flood control and hydropower, such as Sinnemahoning State Park; or man-made lakes were created within new park boundaries specifically for the purpose of recreation.[35] This period of dam enthusiasm within the Goddard Era also corresponds to the most intense decades of dam creation in North America. Dams were primarily a twentieth-century phenomena, which peaked in the 1960s and 1970s.[36] Multitudes of dams were created in the twentieth-century without a clear understanding or appreciation for the effects that they had on the environment. In fact, any serious concern for the ecological effects and studies thereof are also a recent occurrence, only developing after this peak in dam development in the twentieth-century.[37] The relative nascent nature of dam ecology contributes to the fact that recreational dams in parks have not yet garnered a great deal of attention amongst both scientists and historians.

| ☐ Educational | ▥ Post-Agriculture | ▨ Post-Timber | ▥ Recreational |
| ▨ Historical | ▨ Post-Industry | ▥ Preservation | ▥ Resource Extraction |

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[35] Sinnemahoning State Park is located on George B. Stevenson reservoir. The George B. Stevenson dam was constructed on Sinnemahoning Creek by the state of Pennsylvania in 1955 as part of a larger flood control project along the West Branch Susquehanna River Basin. "History of Sinnemahoning State Park," *Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources*, accessed March 19, 2018, http://www.dcnr.pa.gov/StateParks/FindAPark/SinnemahoningStatePark/Pages/History.aspx.

[36] According to the U.S. Corps of Engineers the number of *large* dams built in the United States are as follows: 1600-99: 1; 1700-99: 21; 1800-99: 2,526; 1900-09: 2,102; 1910-19: 1,961; 1920-29: 2,272; 1930-39: 3,921; 1940-49: 4,081; 1950-59: 11,296; 1960-69: 18,833; 1970-79: 12,464; 1980-89: 4,784; 1990-95: 1,528; Lowry, *Dam Politics*, 33. J. David Allan breaks the development of dams into four phases. The third phase, 1950 to 1980, marks peak dam development worldwide, he argues. J. David Allan, *Stream Ecology: Structure and Function of Running Waters* (New York: Chapman & Hall, 1995), 306-307.

[37] Allan, *Stream Ecology*, 308-309.
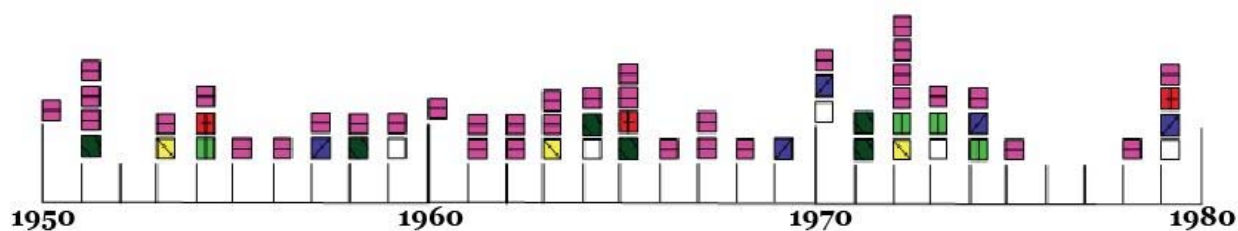
Figure 5.4: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1950-1979.

In his biography, former Governor George M. Leader recounts a conversation he had with Maurice Goddard:

> He said, "A park must have water." We had a park in York County that didn't
> have water. And he said, "Oh, that doesn't count. You've got to have a park with
> water." That gave way to the Gifford Pinchot State Park, which did have water. I
> said, "Why do you have to have water?" Maurice replied, "You've got to have
> something for the kids to do. Water gives you fishing, it gives you boating, and it
> give you swimming." He was right about that…By having a park with water it
> really opens up a full range of recreational opportunities. All of the parks that we
> built had lakes.[38]

This equation of recreation with water was a powerful one. It affected the type of land that was conserved under the state park system. Pieces of land with water were valued above those without water, no matter their actual ecological significance. The creation of dams and artificial lakes in the state park system also represented a homogenization of the Pennsylvanian landscape, as well as the state park visitor experience by ensuring that each park contained a similar body of water and thus a similar collection of recreational opportunities.[39] The recreational uses of these lakes by potential visitors were also put ahead of any possible local citizen land uses. In the case

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[38] Kenneth Wolensky and George M. Leader, *The Life of Pennsylvania Governor George M. Leader: Challenging Complacency* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2011): 70.

[39] Palmer talks about dams and the "homogenization on the land" in *Endangered Rivers and the Conservation Movement*, 13.

of Codorus State Park, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the Glatfelter Paper Company cooperated in the 1960s to impound Codorus Creek in order to provide water for the paper industry and drinking water for nearby Spring Grove, as well as provide recreational opportunities. Lake Marburg, which resulted from this dam, submerged the community of Marburg. The sacrifice of the Marburg community was deemed to be for the greater good—i.e. industry and park visitors.[40]

The human social consequences of these dams on rural communities represent only a portion of the effects that state park-related dams and artificial lakes had in the state. The damming of rivers and streams for recreation during the process of state park creation also played a significant role in the alteration of the environment of Pennsylvania. "Most of the impacts of river engineering are extremely difficult, and in many cases impossible, to predict with certainty…A dam," Patrick McCully writes, "can thus be regarded as a huge, long-term and largely irreversible environmental experiment without a control."[41] Dams can, among other effects, change the landscape upstream, change the morphology of riverbeds and riverbanks, alter water flow, change the water quality upstream and downstream, and reduce biodiversity.[42] Dams change the flow of water downstream, which can have a negative effect on water quality and water availability for both humans and non-humans. This change downstream can also change the very makeup of plant and animal biota in these downstream environments and affect the way in which these species—most notably fish—can move up and down the waterway. Dam impoundments alter the flow of sediment and other particles in the stream or river. The hold and release nature of dams also contributes to temperature changes in the stream or river, which can have negative effects on the biology of the waterway. Alterations on the morphometry of the landscape upstream from dams is also potentially significant and understudied. For instance an increase in water level due to an impoundment can alter the tree and other plant species capable of thriving in the upstream landscape. Dams interrupt and disorder natural connections that drive

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[40] "History of Codorus State Park," *Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources*, accessed 24 September 2018, https://www.dcnr.pa.gov/StateParks/FindAPark/CodorusStatePark/Pages/History.aspx.

[41] McCully, *Silenced Rivers*, 30-31.

[42] McCully, *Silenced Rivers*, 30; Cushing and Allan, *Streams*, 332.

fresh water ecosystems. Finally, rivers and streams are dynamic systems that change naturally and regularly. Dams place artificial controls on this natural dynamism.[43]

With the building of recreational dams for the purpose of recreational lakes, the Pennsylvania government unleashed an unintentional experiment upon the state's landscape. The relative lack of critical assessment of these dams is connected to way in both researchers and the general public relate to these park features epistemologically, ethically, and aesthetically, or rather on the three levels identified by Jørgensen. The assumed beneficiality of these dams based on the emotionality of their aesthetic neutralizes the ethical and ecological ramifications of their existence.

Gull Lake, Alberta

Alberta's Gull Lake is a large and shallow natural lake; it is 81 square kilometers in area and has a shoreline that is fifty-eight kilometers long. It is located in the Red River Basin, and is located west of the town of Lacombe. Recreational development on the lake is concentrated on the southern and southeastern shore. By 1975, twenty-five percent of the lake's shoreline was developed. The majority of the lake's drainage basin is used for agricultural pursuits—cattle and wheat, primarily—and farmers and ranchers have cleared much of the land of its natural Aspen Parkland and Boreal Mixwood flora.[44]

Gull Lake is also the location of Aspen Beach Provincial Park. Alberta's first provincial park, Aspen Beach, located on the southwest shore of Gull Lake, north of Red Deer, was established in 1932 and at the time only included seventeen acres. The park was created next to an established summer cottage community and consisted of land that was formerly owned by cottage owners. Nine other provincial parks were created in 1932 without a concrete plan in place to manage them. Most of them were relatively small in size like Aspen Beach, were created to enable beach access for rural citizens, and were established on land that was already used as a

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[43] Allan, *Stream Ecology*, 305-315; J.E. Ridley and J.A. Steel, "Ecological Aspects of River Impoundments," in *River Ecology*, ed. B.A. Whitton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 565-587.

[44] P. Mitchell and E.E. Prepas, "Gull Lake," in *Atlas of Alberta Lakes* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1990): 526-527.

summer resort destination. Unlike in Pennsylvania, Alberta has a wealth of natural lakes on which to build parks and water-based recreational opportunities.[45] All ten of these first, lake-based provincial parks in Alberta struggled for existence during the first decade or so. The creation of these parks in 1932 coincided with the dire economic conditions of The Depression. Between 1929 and 1935, the Albertan government only spent $40,000 on all of the parks combined, including the cost of acquiring the land.[46]

Aspen Beach's creation was the result of the original 1929 Provincial Parks report (discussed in Chapter Two). The park was created on private land donated to the province. "On July 16th, 1929, the Village of Gull Lake agreed to furnish the Department of Public Works with a transfer, free of charge, for lots one through seven…in the village. It was resolved that the same lots should be included in the proposed park to be established by the government," an Aspen Beach Provincial Park history states.[47] Almost immediately, funds were procured and work began on constructing a pier at Aspen Beach.[48] The province expected this pier and the accompanying swimming beach to be the focal points of the park and were the only reason for the park's existence.

The founding of Aspen Beach Provincial Park also correlated with the dry climatic patterns of the Canadian West in the 1930s. From the park's founding Gull Lake had a water

[45] Alberta's lakes are more numerous in the northern half of the province. In the South, though there are more natural lakes than Pennsylvania, there are still quite a few reservoirs that have been built for hydropower, irrigation, and other uses. There are provincial parks in Alberta based on recreational dams, but they are less numerous. At Vermillion Provincial Park, for instance, an old Canadian National Railway weir built in 1920s to impound water for steam, which had also become a recreational spot for locals, was enlarged to create a larger body of water in 1952. "Facts About Water in Alberta," Government of Alberta (Edmonton: 2010): 13; Donna von Hauff, *Alberta's Parks-Our Legacy* (Edmonton: Alberta Recreation, Parks & Wildlife Foundation, 1992): 38.

[46] von Hauff, *Alberta's Parks-Our Legacy*, 38.

[47] "Park History," 93.289, File 1, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[48] "Park History," Provincial Archives of Alberta.

level problem, or to be more accurate, the province, the lake's coastal inhabitants, and its recreational users labeled the lake's water level as problematic. The fact that Gull Lake was a natural lake did not preclude it from manipulation and management for the sake of recreation.

Prior to the creation of Aspen Beach Provincial Park, Gull Lake was subject to artificial hydrological management. In 1908, a concrete dam was constructed at the lake's natural spillway by the Blindman River Electric Power Company in order to provide additional flows to the Blindman River and produce hydroelectric power. The company, under the Dominion of Canada Irrigation Act, was allowed to store water eighteen inches above the normal water level of Gull Lake and withdraw water eighteen inches below the normal water level. However, this dam and use of the lake were both short-lived. In 1910, an unknown person(s) dynamited the dam and it was not rebuilt by the hydroelectric company. The sudden removal of the dam caused the lake to drop 1.5 feet, a drop that was met with dismay by local residents and visitors who had quickly grown accustomed to the new "normal" lake level. Several sources state that the first formal complaint about the lake's level was filed in October 1921 by a Village of Gull Lake cottage owner who stated that the removal of the dam had caused the lake to recede two feet. The cottage owner believed that action needed to be taken to restore the lake's level to that during the period of the dam's existence. The Village of Gull Lake, not waiting for the province to act, constructed a new earth and concrete dam by the end of the same month at the same place as the prior dam.[49] The construction of this second dam seems to have gone unnoticed by provincial officials who, in 1929, spoke of how the 1908 dam had vastly improved the lake and should be rebuilt. Nostalgia for this time of supposedly higher water is common in Aspen Beach communications. Deputy Minister H.J. Stephens wrote, "I recollect that while the dam was built across the outlet the water *must* have been five or six feet higher than it is at the present time."[50] He suggested that park planners get as much information on this dam and the lake's conditions during that time in order to recreate these conditions.

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[49] R.E. Bailey, *Gull Lake Study Prepared for Gull Lake Co-ordinating Committee*, Water Resources Division, Alberta Department of Agriculture, 1970, 4-5.

[50] Correspondence from H.J. Stephens, Esq., to Aspen Beach, July 29, 1929, 83.498; Box 1, Folder 1A, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

Noting that the water level was fairly low at the time, Stephens also recommended that the depth of the lake be measured and a way to fix this water level be determined so that the height of the proposed pier could be decided upon by its designers.[51] Despite the signs that the lake's water level was unstable, building of the pier was pushed ahead within the first season of the park's existence. Problems with the pier began to occur within a year. During the first winter a bridge engineer wrote to the province to report that the pier sustained ice damage.[52] Another letter writer wrote to complain that the pier, despite being "substantial," was okay for diving, but the water was not deep enough and the pier was not protected enough from the lake's waves for it to be useful for sailboats and other watercrafts.[53]

In 1934, the park's first caretaker, J.H. Berg described the park as a "sand heap" and he noted that the pier was no longer of use even for diving. "The water in the lake has receded so much that only about fifty-feet of the pier is in water now. The diving boards were not used owing to shallow water beneath," he wrote.[54] In June 1939, the parks gardener, A. Paton, reported to the Provincial Parks Board that "the lake remains at a very low level and is at present about two feet deep at the far end of the partially dismantled pier. The lake front no longer has the inviting appearance it had years gone by."[55] By that same fall, the Provincial Parks Board

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[51] Correspondence from H.J. Stephens, Esq., to Aspen Beach, July 29, 1929, 83.498; Box 1, Folder 1A, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[52] Correspondence from N.W. Macpherson to "Sir," April 16, 1930, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[53] Correspondence from D.S. Morrison to "Sir," April 14, 1930, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[54] Correspondence from J.H. Berg to The Chairmen of Members of the Provincial Parks Board, 1934, 1983.0498, Box 1, Item 7, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[55] Correspondence from A. Paton to Mr. Belyea, Chairman, Provincial Parks Board, June 20, 1939, GR1983.0498, Recreation & Parks, Box 1, Folder 10, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

decided that the pier was not only "absolutely of no use," but it was also a dangerous, dilapidated eyesore that sat entirely on dry land.[56]

Removal of the once-celebrated pier did not satisfy Alberta's displeasure with its first provincial park. In fact, at the time that it was decided to remove the pier, the Provincial Park Board noted that because of the lake recession they "were not of the opinion that it would be wise under the present circumstances to spend further money in connection with the park."[57] In the first decade of Alberta's park system, more money was spent on Aspen Beach than any other park and the Provincial Parks Board felt discouraged that their investment had yielded them nothing.[58] Displeasure with park expenditures and return revenues on the part of provincial officials was not a unique experience to Alberta's provincial park system. However, what is unique about Alberta is that government responded to this displeasure by trying to repeatedly give park lands back to original owners, or, if the land was gifted, to attempt to get another level of government or private body to take over management of the park. In the case of Aspen Beach, the provincial government actually leased the park back to the Village of Gull Lake, the community from which they purchased the land, for over ten years. In a June 1942 letter Secretary of the Provincial Parks Board, W.T. Aiken, wrote to G.H.N. Monkman, Deputy Minister of Public Works:

> As you are no doubt aware, most of the cottage and buildings erected at Aspen
> Beach, Gull Lake, were dismantled during the past year and in the view of this
> and of the fact that the Legislative Appropriation for park purposes has been
> greatly reduced, also that the recession of the water at Gull Lake has, to a great
> extent, destroyed the usefulness for general park purposes, I have been requested
> by the Board to ask you to take up with the Minister of Public Works, the

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[56] Letter from James A. Whistlecroft, September 18, 1939, GR1938.0498, Recreation & Parks, Box 1, Folder 11, Provincial Archive of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[57] Letter from James A. Whistlecroft, September 18, 1939, GR1938.0498, Recreation & Parks, Box 1, Folder 11, Provincial Archive of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[58] Letter from James A. Whistlecroft, September 18, 1939, GR1938.0498, Recreation & Parks, Box 1, Folder 11, Provincial Archive of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

suggestion of leasing this property to the Village of Gull Lake at a nominal rental

of $1.00 per year for a period of four of (sic) five years.[59]

The Minister of Public Work agreed to this plan. The residents and cottage-owners of the Village of Gull Lake welcomed this opportunity to take back control of the beach and to manage the beach for public use. This arrangement continued until October 26, 1953, when the Provincial Parks Board decided that leasing park land to private citizens was not the best way forward and determined that the Village of Gull Lake had not kept their promise to manage the area as a public beach and that "other inhabitants of the general area had been more or less denied the use of it."[60] Park planners then moved forward with plans designed to minimize conflict between park visitors and cottage owners. Taking back Aspen Beach, however, did not signal accompanied acceptance of Gull Lake's unruly water level. Rather, it marked renewed interest in figuring out how to manipulate the lake to its recreational users' preferences.

These past concerns over Gull Lake's water recession provoke questions about why the lake's water was disappearing. In the 1930s, Alberta government officials made many references to the drought the province experienced during the decade. Drought was not uncommon in Alberta and the rest of Western Canada, in fact it was and is the norm, however the repeated consecutive dry years of the 1930s were particularly trying and when mixed with over-plowing and insect infestations had dire consequences for the region's human inhabitants.[61] As was discussed in Chapter Two, Alberta's early parks were created in the 1930s, unlike in other park systems, for rural residents—specifically farm families—on lakes in order to provide accessible sources of literal "wet relief" from the drought, which was hoped would boost morale. With this

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[59] Correspondence from W.T. Aiken to G.H.N. Monkman, June 17, 1941, GR1938.0498, Recreation & Parks, Box 1, Folder 11, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[60] "Park History," Provincial Archives of Alberta.

[61] "Reliably Unreliable Climate," *Climate and Change: Making Sense of the Dustbowl Years on the Canadian Prairies*, accessed March 25, 2018, http://climateandchange.usask.ca/histories.html#reliably-unreliable; "What Went Wrong in the 1930s," *Climate and Change: Making Sense of the Dustbowl Years on the Canadian Prairies*, accessed March 25, 2018, http://climateandchange.usask.ca/histories.html#what-went-wrong.

specific goal in mind, the retreat of Gull Lake did negate the Province's original use for the park and excuse to spend its meagre funds on the parkland. The problem of receding lake waters was not relegated to just Aspen Beach Provincial Park. In 1944, Aiken wrote that "it is one of the difficulties that we find in this Province during some years past, that the waters of the lake are receding so fast that it is difficult to establish Provincial Parks."[62] Aiken's comment illustrates two main characteristics of the early decades of Alberta's provincial park system. Firstly, that Alberta equated parks with water recreation, and more specifically, with lake recreation. Secondly, preservation of natural landscapes was not on the agenda at all.

The "Gull Lake Study" prepared in 1970 for the Gull Lake Co-Ordinating Committee by the R.E. Bailey, Director of the Water Resources Division at the Alberta Department of Agriculture, stated that the decline in the lake's water level over the past five decades was likely due to a general climatic trend of decreasing precipitation (Figure 5.5). The report stated that "long term precipitation averages only 18.3 inches per year, compared to an increasing average evaporation loss, which is at present 26.5 inches."[63] This was not the only possible reason for the lake's water recession according to the report. Firstly, it is possible that the lake was naturally supplied by groundwater and that there was a reduction in the flow of this groundwater over time.[64] Secondly, the lake could be affected by land use and drainage patterns. "A gradual transition from the original vegetation cover to intensively used farm land along with disturbances of natural drainage patterns by roads, ditches, well or dugouts may have changed surface runoff and groundwater levels," Bailey contended.[65]

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[62] Correspondence from W.T. Aiken to Miss P.K. Page, December 9, 1944, GR1983.0498, Recreation and Parks, Box 1, Folder 12A, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[63] Bailey, "Gull Lake Study," 1.

[64] Bailey comes to this conclusion because "there is no indication of stagnation in the lake and no recorded discharge of water through the outlet. It is possible that the lake is supplied by groundwater." "Gull Lake Study," 1.

[65] Bailey, "Gull Lake Study," 1-2.
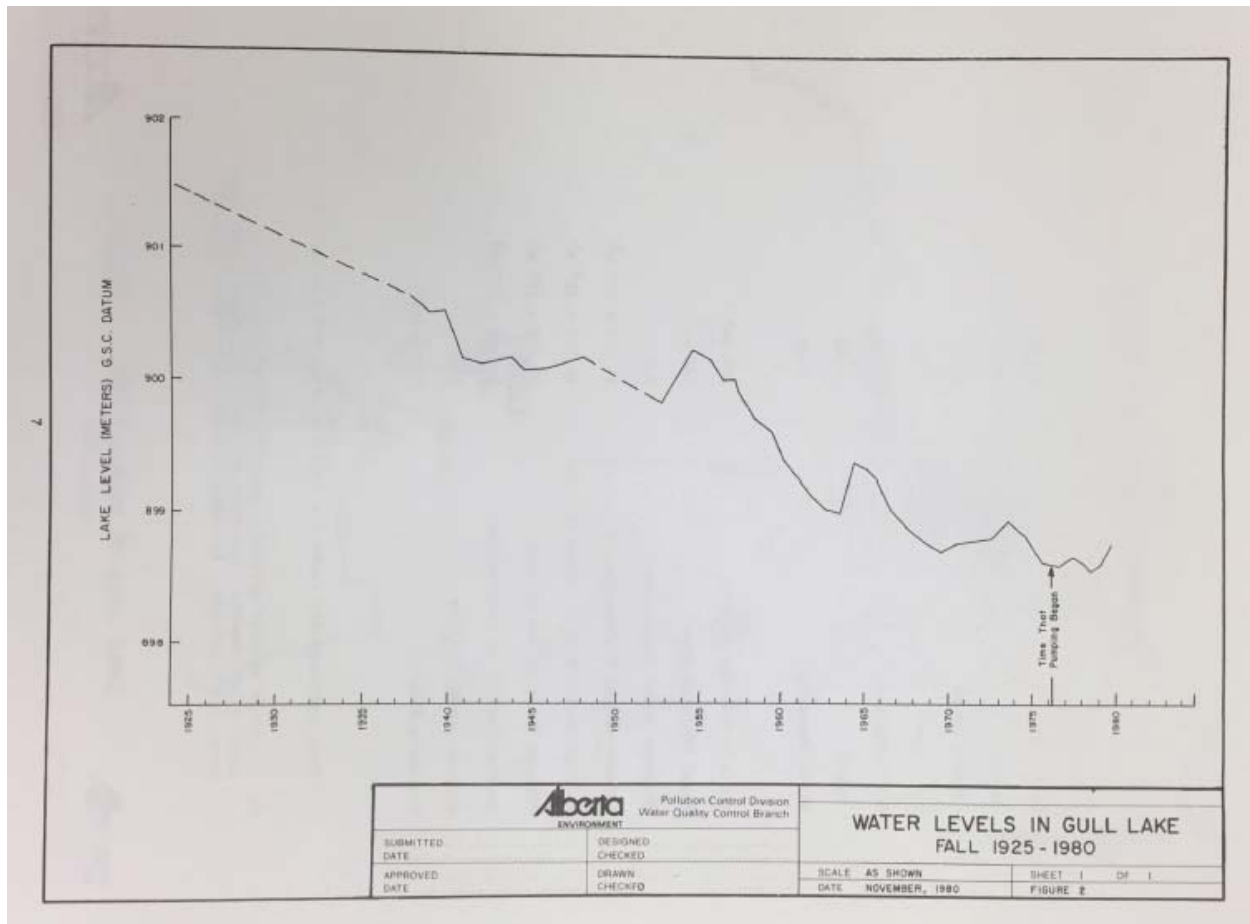
Figure 5.5: Water Levels in Gull Lake, Fall 1925-1980.[66]

       The study was started in March 1969 when the Gull Lake Coordinating Committee, under the auspices of the Inter-departmental Coordinating Committee on Watershed Development, formed a Gull Lake Study Task Force. The goal of the Task Force was to figure out a way to stabilize or raise Gull Lake's water levels based on engineering, land use, and economic feasibility reports. The primary reasons for seeking stabilization were recreation and aesthetic concerns. The report stated that:

> Requests for a program to stabilize lake levels at Gull Lake have been received
> from concerned cottage owners, local business organizations and members of the

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[66] P. Mitchell, *Gull Lake: Effects of Diversion on Water Quality*, Water Quality Control Branch, Pollution Control Division, Alberta Environment, December 1981, 14.

public at large who utilize Gull Lake as a resort area. Problems which have resulted from the declining lake levels include receding shorelines exposing poorer foreshores and backshores, and shallow water conditions, which have contributed to a declining recreational capability. As the shoreline receded, access to the lake has become a problem, especially for private cottage and boat owners. Shallow water conditions have resulted in hazards to boaters and water skiers, and have contributed to a general decline in the aesthetic quality of the recreation experience at Gull Lake.[67]

The economic feasibility of any plan was based on how it would affect park visitation/revenue, willingness of visitors to pay for recreation on the lake, and increased property values along the lakeshore. The final report included detailed descriptions of two (out of eighteen) of the most practicable proposals for raising the lake's water level and proposals for maintaining the lake at its current level. The cost of raising the lake was estimated at $600,000, and the cost for stabilizing the lake's water level was estimated at $350,000.

The two plans to raise the lake's water level involved pumping water from nearby Lloyd Creek and Blindman River respectively. Differences in water quality between the two were negligible, though the report stated that due to land use practices and population differences, it would make sense that the Blindman River would have lower water quality than Lloyd Creek.[68] The report acknowledged that water from either source could "adversely affect the water quality of Gull Lake by increasing the total dissolved solids in the lake water."[69] One of the key benefits of choosing the Blindman River was that more water would be available for pumping because the drainage area was larger than that of Lloyd Creek. This was the factor that inevitably led to the Task Force recommending and the government then implementing the Blindman River pumping proposal. The proposal supplied twenty percent more water than the Lloyd Creek

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[67] Bailey, "Gull Lake Study," 16.

[68] Bailey, "Gull Lake Study," i, 17-18, 21.

[69] Bailey, "Gull Lake Study," 21.

option. The Blindman River plan would restore the lake's water level to 2,953 feet in approximately fifteen years and all of this water would be provided from stream flow.[70]

Actual implementation of the Blindman River pumping plan happened in 1976. The diversion initially pumped at a flow rate of .43 m^3/s, which equaled about 1.5% of the lake's volume. This pump rate was doubled in 1980.[71] Water is still pumped from the Blindman River into Gull Lake to this day, but "only when lake levels fall below a designated "trigger" elevation (2,950 feet above sea level) and when minimum in-stream flows can be ensured in the Blindman."[72] This decision to artificially raise Gull Lake's water level for the expressed purpose of recreation has had a detrimental effect on the lake's water quality over time. Levels of phosphorus in water pumped in from Blindman River are typically high because of the intensive agricultural practices within the Blindman River watershed.[73] The river's phosphorus content has contributed to an increased potential for algal growth in Gull Lake and related eutrophication.[74]

The relationship between Aspen Beach Provincial Park and Gull Lake is an illustrative example of Alberta's management of its provincial park land. Alberta's provincial park system was not established upon a preservationist or even conservationist foundation. Rather, recreation,

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[70] Bailey, "Gull Lake Study," 24.

[71] Mitchell, "Gull Lake: Effects of Diversion on Water Quality," i, 15.

[72] P. Mitchell and Doreen LeClair, "An Assessment of Water Quality in Gull Lake (1999-2000)" (Edmonton, Alberta: Environmental Monitoring and Evaluation Branch, Alberta Environment: 2003): 1.

[73] Mitchell and LeClair, "An Assessment of Water Quality in Gull Lake," 14.

[74] Mitchell, "Gull Lake: Effects of Diversion on Water Quality," 18, 26. Eutrophication results from high levels of agricultural or other run-off, which pollutes an aquatic system with nutrients, such as phosphorus and nitrogen, and causes an increase in autochthonous plant production (i.e. algal production). "Water quality issue: nutrients," *Government of Canada*, accessed 19 September, 2018, https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/freshwater-quality-monitoring/nutrients-aquatic-ecosystems.html; Eugene Angelier, "From Eutrophication to Trophic Pollution," in *Ecology of Streams and Rivers* (Enfield, New Hampshire: Science Publishers, Inc., 2003), 151.

particularly water recreation, was the primary agenda of the Alberta parks system for the majority of its existence. With their focus on the visual and recreationally "useful" characteristics of Gull Lake, provincial officials, Gull Lake cottage owners, and other park users placed marked higher value on a modified, rather than a natural landscape. This focus led these individuals to even display nostalgia for a time in the past when the lake had been artificially higher than it was when the park was created. The Alberta government's readiness to unload the "useless" park land after a decade back onto the Village of Gull Lake, as well as the cottagers' willingness to take this land back, demonstrates the weight that Alberta and other western park systems give to private land ownership, as well as the relatively loose way in which the Albertan government viewed its park stewardship commitment.

Alberta's labeling of Aspen Beach as "useless" is also related to the way in which park creation prioritizes keeping the land the same. There is an assumption on the part of society that a park will remain the same physically through time, no matter the natural and unnatural conditions that might led to changes in the landscape of the park. Similarly to the way in which the park's creators assumed that the "Forest Cathedral" at Cook Forest's founding would be a focal point of the park forever, the Alberta Provincial Parks Board founded Aspen Beach upon the assumption that the lake would stay at the same depth through time, despite evidence that this would not be the case. Rather than adapting recreation activities and park facilities to the (semi)natural changes in the lake's character, Alberta chose to modify the environment to maintain and then raise the lake's water level. By 'improving' the landscape in such a manner, the province of Alberta demonstrated that recreational and aesthetic improvements were also worth some environmental degradation. The negative effect on Gull Lake's water quality from pumping in water from the agriculturally-dense Blindman River watershed was more palatable to the general populace because, unlike the loss of water, the decreased water quality was mostly unperceivable to the casual observer. In the 1980 provincial study of Gull Lake, P. Mitchell states that "the recreationist is mainly concerned about the amount of algae and higher aquatic plants he sees in his lake. Therefore quality standards established for drinking or for receiving wastes…are only marginally applicable to a recreational lake."[75] Public perception of water quality, not just scientific data, was taken into account by the province of Alberta in its

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[75] Mitchell, "Gull Lake: Effects of Diversion on Water Quality," 2.

assessment of the lake's health. Water recession threatened the desired experience of Gull Lake and Aspen Beach Provincial Park; a few extra nutrients in the water did not. In recent decades, a rise in algae blooms and a "perceived increase in 'weeds' in the lake" have begun to threaten the experience and cause lake-user concern.[76] Environmental degradation generally has to stir human emotions to be taken seriously.

Pennsylvania's recreational dams and Alberta's management of Gull Lake's water level demonstrate the close bond between park-making and water recreation and the fact that park-making is ultimately another example of the manipulation of the environment in pursuit of appeasing anthropocentric desires. Recreational dams and water pumping both led to the same results. They alter the environment for expressed purpose of creating a certain type of experience and a certain type of aesthetic ideal. In both instances, this scenic experiential ideal is worth the means by which the natural environment must be altered and degraded to create it. Through time the epistemological and ethical acceptance of these artificial means of water management in provincial and state parks has stayed constant. Once created or instituted, these water management technologies become as emotionally ingrained in the collective conscious of park users as the natural environments that hold them. Gull Lake and Pennsylvania's recreational dams provide effective examples of how park creation does not equal nature preservation. This point is made particularly effectually by looking at provincial and state parks because their original mandates were not as closely linked to the concept of romanticized, pristine wilderness as that of national parks.

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[76] Mitchell and LeClair, "An Assessment of Water Quality in Gull Lake," 9-13.

Chapter Six: People on the Peripheries: Expanding the Social History of Provincial and State Parks

The management of Gull Lake's water level was not undertaken solely for the benefit of the province and visitors to Aspen Beach Provincial Park; the cottage community of Gull Lake also played a major role.[1] "Gull Lake is one of the oldest summer resorts in Alberta," William T. Aiken wrote in 1935.[2] Another government employee, writing in the 1960s, noted that the beach was used by locals for years before the province purchased the location.[3] Within these two statements lies an inherit tension between differing groups of people that are often lumped together under the term "local" or "visitor." The rural populace that surrounded the park differed from the individuals, often urbanites, who owned the cottages in Gull Lake, adjacent to Aspen Beach. Both groups can be categorized under the term "local," but one group, the cottagers (i.e. property owners) held more sway over the way in which the province managed the park through time. The land that became Aspen Beach was acquired from this cottage community, and in many ways, the cottage community never fully let go of their ownership of this land. To the cottagers, the locals that used the park were as much outsiders as the park visitors who motored from further distances. This insider/outsider drama played a major role in the way in which the province managed Aspen Beach and other similar provincial parks with neighbouring cottager

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[1] Parts of this chapter were published in: Jessica DeWitt, "Parks For and *By* the People: Acknowledging Ordinary People in the Formation, Protection, and Use of State and Provincial Parks," in *Environmental Activism on the Ground: Processes and Possibilities of Small Green and Indigenous Organizing*, eds. Liza Piper and Jonathan Clapperton (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2019): 127-152.

[2] William T. Aiken, "Provincial Parks for Alberta," 1935, 71.212, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[3] "Department of Lands & Forests—Parks: Organization Chart," 1982.0203, Box 1, Folder 4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

communities. The province perpetually managed cottager and visitor expectations and sought to minimize the "friction between cottage owners and the general public."[4]

This Alberta example and the examples that follow in this chapter illuminate the social history of parks not often discussed by park historians; this history is that which takes place at the physical and metaphysical peripheries of parks. This chapter looks at examples from four different park peripheral communities—cottagers, Indigenous groups, small business tourism, and volunteers—and connects these communities to the park trends discussed earlier in this study.

Cottagers

The use of public surveys in park planning and management by provincial and state governments grew exponentially during the 1970s. In Canada, this growth coincided with the near-urban park movement; originating in Ontario and spreading across the country to other provincial park systems this movement aimed to increase accessibility to outdoor recreation.[5] This spirit of public inclusion in the 1970s also infiltrated the park-planning processes of new and established rural parks, an example of which is Rondeau Provincial Park.

Created in 1894, Rondeau is Ontario's second oldest provincial park and one of the few parks in the system that still supports the leasing of park land to cottage owners. Today, the cottages in Rondeau are protected as a heritage conservation district. However, the cottage community is not uncontroversial, as many individuals still believe that cottage communities

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[4] C.H. Harvie to V.A. Wood, 5 October, 1953, Recreation & Parks Fonds, GR1983.0498, Box 1, Folder 13, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[5] For more on the Near Urban Park Movement see Chapter Seven.

have no place in provincial parks and threaten the ecological integrity of the parks.[6] This conflict has deep-seated roots dating as far back as the 1920s.[7]

In May 1974, the Rondeau Provincial Park Advisory Committee was created to gather both expert opinions on the future of the park as well as to solicit "the views of the public…in the form of letters or briefs from individuals and groups with an interest in the planning of the park."[8] Local residents were sent a "comment sheet" that provided "topics for consideration" such as "What are your views about the <u>character and image of the park</u>? Why?" and "Which <u>activities and/or facilities should</u> be included and encouraged in the park?"[9] The response rate was high. Residents were particularly vocal in the files about proposed removal of the private cottages in the park and the authorization/prohibition of hunting in the park. From these letters and surveys there are several discernible themes.

Firstly, residents viewed the removal of the cottages to be an unnecessary action that trampled on their rights, illustrating a conflict between public and private land uses. One concerned citizen wrote, "If the ministry wishes to buy my cottage now, at full value, not 10% per year decrease, then rent it back to me for a reasonable amount…I am prepared to consider this step…in the democratic process, people do have certain rights. One of these is to be treated

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[6] Trevor Terfloth, "CK council approves cottage heritage district," *Chatham Daily News*, October 25, 2016, accessed August 22, 2016, http://www.chathamdailynews.ca/2015/10/26/ck-council-approves-cottage-heritage-district.

[7] Gerald Killan, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System* (Toronto: Dundurn Press Limited, 1993), 53-54.

[8] "Public Information Package: Rondeau Provincial Park Master Plan," June 1974, James Gordon Nelson Fonds 1.5.7.26.3.1, Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario; The surveys and answers to them are located in: Rondeau Provincial Park Files, James Gordon Nelson Fonds, 1.5.7.1.26.3.1, 1.5.7.1.26 (1), and 1.5.7.1.26 (2), Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario.

[9] Emphasis in original. "Comment Sheet," June 1974, James Gordon Nelson Fonds 1.5.7.26.3.1, Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario.

in a *fair* and *equal* matter—especially by government."[10] Secondly, the letters demonstrate that the public's expectations for the park often clashed with Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources strategies and environmental programs. Many residents saw no conflict between increased development in the park and the park's ecology. One individual suggested that the park would benefit from the addition of a zoo, a "beautiful restaurant," and a boardwalk along the beach of at least six feet in width.[11] Thirdly, the letters illustrate a belief that local knowledge of the park trumped that of so-called experts. One long-time cottage-goer commenting on individuals who grew up summering at the park stated, "These same young people have walked the several miles of Beach, searched the woods for wild flowers and wild life and probably understood the Balance of Nature better in that Park than some of our experts who have not been brought up near Rondeau Park."[12] The records show that the Advisory Committee found it difficult to tabulate and summarize the variety of responses given, not to mention using them to implement changes.[13]

Additionally, the letters illuminate class tensions between different types of park users— tensions that do not come to light when park users are lumped together as one homogenous group by park scholars. Some of the letters stated that campers, day-users, and cottage owners have coexisted harmoniously.[14] However, other letters suggested that the white, Christian, middle-class cottage owners were the "right" kind of park user; that they, unlike the tent camper

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[10] Emphasis in original. Names of letter-writers omitted for privacy. Letter to Rondeau Provincial Park Advisory Committee, July 15, 1974, James Gordon Nelson Fonds, 1.5.7.1.26 (1), Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario. Name withheld to protect privacy of individual.

[11] Letter to Rondeau Provincial Park Planning Committee, July 23, 1974, James Gordon Nelson Fonds, 1.5.7.1.26.1 (1), Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario.

[12] Letter to Rondeau Provincial Park Planning Committee #1, Undated (circa 1974), James Gordon Nelson Fonds, 1.5.7.1.26.1 (1), Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario.

[13] Art Holbrook, Memo to Members of Rondeau Park Advisory Committee, "A Summary of Briefs Presented to the Rondeau Provincial Park Advisory Committee," December 18, 1974, James Gordon Nelson Fonds 1.5.7.26.3.1, Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario.

[14] Letter to Rondeau Provincial Park Planning Committee, July 17, 1974, James Gordon Nelson Fonds, 1.5.7.1.26.1 (1), Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario.

and day-use visitor, were invested in the long-term health of the park and were essentially on-site caretakers. One letter-writer spoke to racial tensions in the park stating that removal of "white cottagers" might lead park-use to become "oriented to the Shrewsbury and North End black communities."[15] Examination of these kinds of sources often demonstrate the disconnect between policies that supported the democratization of outdoor recreation and how these policies played out on the ground.

The Rondeau and Aspen Beach cottager communities and other similar communities have often stood at the center of the evolution of the provincial and state park concept. The cottager communities in state and provincial parks that still exist are located in older parks, typically parks that were established before 1950. In these early parks, cottage communities were not considered to be antithetical to the provincial or state park concept by the majority of the public. In park systems that prioritized fiscal concerns and recreation, cottage communities provided guaranteed revenue for the province or state. However, when environmental consciousness began to grow in the 1960s and 1970s, the same forces that called logging in Algonquin Provincial Park into question also began to question the existence of cottage communities in provincial and state parks for two main reasons. Firstly, cottage communities threatened the perceived ecological integrity of parks by allowing both seasonal and yearlong residency and infrastructure development. Secondly, cottage communities—by demanding that the rights of a few property owners or leasers be prioritized above the rights of the general populace—threatened the supposed democratic ideal that park policy makers strived for during the latter half of the century. Cottage families that had leased or owned cottages for several decades by the 1960s and 1970s later claimed closer kinship to the land and thus earned privileges in regards to park use and management in comparison to day-use park visitors and tent campers. This narrative put forward by cottage communities and their supporters erased the settler colonial context and the history of the park's former Indigenous inhabitants, many of whom were pushed to the peripheries of parks by the parkmaking process.

Heyburn State Park and the Coeur D'Alene

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[15] Letter to Rondeau Provincial Park Planning Committee #2, Undated (Circa 1974), James Gordon Nelson Fonds, 1.5.7.1.26.1 (1), Laurier Archives, Waterloo, Ontario.

Tucked into a folder of historic documents at the Heyburn State Park office near Plummer, Idaho is a small piece of fluorescent paper. The paper contains a small handwritten note that simply states, "Fuck the Indians."[16] The fact that this piece of a paper survives indicates that at some point a park employee deemed it important enough to keep. It is also likely that this note is not an aberration. This kind of feedback born from decades of conflict between the Coeur d' Alene tribe and non-Indigenous people in the area is deep-seated and potent. This conflict dates back prior to the establishment of Heyburn and continues today. This section examines the seeds of this conflict and focuses on its apex during the mid-1970s and 1980s.

Writing in 1980, at the height of this particular period of conflict, historian Thomas R. Cox wrote that the struggles during the 1970s in Heyburn arose from "changes in transportation and vacationing patterns, from the rising self-assertion of minorities, and from modifications in the attitudes of much of the public towards the outdoors and parks as a result of the surge of ecological awareness during the sixties and seventies."[17] The most recent iteration of this conflict revolves around the decision of the 2001 Supreme Court decision, Idaho v. United States, in which the court ruled that the Coeur d'Alene held title to the land that is submerged under Lake Coeur d'Alene and the St. Joe River, which included the lower one-third of the water-level, and recognized traditional tribal uses of this land including hunting and fishing.[18] After this decision, the Coeur d'Alene implemented a Coeur d'Alene Management Plan in 2009, which emphasized revitalization of the lake's water quality and larger ecosystem.[19] Many recent skirmishes between

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[16] Located in the Heyburn Provincial Park Archive, Plummer, Idaho.

[17] Thomas R. Cox. "Weldon Heyburn, Lake Chatcolet, and the Evolving Concept of Public Parks." Summer 1980: 2. Heyburn Provincial Park Archive, Plummer, Idaho.

[18] Idaho v. United States, 533 U.S. 262 (2001).

[19] The stated goal of the management plan is to: "To protect and improve lake water quality by limiting basin wide nutrient inputs that impair lake water quality conditions, which in turn influence the solubility of mining related metals contamination contained in lake sediments." State of Idaho Department of Environmental Quality and the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, "Coeur d'Alene Lake Management Plan," Presentation, 2009, accessed 27 September 2018, https://www.deq.idaho.gov/media/574745-cda_lmp_presentation.pdf. See also: "Coeur d'Alene Lake Management," *Idaho Department of Environmental Quality*, accessed 27 September 2018,

park-users and the tribe have to do with tribal hunting and fishing licenses. Non-Indigenous hunters and fishermen resent tribal control over these activities.

Heyburn State Park is located in the panhandle of Idaho. The park is situated on the shores of Lake Chatcolet, which was connected to the larger Lake Coeur d'Alene in 1906 when a dam was constructed on the Spokane River, which raised the lake's elevation. What is now Heyburn State Park was the brainchild of Idaho junior senator Weldon B. Heyburn, who, in 1908, declared that he wanted a national park in Idaho. Heyburn specifically wanted a national park. He did not want a state park; state parks, he claimed, were always eventual subjects of embarrassment.[20]

The reservation of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe was being dissolved by the federal government at this time due to the allotment policies introduced by the 1887 Dawes General Allotment Act. This act took communally owned (reservation) land and allotted it to individual tribal members in forty, eighty, or 160 acre parcels.[21] There were only 600 members of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe eligible for land allotment. Therefore, there were not enough tribal members to take over individual land parcels. This unalloted land was considered to be "surplus."[22] This surplus, after twenty-five years (i.e. after 1912), would be opened to white homesteading. Heyburn feared that the opening of the rest of the region to homesteaders would led to despoliation of the area, which had already become a vacation destination for elite white travelers. Heyburn introduced a bill to set aside the land as a park. The Coeur d'Alene were to be

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http://www.deq.idaho.gov/regional-offices-issues/coeur-dalene/coeur-dalene-lake-management/; State of Idaho Department of Environmental Quality and Coeur d'Alene Tribe, "Coeur d'Alene Lake Management Plan," March 2009, accessed 27 September 2018, http://www.cdatribe-nsn.gov/tribaldepts/notice/lake/LMP09.pdf.

[20] Cox, "Weldon Heyburn," 2.

[21] Taiawagi Helton and Lindsay G. Robertson, "The Foundations of Federal Indian Law and Its Application in the Twentieth Century," in *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900*, eds. Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler (Sante Fe, New Mexico: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 37-38.

[22] Helton and Robertson, "The Foundations of Federal Indian Law," 37.

paid for the land that would become a park. Heyburn's proposal was reportedly supported by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs and the Coeur d'Alene tribal council. The tribal council, according to Cox, believed that their access to the land for fishing, hunting, and other traditional uses was likely to be better-preserved if the land became a park rather than a homesteading region.[23] The final version of the bill that passed The Department of the Interior sold the land around Lake Chatcolet to the state of Idaho specifically for the purpose of creating a state park. The 1909 land patent stated that the lands would be:

> withdrawn from allotment and settlement, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to *convey* any part thereof to the state of Idaho to be maintained by said State as a *public park*, said conveyance to be made for such consideration and upon such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Interior shall prescribe. The proceeds of such sale shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States for the use and benefit of the Coeur d'Alene Indians in such manner as Congress shall hereafter prescribe.[24]

The semantics of "convey" and "public park" would come into play some six decades later.

The Coeur d'Alene were not impressed with the way in which the state of Idaho managed Heyburn almost from the beginning.[25] This displeasure is not surprising when one connects this to the general lack of interest that Idaho had in state parks and state park creation. As Figure 6.1 demonstrates, after taking responsibility for Heyburn in 1908, Idaho did not create another state park until 1955. Idaho's state parks have never received the level of budgetary and managerial attention that state and provincial parks have gotten in other state and provinces. "The Idaho park

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[23] Thomas R. Cox, *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 18.

[24] Emphasis by author. Document No. 18781, United States to State of Idaho, Vol. 35, P. 78, Sixtieth Congress, H.R. 15219, Chap. 153, June 30, 1909, Heyburn State Park Archives, Plummer, Idaho.

[25] "Tribal spokesmen say they've been unhappy for generations about the park." In Quane Kenyon, "Tribe Stresses Lake Pollution in Seeking Park, *The Idaho Statesman*, May 29, 1975.

system has always run on a very short budget. And within the Idaho Park System, Heyburn has always been awfully low on the totem pole" one 1972 editorial stated.[26] With this knowledge, the Coeur d'Alene claims that Idaho was a negligent landlord for Heyburn seem anything but outlandish.
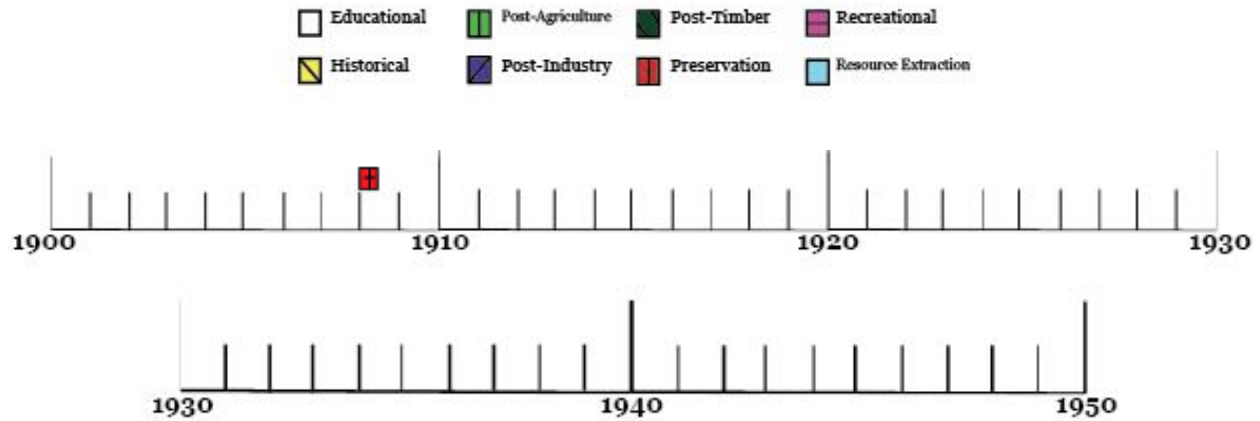
Figure 6.1: Idaho State Park Development, 1900-1949.

The Coeur d'Alene's concern turned toward a clear and familiar target in the 1970s: the private cottages and houseboats in the park. Shortly after the park's creation, Idaho leased waterfront sites to private cottagers and issued permits for houseboats. By 1970 there were 160 cottages and fifty houseboat permits. These permits were an issue for the Coeur d'Alene because they claimed that the cottages and houseboats violated the original land patent, which stipulated that the land be used only as a *public* park. Additionally, they claimed that they had not read this original land patent until 1971, and thus had not known prior to this reading that the cottages violated the patent. They also claimed that they had never received the $11,397 that the State of Idaho had paid for the park.

 In 1975, a tribal spokesperson stated that the tribe "had been unhappy for generations about the park…[that] granting private leases around scenic Chatcolet Lake not only restrict[ed] public recreation use, but also caused a massive pollution problem." The pollution they referred

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[26] RMH, "The Need is Obvious," *Gazette Record*, July 13, 1972.

to was primarily sewage that ran directly into the lake from the cottages and houseboats.[27] The tribe pressed the federal government to take the park away from the state of Idaho and return it to the Coeur d'Alene Tribe.[28] The state, they asserted, had "failed its responsibility."[29] The Coeur d'Alene wished to take over management of the park and wanted to create the first Indian National Park.[30] They claimed that they would be better stewards of the land than the state had ever been in the six decades that it had controlled it. Still others called the legality of Heyburn's existence into question. Larnerd A. Williams, writing into the *Gazette Record* in 1973, stated that the original Coeur d'Alene "treaty showed that all the land surrounding Coeur d'Alene, Chatcolet, Benewah and Round lake belonged to the Coeur d'Alene Indians and the terms of the treaty could not be modified except by mutual consent. The Coeur d'Alenes voted 100 percent against any modification. Nevertheless, the Bureau of Indian Affairs took the Heyburn Park lands and sold them to the state of Idaho for $1.25 per acre."[31]

In 1985, the United States Department of the Interior cooperated with the Coeur d'Alenes and "filed suit claiming that the patent's condition requiring that the property be used solely for

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[27] Mindy Cameron, "The Chatcolet Pollution," *The Idaho Statesman*, May 1, 1973; R.M.H., "Clean up your own back yard," AR 63 Parks and Recreation Clippings, Box 1, Folder 410.40, Heyburn State Park, Idaho State Archives, Boise Idaho; Bob Leeright, "Idaho Environment: The Battle Over Chatcolet," *The Daily Idahonian*, October 19, 1976; Bob Leeright, "Attempt to save dying Lake Chatcolet held up by legal threats," *The Post-Register*, October 19, 1976; Bob Leeright, "The demise of Lake Chatcolet," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, October 19, 1976.

[28] Quane Kenyon, "Heyburn State Park soon no longer may be star of Idaho parks system," *Post-Register*, May 1975; Quane Kenyon, "Idaho may lose popular Heyburn State Park," *Blackfoot News*, May 29, 1975.

[29] "The State Has Failed Its Responsibility," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, October 23, 1971.

[30] "Indian National Park Is Proposed At Heyburn," *Kellogg Evening News*, January 4, 1977; Lillian Moore, "Will Heyburn become first Indian National Park?" AR 63 Parks and Recreation Clippings, Box 5, Heyburn, Idaho State Archives, Boise, Idaho.

[31] Larnerd A. Williams, "Comments on Heyburn Park," *Gazette Record*, 12 July 1973.

park purposes had been breached…and the Coeur d'Alene were granted limited leave to intervene as defendant" (Figure 6.2).[32] The tribe also requested forfeiture on the ground that Idaho's practice of leasing cottage sites constituted "an alienation of the land in violation of the patent."[33] The State of Idaho and the members of the Heyburn State Park Leaseholders Association, in reaction, sought "a declaratory judgment that it was in compliance with condition of patent by which land withdrawn from the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation was conveyed to Idaho."[34] One clever argument made by the state was that the fact that the CCC had built a road to the cottage area in the 1930s proved that the federal government had condoned the leases.[35] The state called the federal government's suit a "cynical land grab on behalf of the Coeur d'Alene."[36] The State of Idaho promised that it would figure out a way to improve the lake's water quality. Ultimately, after a series of court cases and appeals from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, the state won this portion of the battle, Indigenous entitlement to the park land was denied, and the cottagers held on to their leases.

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[32] *The State of Idaho v. Department of the Interior*, 1987.

[33] *The State of Idaho v. Department of the Interior*, 1987.

[34] *The State of Idaho v. Department of the Interior*, 1987.

[35] "Heyburn Park: Lawyers Argue That CCC Roads Prove Government Agreed to Lease Cabins," *The Daily Idahonian*, September 8, 1979.

[36] Charles Etlinger, "Hearing Slated on Indians' Claim to Heyburn Park," *The Idaho Statesmen*, September 1979.

COEUR d'ALENE INDIANS ARE URGING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO TAKE HEYBURN PARK AWAY FROM STATE
. . . Indians want it returned to tribal control because, they claim, Idaho has broken a 1911 contract
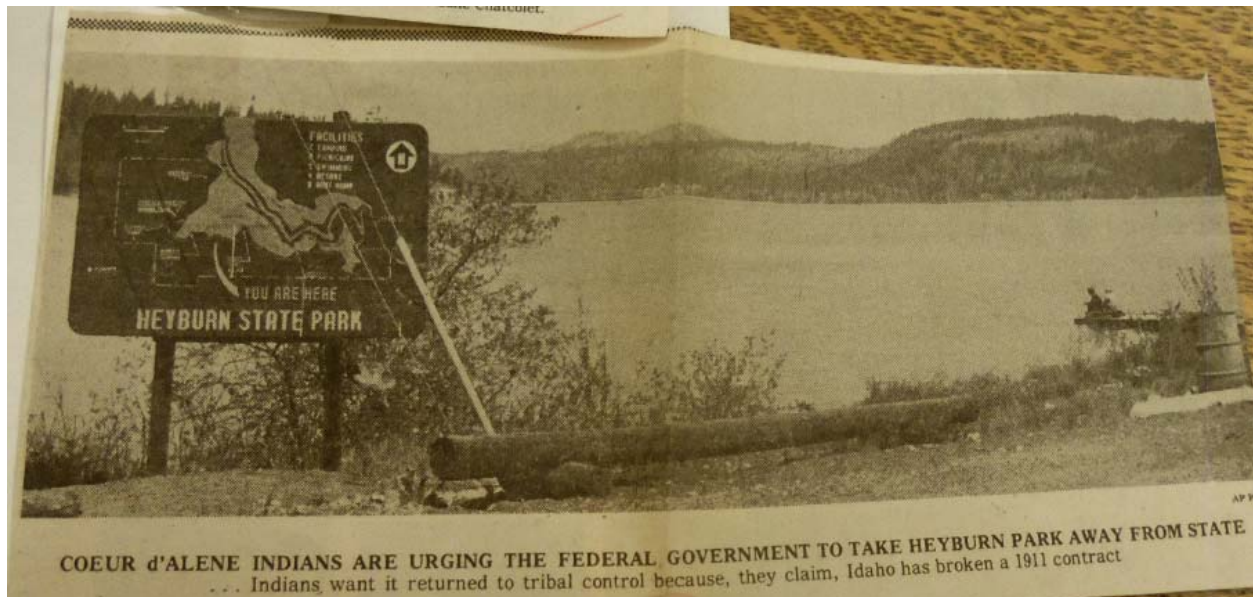
Figure 6.2: Coeur d'Alene Indians Are Urging the Federal Government to Take Heyburn Park Away from State.[37]

This particular period in Idahoan, park, and Indigenous history is connected to two major trends in Idaho and American West history. Firstly, this episode highlights prototypical Western disdain for the federal government. Idaho viewed the entire issue as an effort on the part of the federal government to take even more land from them. During the Heyburn conflict in the 1970s and 1980s, headlines like "Feds not trusted" abounded.[38] Idaho's Attorney General, David H. Leroy, stated that "lessons of history make us extremely reluctant to accept federal land promises at face value." There was also a conflation on the part of the State of Idaho of the demands and desires of the federal government with those of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. Headlines like "Coeur d'Alene Indian Tribe Wants Heyburn State Park Back" were used interchangeably with "U.S. Wants Heyburn Back."[39] Other headlines like "Indian Threat" demonstrated how Idaho

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[37] Kenyon, "Tribe Stresses Lake Pollution in Seeking Park."

[38] "Feds not trusted," *Coeur d'Alene Press*, August 3, 1979.

[39] "Cd'A Indian tribe wants Heyburn State Park back," *The Coeur d'Alene Press*, September 8, 1979; "Feds want oldest park: State-federal land battlefront shifts," September 5, 1979, Heyburn State Park Archives, Plummer, Idaho; Bob Leeright, "Government wants Idaho

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mechanized old stereotypes of Indigenous savagery and violence to push forward their anti-Coeur d'Alene agenda.[40] Idaho also sought to downplay the gravity of the situation, insinuating that the Coeur d'Alene were making a "fuss" out of nothing. Of specific relation to Idaho's relationship to its state parks, one of the government's reactions to the federal and Indigenous challenges was to threaten to entirely cut Heyburn out of its budget in 1977. "The State Parks Board," a newspaper article stated, "following a philosophy it should not spend money for something it might not own, cut Heyburn State Park items from the proposed fiscal year 1977 budget."[41]

This episode was also indicative of a rise in Native American activism and power in the latter half of the twentieth-century. Heyburn State Park was established during the "Assimilation and Allotment Era" of federal Indian policy. This era was dominated by federal efforts to involuntarily assimilate Native Americans into dominant culture.[42] The Coeur d'Alene's attempt to take back Heyburn took place during the first and second eras of "Self-Determination."[43] During these eras, the federal government promoted tribal autonomy and economic development.[44] Parallel to this evolution in federal policy was an era of self-determined "rebuilding" within Indigenous communities. Indigenous peoples in the United States fought for their inherent sovereignty by navigating mainstream cultural structures. This period was characterized by growing Indigenous activism—most notably the American Indian Movement (AIM)—a concerted

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land back," *Idaho Falls*, September 9, 1979; "Cd'A Indian Tribe wants Heyburn State Park back," *Coeur d'Alene Press*, September 8, 1979; "Idaho sued: U.S. wants Heyburn back," *Coeur d'Alene Press*, September 8, 1977.

[40] "Indian threat," *Blackfoot News*, May 17, 1975.

[41] "Heyburn Park cut from budget," *Caldwell News-Tribune*, August 21, 1975.

[42] Helton and Robertson, "The Foundations of Federal Indian Law," 36.

[43] See Tables 1-7 for complete timelines of Native American political and activism history: Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler, "Introduction," in *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900* (Santa Fe: New Mexico: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), xiii-xix.

[44] Helton and Robertson, "The Foundations of Federal Indian Law," 42-48.

effort to gain back control of natural resources, and an insistence that the United States federal government fulfill its promises to Indigenous peoples (Figure 6.3).[45]
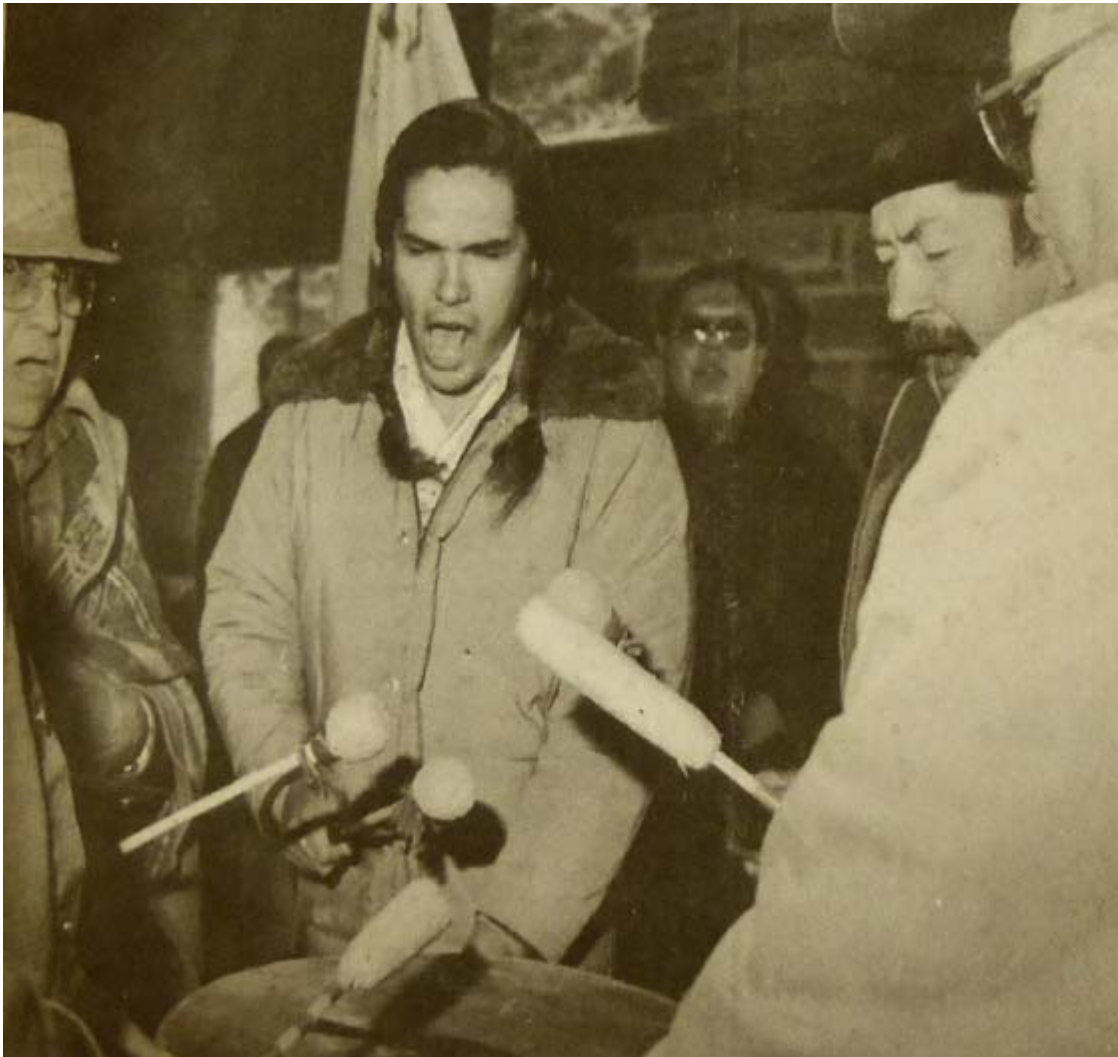
Figure 6.3: At Heyburn State Park rally: "Coeur d'Alene Indian David Matheson of Plummer beats a drum and intones the Indians' farewell song." Photo by Bill Geroux[46]

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[45] Donald L. Fixico, *Indian Resilience and Rebuilding: Indigenous Nations in the Modern American West* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013), 6-7, 121-169; Daniel M. Cobb, *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2008), 1-7.

[46] "Indian Protest," *Coeur d'Alene Press*, December 12, 1981.

With these lawsuits against the State of Idaho, the Coeur d'Alene were demonstrating a growing sense of power and autonomy. They used the law to mobilize this power. They used prior decisions that held that treaty and agreement ambiguities be ruled in the favour of "weak and defenseless" wards of the state to their advantage. The Coeur d'Alene mobilized their communities and their bodies to physically protest moves on the part of the court to circumvent their legal efforts when necessary.[47] The Indian National Park that they proposed to replace Heyburn State Park was a new concept that illustrated their desire to regain control over their land and its resources.[48] They professed that their park plans would emphasize equality and equitable land-use. They declared that the "the park [had] deteriorated because of lax enforcement of water-quality laws, lack of planning and building standards for the cabins and float homes on the lake, and 'a complete laxity toward maintaining the area for public use.'"[49] Their management of the proposed national park would eliminate these issues they claimed.

The conflict over the cottage leases at Heyburn was also symbolic of changing park ideals during the environmental movement. The concept of a park changed, which affected acceptable developments and activities within parks. One of the most common activities to come under scrutiny in parks at every level in both the United States and Canada were cottage leases. However, when the State of Idaho pointed out the concept of a "public park" was flexible they

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[47] "Idaho Indians plan rally to protest bill," *South Idaho Press*, December 9, 1981; "Indians plan gathering," *Coeur d'Alene Press*, December 9, 1981; "Coeur d'Alene Indians plan rally to protect park rights," *Blackfoot News*, December 9, 1981; "Indians protest 'clarification'," *Times News*, December 15, 1981; Coeur d'Alene Tribe sponsors rally opposing Heyburn bill," *Gazette Record*, December 16, 1981; "Tribal leaders opposing proposed Heyburn bills," *Gazette Record*, December 2, 1981; Bill Geroux, "Cd'A Indians fight to regain park," *Coeur d'Alene Press*, November 2, 1981.

[48] "Lease suit filed; tribe plans CDA Nation Park," Heyburn State Park Archives, Plummer, Idaho.

[49] "Tribe, Leaseholders get voices in lawsuit about Heyburn park," *Gazette Record*, September 15, 1977.

were correct. When they argued that parks in other states and national parks had cottage leaseholders and thus cottages were not in conflict with the concept of a "public park," they were right. Similarly to the cottage leaseholders in Rondeau, the fight between the Heyburn cottagers and the Coeur d'Alene revealed an outsider/insider dichotomy. Cottage leaseholders fought back, declared that they as the ultimate park insiders had a right to the park land, and reluctantly agreed to seek solutions to the problem that they had ignored for years, such as the development of a new sewage system that would decrease pollution flowing directly into the lake from their cottages and houseboats.[50] The Coeur d'Alene argued that the cottage leaseholders' very existence was a violation of federal law. They did not want to ban land-use in the area altogether, however. They simply wanted to have control over the *kind* of land-use that was present and subsequently the *kind* of people who had access to the land. Tribe member John Wheaton stated in response to the leaseholder's attempts at finding a solution to the sewage problem that "The solution is for you to move stuff off the land and let the public use it as it's supposed to be used."[51]

The cottages were likely a helpful scapegoat for the Coeur d'Alene. The cottages were a tangible thing for the Coeur d'Alene to hold onto legally. The cottages and houseboats were something around which they could formulate a workable argument for state forfeiture of the land. The pollution created by the cottages was a relatively small part of a much larger pollution problem. Lake Chatcolet and its larger, neighbouring lake, Coeur d'Alene were and are still sick lakes. They are very shallow lakes; silt build-up largely due to the dam was changing the depth and hydrological makeup of the lakes. Articles in the 1970s claim that within several decades Lake Chatcolet and Lake Coeur d'Alene would become reedy marshes due to silt build-up. Furthermore, as Bradley D. Snow highlights in *Living with Lead*, the Coeur d'Alene region of Idaho is one of the most polluted regions in the country. The Bunker Hill Superfund site in the

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[50] "Park leaseholders approve go-ahead for sewer-waste," *Gazette Record*, May 24, 1973; "Sewage System Sough for Park," *Coeur d'Alene Press*, October 18, 1973; "Sewage by Barge Eyed By Idaho Park Agency," *The Daily Idahonian*, October 3, 1972; "Cabin Owners Expected To Solve Sewage Woes," *The Daily Idahonian*, May 2, 1973; "Water, sewer charges known," *Gazette Record*, March 8, 1973.

[51] "Sewer System Backed By Park Cabin Owners," *The Daily Idahonian*, May 22, 1973.

Coeur d'Alene River Basin is the second largest Superfund site in the nation. For decades arsenic, cadmium, copper, lead, mercury, and zinc flowed into these lakes.[52] On the tribe's website, which outlines the Coeur d'Alene's lake management plan, there is no obvious mention of sewage pollution. The presence of these other pollutants does not entirely negate 1970s and 1980s concern for the sewage pollution coming from the cottages and houseboats at Heyburn. Nevertheless, it suggests that the Coeur d'Alene carefully chose their target for their attempted campaign to regain control of the parkland.

This Heyburn episode is partially a direct result of Idaho's disinterest in and neglect for its state park system. It is also an example of the way in which peripheral communities—in this instance a community that was pushed to the periphery—are greatly affected by the establishment of parks and how these effects do not end after this establishment, but rather evolve through time. In the case of the Coeur d'Alene they were cut off from cultural and subsistence use of a portion of their ancestral territory. The creation of Heyburn State Park also placed legal barriers on the ability of the Coeur d'Alene to protect the ecological integrity of their homeland. At the center of this story is the question of who had the land's best interest at heart and who were the most worthy stewards of the land.

The Commingling of Stewardship and Exploitation: Private Park Tourism[53]

In an interview, Carolyn Finney stated, "We don't hear about them (African Americans) because nobody calls [their actions] 'conservation.' They don't fit into the way we talk about

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[52] Bradley D. Snow, *Living with Lead: An Environmental History of the Coeur d'Alenes, 1885-2011* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017); "Bunker Hill Superfund Site," *Idaho Department of Environmental Quality*, accessed 27 September 2018, http://www.deq.idaho.gov/regional-offices-issues/coeur-dalene/bunker-hill-superfund-site/.

[53] A version of this section was published as: Jessica DeWitt, "Between Stewardship and Exploitation: Private Tourism, State Parks, and Environmentalism," *RCC Perspectives: Transformations in Environment and Society: Environmental Knowledge, Environmental Politics* (December 2016): 41-46.

environmentalism in the mainstream."[54] This assertion can also be applied generally to ordinary voices in provincial and state park history. The word 'environmentalism' typically fosters images of impassioned protest. Furthermore, it often assumes a level of education and understanding of ecological processes on the part of the environmental activist that automatically eliminates a large proportion of the population from inclusion in the term 'environmentalist.' One cause of non-elite neglect in provincial and state park historiography is that these parks tend not to lend themselves towards titillating stories of flashy environmental protest. Although these kinds of stories do exist, more often than not provincial and state parks' histories are shaped by more subtle societal movements and individual actions. To better flesh out these subtleties, it is helpful to expand one's definition of environmentalism to further consider instances of expedient environmentalism.

The Clarion River/Cook Forest, Pennsylvania link discussed in Chapter Four serves as an example of the important connections between private tourism and provincial and state parks. In the case of Cook Forest, the area surrounding the park developed into a working and middle-class vacationland operated by small business owners who were a mix of locals looking for economic opportunity and outsiders looking for more serene, rural settings in which to make a living. The presence of these businesses and their owners affected the way in which the park and its surrounding area developed during the twentieth-century. High visitation rates and business development went hand in hand, making Cook Forest State Park *and* the surrounding area a popular vacation destination. The role of privately-owned tourism operations outside and inside provincial and state parks accentuates the developments both inside the parks and along the park peripheries.

Sitting at a restaurant in the summer of 2007, an owner of a business adjacent to Cook Forest State Park, Pennsylvania, hesitated to discuss one of the ways in which he and his

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[54] Francie Latour, "Hiking While Black: The Untold Story," *The Boston Globe*, June 20, 2014.

employees managed the river because he was unsure if the activity was allowed.[55] The potentially taboo activity referred to in the interview was the movement of rocks in the Clarion River to make passageways for thousands of recreational, often novice, canoeists, kayakers, and "tubists" that visit the Cook Forest area every year. This individual also cut out potential snags in the river and put up signs in it directing canoeists to deeper water. To this person, the management of the river for customers went hand in hand with taking care of the river—picking up garbage left behind by recreation users, giving out free trash bags to users, and participating in local environmental groups. The apprehension expressed by the business owner was valid, though, because many environmental groups view water recreation specifically, and tourism in general, to be detrimental to the area. For instance, the Audubon Society in their "Important Bird Areas" report on Cook Forest states, "runaway development on the periphery of the park is a concern … [and] booming commercial canoeing recreation poses a threat to the riparian habitat."[56] An inherent distrust of private tourism on the part of environmentalists and the broader public leads to a downplaying, or disregard, for the legitimacy of private environmental knowledge and perspectives.

The tension between possessing an intimate knowledge and affection for the Clarion River and the need to use it for profit illustrates the complicated relationship between environmental stewardship and exploitation inherent in the activities of tourism business owners located on the peripheries of national, state, and provincial parks in North America. Such tension, between recreation and preservation, in parks is nothing new. A great number of scholars have tackled the topic of this clash, with many concluding that the increased popularity of parks is their greatest threat. As early as 1967, Roderick Nash observed that environmentalists and preservationists "reasoned that preserving wild places depended on getting Americans into them without saws or bulldozers, only to find in their success the source of their gravest present

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[55] Identifiers may have been changed throughout to preserve the anonymity of the interviewees; all interviews conducted with author in 2007. Names withheld for privacy. Copies of interviews can be found at the Jefferson County History Center, Brookville, Pennsylvania.

[56] "Important Bird Areas: Cook Forest State Park, Pennsylvania," *Audubon*, accessed 28 September, 2018, https://www.audubon.org/important-bird-areas/cook-forest-state-park.

challenge."[57] Yet tourism in parks is a necessary evil. High rates of visitation are crucial for ensuring continued government funding, protection, and acquisition of park land. Private tourism on the outskirts of parks is not as readily embraced. The exploitation of park nature for personal gain is not easily whitewashed with feel-good tales of environmental heroism or shrugged off as unavoidable. Public opinion also views private tourism through a critical eye. When asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "Stores and commercial development should be encouraged in the area immediately adjacent to a state park/trail," eighty-five percent of Wisconsin residents polled disagreed or were neutral.[58] Government-sanctioned opportunism in protected lands is tolerated, even encouraged; private opportunism is eyed with suspicion. Without access to the financial and professional resources available to the state or province, which enables them to justify their right to stewardship and exploitation of the environment, or connections to popular avenues of environmental discourse enjoyed by many environmentalist groups, private business owners are at a disadvantage in regards to their ability to legitimate their role in environmental stewardship.

Contempt for private tourism is tied to a general mistrust for those individuals and industries that make their living working on the land and profiting on natural resources. Business owners and the gateway communities they live in, their role in park guardianship, and parks and park peripheries were significant places of work. The consideration of business owner concerns and opinions in contemporary issues also tend to be brushed aside.

Gateway communities—those communities that are located on the outskirts of parks and natural areas through which park visitors have to travel to get to the park—can be beneficial to the parks that they neighbour. R. Neil Moisey argues natural areas and parks benefit from gateway communities in two major ways. Firstly, "by providing the needed services for visitors, gateway communities can concentrate the development in the best locations." Secondly,

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[57] Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967): 236.

[58] Dave Marcoullier, Eric Olson, and Jeff Prey, *State Parks and Their Gateway Communities: Development and Recreation Planning Issues in Wisconsin* (Madison, Wisconsin: Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System, 2002): 27.

"gateway communities can provide economic and political support for the protection of the park and protected area resources."[59] Writing in response to over a decade of decreased funding, Phyllis Myers argued in *State Parks in a New Era: Strategies for Tourism and Economic Development* (1989) that state parks had to create closer relationships with the private sector than national parks in order for both to survive.

Former Cook Forest operations manager, Steve Farrell, acknowledged the importance of businesses in the area in 2000, stating, "Businesses and the park are great partners." Cook Forest's gateway community is as old as the park itself. The park was established in 1928, and the first cabin rental businesses were opened in 1928 and 1929. By the 1950s, Cook Forest was one of the most popular vacation destinations for working and middle-class people from Western Pennsylvania—mainly Pittsburgh and Erie—and northeastern Ohio—mainly Cleveland. The 1956 Cook Forest Vacation Bureau—the area's business association—pamphlet lists over twenty places to stay in the area. This growth in tourism continued through the early 1990s as individuals and families moved to the area specifically to capitalize on the park's popularity. Others fell in love with the area first as a tourist, moved to the region, and turned to the tourism industry because it was the only viable option to make a living in the area.[60]

Interviews with Cook Forest area business owners illuminate the way in which they connect to nature and the park on both a personal and business level. A cabin rental business owner in Cook Forest discussed how he distributed informational packets and newsletters about taking care of the area's land and wildlife. "Don't kill my snakes…don't kill my bats…don't cut any of my trees…no harm," the owner, who purposely left areas of his property natural for wildlife, stated. Another business owner described feeling satisfaction when simply walking their

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[59] R. Neil Moisey, "The Economics of Tourism in National Parks and Protected Areas" in Tourism in National Parks and Protected Areas: Planning and Management, eds. Paul F.J. Eagles and Stephen F. McCool (New York, New York: CABI Publishing, 2002): 238-239.

[60] For a complete history of the development of Cook Forest State Park tourism, including business owner interview summaries, see: Jessica DeWitt, "A Lifestyle Off the Beaten Path: Cook Forest State Park and the Men and Women of Its Tourism Industry" (Senior Thesis, Bethany College, May 2008).

property. Many of the business owners described a symbiotic relationship with the park; cuts to funding and poor management affected the prosperity of their businesses directly. One cabin owner connected the downward turn of the area's economy and aesthetics in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which led to the demise of their business with the decline of conditions in the park. The park was a "mess" and the entire area began to look "seedy and sad," he stated. Several other business owners connected this decay to a political and environmental battle that took place in the mid-1990s over a state-sponsored bid to build a $3 million, fifty-room lodge and convention center in the forest at the same location as the Sawmill Center for the Arts—a private arts and crafts organization and business established in 1976. The issue pitted Anthony E. Cook, influential heir of the Cook family from whom the land for the park was purchased in 1928, environmentalists, and a minority of business owners, known as the Save the Forest Committee, against the Sawmill Center, the majority of area businesses, and the state of Pennsylvania.[61]

The complex was a unique opportunity, remembered one business owner and lodge advocate. According to others, the opposition was a powerful and vocal minority. A.E. Cook's stance against the lodge illuminates some of the broader tensions between private business and the park:

> Cook Forest is a park for all of the public to share. Cook Forest was not created so
> that a certain few could take a piece of Cook Forest for their own private use…not
> one dime of this money benefits the park…there is a tremendous amount of
> scientific information available concerning the adverse affect (sic) a development

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[61] Cook is described by Mary Byrd Davis in her book, Eastern Old-Growth Forests, as Cook Forest State Park's "leading citizen activist." In addition to environmental activism, he is a photographer and owns/has owned oil and natural gas production companies in Southern California, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. Cook has stated that "being in the oil and gas business is something that might strike people as a conflict with my environmental feelings. The oil industry has always been maligned or accused as a ruiner of natural resources…But I can show that it doesn't have to be that way." Mary Byrd Davis, *Eastern Old-Growth Forests: Prospects For Rediscovery and Recovery* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1996): 369; John Bartlett, "Cook Forest State Park is one man's family legacy," Time News, 1994.

such as the lodge would have on the fragile ecosystem of Cook Forest…the conception for which Cook Forest was preserved for all of us should not have to involve discussions today around the issue of sharing Cook Forest as a publicly held recreational forest preserve and the aspirations of the private business enterprise…for their own special interests and financial gain.[62]

A significant proportion of locals believed that the lodge would be good for business, drawing in large groups and conferences, and that it was even essential for maintaining the relevance of Cook Forest as a vacation destination. The business owners that opposed the lodge claimed the exact opposite—that the proposed lodge would drain business from already established businesses—and joined ranks with Cook out of mainly economic, not environmental, concerns.[63] Both sides attempted to gain control of the discourse surrounding the lodge project in order to sway public opinion, however, the perspectives and knowledge of A.E. Cook and other environmentalists—or as some referred to them, "Tony Cook and his friends"—were held above the viewpoints and knowledge of pro-lodge, local business owners, despite the fact that their livelihood was directly connected to the economic and ecological health of the park.[64] Ultimately, the opposition was successful. The state capitulated to the pressure of A.E. Cook and his allies. The lodge bid and its corresponding funding were moved to other Pennsylvania state parks (as was, presumably, the environmental degradation); this led to Cook Forest missing out on other future funding opportunities and elicited hard feelings between those business owners that had supported the project and those that had joined Cook to lobby against it.

This episode also highlights two characteristics of the historical and contemporary relationship of parks and protected areas and the private businesses that lie adjacent. Firstly, the opinions and knowledge of environmentalists and elite activists are typically granted more value than those of local business owners whose livelihood is tied to the park. This trend occurs

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[62] Anthony E. Cook, "Let Voters Decide Lodge Issue." *Clarion News*, 1994.

[63] One business owner, for instance, Ellen O'Day, then innkeeper at Clarion River Lodge, stated "I am absolutely livid…They (want to use) tax money to build a place in direct competition with private concerns." Lisa C. Caylor, Untitled, *Clarion News*, September 1994.

[64] Jeremiah Nebbish, "Martha should run for governor," Clarion News, September 1994.

because of a power imbalance between some environmentalists and small-business tourism owners and an alleged incongruence between tourism and environmentalism, which work in favor of individuals with the resources and standing to position themselves within mainstream environmentalist discourse. Secondly, funding cuts to parks led to (at least perceived) direct effects on the economy of the surrounding area. Parks and their surrounding areas were places not only of recreation and preservation, but also of work.

Just Friends: Voluntarism and Parks

The place of labour within parks is part of the larger integration of work and environmental history. Studying parks and their peripheries as a kind of workplace, reveals the role of labour in shaping the process of "emparkment."[65] However, even within different kinds of park-related labour there are hierarchies of acceptance. Tourism labour was often discounted or villainized and deemed incongruent with park preservationist objectives that developed in the latter half of the twentieth century. Individuals that work in extraction and related industries like the timber industry in Algonquin Park were incongruent with these park preservationist objectives. Indigenous communities who hunted and fished for subsistence and cultural livelihoods were incongruent with these park preservationist objectives. The issue with these forms of labour within parks was not self-interest per say, but rather the fact that these individuals were acting on personal gain that is viewed to be antithetical to a preservationist agenda. As Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson note, "wilderness canoe trippers, youth-camp operators, and cottagers are able to cloak their own vested interest [i.e. leisure pursuits] in the wraps of environmental preservation."[66] This double standard reveals class as well as insider/outsider dynamics.

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[65] In *Regulating Eden: The Nature of Order in North American Par*ks, Joe Hermer coined the term 'emparkment' to describe the process by which a landscape becomes a park, which is generally the result of a landscape being "enclosed under the protection of legislation and managed within a detailed juridical framework." (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002),: 4.

[66] Matt Bray and Ashley Thomson, "Introduction," in *Temagami: A Debate on Wilderness* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 10.

Similarly to leisure pursuits, the public lauded park voluntarism. Whether donating time or money, the public assumed that park voluntarism was altruistic. In both Canada and the United States, many national, provincial, and state parks enjoyed an allied connection to "Friends of…" and other similar cooperating, philanthropic associations. Most 'friends' groups relied on a mixture of private and corporate donations, special event proceeds, and grants.[67] Such organizations exemplified one form of small scale environmentalism directly tied to the history of parks. Although the size and success of these groups varied, most friends groups associated with provincial and state parks were managed by local or semi-local citizens and were relatively small. A handful, like Ontario's The Friends of Algonquin Park (FOAP), were large enough to support paid staff. FOAP originated in 1983 when the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources approached private citizens about their willingness to work with a cooperating association if one were to be founded. FOAP was the first provincial park cooperating association in Ontario. These original citizens, according to FOAP, were motivated by a mutual passion for the park.[68] Before the creation of FOAP, the Ontario government had handled the publication of all Ontario parks material. This revenue was shared between all parks, and led to a shortage of printed material at more popular parks like Algonquin. With its creation FOAP took over "responsibility for selling and reprinting official (Algonquin) Park publications using the revenue generated from their sale. This sales revenue would no longer return to the Ontario Government, but rather stay in the [p]ark to enhance educational publication offerings and more."[69] Between 1983 and 1988, the gross revenue of the FOAP increased from $34,869 to $316,277.[70] By 2007, the

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[67] Jacqueline Vaughan and Hanna J. Cortner, *Philanthropy and the National Park Service* (New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 97.

[68] "History of the Friends of Algonquin Park," Algonquin Provincial Park: Official Website of the Friends of Algonquin Park, last updated 2018, http://www.algonquinpark.on.ca/foap/history/index.php.

[69] "History of the Friends of Algonquin Park."

[70] The Friends of Algonquin Park, "Newsletter for Members No.5," Apr.il 1989, *The Friends of Algonquin Park: 1985-1989 Newsletters,* Archive, Algonquin Provincial Park.

organization had 3,069 members.[71] The records of FOAP show that board members have included teachers, insurance agents, filmmakers, and attorneys.[72] Today Algonquin Provincial Park and the FOAP are entirely interdependent. The FOAP runs the gift shops, organizes workshops and activities, pays many of the employees associated with the park, supports research of park history and a park archive, publishes the park publications, and even raised millions to build the park's visitor centre and logging museum.[73] Without the presence of this charitable organization, Algonquin Provincial Park would only be a shadow of what it is today.

Pinery Provincial Park, also in Ontario, has its own group, founded in 1989. The Friends of Pinery Park (FPP), although smaller than the FOAP, began under similar circumstances—a desire by concerned, local residents to educate park visitors and the general public about the park's environment. FPP describes itself as "a charitable organization dedicated to the education, promotion, preservation and support of Pinery Provincial Park."[74] Like the FOAP, FPP, since its inception, has relied on the sale of park-related publications, products, and memberships to fund their park programs. FPP park programs such as poster contests and Father's Day canoe hikes are all aimed at fostering a balance between increased park visitation and public knowledge of the park's delicate environment.[75]

Charitable organizations like FPP and FOAP ride the line between non-elite and elite status. Some, like the FOAP, raise enough money to carry serious clout in the conservation

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[71] The Friends of Algonquin Park, "Newsletter No.23," 2007, *The Friends of Algonquin Park: 2004-2007 Newsletters*, Archive, Algonquin Provincial Park.

[72] The Friends of Algonquin Park, "Members Newsletter No.1," Apr.il 22, 1985, *The Friends of Algonquin Park: 1985-1989 Newsletters*, Archive, Algonquin Provincial Park.

[73] "Purpose of The Friends of Algonquin Park," Algonquin Provincial Park: Official Website of The Friends of Algonquin Park, last updated 2018, http://www.algonquinpark.on.ca/foap/purpose/index.php.

[74] Friends of Pinery Park, last updated 2018, http://pinerypark.on.ca/who-we-are/.

[75] "Friends of Pinery Poster Contest, 1991," and "An Invitation to The Friends of Pinery Park's: Father's Day Canoe Hike, Sunday June 16, 1991," both in Gerald Killan Fonds, Box 11, Folder 6.20, Cardinal Carter Library, King's University College, London, Ontario.

realm, however, they do not have any legislative powers. They are also often run by private citizens with high levels of education and relative influence in their communities. However, they are fundamentally organizations run by the 'people,' funded by small donations that typically amount to less than $100 and fuelled by volunteer participation.

These 'friends' groups and other park volunteer organizations hid some of the major problems that emerged in provincial and state park systems in the 1980s. It is no coincidence that the growth of park voluntarism coincided with the after effects of exponential park growth during the 1960s and 1970s. In Ontario specifically, as demonstrated by Figures 6.4-6.7, the rise in private/public partnerships, including organizations like FOAP partially enabled the park system to continue to expand during the 1980s when other park systems did not, similarly to the way in which the CCC assisted Pennsylvania park development during the 1930s.

Figure 6.4: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1980-2009.
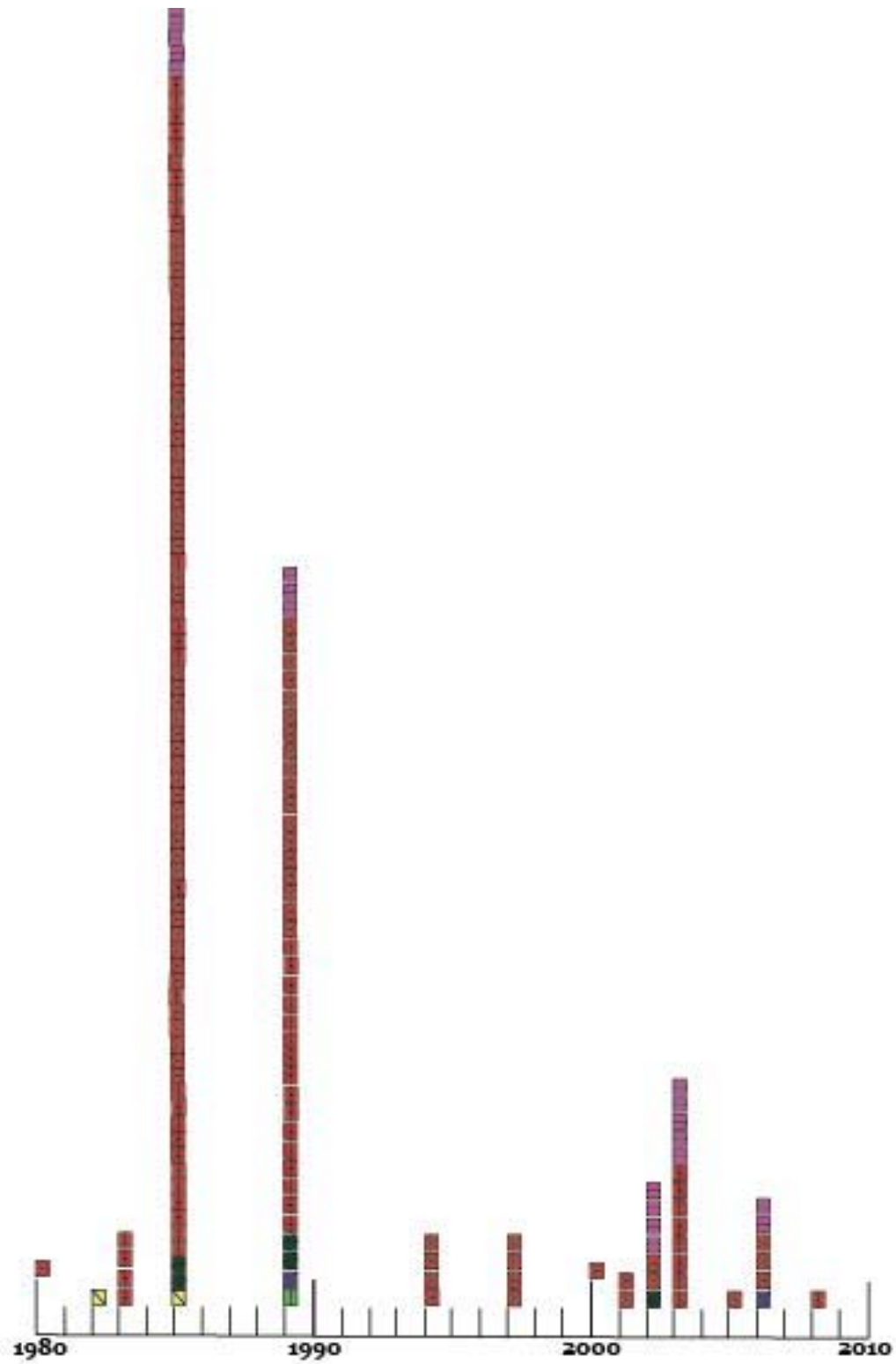
Figure 6.5: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1980-2009.

Figure 6.6: Idaho State Park Development, 1980-2009.
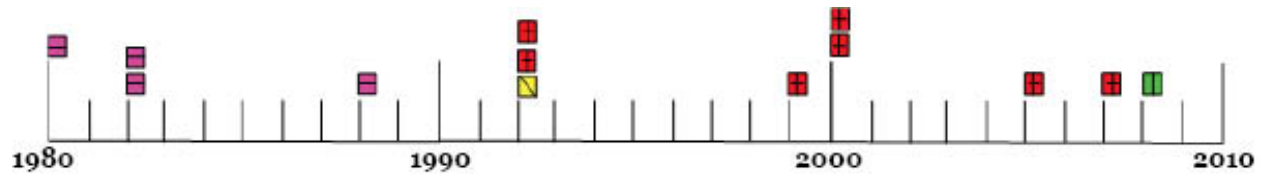
Figure 6.7: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1980-2009.

Although volunteer organizations are now mostly ubiquitous in relation to provincial and state park systems, Ontario was one of the first park systems to entrench this partnership into its planning and policymaking.

These 'friends' groups' rise in the 1980s and 1990s corresponded with cuts in funding to provincial and state park systems. Park systems struggled to provide money for the large number of parks that they had created in the decades prior. The upsurge in these volunteer organizations represented a takeover of basic park functions by volunteers. Fundraising, program development, trail upkeep, etc. increasingly relied on free labour. This reliance marked the end of the golden era of provincial and state parks. No longer were parks a societal necessity to be provided by the government. Parks had not earned their keep. And thus, private citizens had to step in to take care of what was "theirs."

All four categories of peripheral communities in this chapter illustrate the connection between social and park history. They also illuminate the way in which North American society policed belonging in and use of provincial and state parks. In the case of the cottagers and the Coeur d'Alene, both groups contested state/provincial control over parklands and claimed especial rights to the management of "their" park. The perceived legitimacy of these claims was affected by the rise of 1960s and 1970s environmentalism. While the power of Indigenous claims

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to land stewardship increased, the power of cottagers inside parks decreased. Closely connected to this question of stewardship was the issue of work inside and on the peripheries of parks. Small business tourism, like that around Cook Forest, was often viewed by mainstream society as exploitative and thus antithetical to environmental efforts and protection of the parks on which such businesses depended. Comparatively, North American society welcomed the rise of park voluntarism in the 1980s despite the fact that this phenomenon masked the development of budgetary problems in both provincial and state parks.

Chapter Seven: "Nearby and Natural": Accessibility and the Flexibility of the State and Provincial Park Concept

The mid-twentieth century, 1950-1980, marked a period of rapid expansion in provincial and state park systems and a change in the way in which they were used, developed, and managed (Figures 7.1-7.4). Two prevailing and closely related values—accessibility and the democratization of outdoor recreation—affected the types of parks created during this era.
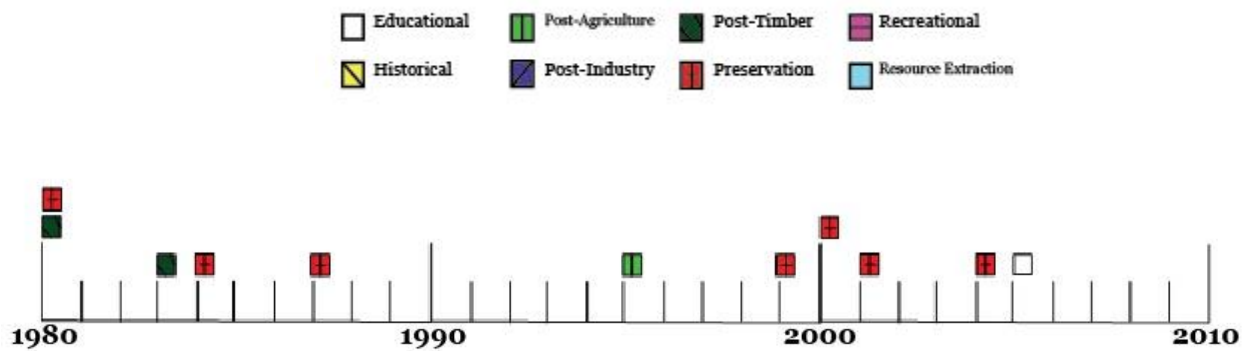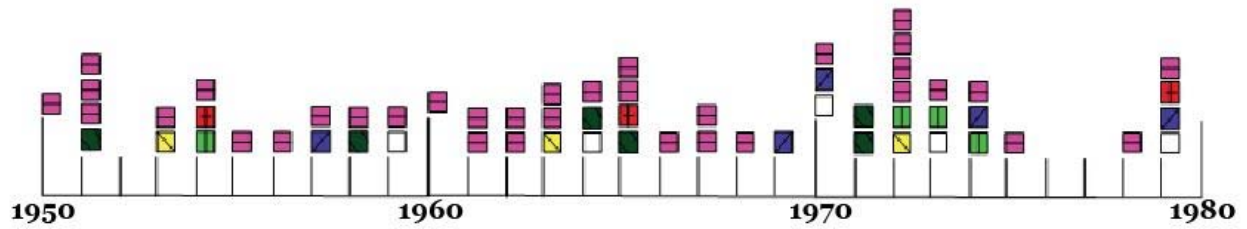

Figure 7.1: Pennsylvania State Park Development, 1950-1979.
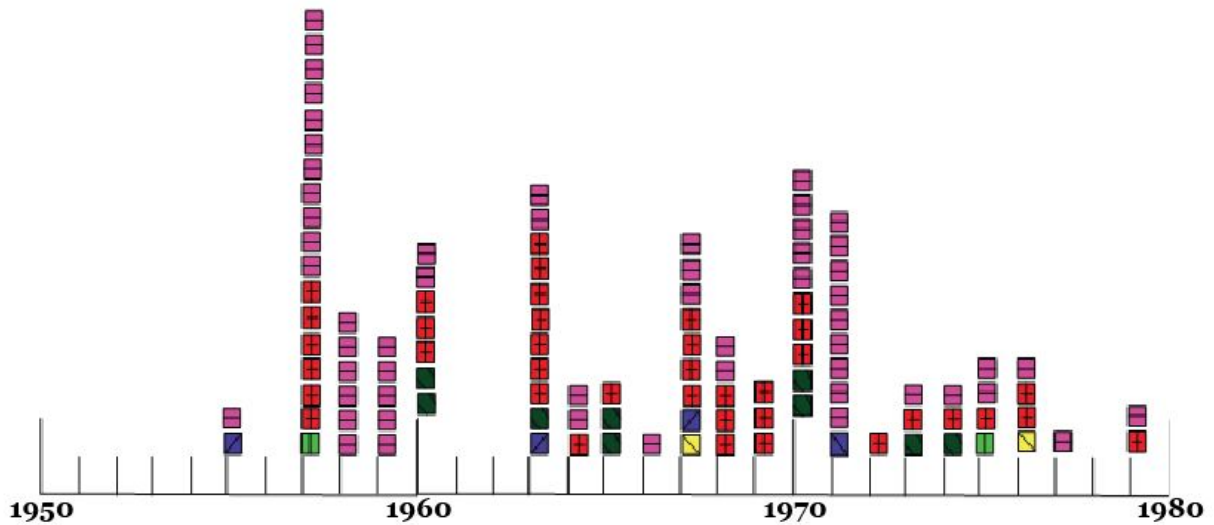
Figure 7.2: Ontario Provincial Park Development, 1950-1979.
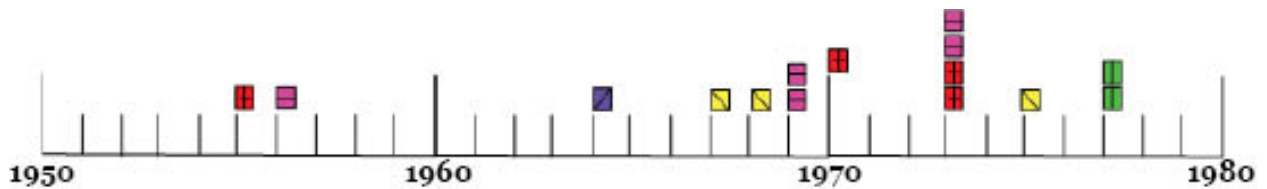

Figure 7.3: Idaho State Park Development, 1950-1979.

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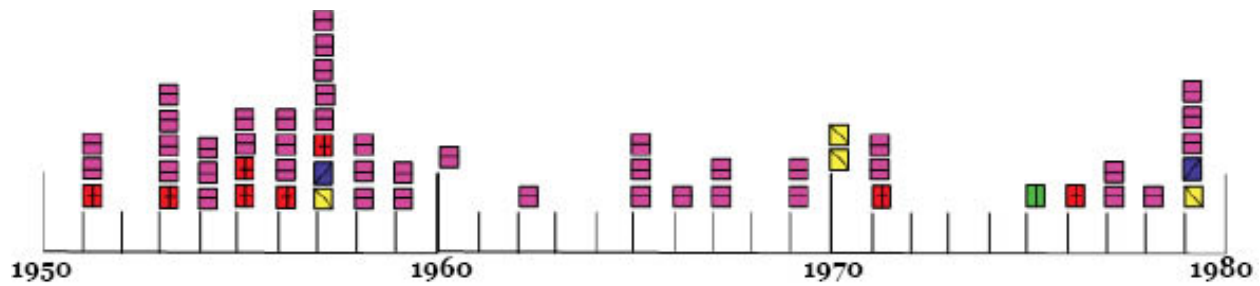
Figure 7.4: Alberta Provincial Park Development, 1950-1979.

The most tangible effect that a concern for park accessibility had on park systems was the geographic location and distribution of new parks. Governments placed a greater focus on creating urban and near-urban provincial and state parks. Park planners and government officials believed that new parks should be located closer to major population centers so that a larger number of individuals could enjoy them. Part of this drive, particularly during the 1970s, was due to a concern for increasing gas prices and the fact that many urban residents could not afford the transportation costs to get to most existing state and provincial parks, thus narrowing park visitor demographics to individuals with higher socioeconomic status. Public transit accessibility was a defining characteristic of many new parks. Greater attention was also placed on making parks accessible to the elderly and disabled. Prioritization of accessibility was also linked to a desire to take pressure off of larger and more wilderness or nature-focused parks. Concern for park overcrowding was prevalent during the 1960s and 1970s. If more parks were located within closer driving distance, state and provinces hoped that more people would flock to these parks, thus alleviating park congestion elsewhere and helping to preserve and protect more pristine park landscapes: for the elitists amongst park planners and visitors, this plan would also hopefully have the effect of driving some lower class visitors away from more pristine areas, restoring some of the social exclusiveness of parks like Algonquin.

Concern for accessibility accompanied the desire to democratize outdoor recreation. Government officials began to talk more about the social and psychological needs of its residents and the way in which leisure and outdoor recreation facilities were integral parts of fulfilling these needs. "The dynamics of changing leisure needs and desires provide vital challenges to the provincial park movement in planning, development, management and most of all, in serving

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people," wrote Norman R. Richards, Park and Recreation Planner for the Parks Planning Branch of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources.[1] The democratization of outdoor recreation did not only mean making parks more accessible to more people, but also bringing people into the park making process by democratizing park planning. Public participatory activities, such as town hall meetings and questionnaires, became regular parts of the park planning process for the first time.

Creating parks closer to metropolitan centers meant that the type of land acquired for parks by the state or province changed character. Land acquired for these parks was usually post-agriculture or post-industrial land, which had two major effects on state and provincial systems. Firstly, governments and park planners took part in selective erasure of prior human activity. Unsavory aspects of past land-use, such as heavy industrialization and modern agricultural technology, were erased and replaced by idealized and performative versions of the past. Incorporation of these human-altered landscapes also forced provincial and state governments to expand and alter their definition of a park and adopt broadened conceptions of what kind of landscape could be considered "natural." At the core of all of this park activity was a belief in government benevolence and effectiveness. "Government is not an unfeeling machine in a world of automation…but rather approachable, concerned, protectors of present and future life," Pat Hanna, a freelance writer, wrote in 1974 in regards to the creation of Fish Creek Provincial Park.[2] It was the state and provincial government's self-assigned duty to provide accessible and democratized recreation to *all* of its citizens.

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[1] Norman R. Richards, "Urban-Oriented Provincial Park in Southern Ontario," *Recreation Canada*: 22. 1983.0498. Box 10, 237, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[2] Pat Hanna, "Calgary's Fish Creek…One of the World's Great Parks," February 1974. PR2008.0411, Folder 158, Box 9, Milne Fonds, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

Four examples of urban and near-urban state and provincial parks created, opened, or acquired during this period illustrate increased state and provincial park activity (1950-1980).[3] This period was so short that by the late 1970s, most provincial governments had abandoned the concept of the near-urban park and regretted those that they had already created. Pennsylvania's Point State Park, located in Pittsburgh, is an example of the erasure of an industrial landscape and the recreation of a more palatable "natural" landscape. Ontario's Bronte Creek Provincial Park, located near Toronto and Hamilton, was the first "near-urban" provincial park in Canada. Acting as a catalyst for near-urban park development elsewhere in the country, inclusion of Bronte Creek in Ontario's provincial park system broadened the park system's definition of natural to include agricultural land. Alberta's Fish Creek Provincial Park, located in Calgary, was also a near-urban park. There public opinion was sought in the planning stages. Lastly, Idaho's Eagle Island State Park, located near Boise, reveals how the state's partisan political drama affected park creation. In all four instances, acquisition and planning of each of the parks were primarily shaped by a shared concern for the provision of accessible and egalitarian outdoor recreation.

"Unsurpassed Natural Setting for a Great City": Pennsylvania's Point State Park

In 1806, in reference to the 'point' in what is now downtown Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a jurist wrote "there is not a more delightful spot under heaven to spend any of the summer months than at this place."[4] As early as the mid-1800s perceptions of the point changed drastically. Individuals described the ingrained griminess of the city. In 1863, William Howard Russell, an Irish reporter, described Pittsburgh as the "most intensely sooty, busy, squalid, foul-housed, and

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[3] Pennsylvania began purchasing land to create Point State Park in 1946, but it was not opened until 1974. Idaho acquired the land that would become Eagle Island in 1977, but the park was opened until 1983.

[4] Margaret M. Winters, "Primeval Planting for Point Park," *Carnegie Magazine* (April 1953): 113.

vile-suburbed city" he had ever seen.[5] In 1883, William Glazer wrote that "in truth, Pittsburg (sic) is a smoky dismal city, at her best. At her worst, nothing darker, dingier or more dispiriting can be imagined."[6] One hundred years later, Brendan Gill wrote in *The New Yorker* that "the three most beautiful cities in the world are Paris; St. Petersburg, Russia; and Pittsburgh. If Pittsburgh were situated somewhere in the heart of Europe, tourists would eagerly journey hundreds of miles out of their way to visit it. Its setting is spectacular…"[7] The cyclical pattern demonstrated in these quotes is not a coincidence. The urban renewal programs and policies of the mid-twentieth century aimed to erase the industrial heritage of the city and the point, returning it to the beacon of progress and stunning natural beauty that it had represented in the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries.

This period of urban renewal in Pittsburgh's history, popularly known as the Pittsburgh Renaissance, is sometimes broken into two periods, but is typically situated between the years 1946 and 1973 by Pittsburgh historians. Characterized by various environmental and urban revitalization projects, the city government and influential local politicians, businessmen, and philanthropists, like Richard K. Mellon, aimed to pull the city out of the dregs of industrial decay.[8] The projects transformed Pittsburgh from a 'dirty' steel town to the progressive and modern city that it presents itself as today.

Historian Joel Tarr argues that there is no city, in relation to pollution and industrialization, which rivals the degree to which Pittsburgh's landscape has been altered.[9] Project planners aimed many of the urban renewal projects at controlling industrial pollution.

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[5] William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South* (Boston: T.O.H.P. Burnham; 1863): 539.

[6] Joel A. Tarr, "Some Thoughts About the Pittsburgh Environment," in *Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003): 3.

[7] Brendan Gill, *The New Yorker*, January 9, 1989.

[8] Richard K. Mellon was a financier and philanthropist. "Richard K. Mellon, Financier, Is Dead," *The New York Times*, June 4, 1970.

[9] Tarr, "Some Thoughts About the Pittsburgh Environment," 3.

There were three main environmental or conservation goals during the Pittsburgh Renaissance. The most pressing environmental issue was the city's air quality, which was improved through the enforcement of City Smoke Control Regulations. Flood control, spurred by the Pittsburgh flood of 1936, also played a major role in the urban planning designs of the Renaissance. Combined with smoke and flood control, Point State Park completed the urban conservation trifecta that defined a large portion of the Pittsburgh Renaissance era.[10]

City politics are the focal point of most histories of the Pittsburgh Renaissance Era. Historian Galen Cranz writes that "American urban park policy has always been a top-down matter."[11] The story of Point State Park was not an exception to this rule. The design of the park as it now stands in downtown Pittsburgh was the tangible culmination of years of debate and concessions made between those in power in Pittsburgh and those affected on the ground. As historian Robert C. Alberts contends, Point State Park was largely a "story of human interest, with elements of controversy, conflict, suspense, and…comedy…Point State Park became a battleground where civic leaders, politicians, city planners, architects, artists, landscape architects, traffic engineers, academic historians, and several motivated interest groups fought for their theories, their principles, and their claimed rights."[12] This local political dimension was complicated and is well-examined by prior historians.

Pennsylvania began its push for more accessible parks in the mid-to-late 1930s. In the midst of the Great Depression, the Department of Forests and Waters, which oversaw the state park system and its private affiliate, the Pennsylvania Parks Association, began to worry that the state's parks were all located in sparsely populated parts of the state and thus were inaccessible to the vast majority of the state's population, which lived primarily in metropolitan areas.

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[10] Marshall Stalley, "Point State Park and the Pittsburgh Story," Allegheny Conference on Community Development MSS #285 Series II Box 7 Folder 39 P.P.- Point State Park & the Pittsburgh Story 1958, Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pittsburgh Pennsylvania: 6.

[11] Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1982): 157.

[12] Robert C. Alberts, "The Shaping of the Point: Pittsburgh's Renaissance Park," *The Western Historical Magazine* 63.4 (1980): 285-286.

Government officials deemed the Pennsylvania park system incomplete. There was a consensus amongst politicians, park planners, conservationists, and others that the concept that a park must be based on exceptional scenic value was an outdated one. The concept of what a park could and should be expanded to meet the realities of the social and economic conditions within the state.[13]

In 1936, the Department of Forests and Waters commissioned Markley Stevenson, a private consultant, to write a "Survey for a Comprehensive State Park System for Pennsylvania."[14] Stevenson found that since "Pennsylvania ha[d] a 7,839,000 population living within a thirty mile radius of ten metropolitan districts and since the criterion of state park acreage for every 1,000 population [was] ten acres, Pennsylvania need[ed] a minimum of 78,390 acres of State Park Lands."[15] Since eighty percent of the population lived in metropolitan districts, this meant that eighty percent or 78,400 acres of the state park acreage should be located within the metropolitan districts and only twenty percent of the state park acreage should be located elsewhere in the state.[16] At the time, only 4,407 acres of Pennsylvania's state park land met the metropolitan accessibility test. In short, Pennsylvania needed more parks. Stevenson wrote that these parks needed to be geographically distributed and care needed to be made to make sure that lower-income families would be able to access the commonwealth's state parks. "They should possess," Stevenson wrote, "conspicuous scenic and recreational resources, but the latter may compensate for the former."[17] State officials also expected these new, near-urban parks to be self-sustaining. Unlike their rural predecessors, which were the bane of the state's

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[13] RG-6 Department of Forests and Waters General Correspondence, 1931-1941, 13-0246 General Correspondence 1938-39 Program for Adequate Park System in Penna (Parks Adjacent to Metropolitan Areas), State Archive of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (hereafter cites as Parks Adjacent to Metropolitan Areas).

[14] William C. Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania's State Parks* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Bureau of State Parks, Offices of Resources Management, Department of Environmental Resources, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1984): 27.

[15] Markley Stevenson, *Survey for a Comprehensive State Park System for Pennsylvania*, Parks Adjacent to Metropolitan Areas, State Archive of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

[16] Stevenson, *Survey for a Comprehensive State Park System for Pennsylvania*.

[17] Stevenson, *Survey for a Comprehensive State Park System for Pennsylvania*.

budget, these new parks would require no new infrastructure (i.e. roads) to make them accessible and, it was believed, the number of visitors would be so great that these new parks would provide unprecedented revenue for the state. Stevenson's report was taken quite seriously by the Pennsylvania government and it marked a beginning period of rapid expansion within the Pennsylvania state park system.[18] As Figures 7.1-7.4 note, this upswing in park expansionist fervor was linked to patterns of park development throughout North America.

In this general state park expansionist atmosphere, Pennsylvania, in 1945, led by Governor Edward Martin and bolstered by a newly minted 'Urban Redevelopment Law,' took the lead on the development of a city park in cooperation with the city of Pittsburgh, the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, and private industry leaders.[19] Between 1946 and 1949, Pennsylvania purchased thirty-six acres of land in downtown Pittsburgh from private owners in order to develop Point State Park, at the famous point where the three rivers—Allegheny, Monongahela, and Ohio—meet.

The point's significance resided in both its location and its history, most of which were shaped by its location. The point was once considered the "gateway to the West." Four forts have occupied the point—Fort Prince George (1754), Fort Duquesne (1754-1758), and Fort Pitt I and II (1758-1797). The skirmishes between the French and British at the point, most notably during the Seven Years War, shaped both North American and world history. With the creation of Point State Park a full restoration of Fort Pitt was not possible, however the Flag Bastion was rebuilt and the Monongahela Bastion was made into the Fort Pitt Museum. Before 1946, when the state park plan got underway, the point was the site of an urban slum, covered mainly in abandoned industrial buildings and rail tracks.

The park did not open for nearly three decades because purchasing the land, demolishing the buildings and bridges, and redesigning the area was a slow process. By 1952, the state had demolished ninety-two percent of the buildings on the point and by 1967, four-fifths of the park

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[18] Ney C. Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 85-88.

[19] Allegheny Conference on Community Development, "Highlights of the Point Development Project," MSS 285 Series II Box 7 Folder 24 P.P. Chronology 1950-1970.

was developed and landscaped. The remaining one-fifth was finished after the demolition of the Point and Manchester Bridges in 1970, after which the symbolic and prominent Point Fountain was built and dedicated in 1974.[20] On the surface it may appear that this particular park has little relevance for discussion of definitions of nature. It was quite clearly unnatural, a completely manufactured environment. It would be easy to conclude that its significance as a park lies only in its historic relevance. However, that was not the environmental outlook of the park's planners. In 1956, landscape architect Ralph E. Griswold remarked that the Point State Park project represented the celebration of the "beauty of an unsurpassed natural setting for a city."[21]

In 1963, Patrick Horsbrugh, an architect and urban planner, identified the three great natural advantages of Pittsburgh. These three advantages proved useful for understanding the natural character of Point State Park. The first advantage was the "physical and emotional effect of water."[22] Restoration and reclamation of the river fronts was one of the prime objectives of the Pittsburgh urban renewal project.[23] Point State Park was designed to enable the visitor to experience firsthand the massive convergence of three great rivers. The fountain was designed to be a monumental column that pumped water from the rivers into the sky to dramatize the river's dynamic influence on the history of the city.[24]

The second natural advantage of Pittsburgh were the "changes in elevation afforded by varied topography."[25] Point State Park enabled the population to step out on the point, their view unencumbered by urban development, and experience the majestic presence of the city's hills. In planning documents and press releases these hills were referred to as "breathtaking," "world

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[20] Forrey, *History of Pennsylvania State Parks*, 33, 69-70.

[21] Ralph E. Griswold, "A Landscape Architect's Point of View," Allegheny Conference on Community Development MSS #285 Series II Box 7 Folder 29 P.P.- From Fort Pitt to Point Park, Griswald 1956: 2.

[22] Robert C. Alberts, *The Shaping of the Point: Pittsburgh's Renaissance Park* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980): 59.

[23] Griswold, "A Landscape Architect's Point of View," 1.

[24] Alberts, *The Shaping of the Point*, 159.

[25] Alberts, *The Shaping of the Point,* 60.

famous," and "thrilling."[26] Park planners wished to accentuate both the uniqueness of the city's natural setting and the power of the landscape to elicit strong emotions. It is worth noting that they had more in common with the descriptions of the sublimity of western national parks than with eastern state parks.

The third natural advantage of Pittsburgh was "the variety and the richness of vegetation." This third natural characteristic was the one that the Point State Park planners had to recreate. While the topography and rivers had survived the years relatively unscathed, at least to the naked eye, the natural fauna of the point was completely obliterated by the industrialization of the city. The vista of the river and the city's hills would not be complete until it was framed by "native trees grouped naturalistically simulating the forest that [had once] covered the river banks."[27] Park planners were determined to bring the point back as close to their image of its primeval condition as could be afforded by the artificial environment. The new planting," wrote Margaret M. Winters in 1953, "will be restricted to material that might have been there when George Washington first saw the Point in 1753."[28]

One suggested publicity release from the early 1970s, which described the park's entrance portal, nicely united these three natural advantages:

> The main access to Point State Park will be through an opening beneath the
> elevated highway at a point midway between the new bridges over the
> Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers. Through this opening which will be known
> as the "Portal", the visitor will gain a spectacular view of one of America's
> newest and most beautiful parks. He will look out across a great meadow-like
> lawn, at the very point itself, a great fountain will raise a column of water over a

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[26] "Point State Park: A Dream is Fast Becoming a Reality," *Mellon Bank News* 11.3 (November 1958): 3; "Suggested Publicity Release: Design for the Entrance Portal Point State Park," MSS 285 Series II Box 7 Folder 24 P.P. Chronology 1950-1970.

[27] Winters, "Primeval Planting for Point State Park," 114.

[28] Winters, "Primeval Planting for Point State Park."

hundred feet into the air against the dramatic backdrop of Pittsburgh's world-famous hills and rivers. Truly a thrilling sight![29]

The visitor to Point State Park was supposed to be able to step out on the point and be enveloped by the sky, the water, the trees, transporting them back to a time when the western horizon still held unlimited possibilities. Point State Park illustrated that "the hills and rivers, little changed by man since early days, [can] provide a majestic memorial far more impressive than any man-made memorial."[30] It is an illustration of the fact that humanity's history and nature are inextricably intertwined. Humanity's connection to nature can be as psychological as it is material, allowing nature to grow and evolve with the needs of its human definers.

Point State Park provides an example of the connection between history and the environment. As Galen Cranz pointed out, urban "park design and policy is largely a function of the historical consciousness of cities—of ideas of what cities have been, can be, and ought to be."[31] In the case of Point State Park, the Point's industrial past was erased in order to recreate a faux natural environment that acted as the stage for the city's more well-thought-of past. When considered in relation to the greater Pittsburgh Renaissance, as historian Allen Dietrich-Ward argues in *Beyond Rust: Metropolitan Pittsburgh and the Fate of Industrial America*, Point State Park was a component of a larger-scale trend in Pittsburgh and later in other cities in the Rust Belt to whitewash both the cultural and environmental effects of the industrial period in favour of a new amalgamation of sleek modernity and nostalgia for a largely constructed, bucolic past.[32] Beyond Pittsburgh, Point State Park was also representative of the Pennsylvania government's reaction to the mid-twentieth century, North American urban population boom and a desire to further democratize outdoor recreation. Point State park represented a diversion from the state

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[29] "Suggested Publicity Release: Design for the Entrance Portal Point State Park," MSS 285 Series II Box 7 Folder 24 P.P. Chronology 1950-1970.

[30] Charles M. Stotz, "Point State Park Birthplace of Pittsburgh," *Point State Park: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*.

[31] Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design*, 242.

[32] Allen Dietrich-Ward, *Beyond Rust: Metropolitan Pittsburgh and the Fate of Industrial America* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

government's traditional conception of what a state park should be and bridges the gap between post-industrial and recreational state parks.

"A Dramatic Departure": Ontario's Bronte Creek Provincial Park

Ontario's Bronte Creek Provincial Park is located in Oakville, Ontario in the Greater Toronto Area, halfway between Toronto and Hamilton, just off of the region's major thoroughfare, the Queen Elizabeth Way (QEW). Today the park consists of the historic Spruce Lane Farm, a children's farm with live animals, five hiking trails, a campground, a disc golf course, and other recreational opportunities. The preeminent landscape feature is the Bronte Creek Ravine which crosses the center of the park and reaches a depth of 150 feet.[33] Bronte Creek lies on former and current agricultural land, and at the time of its creation, in 1971, represented the "consolidation of five farms that were productive in the pre-war era."[34]

Agriculture represents only one of the myriad ways in which settler Canadians have used the land that now comprises Bronte Creek. As Ministry of Natural Resources Historian Ellen Langlands stated, "Bronte Creek Provincial Park can be seen as a prism reflecting aspects of the human activities that have molded Ontario."[35] The area was part of the last portion of the shore of Ontario to be opened to European settlement.[36] Initial development centered on the exploitation of the vast timber wealth in the valley.[37] The power of the creek was also used for flour mills and woolen factories. Bronte Creek, which was at one time abundant with salmon, trout, herring, and other fish, also supported a substantial fishing industry. The area's largest economic role, however, was agricultural. Bronte Creek was located on land that was once considered the agricultural hinterland of Toronto. The World War I period initiated the breakdown of the urban-rural divide in the valley, as farms were converted to factories and

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[33] Ellen Langlands, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Historical Report*, December 1972: 9.

[34] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*. Bronte Creek Provincial Park, 1973: 2.

[35] Langlands, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Historical Report,* 1.

[36] Langlands, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Historical Report,* 1.

[37] *Bronte Buzzer: Bronte Creek Provincial Park News Letter, 1977 Master Plan Review Special Issue*. Bronte Creek Provincial Park Archive, Oakland, Ontario.

housing developments. By the end of World War II, only a handful of the farms were still in operation.[38] As Langlands stated in 1972, "the physical presence and composition of the valley and its stream, while allowing these developments ha[d] also been significantly affected by them. Human activity itself has operated to destroy the fisheries and the forest of the Bronte Creek, while suburban sprawl is destroying the agricultural potential of the area."[39]

This creeping urban sprawl led local residents on the Oakville-Trafalger-Bronte Joint Planning Board to propose a Bronte Creek Park to preserve the area's natural and cultural history as early as 1959. Their idea was not wholeheartedly embraced by the public at first, but as urbanization became increasingly omnipresent, "it was realized [by the greater public] that rural landscapes and the open-space they provide were becoming increasingly scarce."[40] In 1971, the concept enjoyed renewed support, including by the provincial government and Premier William Davis who announced the government's intent to create a Bronte Creek Provincial Park. The proposal was the first time that the government looked to the general public for consultation on the creation of a new park. Furthermore, it was the first time that Ontario Parks made an effort to create a park explicitly intended to be accessible to the surrounding urban populace.[41]

Bronte Creek represented the initial concrete manifestation of the Ontario government's early 1970s fascination with the near-urban park concept. The Bronte Creek example acted as a catalyst for other near-urban park initiatives in Ontario during the first half of the 1970s, including London's Komoka Provincial Park and St. Catherine's Short Hills Provincial Park. Ontario was not the only province at the time to hop on the near-urban park bandwagon. Similar initiatives happened elsewhere in Canada.

Ontario acknowledged that access to outdoor recreation was the responsibility of several levels of government (Government of Canada, Province of Ontario, Conservation Authorities, Regional Governments, and Municipal Governments) and private providers (i.e. private

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[38] Langlands, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Historical Report*, 1-2, 4, 9, 75.

[39] Langlands, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Historical Report*, 2.

[40] *Bronte Buzzer.*

[41] *Bronte Buzzer.*

entrepreneurs and clubs).[42] According to J.W. Keenan, Executive Director of the Division of Parks, writing in 1974, there were two main approaches to park creation and management: geographic and integrated. The geographic approach, Keenan wrote, supported agencies' territorial imperatives and supported traditional roles and priorities. These traditional territories and priorities were as follows: all national parks should be located outside of Ontario, all Provincial parks should be located outside of urban areas, and regional and local authorities should be responsible for all outdoor recreation in their jurisdictions, despite the fact that the majority of park visitors may be non-residents. At this time, Ontario preferred an integrated approach, which allowed for intergovernmental cooperation in the provision of outdoor recreation.[43] Ontario believed that it needed to take the lead on the provision of urban and near urban outdoor recreation because it could act more quickly than other levels of government, particularly in regards to land acquisition, and thus it was the province's responsibility to develop a near-urban park and outdoor recreation system.[44] The province also believed that it needed to act quickly because urban populations were increasing exponentially and available land for park creation and outdoor recreation was dwindling as it succumbed to urban and suburban development.[45]

According to John S. Marsh, a geographer, writing in a 1977 issue of *Park News* at the height of the near-urban park movement, the term was spatial rather than thematic and depended entirely on the local conditions.[46] Walter H. Kehm, a landscape architect writing in the same issue of *Park News*, agreed with Marsh. The term near-urban park, according to Kehm, simply mixed the term "park," which refers to any publicly owned land demarcated for aesthetic,

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[42] "Submission to Cabinet Committee on Resources Development: A Policy Preface to a Program Initiative for Near Urban Provincial Parks," Ontario Natural Resources, September 30, 1974, Gerald Killan Personal Papers.

[43] J.W. Keenan to A.J. Herridge, September 6, 1974.

[44] "Planning for Near Urban Outdoor Recreational Opportunities," August 30, 1974, Gerald Killan Personal Papers.

[45] "Near Urban Outdoor Recreation," Gerald Killan Personal Papers.

[46] John Marsh, "Near-Urban Parks," *Park News: Journal of the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada* 13 (1977): 2.

educational, recreational or culture use, with a spatial term, "near urban."[47] "Generally speaking," Kehm wrote, "near urban park [can be] classified as day-use areas within a two-hour one-way drive from surrounding urban populations. They provided a wide variety of recreation facilities in passive, naturalistic landscape surroundings."[48] Naturalistic landscapes are not natural, but rather imitate the natural landscape that once existed there or that people wish were there naturally. Passive landscapes are those that can be enjoyed without direct engagement with them; the most important aspect of a passive landscape is its aesthetic. Thus, near-urban parks were to *appear* natural to the casual observer. The term was specific to describing parks created during this short time span.

In order to further understand the term "near urban," it is helpful to look at what the government of Ontario viewed as the objective of their near-urban park enterprise. The objectives of this near-urban park campaign can be broken down into two main categories: environmental considerations and the further democratization of recreation. Politicians and environmentalists thought that near-urban parks would act as back-up facilities for larger parks like Algonquin and Quetico. On one hand, they hoped that parks like Bronte Creek would siphon off some of the visitors from more primitive parks, thus helping to protect more delicate park environs from the threat of over-use.[49] Near-urban parks were also meant to save the last remaining remnants of green space from urban sprawl or to recreate former green space. The parks would function as part of a city's green-belt and act to drive further conscientious land-use planning in the areas surrounding the parks.[50] Land closer to urban centers tended to be in high demand and thus expensive. The provincial government had more money than municipal governments for acquiring these pricey pieces of land.[51]

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[47] Walter H. Kehm, "Near-Urban Parks: What Are They?" *Park News: Journal of the National and Provincial Association of Canada* 13 (1977): 9.

[48] Kehm, "Near-Urban Parks: What Are They?" 9.

[49] Kehm, "Near-Urban Parks: What Are They?" 9.

[50] Marsh, "Near-Urban Parks," 2; Kehm, "Near-Urban Parks: What Are They?" 10.

[51] Clive E. Goodwin, "Comments on Near-Urban Park Policy," August 15, 1975, Gerald Killan Personal Papers.

On the other hand, near-urban parks like Bronte Creek were meant to make outdoor recreation more accessible to urban populations, particularly the "recreationally-underprivileged."[52] The province, spurred by a concern about recent social unrest in American cities, believed that Ontario's cities needed to avoid "the urban sickness" that had led to such discontent south of the border.[53] Highlighting the sociological and psychological needs of its urban populace, the province of Ontario asserted that "through the emotional, intellectual, educational, and physical aspects of an outdoor recreational experience modern man can find: diversity of experience and an outlet to the tensions of a complex, changing society, an opportunity for privacy and preservation of personal identity, and a constructive release of his increasing leisure time brought upon by rapid change in technology."[54] Provincial park accessibility hinged on the availability of automobile transport and cheap fuel, both of which were increasingly elusive for Ontario's growing urban population.[55] Near-urban parks, therefore, were designed to be accessible to all urban citizens no matter their income level or physical disability. Ideally, a near-urban park would be accessible by way of public transportation.[56] Combining these environmental and accessibility goals, near-urban parks would act as a "threshold experience to the natural environment which [would] help to develop a sensitivity to…landscape resources" within the nature-deprived urban populace. Government officials believed that near-urban parks were the way of the future.[57]

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[52] John S. Marsh to R.J. Vrancart, May 10, 1978.

[53] "Planning for Near Urban Outdoor Recreational Opportunities," August 30, 1974, Gerald Killan Personal Papers: 5.

[54] "Planning for Near Urban Outdoor Recreational Opportunities," August 30, 1974, Gerald Killan Personal Papers: 4.

[55] Marsh, "Near-Urban Parks," 3-4. "A Provincial emphasis on parks located in relatively remote areas encourages the highway-automobile pattern, although this is coming to be recognized as costly and undesirable." Clive E. Goodwin, "Comments on Near-Urban Park Policy," August 15, 1975, Gerald Killan Personal Papers.

[56] Kehm, "Near-Urban Parks: What Are They?" 10.

[57] Kehm, "Near-Urban Parks: What Are They?" 9.

In 1971, Premier Davis commented that Bronte Creek represented a "dramatic departure from the established concept of provincial parks [that] promises to bring the pleasure and beauties of our natural environment closer to a large number of city people."[58] It was to provide day-use opportunities to the 1.5 million people that lived within a forty kilometer radius of the park. 6,000 parking spaces were provided and the park was designed to handle 30,000 visitors a day, fifteen percent of which were expected to arrive by way of public transit.[59] It was the first provincial park to design facilities specifically for disabled people.[60] Original plans created separate recreational zones designed to protect more fragile areas of the park.[61] Efforts were made to restore the creek valley, including reforestation and wetland restoration. These restorative efforts occurred alongside efforts to replant orchards, fields, and other plants that were present during the land's agricultural heyday.[62] "Only a small area [of Bronte Creek] is natural," Marsh commented, "the rest being farmland; however, it all represents a marked contrast to the urban environment."[63] In an effort to make outdoor recreation more accessible, Ontario had, with Bronte Creek, redefined natural to mean any landscape that was non-urban.

At the center of this conception of the non-urban at Bronte Creek is agriculture. Bronte Creek is at its core a farm park. There are farm parks scattered throughout the United States and Canada. Typically located within or in close proximity to urban areas, these farm parks are designed as representational islands of simpler times, the remnants of centuries-old farmsteads lost in a sea of urban and suburban development. They are administered by a number of different levels of park administration, both public and private. They typically exemplify an aura of

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[58] Marsh, "Near-Urban Parks," 4.

[59] Marsh, "Near-Urban Parks," 4.

[60] Gerald Killan, *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Park System* (Toronto: Dundern Press Limited, 1993): 213; "Norman R. Richards, "Urban-Oriented Provincial Park in Southern Ontario," *Recreation Canada*: 23. 1983.0498. Box 10, 237, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[61] Marsh, "Near-Urban Parks," 4.

[62] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, 1973: 7-16.

[63] Marsh, "Near-Urban Parks," 4.

nostalgia for a simpler agricultural yesteryear. Peck Farm Park in Geneva, Illinois, for example, is described as a "rare remnant of prairie surrounded by a sea of growth, and a vessel of memory for the farming past."[64] Although largely ignored by both agricultural and environmental historians, these spaces offer a rich source from which to analyze humanity's relationship to the environment and non-human species. Farm parks also offer a unique stage on which to connect rural, urban, and suburban environmental histories because it is often the purportedly lost, idealized rural lifestyle that is presented in artifice for urban and suburban citizens. These farm parks are similar in motivation, but of a different vein than agritourism ventures that have gained popularity in recent decades as a means to save small farms. Agritourism is present on fully operational farms and is considered to be a subset of rural tourism. Farm parks, on the other hand, are typically run for the sole or main purpose of entertainment and education.

Many of the buildings associated with the five farms that now make up Bronte Creek were preserved when the park was created. The Children's Farm utilized a 150-year-old barn as a loft play area. The children's farm also houses various barnyard animals for children to observe. The larger farm in use in the contemporary park is Spruce Lane Farm, which is located in what was once the Henry C. Breckon Farm.[65] Spruce Lane Farm was designed to be a "working demonstration farm," meaning that it was designed by original park planners to not just provide a passive interpretation, but to also provide "facilities for active visitor participation in farm activities."[66] The farm was to represent the typical farm-life experience between the years 1900 and 1914.[67]

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[64] Frank Edgerton Martin, "Farming a New Frontier: Peck Farm Park tells a story that most suburbs choose to forget," *Landscape Architecture* 93.11 (2003): 76.

[65] Langlands, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Historical Report*, 125.

[66] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, 1.

[67] "On the upland, the houses symbolize the architectural heritage of rural Ontario. At the park's Spruce Lane Farm, you can enjoy once again an old fashioned family farm, a part of our agrarian past." *Bronte Creek Provincial Park* brochure, Gerald Killan Personal Papers.

To achieve this objective park planners had to create what sociologist Dean MacCannell would refer to as a 'staged authentic environment'; as stated in the 1973 *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, the park needed to "reinforce the pastoral quality necessary for a total visitor experience."[68] The report goes on to state that "our election then to date the demonstration farm from 1900 to 1914 is most appropriate. This permits a park visitor to experience mixed farming in Southern Ontario at the turn of the century with much of the 1800s carrying over in equipment and techniques prior to the violent changes made on farm life during and after the First World War."[69] Recreating this turn-of-the-century atmosphere was not easy because the farm was used and lived on until the 1960s. Park planners had to erase fifty years of the farm's history. Orchards, crop fields, and gardens had to be replanted and restored. Though the farm house would have electricity, overhead wires were removed and buried to give the appearance that the house was not electrified. The garage had to be removed, and a fake outhouse, woodshed, and ice house constructed. Any modern implements in the farmhouse were removed and house was restaged to represent the proper time period.[70] All of these changes were implemented to give what the park planners called the "visual tranquility of farm life."[71] The *Demonstration Farm Report* states that "the farm must be a living history and interpretation of the interface between man, his land and the world around him."[72]

Bronte Creek and similar farm parks are significant for several reasons. Firstly, urban farm parks represented a distinct turn in North American culture, a turning-point at which the

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[68] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 91-107; Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, 3.

[69] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, 6.

[70] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, 7-25.

[71] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, ii.

[72] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, v.

day-to-day activities of the characteristic urban or suburban resident, empowered with newfound leisure time, became sufficiently removed from the agricultural way-of-life that this same way-of-life could evolve into a recreational attraction. This trend was logically connected to the growing anxiety caused by post-war urbanization and modernization. A kind of back-to-the-land experience for the day-tripper, the farm park enabled urban citizens to escape, if only just for a day, to a simpler and seemingly more "natural" existence. MacCannell argues that "the modernization of work relations, history and nature detaches from their traditional roots and transforms them into cultural productions and experiences."[73] The result is staged authenticity, like that found in a farm park, where people go to both escape real life and experience "real life," or an idealized version of it.

The work that takes place in farm parks offers a second reason that these parks are significant in North American culture. Stefania Barca argues that one way in which to investigate the relationship between work, workers, and the environment is by examining "the landscape as reflective of past human labor."[74] The farm park offers an ideal stage on which to examine this aspect of labor history. In the Bronte Creek *Demonstration Farm Report*, the planners emphasized that in addition to creating a visually authentic farming experience, it was "also necessary to demonstrate and interpret human life-styles and patterns."[75] Ideal visits to the farm in all four seasons were described in detail in the report, all of which support either hands-on or passive farm work experiences. One of the days is described as follows:

> Our visitor then goes down the back stairs to the kitchen and out into the summer
> kitchen with wood stacked for winter. He then goes into the barn to see the hired
> hands at work, or perhaps have a chat with a cow. As our visitors (sic) leaves the
> barn, he has two choices: he can wait for a wagon ride past the orchards and into
> the fields, or he can take a leisurely stroll around the edges of the fields and

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[73] MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 91.

[74] Stefania Barca, "Laboring the Earth: Transnational Reflections on the Environmental History of Work," *Environmental History* 19 (January 2014): 4.

[75] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, iv.

through the orchards…This experience offers our visitor an opportunity to be involved in the physical relationship of a man to his home and his land…[76]

In contrast to the undisciplined, lonely urban world from which the visitor has come, Spruce Lane Farm was to provide a space in which the visitor could "see and experience the inter-dependence of this one small, structured, disciplined world."[77]

The act of presenting and interpreting cultural communities of work and work relations is a cultural production of what MacCannell refers to as a work display. It is a process by which labor is transformed "into a cultural production attended by tourists and sightseers who are moved by the universality of work relations—not as this is represented through their own work…but as it is revealed to them at their leisure through the displayed work of others."[78] Farm parks take agricultural labor and create a version of it that is tolerable to modern eyes. Spruce Lane Farm at Bronte Creek was designed to be a turn-of-the-century model of farm life before the "violent" changes that occurred in farming after World War I. With this distinction, the Bronte Creek planners made a judgement call, placing a definite time break at which point farm work turned from natural to unnatural. They implied that the mechanization of farm work fractured the farmer's perceived symbiotic relationship with the environment. This distinction supports historian Richard White's assertion that modern environmentalists "sentimentalize certain kinds of farming," deeming archaic forms of labor environmentally acceptable, while deeming most modern forms of work on the land to be incongruent with environmentalist aims.[79]

Performative work in farm parks also illustrates an idyllic relationship between humans and domesticated animals; Bronte Creek is a peaceful setting in which the visitor can stop "to

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[76] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, x.

[77] Project Planning Association Limited, *Bronte Creek Provincial Park Demonstration Farm Report*, xvii.

[78] MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 36.

[79] Richard White, "'Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?': Work and Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985): 171.

talk to cows" and cute, baby animals are celebrated in the spring. Many farm parks incorporate a zoo or petting zoo element. Visitors to farm parks, who are invited to "escape to the country to see where your food comes from!," can milk the cows and pet the goats, but are curiously not invited to break a chicken's neck or prepare a cow for slaughter.[80] Closely related to the whitewashing of farm labor is the acceptance of farm parks in larger park and greenspace systems. Despite the fact that these farm parks represent the way in which humanity has changed and managed nature over centuries, they are publicized as pieces of natural green space. "Not only is Bronte Creek Provincial Park natural and educational, boasts the Bronte Creek Provincial Park website, "it is literally the oasis to more than five million people in the Greater Toronto Area."[81]

By bringing urbanites closer to a staged, uncomplicated, more nature-centric past, farm parks unintentionally deepen the divide between urban and rural life by presenting nature, farm life, and food production as something separate from urban existence, both spatially and temporally. By staging an idealized agricultural atmosphere, often set in the past, farm parks reaffirm agricultural life as the other, a fanciful recreational venue from which the urban citizen can escape back to their comfy, modern life at the end of the day or weekend.

"Do not want hippies, motorcycles, or Catholics:" Alberta's Fish Creek Provincial Park

"Purchase the Pacific Ocean and the park will have everything."

"No camping because of the park turning into a greaseball hangout."

"Nothing for hippies—we already bought them a mall."

"Do not want hippies, motorcycles, or Catholics."

"A politician is an arse upon which everyone has sat except a man."

"Don't let it end up looking like the picture on the front of the brochure."

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[80] "Lake Metroparks Farmpark," *Lake Metroparks*, accessed June 12, 2014, http://www.lakemetroparks.com/select-park/farmpark.shtml.

[81] "Explore the Park," *Bronte Creek Provincial Park*, accessed July 13, 2014, http://www.brontecreek.org/explore-bronte-creek.htm#.U5t88PldWPs.

"Why doesn't the bare-breasted nymph on the cover have any nipples? Isn't Calgary ready for that yet?"

"On the surface the democratic approach seems as reasonable as apple pie, but in reality you're going to wind up with the lowest common denominator. A city as ugly as Calgary is a product of its denizens and when several hundred thousand functional illiterates put their head together you can be sure that beauty is not going to be the common objective."[82]

These quotes are notable write-in responses from Albertan citizens on the 1974 Fish Creek Provincial Park questionnaire. This source is significant and unique because it captures the opinions of the public on park-making, a rarity in the archives, and it captures a brief point in time when a process that had historically been top-down and closed was opened to the public. Fish Creek is a near-urban park located on the southwest side of Calgary. The city's council first proposed creating a park in the Fish Creek location as early as 1966.[83] In the spring of 1974, Calgarians and other Southern Albertans may have noticed a flashy and colourful inset in their local newspaper inviting them to provide their input on the future of a proposed near-urban provincial park in Calgary. The survey came with a pre-paid envelope to facilitate responses.[84]

The questionnaire consisted of many multiple choice and write-in questions and was the brainchild of the Fish Creek Provincial Park Planning Committee, which consisted of five

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[82] Fish Creek Provincial Park – Briefing Book – Bill Milne, Peter Horuck, 7 June 1974, PR2008.411, Folder 152, Box 9, Milne Fonds, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta; Fish Creek Provincial Park Briefing Book- Bill Milne, Peter Horuck, 1974, PR2008.411, Folder 154, Box 9, Milne Fonds, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta. For responses from organizations see: "Submissions from Calgary Organizations and Individuals: Specific Recommendations," PR2008.411, Folder 144, Box 9, Milne Fonds, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[83] "Green Belt Glamour Set for Fish Creek," *The Calgary Herald*, October 26, 1966; "Fish Creek access in city's hands," *The Calgary Herald*, June 30, 1975.

[84] "Fish Creek Provincial Park," 2008.0411, Box 8, 132, Provincial Archive of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

residents of Calgary and was headed by Bill Milne, an architect. The plan was to tabulate the responses, create a model incorporating the desires of the populace, hold a public hearing, and then finalize park plans after reaching public consensus. The questionnaire highlighted the idea that "parks are for people." According to the questionnaire, the proposed Fish Creek Provincial Park, was a development specifically for people, required input from those for whom it was to be developed. "It's Your Park," the questionnaire declared, "your opinions are important whether you're single, married, have a family, are a senior citizen, a newcomer, or a long time resident, we'd like to know what you want in Fish Creek Provincial Park."

The questionnaire included questions about parking, what facilities people wanted, what people wanted to use the park for in winter as opposed to summer, and what activities should be available for senior citizens. Many of the questions were multiple choice with a specific number of allowable answers. Demographic questions included age, household size, and where people lived: South Calgary, North Calgary, or elsewhere. The questionnaire included three write-in questions. One asked what educational courses people would like to see offered in the park, a second asked for specific categorical suggestions, and a third asked what people did *not* want to see in the park. The questionnaire represents a specific time-point in Canadian provincial park development, as an example of the near-urban park movement.

Alberta and Calgary government officials, environmentalists, and park planners looked to Bronte Creek as a model of the kind of park they wanted to create in Calgary. The files of Fish Creek Planning Committee members contains Bronte Creek articles and clippings scattered throughout the files. An early document that outlines the policy and purpose of the proposed Fish Creek Park stated that "citizen concerns for the limited natural areas of parkland accessible to the public, stems from the apparent lack of effective action in the past to secure suitable land for this purpose…Over the past few years, this concern has been steadily deepening, with increasing demands for firm decision and determined action by government to secure the future use of selected areas for public recreational purposes."[85] The concept of a city park was certainly not new in the 1970s. What makes Bronte Creek, Fish Creek, and other near-urban parks unique is

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[85] Fish Creek Valley: A Natural Park. 1983 0498, Folder 237, Box 10, Milne Fonds, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

that they represent a very short period of time in the 1960s and 1970s that provincial governments believed that it was their responsibility, rather than that of the municipal, city, or even federal government, to acquire land for the provision of outdoor recreation to urban populations.[86] As in Ontario's near-urban parks, Alberta determined that it had the money and could act faster than the city to preserve the land that would become Fish Creek Provincial Park.[87]

Fish Creek Provincial Park planning committee members had modest expectations for the number of questionnaire returns they would receive. One early letter between members suggests that a couple thousand would be a solid number of returns. Though the exact number received is not clear, it is safe to estimate that they received over 25,000 completed questionnaires, which far exceeded their expectations. The most public figure, 37,000, was published in *The Albertan* on June 6, 1974, with the heading "Calgarians Do Care!" suggesting a kind of astonishment that this was the case. This published report provided the public with direct access to the percentages given for each answer, demonstrating, or perhaps just giving the impression of, transparency. These percentages show that seventy percent of respondents were between the ages of twenty-one and fifty, with only six percent over sixty-five. About half of respondents were from households of four or more people, suggesting that it was primarily families that were interested in the fate of the park. Thirty-four percent of respondents were from North Calgary, while sixty-one percent of respondents were South Calgary, meaning that most people answering the survey were those whose lives and property values would be directly affected by the creation of the

[86] The Calgary City Council also set aside 4,100 acres of land in 1973 to create Nose Hill Park. M.R. Buckmaster and H.A. Buckmaster note that the two parks "represented the culmination of vigorous and sustained political pressure by citizens' groups who lobbied for the creation of these two parks." "Fish Creek and Nose Hill Parks—A Case Study in Contrasting Forms of Public Participation." M5870 FCC File #33 Fish Creek Committee, 1972-1974, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta.

[87] Early plans to create a Fish Creek park were hampered by city budgetary concerns. "Parks are a nice feature for the city, but where are we going to the get the money to buy the land?" Mayor Jack Leslie asked in 1969. "Funds Lacking: Axe May Fall on Parks," *The Calgary Herald*, March 13, 1969.

park. Five percent of respondents were from outside Calgary, including other Alberta cities, cities in other Canadian provinces, several from the United States, and even some responses from as far away as Egypt and The Netherlands.

The facilities and activities questions, which were divided into general, winter, and summer facilities, were notable. The three responses with the highest percentages were hiking trails at eighty-nine percent, picnic areas at eighty-eight percent, and cross-country ski and snowshoe trails at eighty-two percent. The lowest response rates were for basketball courts at seven percent and a hockey rink at nine percent, suggesting that respondents were not keen on the inclusion of sports facilities that would require construction of highly unnatural structures.[88] Another insert published in *The Calgary Herald* summarized the responses of survey-participants under ten categories.[89] "These ideas, mostly from families, will ensure a wonderful park for Southern Albertans. The list shown here includes the most popular ideas and also many of the unique suggestions received," it stated.[90]

To planning committee members, the most important response was to the question: "How do you think Fish Creek Provincial Park should be planned?" A resounding majority, eighty-two percent, believed that it should be planned "as a park with some developed recreational areas and some undeveloped natural setting area." Twelve percent believed the land should be left entirely natural. And only six percent believed it should be a fully developed and landscaped park. To the committee, this response and support for "low-intensity" use were a welcome surprise and signaled that the growing environmental movement and environmental education were having a positive effect on the general populace. Responses for what survey participants *wanted* in the park were far fewer than responses about what people *did not want* in the park. Twenty-nine

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[88] "Calgarians Do Care!" *The Albertan*, June 6, 1974.

[89] These categories are "Entertainment, Recreation and Sports," "Trails," "Picnicking, Camping," "Horticulture and Nature Development," "Senior Citizens," "Summer Courses," "Winter Course," Service Facilities," "More Ideas," and "Not Wanted." "Your Ideas for Fish Creek Provincial Park," *The Calgary Herald*, June 8, 1973.

[90] "Your Ideas for Fish Creek Provincial Park," *The Calgary Herald*, June 8, 1973.

percent of respondents provided suggestions about what they wanted, and sixty-one percent chimed in with what they did not want.

Of the 20,000 or more write-in responses to the questionnaire, the park planning committee files contain only a small fraction.[91] The responses that survive were saved and filed for a reason. They are likely exceptional in some way, whether exceptionally touching, educated, funny, or offensive. While the responses, some of which are quoted at the beginning of this section, are humorous, they also highlight important socio-economic, political, and environmental issues. The results are more than statistical. The numbers tell a story about the social and economic atmosphere of Alberta at the time and the fill-in answers tell a story of a park not yet created, a piece of land onto which Calgarians could transpose their hopes and fears for their city. Fear of and disdain for hippies is one of the most common themes running through the responses. Many suggestions, like "hippy hunting with sharp sticks," ride the line between humor and worrisome violence, but they also connect Fish Creek to a growing anxiety towards unruliness or rowdiness in Canadian parks, as historian Ben Bradley has traced in some of his recent research.[92] During this time period, the regulation of park behavior grew exponentially. As Joe Hermer argues in *Regulation Eden*, "the construction of nature and the socially constructed

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[91] More write-in responses can be found here: "Non-Categorical Suggestions From Extension Sheets," June 1974, PR2008.0411, Box 9, Milne Fonds, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

[92] Ben Bradley, "Illicit Encampments, Hippie Architecture, and Banff's High Tourist Season," *Network in Canadian History and Environment*, 5 May 2018, http://niche-canada.org/2018/05/25/illicit-encampments-hippie-architecture-and-banffs-high-tourist-season/; Ben Bradley, "Rowdy Parks: Towards a More Popular Culture of Nature in Postwar Canada," *Network in Canadian History and Environment*, 26 September 2014, http://niche-canada.org/2014/09/26/rowdy-parks-towards-a-more-popular-culture-of-nature-in-postwar-canada; Ben Bradley, "Managing Wild Behaviour in Wild Spaces: Rowdiness, Drunkenness, and Misadventure in Canadian Parks," *World Conference of Environmental History*, University of Minho, Guimaraes, Portugal, July 2014.

character of social relations are intimately linked."[93] The provincial and city governments may have envisioned Fish Creek as a way to further democratize recreation, to bring nature to the poor and minority urban population, but the vision of Fish Creek portrayed by questionnaire indicated that the city's residents did not necessarily support this objective and were anxious about its possible implications. Anxiety about the way in which their city and society at large were changing were projected onto the soon-to-be park.

The write-in responses also illustrate a deep mistrust of all levels of government on the part of Calgary's residents. Many remarked that they were suspicious of the questionnaire itself, stating that the planners would do what they wanted anyways and that the provincial government did not have their interests in mind. The government, according to several respondents, only cared about providing those too lazy to provide for themselves. The Fish Creek plan left "no room for people" according to another respondent and several others thought that the government should make money by selling the land for residential development rather than wasting it on preservation. This fiscal conservatism is characteristic of Alberta politics and, as demonstrated in earlier chapters, played a major role in the formation of the province's park system since the 1930s.

"Eagle Island State Park itself is not important": Idaho's Eagle Island State Park

Idaho's version of the near-urban park concept came characteristically late in the game when compared to its Canadian and American counterparts. Eagle Island State Park, a 545 acre park ten miles northwest of Boise on the Boise River, opened in 1983. Eagle Island's origin story is representative of many of the themes explored in the three urban and near-urban parks in this chapter. Eagle Island was a post-agriculture park created to take the pressure off of other overcrowded state and national parks, conserve fossil fuels, and provide accessible outdoor recreation to an urban population.[94] Eagle Island, like the parks explored in Chapter Five, also

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[93] Joe Hermer, *Regulating Eden: The Nature of Order in North American Parks* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

[94] "General concept for Eagle Island State Park approved," *Valley News-Times*, November 12, 1980; "Idaho to Upgrade Facilities at 13 State Parks," *Idaho State Journal*, April

contains a fifteen-acre artificial lake reshaped from a natural pond along the Boise River.[95] Care was also taken to make sure that the lake contained naturalistic areas and that facilities, including the waterslide, blend in with these landscaped features. "Landscaping designs of the water slide," one article stated, "will be made compatible with the surrounding water recreation theme of the park. It will be landscaped in a mound of dirt to eliminate possible conflicting features with other natural elements."[96]

However, other themes are identifiably characteristic of Idaho's particular state park history. The land that now comprises Eagle Island State Park was purchased by Idaho's State Board of Prisons in 1929. Eagle Island Minimum-Security Prison Farm was operated on the property from 1930-1977. When the prison farm closed, the state's Department of Lands debated the future of the property for several years.[97] The idea of turning the prison farm land into a state park soon became a "controversial" topic.[98]

Eagle Island effectively illustrated Idaho's state park history in its connection to party politics and federal-state cooperation. Governor John Evans (D) was a proponent of a possible Eagle Island State Park from the beginning of his first term in 1977. Republican government officials attempted to block the creation of the park for several years. In 1972, before the prison farm was closed, the Legislature passed a resolution that the site be sold and the proceeds be used to build a new penitentiary.[99] Again in 1977, the Legislature passed a resolution that

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4, 1980; "Parks grant will aid handicapped: Eagle Island included," *Caldwell News-Tribune*, April 6, 1980.

[95] "Lake sparkles, but Eagle Island Park still needs work," *Idaho Statesman*, March 3, 1983; Richard Mattoon, "Eagle Island Readies for June 25th Opening," June 6, 1983, AR 63 Parks and Recreation Clippings Box 10 and 11 Eagle Island, Idaho State Archives, Boise Idaho

[96] "Eagle Island Park may build water slide," *Valley News-Times*, February 10, 1982.

[97] Rick Just, "Eagle Island State Park," in *100 Years: Idaho & Its Parks* (Boise, Idaho: Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation, 2008): 43.

[98] "Fund drive to assist park," *The Daily Idahodian*, March 1, 1983.

[99] "Bob Leeright, "Eagle Island development…Legislative panel split on park," *Blackfoot News*, June 21, 1980.

demanded the prison farm land be sold at auction and the money go towards funding a development of the state penitentiary.[100] Later in June 1980, "the Idaho Legislative Council voted 8-3 on party lines…to ask the attorney general to take legal action to prevent the executive branch from proceeding with development of a state park at Eagle Island."[101] Several state republicans argued that the executive department was acting against the wishes of the legislature and without the legislature's authorization.[102] The main issue at hand was a $1,123,900 federal grant awarded to the state of Idaho by former governor, and conservation activist, Cecil Andrus, who was now the federal Interior Secretary. This "neat trick," which enabled Governor Evans and Andrus to create a new park despite legislative opposition, was strongly criticized by the state's Republicans.[103] One newspaper columnist, commenting on the Republican reaction to the grant, wrote that

> Larger men might have smiled at the Evans-Andrus legerdemain, made a pro
> forma political protest about "legislative intent" and noted that they had, by
> forcing such creative financing, saved Idaho taxpayers a good piece of change.
> But no, our Republican legislature wouldn't let go. The Idaho Legislative
> Council, on a party-line vote, has now asked Attorney General David Leroy to

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[100] "Eagle Island, again," AR63 Parks and Recreation Clippings, Box 5, Eagle Island, Idaho State Archive, Boise, Idaho.

[101] "Legislative Panel Wants to Block Park Development," *The Daily Idahodian*, June 20, 1980.

[102] "Legislative Panel Wants to Block Park Development," *The Daily Idahodian*, June 20, 1980; "Committee seeks ban on park," June 20, 1980, AR63 Parks and Recreation Clippings, Box 5, Eagle Island, Idaho State Archive, Boise, Idaho.

[103] "Eagle Island, again," AR63 Parks and Recreation Clippings, Box 5, Eagle Island, Idaho State Archive, Boise, Idaho.

seek an injunction prohibiting the governor from accepting the Department of the
Interior grant.[104]

The columnist concluded by stating that this action carried "chagrin over political one-
upmanship just a bit far."[105] Republican response to Andrus' grant was also connected to
Andrus' involvement in an organized counterrebellion against the Sagebrush Rebels that began
in 1980. This counterrebellion was designed to put the rebels and their conservative allies in a
defensive position.[106]

Democrats considered the injunction to be out-of-line and noted that the Legislature had
no right to block the governor from accepting federal money to develop the park. The injunction,
Democrats asserted, was meant to serve as an insult rather than have a concrete effect on the
creation of the state park.[107] Republicans did not entirely refute this claim. Representative Doyle
Miner (R), for instance, stated that "Eagle Island State Park itself is not important. What is
important is that we challenge the executive department authority to accept the federal dollar and
go ahead without any legislative authorization."[108] These efforts by Republicans in 1980 to block
the creation of Eagle Island did not work and park development plans went ahead until 1983
when the Legislature's Joint Finance-Appropriations Committee voted 13-6 to not allocate the
final $34,000 needed to open the park and pay one park employee.[109] An editorial in *The Idaho*

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[104] The article also states that "Republican legislative leaders have lost the [state park]
battle before and will undoubtedly lose again." "Eagle Island, again," AR63 Parks and
Recreation Clippings, Box 5, Eagle Island, Idaho State Archive, Boise, Idaho.

[105] "Eagle Island, again," AR63 Parks and Recreation Clippings, Box 5, Eagle Island,
Idaho State Archive, Boise, Idaho.

[106] C. Brant Short, "Save Our Public Lands: The Environmental Response to the
Sagebrush Rebellion," in *Ronald Reagan and the Public Lands: America's Conservation Debate,
1979-1984* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1989), 26-39.

[107] "Council votes to halt Eagle Island Park," *The Daily Bee*, June 20, 1980.

[108] "Bob Leeright, "Eagle Island development…Legislative panel split on park,"
Blackfoot News, June 21, 1980.

[109] "Fund drive to assist park," *The Daily Idahodian*, March 1, 1983.

Statesman in February 1983 pointed out that Republican refusal to fund the final amount needed to open the park could not be based on money, but rather on stubborn party politics. "Money can't be the issue," the writer argued, "about $900,000 in federal funds already has been spent on the park, with $200,000 more to be spent by summer. It makes no sense to let a million-dollar investment sit idle for want of $34,000."[110] Republican Senator David Little suggested that if citizens of Boise wanted the park they could fund it themselves, seemingly ignoring the fact that Boise residents paid state taxes and suggesting an element of urban/rural hostility.[111]

Republican refusal to provide the final funds needed to open the park led to a public fundraising campaign, led by Lieutenant Governor David Leroy, which is reminiscent of Pennsylvania's Cook Forest Campaign discussed in Chapter Four. Private citizens, small businesses, and major corporation were asked to contribute to the fundraising campaign, which sought to raise the final $34,000 needed to open the park. The campaign quickly raised about $5,000 in cash and materials.[112] The public fundraising campaign ended up being approximately $10,000-$15,000 short; this shortfall only led to some minor changes in initial construction plans, but did not stop the park from opening in the summer of 1983.[113]

Democratic response to these Republican stalling techniques are illustrative of two major characteristics of other urban and near-urban parks. Firstly, Democrats claimed that Eagle Island, because it was close to an urban center and featured a mixed-use plan, would be financially self-sufficient and that it would be the first park in the Idaho system to accomplish this goal.[114] This money would be raised through vehicle entrance fees, water slide concessions, and grazing fees on unused portions of the park.[115] Secondly, Democrats turned to public participation and voluntarism to insure proper development and maintenance of the new park. Speaking in regards

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[110] "Eagle Island should get funds," *The Idaho Statesman*, February 13, 1983.

[111] "Eagle Island should get funds," *The Idaho Statesman*, February 13, 1983.

[112] "$5,000 raised toward operation of park," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, March 29, 1983.

[113] "Short fund won't affect park opening," *Valley News-Times*, June 15, 1983.

[114] "Eagle Island Park to open," *Idaho Statesman*, June 24, 1983.

[115] "Drive launched for park," *Valley News-Times*, March 2, 1983.

to the fundraising campaign's success, Leroy stated that "these contributions represent people's genuine commitment to this park and its concept."[116] In addition to raising funds, Idaho also relied on the volunteer labour of its citizens and the labour of its prisoners to get Eagle Island ready for its grand opening.[117]

Although comparable to many near-urban parks established in the 1970s and early 1980s, the creation of Eagle Island is more effectively understood in regards to public v. private western land debates and the corresponding clash of the Democratic and Republican Party. The pressures that spawned near-urban park creation elsewhere in the United States and Canada—urbanization, increased leisure time, etc.—also led to the creation of Eagle Island State Park. However, as in the past, conservative members of the government questioned and tried to block the creation of this park. The park represented another expense that the state reluctantly brought into its park system.

Prior to 1950, the primary consideration of provincial and state park makers was affordability. Resource extraction parks were created to secure more revenue for the province. Other forms of financial revenue, such as cottage leases, were prioritized over preservation in recreation parks. Post-industry and post-timber parklands were chosen because they were inexpensive. Often these parks were located in rural areas that were not accessible to individuals without access to an automobile. After 1950, the post-war population boom paired with urbanization and increased leisure time brought accessibility and the democratization of leisure to the forefront of provincial and state park planning. The examples in this chapter exemplify how each of the four park systems reacted to these changes in North American society and how their park systems were altered by these reactions. In the case of Point State Park, Pennsylvania purchased a piece of land due to its inherit natural character and accessible location and actively erased the industrial heritage of the land in order to portray a more welcoming version of the

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[116] "Eagle Island Park to open," *The Parma Review*, April 7, 1983.

[117] "Eagle Park to open," *South Idaho Press*, June 16, 1983; "Prisons chief wants to put prisoners to work," *Daily Idahonian*, May 4, 1983; "Inmates help to prepare Eagle Island," *Valley News*, April 27, 1983.

past. Ontario also practiced cultural erasure and performative nostalgia in order to bring Bronte Creek Provincial Park into its park system. As the first near-urban provincial park, Bronte Creek broadened the province's definition of 'natural' to include any landscape that was not urban. Fish Creek Provincial Park was representative of the way in which park systems sought public opinion during the parkmaking process during the latter half of the twentieth century. This unprecedented inclusion of public opinion resulted in mixed results and illustrated the way in which parks represented the greater political and social conditions in which they were created and/or managed. In Idaho, these forces were present in the creation of Eagle Island State Park, but were overshadowed by characteristic Idahoan partisan politics.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Comparison of state and provincial park development is a substantial undertaking. This study focuses on four primary state/provincial park systems: Pennsylvania and Idaho in the United States and Ontario and Alberta in Canada. These park systems were chosen in order to enable several key comparative analyses. At the largest scale, these park systems facilitate a comparison of park development in the United States and Canada and a comparison of park development in the East and West. The park systems of Pennsylvania and Ontario share similar park development trajectories due to similar post-war population and urbanization trends. Additionally, the fact that the federal government did not have a large presence in the East meant that the Ontario and Pennsylvania governments had to act as primary park creators and land preservers. In contrast, a strong federal presence and a small, rural, and conservative population in both Idaho and Alberta hindered park creation in both park systems and ensured that they shared a similar park development trajectory. This study demonstrates that state and provincial park development in North America is better understood as an East/West dichotomy, rather than a Canadian/American dichotomy. This finding challenges the assumption that park and preservation history is best understood on a national level, and suggests that park history, and environmental history more generally, serves to gain from increased transnational and trans-regional studies.

This study uses two main methodologies to both support these comparative categories and move beyond them. At the macro-level, this study uses an innovative timeline system to illustrate the way in which each park system changed through time. Park system development is shown on the timelines using a colour-coded eight category system: Education (Environment), Historical, Post-Agriculture, Post-Industry, Post-Timber, Preservation, Recreational, and Resource Extraction. These categories represent the *primary* reason each park was added to its respective system. This timeline methodology enables analysis of how each park system changed through time and facilitates comparison of park development across different park systems.

At the micro-level, this study uses individual park case-studies. The timelines illuminate how each individual park fits into broader park development trends. Paired together, the two methodologies complement one another and support analysis of the way in which broader

twentieth century social and economic trends affected both entire park systems and led individual parks to evolve through time. The individual park case-studies also facilitate a third level of comparative analysis: rural v. urban/near urban parks. In each park system, two to three parks were chosen: one early rural park and one later urban or near/urban park. This level of comparison most effectively demonstrates the way in which park development changed over the course of the twentieth century. In the first half of the century, all four park systems prioritized the acquisition of affordable land in rural regions. By the second half of the century, all four park systems had altered their park development priorities to accommodate geographic accessibility over economic viability. In both cases, preservation was not the primary objective of park development.

The timelines demonstrate that desire for cheap or economically viable park land in the East was connected to a prioritization of 'post-timber' and 'post-industrial' land acquisition. Relatedly, resource extraction parks in Ontario were only created in the early part of the twentieth-century. The timelines provide a visualization of how state and provincial park development priorities evolved after World War II from a focus on financial sustainability to a focus on providing accessible recreational opportunities. The timelines demonstrate that preservation did not become a priority of any of the park systems until the 1980s. This finding refutes histories that describe state and provincial parks as outgrowths of the late-nineteenth century preservation movement. This timeline methodology opens up numerous possibilities for future research. One could use the timelines to compare the difference in state park development in different regions in the United States, such as how state park development differed in the South and the far West in comparison to New England. One could also alter the timeline categories to fit different research questions. Instead of categorizing the parks based on land type, for instance, one could categorize them using the amount of money spent on each park acquisition in order to trace patterns in park funding through time.

The individual park case studies provide examples of how specific trends found on the timelines affected the way in which these parks changed through time both socially and materially. Ontario's Algonquin Provincial Park serves as an example of how early-resource extraction parks were later met with opposition from both environmentalists and visitors whose expectations of what a park *should* be had changed over the twentieth-century to no longer

tolerate the inclusion of resource extraction (Chapter Three). Pennsylvania's Cook Forest State Park exemplifies the way in which changing national recreation trends and regional economic developments altered the way in which the park related to the Clarion River and connects the creation of the park and development of its tourism industry to the ecological revivification of the Clarion (Chapter Four). The rise of post-war recreation strengthened the association between outdoor and water recreation. This association led park systems to materially change the environment in order to ensure access to water recreation for its citizens. This study focuses on the artificial lakes of Pennsylvania's state parks and the Alberta government's management of Gull Lake's water-level to illustrate this phenomena (Chapter Five). Further, this study looks at specific communities that live and/or work on the peripheries of parks—Indigenous, cottager, private business owners, and volunteers—and examines how larger park history trends, as identified by the timelines, related to and altered these communities (Chapter Six). Lastly, this study looks at one urban or near/urban park in each park system that opened in the 1970s or 1980s in order to highlight the manner in which park systems changed in the mid-twentieth century to accommodate the twin objectives of accessible and democratic outdoor recreation (Chapter Seven).

This study fills a major gap in park historiography. It is the first large-scale study that compares the development of state parks in the United States and provincial parks in Canada. This study is based on two major interpretive assertions. Firstly, it asserts that state and provincial park system histories that rely on political and bureaucratic analysis are insufficient because they do not adequately assess what has happened in parks on the ground, both socially and ecologically. Secondly, this study emphasizes the fact that park systems and individual parks are dynamic entities that evolve through time. Histories that focus on the initial creation of parks fail to sufficiently demonstrate this dynamism. By highlighting these two assertions, this study provides a blueprint for strengthening state and provincial park historiography.

All of the individual park case-studies were chosen in order to demonstrate how factors beyond park borders affected the manner in which each park evolved. This study asserts that park history should look beyond park borders to the peripheries and greater regions in which each park lies in order to fully understand each park in its entirety and how each park relates to broader historical forces. The flexibility of the state and provincial park concept and the sheer

number of these parks provides a unique opportunity for fleshing out the way in which broader social forces shaped the way in which Americans and Canadians managed and used the environment. This study shows that parks were not simply tools of preservation or recreation. Their history is much more complicated. Rather, the forces that supported *use* of these parks and *protection* of these parks coexisted and were often one and the same.

Today both Pennsylvania and Alberta rely on oil and gas revenue to fund their park systems. In 2017, Pennsylvania significantly cut the budget of the Department of Conservation and Natural Resources (DCNR), which oversees the commonwealth's state parks. Though the government has not yet threatened to close any of its state parks as it has during other recent budgetary crises, the public understands that state parks and their facilities are not safe from elimination.[1] In contrast, in May 2018, Alberta created Birch River Wildland Park. This park is located south of Wood Buffalo National Park and protects a large swath of boreal forest, adding to the largest section of protected boreal forest in the world. This park represents an amalgamation of both private and public forces. The park is a result of cooperation between the province, Tallcree First Nation, the Nature Conservancy of Canada, the federal government, and Syncrude Canada.[2] Castle Wildland Provincial Park (2017) is another recent example of large-

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[1] Davitt Woodwell, "PA's State Budget – Will the Environment and Conservation be Dissed Again?" *Pennsylvania Environmental Council,* 17 June 2017, http://pecpa.org/pec-blog/pas-state-budget-will-environment-conservation-dissed/; Wallace McKelvey, "Pa. Budget losers: Little for environmental protection and state parks," *Penn Live*, 8 February 2017, https://www.pennlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2017/02/losers_environmental_protectio.html.

[2] Abi Hayward, "Alberta creates new provincial park, adding to world's largest stretch of protected boreal forest," *Canadian Geographic*, 15 May, 2018, https://www.canadiangeographic.ca/article/alberta-creates-new-provincial-park-adding-worlds-largest-stretch-protected-boreal-forest.

scale preservation projects undertaken by the Alberta government.[3] These two contrasting contemporary realities in Pennsylvania and Alberta illustrate that the story of each park system is still evolving.

The primary contribution of this study is the provision of a methodology that enables other researchers to connect these contemporary trends in Pennsylvania, Alberta, and elsewhere to the past and to apply this methodology to other park systems and time periods. Each state and provincial park system can be examined using this timeline visualization technique. The general timeline and category system can also be adapted to fit the unique demands of each study. This methodology makes further examination of complicated historical patterns in state and provincial park history feasible and also facilitates cross-discipline analysis. There is no longer any excuse for the neglect of park history's middle child.

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[3] "Castle Provincial Park and Castle Wildland Provincial Park Management Plan," *Alberta Environment and Parks*, accessed 1 November, 2011, https://talkaep.alberta.ca/CastleManagementPlan.

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