

Troubled Tributaries

GEORGE COLPITTS



Alberta Anglers, Fish Fights, and the Race to Save
Mountain Coldwater Streams, 1900-1930

Troubled Tributaries



Troubled Tributaries

GEORGE COLPITTS

Alberta Anglers, Fish Fights, and the Race to Save
Mountain Coldwater Streams, 1900-1930

© 2026 George Colpitts

Bighorn Books
An imprint of University of Calgary Press
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta
Canada T2N 1N4
press.ucalgary.ca

All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any format whatsoever without prior written permission from the publisher, except for brief excerpts quoted in scholarship or review.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION

Title: Troubled tributaries : Alberta anglers, fish fights, and the race to save mountain coldwater streams, 1900–1930 / George Colpitts.

Names: Colpitts, George, 1964- author

Description: Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: Canadiana (print) 20250321157 | Canadiana (ebook) 20250321165 | ISBN 9781773856858 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781773856865 (softcover) | ISBN 9781773856872 (EPUB) | ISBN 9781773856896 (Open Access PDF) | ISBN 9781773856889 (PDF)

Subjects: LCSH: Fishes—Conservation—Alberta—History—20th century. | LCSH: Stream conservation—Alberta—History—20th century. | LCSH: Fishers—Alberta—History—20th century. | LCSH: Fly fishing—Alberta—History—20th century.

Classification: LCC SH224.A4 C65 2026 | DDC 333.95/609712309041—dc23

This project was funded in part by the Government of Alberta and its Heritage Preservation Partnership Program. The University of Calgary Press acknowledges the support of the Government of Alberta through the Alberta Media Fund for our publications. We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada. We acknowledge the financial support of the Canada Council for the Arts for our publishing program.

Alberta 

Canada 



Canada Council
for the Arts

Conseil des Arts
du Canada



CERTIFIED
CANADIAN
PUBLISHER

The manufacturer's authorized representative in the EU for product safety is Mare Nostrum Group B.V., Mauritskade 21D, 1091 GC Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Email: gprs@mare-nostrum.co.uk

Copy-editing by Peter Midgley

Cover image: Catching a fish, Waterton Lakes, ca. 1920s. W. J. Oliver collection, NA-4868-1390s, Glenbow Library and Archives.

Cover design, page design, and typesetting by Melina Cusano

Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
List of Maps	viii
Preface	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction	1
1 The Pioneer Era and the End of Superabundance	13
2 Saving Calgary's Fish After the Great War	33
3 Tending the Highwood's Underwater Gardens	55
4 Stewards of Streams in Southern Alberta	87
5 The Great Arbitrator: The Banff Hatchery	117
6 The Bow Fishery, Baitcasting, and Modern Camping in the Rockies	141
Conclusion	155
Notes	163
Bibliography	199
Index	213



*Fly Box and Flies, Mr. CE Butterfield Collection,
Collection of Glenbow (10498), Photograph by George Colpitts.*

List of Illustrations

Figure 0.1: Pekisko Creek, ca. 1923	3
Figure 1.1: Waterton Lakes, ca. 1920s	16
Figure 1.2: Spray Falls, Rocky Mountains Park, 1928	24
Figure 1.3: “A Bow River Comedy,” 1904	26
Figure 1.4: Robert Darker	28
Figure 2.1: Fishing Gear and Canoe	43
Figure 2.2: Alex. Martin Sporting Goods, 1913	48
Figure 3.1: Daisy MacGregor, 1918	57
Figure 3.2: The Highwood Valley	62
Figure 3.3: Distributing Fry on the Highwood	66
Figure 3.4: Hunting Party on the EP Ranch	68
Figure 4.1: Callum Creek	93
Figure 4.2: John and Jim Kerr	107
Figure 5.1: A Catch at Minnewanka, 1890s	120
Figure 5.2: “Stripping” at Spray Lakes	123
Figure 5.3: The Banff Hatchery, ca. 1920	125
Figure 5.4: Waterton’s Hatchery	133
Figure 6.1: Fishing Near Banff	142
Figure 6.2: Fishing for Trout in Lake Louise	146
Figure 6.3: A Catch at Minnewanka, 1923	150

List of Maps

Map 0.1: Major Rivers in Alberta	8
Map 2.1: The Bow and Highwood Rivers, with Tributaries	37
Map 4.1: The Oldman Basin, Rivers and Tributaries	88

Preface

Sometime before dawn on 28 July 2010, High River's museum caught fire. Housed in an old railway station originally built in 1893, the Museum of the Highwood had withstood the tests of time. Given its age, it was something of a miracle that the building wasn't destroyed. All the same, the collection was nearly ruined by the smoke and, ironically, by the sprinklers that doused the flames.

Hearing the news on the radio the next day, I headed south from Calgary to see if I could lend a hand. Other people had had the same idea. In the crowded parking lot, volunteers were milling around triage tents, piecing together and boxing up salvaged artifacts. An awning, flapping in the wind, sheltered flats of bottled water. No one had much time to stand around, however. A co-ordinator hurriedly suited me up in protective white plastic coveralls, hardhat, goggles, and a stiflingly hot mask. Now duded in my own search-and-rescue outfit, I joined others entering the building to retrieve anything that could be saved.

Volunteers had already cleared most of the main floor, so I worked with a couple of others in the basement. We followed electrical cords to emergency lights propped here and there on steel stands in the bowels of the building. Water pooled on the wooden steps and across the large cement boiler-room floor.

Here was the community's morgue of material culture. There were water-soaked saddles, boxes upon boxes of vintage milk bottles from the 1950s, rodeo event trophies, musical instruments, typewriters, and 1920s radios. Something struck me while attending them: the Museum of the Highwood preserved the pastimes, passions, and profits pursued along the Highwood River, which flows right through High River. Not many communities build museums in honour of their rivers.

As I lugged heavy brass spittoons and kerosene burners to the truck outside, I began thinking about that. High River was, and is, a fishing

community. Its special relationship to fish seems to set High River apart from agricultural towns farther east, especially in the drier irrigation districts of the prairies. For well over a century, town citizens ardently defended their river to preserve its angling. The folks in High River took up fish conservation a lot earlier than most people now realize.

A few months later, serendipitously, Calgary's Chinook Country Historical Society asked me to speak about early trout conservation in Southern Alberta. Although I had written on the topic in the past, it had been years since I had even thought about anglers and fish conservation. Nevertheless, the fire at the museum started me thinking about how quickly stories are lost. While preparing for the talk, I revisited notes taken during visits to Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, where I had discovered boxes and boxes of letters and reports sent to the Department of Marine and Fisheries by members of local angling associations in Alberta before 1930. Given the challenges of navigating the murky depths of the fisheries archives, it was perhaps not surprising that much of the correspondence had largely languished unread. But opening the files, I had found anglers opining on the characteristics of Alberta's native fish and sharing their alarms about conservation and fisheries policy. It was impressive to me that anglers were hardly of a single mind about how to save their streams from overfishing, how to protect native favourites, how to jigger with season dates to promote certain fish and discourage others, and whether to introduce exotic species and, if so, which ones. In my talk, then, I ended up discussing not only the aims of but also the squabbles among early conservationists, whose infighting revealed the varying perspectives on nature that animated them in those years.

After the talk, an individual came forward. He worked with numerous groups of conservationists concerned with, among other things, the proliferation of exotics in the province and the drift toward privatizing access to fish and game resources. The story I had told that night was playing out in Alberta streams in the present, he said, impressing on me the importance of telling it to a larger audience. The lecture was thirty-five minutes long. But those two events—my talk and the burning of the museum—got me thinking and writing. This book grew from that.

Acknowledgements

This work started with the research I conducted for my master's thesis, and so I must thank Donald B. Smith, my supervisor and great friend ever since, for setting a high standard for the historian's craft. He remains a great source of inspiration. At Parks Canada, I am indebted to Steve Mahlins, with National Historic Sites, and, particularly, to historian Meg Stanley, for all their help. I am grateful to Pamela Holway for her many suggestions for improvements to my drafts. I am also grateful to Peter Midgley for his copy-editing. I must also acknowledge the anglers, conservationists, and fish biologists who took time to read and give comments on drafts and who caught a variety of blunders on my part. Larry Cromwell, Lorne Fitch, Dale Kastelen, Mark Konnert, Bruce Masterman, Les Oystryk, Jim Stelfox, and Kevin van Tighem all helped me a great deal, and I can't thank them enough. I'm also appreciative of Don Smith and Warren Elofson's reading and commenting on the final manuscript.

Many individuals at the Glenbow Archives (now the Glenbow Library and Archival Collections at the University of Calgary) have provided inestimable assistance over the years. Thanks must go to Doug Cass, Lindsay Moir, and Susan Kooyman, still remembered for their amazing work at the Glenbow. Marcia Slater, also at the Glenbow, and then Katelin Karbonik guided me in the back rooms of the Glenbow to view and photograph the museum's early rods, reels, and tackle, especially those of the Boyce collection. Allison Wagner, senior rare books and manuscript advisor at the University of Calgary, was also very helpful. Members of the staff at Library and Archives Canada patiently shepherded me through the records of the Department of Marine and Fisheries (now Fisheries and Oceans Canada), where this book really got its start. A grant provided by the Alberta Heritage Resources Foundation helped me undertake additional research many years ago.

This book could not have been published without a book publishing grant from the Heritage Preservation Partnership Program of Alberta Arts, Culture and Status of Women.

A special thanks must go to the Eleanor Luxton Historical Foundation in Banff. The work I joined in the directors' activities and initiatives was inspirational while I was writing early drafts of this book. For their vision of Western Canadian history, I can't thank enough Astrid Bell, Marjory Gibney, Harvey Locke, Bill and Dianne Luxton, Peter Poole, and Terry White. Many colleagues have also helped me develop, correct, and refine my thinking about fish. Matthew Evenden's work on fisheries and aquatic life in the Bow River prompted me to reread my sources within their respective watersheds. Colleagues within the Network in Canadian History and Environment (NiCHE), and especially Alan MacEachern and others, have meaningfully influenced how I think about people, places and ecological change in Alberta's historic fisheries. I am also grateful to the people I met when I conducted research in the Highwood River area many years ago—ranchers, farmers, and people from High River and Longview who helped me see their river, and the rivers of the Eastern Slopes, for what they really were: social meeting places as well as waterways. During that project, it was a pleasure to receive guidance from both Lillian Knupp and Don King from High River.

Francine Michaud, with her constant encouragement and insight, helped me see this book to completion. She also provided a great deal of copy-editing of many drafts. And I'm particularly grateful to Gabriel, my son. Gabe makes me realize, always, that these rivers flow from one generation to the next with different meanderings and meanings. They never lose their power to connect time and place in Western Canada.

Introduction

In December 1929, High River residents crowded into a local courtroom. They were not there for the trial of a cattle rustler or barroom brawler arrested in High River's Gateway Hotel the weekend before. Townsfolk were cramming the benches in hopes of seeing two men punished for having, as everyone presumed, caught trout on closed tributary streams in the foothills the month before.¹

Things did not look good for the accused—B. F. Brown and H. L. Blaman, both from the foothills town of Turner Valley, to the northwest of High River. As the court heard, the two had stopped over on a hunting trip to stay in a cabin on the TL Ranch. Largely by chance, a ranch caretaker had interrupted their visit to chat. Afterwards, he slipped word to the local fishery guardian that he had discovered a crate in the back of the cabin with no fewer than thirty-one fine trout cached inside.

The two men now faced their fate.

They must have felt a bit overwhelmed. A formidable crowd was present. A good portion of the High River Fish and Game Association—founded in 1920 as the Highwood River Angling Protective Association—filled the room. The association counted George Lane as its honorary vice-president. Lane was the legendary cattle rancher and horse breeder under whose ownership the nearby Bar U Ranch had grown to massive proportions. And none other than Edward, Prince of Wales—an avid angler on his stocked lake at the EP Ranch, not far from the Bar U—was the association's honorary president. Although the royal heir apparent was not in attendance, his spirit was conveyed by the Union Jack hanging in the room. It seemed that High River's wealthiest and most powerful folk, not to mention the very weight of the British Empire, was bearing down on the two unfortunate men from Turner Valley.

A magistrate was brought all the way from Calgary, at a cost of \$17 to the federal fisheries department. The prosecutor was Alec A. Ballachey, High River's respected town lawyer—an ardent angler who was also the angling association's president. Not only did he represent the Crown, but he did it free of charge. The trial lasted well over four hours, with the federal fisheries inspector for Alberta, R. T. Rodd, serving as court stenographer.²

Evidence mounted against the accused. Although the ranch caretaker did not specify the species of the thirty-one trout, they probably included the revered cutthroat, the region's unrivalled “king of fishes.” Treasured by Highwood River anglers, it was highly rated for its superior sportiness and, as any angler in the room could attest, plump and “fat as butter.”³ The caretaker recollected that the fish in the crate were “quite fresh from the stream, and chilled but not frozen,” and, even more damning, he recounted how he had later emptied the cabin's pot-bellied stove and, like skeletons falling from a closet, trout bones had tumbled from the cold ashes.⁴

Almost everyone in the room seemed to be anticipating a guilty verdict. Only when the defending lawyer produced a surprise witness, a certain Mr. R. White, did a crack appear in the conservationists' case. White, also a Turner Valley man, could swear on a stack of Bibles that he had been with the hunting party during most of their stay and that not a person fished or ate fish the entire time. Doubt had been cast. Ultimately, the magistrate from Calgary dismissed the charges. Yet, despite losing their case, the Highwood River protectionists were not entirely discouraged. D. A. Richardson, the Calgary area fisheries overseer, thought the case affirmed that “public opinion is assisting in protection.”⁵ Rodd, reporting in a letter to Ottawa, felt that the trial illustrated to “would-be offenders that it is not safe to take a chance, as they do not know who will report them.”⁶

Throughout the foothills of Southern Alberta, anglers had for some time mounted campaigns to protect local rivers and streams, declaring something of a war against fish “hogs” and out-of-season angling. They were taking to task interlopers who trammelled stream banks and plundered the wealth of tributaries. Particularly vexing locals in towns and villages were city folk and other outsiders whom they viewed as fancy-pants tourists hauling trout away from their streams. By the



FIGURE 0.1

A Trout Paradise: Pekisko Creek ca., 1923. EP Ranch Fonds, NA-2626-21 Glenbow Library and Archives.

mid-1920s, they had turned to the courts to pressure magistrates to punish poachers more severely.

High River, in that respect, was proving a contentious battleground in the fight to save streams from overfishing. In 1926, two Calgary anglers, the “Pekisko Poachers” (so christened by a Calgary newspaper), were hauled into court for casting flies in Pekisko Creek, a local tributary of the Highwood that had been closed to fishing. High River’s anglers were already on hand, pressing the court to award nothing less than \$1,000 fines to both offenders. They felt it only right to do so, since members of the association had clearly posted the fine on tin signs up and down the Highwood, warning possible offenders to “Beware.” As a writer for the *Calgary Albertan* wryly observed, High River’s anglers took their “fishing propensities seriously.” Fortunately for the two men involved, the fine given was only \$60, but, even at that, fines in High

River, ranging from \$50 to \$60 at the time were the highest awarded in the province—the equivalent, respectively, of \$900 and \$1000 today.⁷

Not only Highwood basin anglers landed in trouble in the 1920s. In 1928, Didsbury's townsfolk mobilized in the case of four young men who had arrived at their homes with suspiciously well-laden creels after fishing the nearby Rosebud River. When dead fish had floated downstream a while later, and someone remembered one of the youths purchasing dynamite the previous fall, the four were charged with exploding it in the stream.

The town's anglers leapt into the fray. The protective association rented the Didsbury movie theatre for the trial, drawing a "large attendance." If the entire town citizenry was not there, probably everyone knew someone who was. Those present heard the father of two of the youths admit that his "boys were fishing," that they returned with "a large number of fish," and that "dynamite was used to kill them."⁸ A \$20 fine was handed to each of the boys—no doubt heaping public shame on the offenders and their families for quite some time to come. R. T. Rodd, again present at the Disbury trial, was confident that everyone in the area now knew that "public sentiment is against such offences."⁹

During the decade following World War I, concerns about conservation steadily mounted, not only in the foothills of Southern Alberta but elsewhere in the province. By 1930, forty-four fish and game protective associations had formed, one in almost every town and city in Alberta.¹⁰ It is not surprising. The economic development in the province during the post-war period had made further impact on finned, feathered, and four-legged creatures. It did not take much of a sharp eye to see biotic life stressed in a time of increasing industrialization, urban and town building, and the growing popularity of outdoor leisure pursuits, including angling. As in the United States, from the pioneer era onward, conservation of some form typically followed from depletion and waste in nature. Although some early environmentalists adopted what can be called a preservationist stance, arguing that nature should be protected in its original, pristine state, the focus of conservationists generally fell on rationally managing nature's bounty for the long-term benefit of the public.¹¹

Just who made decisions about how to do that was not entirely clear-cut, however. There certainly were the affluent and politically powerful political elites who became, at times, the leading force behind

state-sponsored conservation initiatives.¹² In the spirit of “progressive” reform, and often alongside influential sporting groups, conservationists evicted First Nations and Métis from traditional hunting territories and criminalized many of the activities of subsistence hunters.¹³ The history of conservation is often a dark one where formal legislation and wildlife management techniques constrained the activities of First Nations, poor people, and immigrants who depended on both hunting and fishing to feed themselves.¹⁴ Both politically influential settlers and governments also set aside lands as “wilderness” parks, such as the creation of Rocky Mountains Park in 1885 (now Banff National Park), a Dominion Forest Park in 1895 (now Waterton Lakes National Park), and Jasper Forest Park in 1907.¹⁵

Conservation also often depended on a growing perception that nature should be managed by scientific knowledge, typically wielded by government experts. Founded on early scientific understandings of nature, conservationists were frequently at odds with community-based initiatives grounded in experiential and received ecological knowledge. These tensions were particularly evident in fisheries management.¹⁶

At the same time, while acknowledging the capacity of urban social elites, bureaucrats, and scientists, it is still important to understand the power of grassroots initiatives at the local level in determining conservation policies.¹⁷ Alberta’s conservation history cannot be adequately framed solely as a top-down enterprise. Along Alberta’s Eastern Slopes, as elsewhere in Western Canada, conservation came initially from streamside, beginning almost as soon as settlers arrived and growing in force after the big boom of immigration in the 1890s—not long after anglers in the western United States began undertaking conservation measures in earnest.

Anglers took up conservation at water’s edge. Their work differed from many pioneering pursuits. Certainly, angling was different from fishing. Angling was a sport, a pastime, and, depending on its practice, an art form—a pursuit usually landing fish on a dinner table rather than storing it in the larder for future use. Officially, the law recognized “angling” as fishing with a hook and line usually mounted on a rod, in contrast to net fishing, fish trapping, and other means of catching fish in large quantities. Angling was really all about a fisher catching only a single fish at a time.¹⁸ In her study of American sport fisheries in the Rocky Mountains, Jen Corrinne Brown recognizes that, largely for pragmatic

reasons, settlers chose to regulate their consumption of fish, developing “community-centered angling rules” that reveal a “sharing of conservation ideals among classes.”¹⁹ Incoming settlers tended to take a proactive approach, with angling associations forming in rural communities to draw up rules and guard their precious streams against overfishing.

While these associations certainly boasted their well-to-do and socially prominent members, concerns about conservation were by no means restricted to the well-heeled charter factions of small-town communities. Far more than merely reflecting class interests, anglers who shared certain values and attitudes toward fishing and fish protection joined together, creating associations that cut across social lines and economic strata. The policies they advocated joined communities in efforts to safeguard the quality of local rivers and streams. Even as the bureaucratic state increasingly centralized conservation policy, these local angling associations continued to exert pressure from the bottom up. Indeed, in the towns scattered across Alberta’s Eastern Slopes, locals often impressed grassroots conservation efforts on government, rather than the other way around.

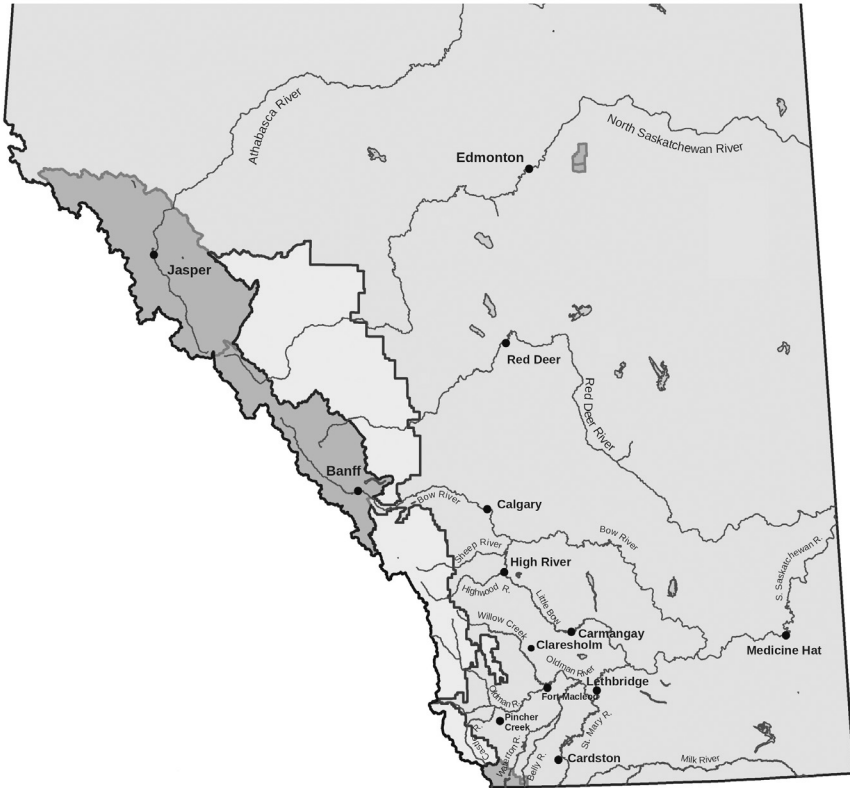
Federal fisheries officials took local folk and their associations very seriously. If anglers in a town wanted certain fish protected or certain streams closed, the government generally acceded to their pressures or at least attempted to strike a compromise. An association could demand that the federal government appoint a paid fishery guardian to patrol local streams; it might write letters and send reports and petitions to Ottawa; and, if all else failed, it could also mount a mass community campaign that could deeply embarrass locally elected territorial, provincial, or federal officials. An association also censured its own members if they disobeyed the laws and kept an eye on everyone else to make sure that they followed the rules. In fact, fisheries officials depended on local angling associations to help them enforce fishing regulations, to report real or potential problems and generally to serve as stewards of the environment.²⁰ In short, a good deal of power consolidated in local communities for small-town anglers to exert a considerable influence on federal fisheries policy.

Yet, in matters of conservation, anglers were—and still are—far from united in their views. And their inclination to take a strong stand on an issue is highly pertinent to the history of conservation. As will become clear, different groups of anglers in Alberta frequently disagreed

with each other and quickly divided into town and country cabals. In High River, as elsewhere, a community of anglers cleaved to its own set of views on the appropriate season dates, on the introduction of non-native fish, and on the regulations written in Ottawa—which, until 1930, continued to own and regulate the province’s fish populations. Even after 1928, when the Alberta Fish and Game Association brought multiple conservation groups under the umbrella of a single association, many conservation associations remained ardently independent in outlook.²¹ Although they sometimes joined into alliances over particular policies, they still often disagreed about how best to manage fish populations in order to safeguard—or, in some cases, to enhance—the bounty of a local river or streams.

Given that responsibility for abiding by and enforcing conservation measures so often devolved to local associations, anglers had every reason to take a keen and proprietary interest in the streams around them. Disagreements were the product, in part, of their local understandings of nature. In formulating their positions on local stream management, angling associations chiefly drew not on the scientific theories of government experts—in fact, they frequently relied not a whit on science. Their understandings of nature were derived from the experience of their members. Then, as now, anglers, especially fly fishers, could talk at length about the fine characteristics of a native trout species and the larger biotic world in which it swam. In communities, those who commanded such knowledge were recognized experts. It was a fish and game association that developed a community’s customary understanding of nature, while it also cultivated relationships with fisheries officials that conferred on them quite a bit of local control over stream management.

Grounded, as they were, in their lived experience, it isn’t surprising that the policies advocated by anglers in Alberta’s towns and cities sometimes lacked cohesion, reflecting a pluralistic rather than a uniform understanding of nature. For the most part, the grassroots conservation movement, and the significant civic engagement that it represented, channelled local concerns to government about specific rivers, streams, and lakes, sometimes with little reference to the bigger picture. And not surprisingly, given this lack of co-ordination, the measures that these groups succeeded in putting in place had unintended consequences for others, including the fish swimming in streams.



MAP O.1
Major Rivers in Alberta. Map by author.

Over time, scientific research refined and then overturned many of the views of these early Albertan “stewards.” In the 1950s, fisheries biologists, through significant experimental research and careful field studies, revolutionized perspectives on trout behaviours and their life histories in Alberta and decisively challenged approaches to conservation still popular in angling communities. In Alberta, it was zoologist R. B. Miller at the University of Alberta who helped to persuasively shake “the backbone of traditional trout management” and its four main pillars of regulation: closed seasons, minimum size limits, the permanent closure of tributary “nursery” streams, and hatchery fry stream plantings.²² All of these approaches dominated the work of Alberta’s angling communities. Still, one cannot discount the many

ranchers and farmers, city barristers, clergy, mineworkers, and shopkeepers who wielded authority within their communities as experts on the natural world. As members of local angling associations, they promoted a vision of the way in which the underwater world of Western Canada could be both imagined and managed.

To view these people in their work, the following chapters flow as do the streams of Alberta's southern watersheds—through the channels cut deep into the Eastern Slopes of the Rockies, alongside which communities have grown. I begin with an overview of the rapid changes that were occurring in the Canadian West by the end of the nineteenth century, changes that had, by the start of the World War I, prompted a lot of concern about fish. Conservation gained its first expression in Calgary with the founding of Alberta's first fish and game protective association in 1907. Chapter 2 examines what happened in Calgary before and after World War I when the city's population continued to increase, industrial development expanded apace, and fish began to fall in numbers on the Bow River and its tributaries, a problem that food shortages during the war years had only exacerbated. Anglers watched with growing consternation as the most intensively angled streams in the area, particularly the Bow River itself, underwent significant alteration from urban growth, pollution, and almost no end of water diversion projects.

Within Calgary's angling community, rifts began developing during the war and deepened in the immediate post-war period. The more serious—and, certainly, the most skilled—anglers in the city sought to protect the region's native trout, the cutthroat, as well as to preserve existing season dates that favoured this local hero. The city's new booster upstarts, however, led the charge for earlier, tourist-pleasing seasons and launched a concerted war on bull trout (*Salvelinus confluentus*) and other "coarse" varieties of fish. By getting rid of unwanted species, they reasoned, predation on esteemed varieties would be reduced, and that would leave more room in streams for game fish. The same anglers pressed for an earlier season opening, even though hazardous to spring-spawning cutthroat, as well as an earlier closing in the fall, which would protect the potentially larger and tourist-pleasing populations of fall-spawning Rocky Mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*), commonly called grayling in Southern Alberta. These booster anglers also championed, controversially, the introduction of exotics.

Chapter 3 directs the focus to the Highwood River, a quieter watershed, and the work of anglers in High River, who unabashedly privileged the Highwood as the best fly-fishing stream in Western Canada—some dared say in North America. Ardent cutthroat preservationists, they worked at odds with those who had wearied of the native cutthroat and were now pressing for the introduction of exotics into mountain streams. High River's anglers identified cutthroat as the fish most natural to western watersheds. Their greatest concern for this native beauty related to the masses of outsiders, especially urbanites from Calgary who, by the early 1920s, were converging by train and car on the town's trout sanctuaries. Their solution—tributary closure—became the most significant new direction in fish management, one that reflected a particular understanding of how nature operates. In the view of High River anglers, watersheds divided between upstream sources and downstream wealth. They were convinced that protecting “nursery” areas near the source waters could guarantee a perpetual supply of fish for themselves and the rising tide of outsiders in their midst. A massive, grassroots movement led by High River folk managed to get other foothills communities, including Calgary, on board.

As we will see in chapter 4, the need for more fish was especially evident in the southernmost areas of the province. Quite apart from tourists arriving in droves to Waterton Lakes National Park and sloshing their way into streams around Lethbridge, large and voracious human populations were heavily fishing tributaries of the Oldman River, particularly in the Crowsnest valley and the Pincher Creek area. Both the social realities and the ecological history of the coal-mining districts in the Crowsnest Pass forced conservation onto a different course. Measures such as tributary closure did not make sense in the Crowsnest. In a region where fish was still a major staple in coal miners' diets, poaching was rampant, and stream dynamiting common; angling enthusiasts believed stream closure simply would not work. Instead, towns throughout the Crowsnest valley organized associations that embraced a more inclusive approach, aiming to induce coal miners, regardless of ethnic background, to co-operate in conservation efforts. They sought to keep membership fees low and promised to their members hatchery disbursements to support a more abundant food fishery. These associations favoured the opening of rivers to legitimate angling, this to crowd out skulking and dynamite-wielding poachers.

At the same time, many sports-minded anglers in Southern Alberta had, like much of their angling brethren farther north, grown impatient with what they perceived as the shortcomings of native trout. Clamouring for larger, “sportier” fish, they advocated ridding waters of some species and replacing them with new, exotic ones—an interventionist approach that would, in the end, radically change stream ecologies. During the pioneer era, overfishing mattered. But not well appreciated were the impacts of mining and railway construction, which already had gone a long way toward overwhelming stream ecology. Log runs, large-scale agricultural operations, ranching, and irrigation diversions added to these disturbances—to the point that fish were finding their watery world uninhabitable. At the time, anglers believed that fishing—that is, the rising pressure on streams from anglers themselves—was to blame for the startling decline in fish populations. A relatively simple remedy, they thought, would be to boost fish numbers through hatchery fry.

As chapter 5 explains, it fell to the Banff hatchery to boost streams in an effort both to implement government conservation policies and to satisfy the wishes of anglers landing trout. As hatchery staff soon discovered, however, production could barely keep up with demand for frisky cutthroat—and, in some cases, for fish of any kind. Initially, the government’s policy against the introduction of exotics formed a bulwark against town and city angling groups pressing for sporty aliens. Given pragmatic considerations and sheer popular support for such interventions, however, federal officials were obliged to reconsider. Shortly after the war, the hatchery began introducing rainbow trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*) into the streams of Southern Alberta. These newcomers were followed in the Red Deer River basin by Loch Leven brown trout (*Salmo trutta levenensis*), Nipigon brook trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*), and German brown trout (*Salmo trutta*). Elsewhere, West Coast steelheads were thrown in, as well as Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*), and lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*). Local streams began to lose some of their distinctive character.

The final chapter examines the impact of tourism on recreational fishing during the 1920s, a decade in which more efficient railway service and, above all, the growing affordability of the private automobile boosted numbers of sport fishers. In rural areas, invading visitors—apt to leave behind heaps of garbage or accidentally set fire to hay

meadows—disturbed the serenity of quiet ranch landscapes, earning the enmity of locals. To the west of Calgary, Rocky Mountains Park attracted an ever-expanding influx of tourists who crowded the shores of lakes and, especially, converged upon the upper Bow River. These recreationalists were heavily indebted to technology, and not merely in the form of automobiles. Often relatively new to fishing, they generally chose baitcasting over fly fishing. As tourists, they arrived festooned with a wide range of elaborate lures, spoons, and other new-fangled fishing equipment now proffered by virtually every sporting goods store in Calgary and Banff. In contrast to fly fishing, which tends to be a solitary pursuit requiring considerable concentration, baitcasting is a far more social activity. Rather than hiking up streams to reach quiet, isolated pools, automobile tourists usually camped right beside rivers and lakes, and clustered together to socialize. Often travelling with their families and constrained by holiday schedules, they often had little time to gain a keen sense and understanding of the natural beauty around them. More often, nature became a thing to visit and view from afar to capture in photographs, a distancing that helped to entrench an understanding of nature as “wilderness”—pristine, magnificent, and more remote from their own experience.

Conservationists in Southern Alberta reacted in varying ways to the changes in their natural world, changes not only to the ecological balance of streams and forests, but also to the relationship between human beings and the natural world. Like conservationists elsewhere, they embraced the view that nature was something that could, and should, be improved upon by human intervention, and that the environmental problems stemming from human transformations of the landscape could be resolved by further transformations.

Accordingly, the efforts of conservationists were directed less at preserving what was original than at refashioning it in light of the declining abundance around them. Present-day Albertans are attempting to reconcile their ways of life with the pace and scale of environmental change around them, especially as their own transformations of the environment raise questions about the future of the biosphere. We might do well to reflect on Alberta conservationists’ engagement in the 1920s—and their concerted efforts to save cold-water streams of the Rocky Mountains while they fished them.

The Pioneer Era and the End of Superabundance

Many Albertans in the 1920s had seen it all. A single generation witnessed a widespread transformation of prairie, parkland, and foothills environments. In the decades prior to World War I, pioneers joined a transcontinental reconfiguration of the living landscape as they expanded new ways of life and improved upon their agricultural and urban economies.¹ These frontiersmen, first-comers, sodbusters, and “improvers” of the land were both the agents of change and the recipients of the economic payouts attending the progress they directed. At the same time, they gained a sense of alarm for a process that had apparently taken on a life of its own. With new industries and more intensive agricultural and ranching activities spreading across the landscape, the pastoral and idyllic elements of the improved landscapes that they had laid down—160-acre homesteads, rolling rangeland, and towns and cities—raised new questions and quandaries.

The same generation that had taken pride in the land’s settlement recognized some of the collateral damage of economic development. Theirs was an age cohort that could see environmental changes in their own lifetimes. They did not, then, like often happens, forget a previous generation’s experiences and see the environmental situation around them as the “normal state of nature.”² They saw hillsides gutted and eroded by widespread and intensive forestry practices, overgrazed stream banks deteriorating into mud, fescue ranges grazed to their very gravels, rivers poisoned, and lakes emptied. More impressively, these changes—consequences of the supposed improvements to the wilderness often made by the same generation—occurred remarkably quickly.

Albertans could measure crudely the impact of development in terms of natural abundance. If Westerners of the 1920s imaginatively stepped back in time to compare their world with the streams and fields before settlement, the world they inhabited was the poorer one. Because of the rapid shift toward what John McNeill has described as the exosomatic energy regime—that is, toward a reliance on sources of energy produced outside the human body, by the burning of carbon fuels—processes of landscape change had been quick and widespread, and they proved devastating to birds and other wildlife.³ Even on the prairie, where human labour, rather than machines, was responsible for most of the transformation of buffalo grassland into tree belts, irrigation ditches, and quarter-sectioned cropland, the effects were arresting. There were fewer birds in the air and fish in the water, and the herds of wild herbivores roaming the land shrank in size. After the great settlement rush began in 1896, the toll on the Albertan landscape became quite apparent to western town and city folk. In Saskatchewan's farming lands, perhaps as much as 80 percent of grasslands and 50 percent of woodlands were lost in the first decades of the twentieth century through intensive settlement. Agriculture had a major impact—even, in some cases, causing extirpation—on the roughly 184 prairie bird species and dozens of grassland wildlife species native to the West.⁴

Nature's limits were certainly understood in Alberta streams. If the region's resources could be quickly exhausted through overuse, waste, and unregulated consumption, it was realized knee-deep in streams where Westerners fished. Certainly not everyone shared in this perspective. Not everyone angled. And surely, only a minority of early pioneers took to the art of fly fishing, where they might develop a keen sensitivity to rivers, environments, and fish behaviour. But anyone who had experience fishing in Alberta's Eastern Slope streams and rivers saw change by the first decade of the twentieth century. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Calgarians grew quite accustomed to newspaper reports of massive landings along the Bow River within city limits. In 1884 (before angling permits with a daily bag limit were introduced to Alberta in 1907), Wheeler Mickle, of Calgary, promised to supply the entire town with fish after taking in three days of fishing seventy-two, forty and thirty-two trout.⁵ In 1886, "excellent fishing" was reported in Calgary's river when W. E. Green landed a 10.5 lb trout on a fly.⁶ There was the fishing spree of Joseph Bannerman, another Calgarian,

who caught ten trout all weighing nine pounds on average, this in but a half hour; and Mr. Newson, on the same day and in the same time period, catching thirteen eleven-pounders.⁷ The newspaper questioned the techniques of another Calgary “sportsman” who took advantage of Chinook conditions in January 1890 to use a shotgun to kill a ten-pounder trout in the Bow, right in town limits.⁸ Not only the Bow in Calgary teemed with fish life. In 1901, the *Calgary Weekly Herald* drew attention to the “five pounders” regularly landed at High River, along with a “beautiful” eighteen-pounder whose skeleton was being preserved for display as a reminder to sceptics that “all fishers are not liars” in that town.⁹

But these massive creels were becoming a thing of the past by World War I. Development had taken its toll, and the land’s wealth was apparently being squandered. Albertans were joining an important new sensibility developing across North America. What is now referred to as the progressive conservation movement took shape as governments promoted science, engineering, and other forms of human expertise to remedy the wasteful and rapid depletion of resources that had occurred during the great leaps of expansion in industrialized mining, forestry, fishing, and agriculture.¹⁰ Forest conservation was an early priority for provincial and federal governments, and, by the late 1890s, administrators were hiring engineers and planning experts to encourage resource industries and businesses to organize and mechanize their operations with a view to enabling the long-term exploitation of resources.¹¹ In the first decade of the new century, Theodore Roosevelt’s administration in the United States made conservation a priority, as did Wilfrid Laurier’s Liberal government in Canada.¹² Both nations created commissions of conservation in order to provide federal leadership in promoting more efficient and sustainable use of natural resources. Roosevelt appointed the National Conservation Commission in 1908 and, early in 1909, convened the first North American Conservation Conference, held in Washington, DC, to which representatives from Canada, Newfoundland, and Mexico were invited. That year also saw the signing of the Boundary Waters Treaty between Canada and the United States, which, among other provisions, stipulated that “waters flowing across the boundary shall not be polluted on either side to the injury of health or property on the other.”¹³



FIGURE 1.1
Catching a fish, Waterton Lakes, ca. 1920s. W. J. Oliver collection, NA-4868-1390s,
Glenbow Library and Archives.

In Canada, the Commission of Conservation, founded in 1909, sponsored university and resource experts to disseminate studies and information to provinces. The commission helped develop a framework for wildlife conservation, one of its most important work resulting in the Migratory Birds Convention of 1916.¹⁴ The same commission spurred the creation of a federal-provincial Advisory Board on Wildlife Protection, formed in 1916, composed of powerful senior officials from a number of federal ministries, to aid in seeing the convention respected, especially in northern Canada and among Canada's First Nations, many with existing treaty hunting freedoms.¹⁵

Those involved in the movement were inherently optimistic. If its use was properly managed and efficiently planned, nature could provide for sustainable economic growth. This attitude was especially prevalent in Canada, where planners believed that the example of waste in the United States could be avoided.¹⁶ Albertans sharing in the experience of nature's precipitous decline were therefore hopeful that a combination of foresight and their own interventions could correct initial human efforts to tame and transform the natural landscape.

In the case of freshwater fisheries, the growing popularity of fly fishing as a sport played a critical part in the early evolution of the conservation movement. Inspired by works such as Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler*, sport fishers developed codes of ethics, worked to preserve certain sportier fish species in streams, campaigned against wasting fish, and often took a hand in weeding out what they regarded as coarse species (that is, fish not deemed to be game fish) while at the same time advocating the introduction of new species that would, as they saw it, improve stream environments. In the United States, where completely frantic frontier developments had wrecked streams and pollution had killed fish, sometimes across entire watersheds, anglers took up conservation. They reintroduced species by planting fish cultivated at hatcheries, and they joined associations to champion the principles of anglers in Great Britain who attempted to promote honourable sport along riverways.¹⁷ In the 1890s, hordes from the middle class joined their numbers. Anglers on vacation from wage-earning jobs or salaried employment used rail transportation to invade what had formerly been private lakes and rivers reserved for the wealthy often through leases. These middle-class anglers tirelessly advocated the activity in popular

magazines and, simply by virtue of their large numbers, considerably broadened the base of the sport.¹⁸

Sport in the Last Best West

But whereas conservation and angling protective associations were well established in the United States and eastern Canada, in the settler society of Canada's "Last Best West," both had been slower to gather momentum. As the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway opened the prairies to settlement, an interest in conserving fish and game developed piecemeal. So did any widespread adherence to angling as a sport. Despite the numbers of sportsmen in the Territories, it is telling that in 1885 troops at Fort Calgary wanting more fish for their mess had to be reminded by the *Calgary Daily Herald* that even if nearby "rivers abound in trout, fishing is not a western sport."¹⁹ Fly fishing remained a pursuit of likely a very small minority of the overall pioneer population. The *Qu'Appelle Progress* in 1892 described two rural fishermen who had become "anxious to become fly fishermen but had had neither the time nor money to indulge in the pastime." They resolved to try it out, with mixed results. The more successful of the pair resorted to dropping worms as chum from a boat before hooking lake trout with a pole. Apparently, the difficult fly tying, casting techniques and "the new arrangements city chaps use" were beyond these farmer fishers.²⁰

There were certainly sportsmen in the west. On a Saturday evening in 1886, at a "well attended meeting of sportsmen" in Fort Macleod, an organization calling itself the Southern Alberta Game Protective Association was founded.²¹ Although its members undertook a critical appraisal of existing game ordinances, they focussed most of their attention on preventing First Nations from engaging in what the association perceived as the overhunting of antelope, mountain sheep, goat, and deer in the vicinity of the settlement.²² More popular than conservation-oriented associations in these early communities were the rod and gun clubs that formed in small towns almost as soon as the Canadian Pacific Railway was laid down and the first wooden storefronts sprang up.²³ These clubs would sometimes send letters and petitions to the government regarding matters of conservation, with the hunting freedoms given by treaty to First Nations a favourite subject of complaint. For the most part, though, their time was given to providing attractive fish and game opportunities for visiting sportsmen and getting together to

swap stories about their own recreational adventures. They found the Canadian West a sportsman's Eden, and they frolicked in it.²⁴

Meanwhile, conservation was not practiced much by western pioneers themselves. Few would have prescribed to a sporting ethic when it came to wild animals, birds, and fish. Rough times hounded them throughout the 1880s and early 1890s, when crops often failed and a steady supply of meat from domestic animals was not reliably available. Pioneers needed to eat. They had few scruples about fishing and hunting excessively to fill their larders, especially if it could be done quickly enough to leave time for other work. Their fishing techniques were usually rudimentary: throw a net across a stream and come back later, nail used gunny sacks onto the openings of beaver dams, heave pitchforks into spawning runs. They pickled trout in barrels to preserve food for the coming winter.

The supply of fish did seem unlimited, anyways. As described by the earliest European explorers, rivers and lakes were positively teeming with beautiful, large fish there for the taking. First Nations, who had fished in the region for a very long time, had a far better grasp of fish populations. The Stoney, for instance, called Cataract Creek, a tributary of the Highwood, *hora winijbi wapti*, or “no fish river.”²⁵ But the first explorers on these streams saw the west as pristine and fish abundant. James Hector—accompanying John Palliser's expedition, a massive inventory and mapping exploration of the West—spent time on the Highwood River where it flowed into the Bow, “a clear stream, 40 yards in width, rising in the Rocky Mountains.” Stoney were there in 1859, camping at the crossing, just as Hector and his companions arrived. Hector's party then loaded horses and wound a “zig zag” trail up to the benchlands over the Highwood valley, finding it all “very picturesque” and soon set about to fish. “As the evening was dull and overcast,” Hector wrote, “and the river looked favourable, some of us tried fishing with the very rough tackle we possessed.” This amounted to “some common twine and a few large unmounted cod-hooks, without gut, hair line, rod, or any of the civilized appliances.”²⁶ In a scant ninety minutes, his party had caught thirty-six trout, “none of which were less than three quarters of a pound weight and most of them from one to one and a half pounds.” He described two varieties, one “with silvery scales and with firm salmon-tinted flesh and the other brightly sparkled, but the flesh white, soft and watery.” He was likely describing

cutthroat and bull trout. He also mentioned, “we had seen a third species, the shape of which was different.”²⁷

Explorers were often military officers and members of Britain’s upper class, most of them ardent big game hunters and anglers who brought with them a predilection for catching fish on the fly. They served, as sportsmen, as the advance guard of Empire.²⁸ The Viscount Milton, the sixth Earl Fitzwilliam, and his personal physician, Dr. Walter Cheadle, angled these western waters. Just outside of Edmonton House in 1863, fur trader Colin Fraser took time to instruct them on fancy fly ties for mountain streams: “We made several large flies on gimp hooks with worsted & coloured silk for bodies & speckled duck’s feathers for wings; resembling no live fly I had seen,” wrote Dr. Cheadle, “but Mr. Fraser assured us Rocky Mountain trout would take them greedily.”²⁹

Arriving with groups of roughshod newcomers, prospectors, and sodbusters, these well-heeled British anglers stood out. In their strange apparel, and with their comparatively complicated rods and reels, they constituted a symbolic and impressive intrusion of new ways to use nature and understand it.³⁰ Such a spectacle was quite foreign to First Nations fishers, who were accustomed to spearing or netting trout, or even catching them by hand, using a technique known as “guddling” or “tickling.”³¹ Now they found themselves in competition with sports fishers, who were beginning to gain both legal protection and social approval for practicing a method of fishing (namely, with rod and reel) that was considered more artful, as well as for observing some ethic of conservation and landing fish one at a time.

First Nations had, for countless generations, fished in Rocky Mountain streams. The Interior Salish peoples, on the other side of the Great Divide, routinely fished the streams spilling westward, using elaborate traps, nets, and weirs. The Utes were also fishers, using nets and baskets to catch cutthroat, especially, which was a mainstay of their diet.³² Early travellers through the Crowsnest Pass, amazed by the abundance of fish, witnessed First Nations fishing the large trout swimming the depths of lakes in the upper Livingstone River in 1888.³³ However, on much of the Eastern Slopes of present-day Alberta, bison-hunting First Nations tended to consume less fish. Many of these Plains peoples avoided fish altogether or ate fish only when the bison hunt failed. Some Plains peoples, such as the Blackfoot (Siksika,

Kainai, and Piikani), may even have observed taboos against taking and eating fish. The more dedicated fish eaters of the Canadian West were the Cree and Assiniboine peoples who seasonally inhabited the northerly rim of a variegated environment of prairie, parkland, and boreal forest running across the present-day mixed forest stands of the North Saskatchewan and Saskatchewan drainages. They were hunting and gathering “generalists,” seasonally killing and slaughtering bison, but readjusting their diets in the early spring, this to consume the fattiest animals possible so that they could make the transition to the oily flesh of fish in spring.³⁴ Fishing was important enough to the livelihood of First Nations that fishing rights were, like hunting rights, enshrined in the numbered treaties.

After the transfer of the North-Western Territory to Canada in 1870, actual legal protection for western trout was slow in catching up. The first acts to protect fisheries in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories focussed on commercial stock. Legislation in 1881 inaugurated a closed season on whitefish, abundant in western lakes; it also provided a closed season for speckled trout but specified it as *Salmo fontinalis*, or brook trout (now classified *Salvelinus fontinalis*), native to only a few eastern waters of Manitoba.³⁵ A more comprehensive fishery law passed in 1892 to provide seasonal restrictions on the fishing of “speckled trout of any kind,” albeit within a period favouring fall spawners (May 1 to September 14).³⁶ The same legislation required commercial fishers and farmers to purchase licences, allowing the latter to use nets on lakes, but did not require angling permits from those using hook and line.³⁷

In 1894 the law demanded a federal angling permit in all inland waters across Canada, with the exception of the Territories. That made a huge difference. The federal permit restricted anglers to land trout of a minimum size, with a maximum daily creel. And the permit system stopped individuals from selling trout “caught with hook and line.”³⁸ Not so in the Northwest Territories. Without the permit system, fishers could sell whatever they caught, in season, beyond their own needs to traders, hawkers, and peddlers in towns. They not only sold fish legitimately, but quite a few also did so as poachers, using dynamite or nets in season to sell trout in the market.³⁹

Nascent Guardian System

The federal government established a game guardian system in these pioneer settings. In the case of game conservation, English statute and common law transferred in the North-West Territories Act of 1886. After 1892, when the first few game guardians were appointed, the game laws included closed seasons, Sunday hunting restrictions, and several “fair play” principles for “legal” hunting. As Brian Calliou points out, the game guardian system allowed for some of the first inroads into the hunting freedoms granted to First Nations by treaty.⁴⁰ First Nations in the southern portion of present-day Alberta, entering treaty in 1877, had chosen reserve lands in areas of prime interest to newcomer sports hunters and anglers. Along the Eastern Slopes, the Stoney Reserve was established on the Bow River at a traditional gathering spot for the Stoney (*Īyāhé* Nakoda) called *mīnī ǝnī wa-pta*, or “cold water river.” The Siksika took a reserve at Blackfoot Crossing on the Bow, and the Kainai, by 1883, had lands reserved between the Belly River and the St. Mary, while the Piikani Reserve was located on the Oldman. Much of this reserved land was located within or close to what became the few remaining prized hunting territories and on prime trout rivers.⁴¹

With stream fronts, ranch ranges, and now-surveyed Crown land parcelled out in a settler landscape, territorial lines were drawn, despite the fact that, in theory, the treaty ensured First Nations the right to continue hunting on the lands they had, in the eyes of the government, surrendered.⁴² First Nations, from the earliest pioneer period in the West, then faced governments that backed an angler who, as one commentator said, “kills his fish artistically” over anyone—an Indigenous person, a hungry settler, or a miner—who took fish by whatever means possible.⁴³ First Nations people, like other subsistence fishers competing with this new way of fishing, moved into angling when opportunities arose or circumstances dictated, sometimes appropriating the new order by hiring on as guides to visiting sport fishers.⁴⁴ It was even hoped that angling might help assimilate subsistence-hunting First Nations people. The Stoneys—falling under the game ordinances in 1894, contrary to their treaty rights—were encouraged by the resident farming instructor at Morley (now *Mīnī Thnī*), P. L. Grasse, to take up hook-and-line fishing. That way, Stoneys could take game during the open hunting season, Grasse wrote, and when it closed, they could fish at

“their lake set apart for them in the mountains;” he requested twine, fishing hooks, and a boat that would help them.⁴⁵ Residential schooling encouraged angling as part of the supervised life and constraining curriculum forced on young First Nations. Father J. M. Salaun, at the Blood Reserve’s residential school wrote that among the “favourite pastimes” of school boys in their “recreation,” beyond football, swimming and shooting with bows and arrows, was fishing the Belly River.⁴⁶ Schoolboys at the Blackfoot Reserve at Gleichen were also fishing the Bow River as part of their permitted forms of recreation.⁴⁷ Apparently, in 1917, the Stoney had still not hastened to embrace angling within their subsistence rounds when the Alberta inspector of Indian agencies, J. A. Markle, informed the Department of Indian Affairs that, although the Stoney “have not in the past liked fish for food,” it was, he hoped, “within the realm of possibilities to educate them along this line.”⁴⁸

Despite concerns about Aboriginal hunting, true game conservation—and certainly, fish conservation—did not become an issue before the early twentieth century. In fact, even during the difficult circumstances of the 1890s, when subsistence fishing was often a necessity, game guardians were rarely seen, and in many districts, when the first actual fishery guardians were appointed to Southern Alberta in 1907, the position was often regarded as something of a joke. Pincher Creek, the Oldman River from its confluence with the Crowsnest River, and the Highwood River got fisheries guardians that year.⁴⁹ However, patrolling by these early guardians was wanting, to say the least. Pincher Creek’s guardian confessed two years after his appointment that “I have not attended to the duties of the office. I have some knowledge of all the streams as I do considerable driving about but I have done no patrol work on any of them.”⁵⁰ His replacement proved even less effective, having suffered a mental collapse and needing to return to central Canada, leaving the streams around Pincher Creek completely unsupervised.⁵¹ The Highwood River guardian in 1908, William Dunlap, though a conscientious guardian, was stretched to patrol the entirety of the Highwood River, the Little Bow, and Willow Creek.

One of the problems with early appointments was that the federal government chose fish guardians as it did postal clerks—through political patronage. It was the “warm party friend,” who may or may not have been interested in conserving fish, who landed the job, along with a small book of instructions, a free riding blanket, and a daily

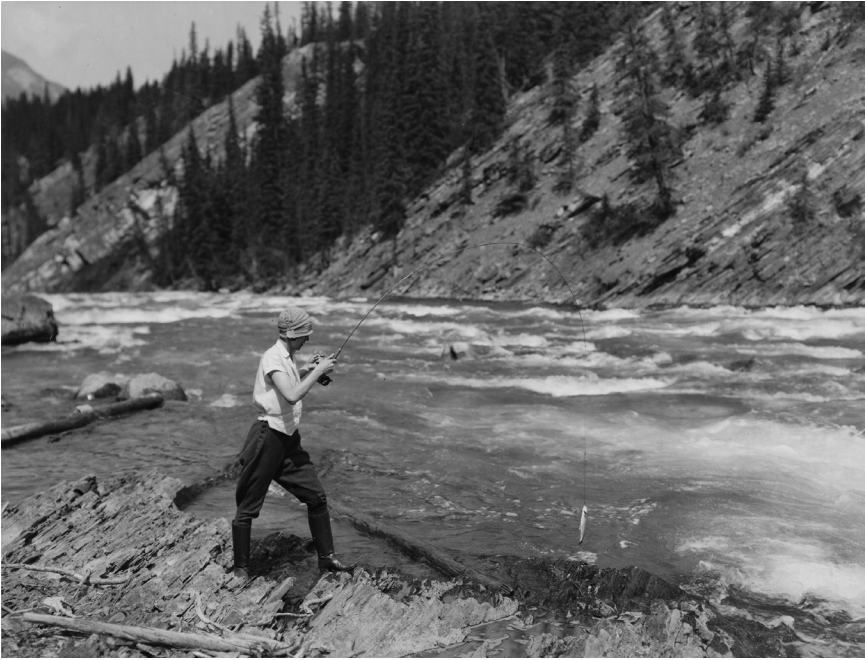


FIGURE 1.2

Fishing below Spray Falls in Rocky Mountains Park (Banff), 1928. E011073175, Library and Archives Canada.

patrol wage of \$1.80.⁵² A guardian could also keep 50 percent of fines in what was called the *moitie* system (from the French *moitié*, “half”). But guardians generally patrolled without making a lot of citations. Whether out of a lack of commitment to the job or because of intimidation from locals, they seemed reluctant to interfere with the activities of their neighbours. Their limited effectiveness is perhaps not surprising, given that the individuals applying for these positions continued to list their political party support as their chief qualification. After the Conservative Party’s sweep in the 1911 federal election, one applicant declared that he was “English, and a Church of England man. Also a Conservative.” Another, writing to demand the job of the current guardian in his area, argued that “I have supported your *partie* [*sic*] for the last twelve years,” while decrying the incumbent as little more than a Liberal Party “boss.”⁵³

Many early settlers undoubtedly expected fish guardians to turn a blind eye to their own out-of-season netting, trapping, dynamiting, or salt-barrelling of fish. For the most part, too, the rough-and-ready settlers in the early West did not share much of an anglers' interest in fishing as sport.⁵⁴ They devoted their energy to coming up with ingenious nets, weirs, and traps to take as many fish in as little time as possible and thus lay up protein for their straitened diets. They filled bottles with unslaked lime and submerged them in the cold-water streams. The subsequent detonation, caused by the reaction of the lime with water, killed fish by concussion. They used guns, not so much to shoot fish but to set off a loud charge nearby and shock them to death. Or they simply used dynamite, widely available in construction and railroad building works or purchased cheaply from hardware stores. Wrapping a lit fuse in cotton, they dropped and detonated the stick in streams and lakes.

But as settlement proceeded, attitudes changed toward such wholesale slaughter of fish. In 1909, for example, a disgruntled pioneer complained to Ottawa about the intense food fishing near his place at Peavine, Alberta, close to Lac Ste. Anne. Surely, game, fish, and forest "will soon be a thing of the past here," the man wrote. He described his neighbours plundering the lakes near his home. At spawning time, he reported, "people from around here clubbed, shot and speared any fish they came up with," adding that the previous winter locals had dynamited a nearby lake, leaving a hole in the ice big enough to sink a house, with fuse lengths blown as far as 150 yards from the blast.⁵⁵

A shift into a conservation ethic, shaped around angling rules, began to occur up and down class, regardless of gender, divides. Although typically silent in the correspondence of angling associations run by men, archival photographs provide tangible proof of women's presence in the world of angling: they are pictured standing on railway trestle bridges over creeks, wading ankle deep in mountain rivers, or simply participating in group activities. As Jen Corrinne Brown observes with reference to the American West, during the Victorian era angling became a "respectable sport" for women, "as long as they maintained proper gender boundaries"—for example, by wielding a rod while wearing a skirt. As Brown argues, the fact that women contributed to sporting periodicals and ran angling shops not only gave them a certain agency and authority but also "provided legitimacy to the sport itself."⁵⁶ By their very presence, women of the middle and

FIGURE 1.3

“A Bow River Comedy—Adventures of the Herald Staff,” *Calgary Herald*, July 21, 1904. The caption read: “Under the combined influence of a ‘John Collins,’ some Calgary Brewing Co’s. best, a big lunch and Col. Porter’s ‘Observations’ of the day before J. D. and Dad do some fancy juggling with an Eau Claire saw log.” Glenbow Library and Archives.



upper classes aided in the association of angling with physical health and good morals. As Mary Orvis Marbury, daughter of the founder of a famous fly-fishing company, wrote in *Favorite Flies and Their History* (1892), angling offered a healthful form of recreation for those “who seek fresh vigor and strength in a pursuit which occupies mind and body in the open air, and yields excitement without worryment.”⁵⁷

Perception of Nature’s Decline

By the turn of the century, anglers urged government to regulate more closely streams offering recreation, respite, and healthy diversion. Ecological changes were by then undoubtedly altering stream life and very likely changing the species composition and the availability of fish.⁵⁸ Gone, too, were the heady days of truly whopper trout tales on the Bow. Observers attributed most of the decline in fish to the sheer number of settlers now “pot fishing,” as contemporaries termed the practice of intensive fishing for food. As one worried observer said of conditions on the Bow in 1908, “the river is lined with pot hunting fishermen from morning till night,” with the result that the streams were depleted before visitors even arrived at Rocky Mountains Park later in the season.⁵⁹ If hungry working-class people lined streams, so too did growing numbers of middle-class urban recreationists, who

sometimes relaxed in more ways than focussed fishing. Bob Edwards, early Calgary newspaper editor of the *Eye Opener* and well known for his love of drinking, once counselled “budding anglers that bottled beer makes the fish bite splendidly.”⁶⁰ Then, as now, sport fishing was, for some, a serious activity requiring concentration and skill, while, for others, it provided an excuse for heavy tipping and free-for-all carousing—a contrast neatly captured by a cartoon that appeared in the *Calgary Daily Herald* in 1904. In the cartoon, the newspaper’s staffer, pictured with his father, are unaware that they are landing a log rather than a fish after an afternoon of heavy drinking.

After 1896, in what is referred to as the “Laurier boom” years of immigration, the West experienced massive growth. Alberta’s population skyrocketed. It grew 5.5 times between 1901 and 1911, from 73,000 to 374,000.⁶¹ The granting of provincial status to Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 led to the first efforts to transform rod and gun clubs into conservation associations. In 1906, Calgary’s Robert A. Darker, the sales manager for Standard Life Insurance, began that process by establishing the Calgary Fish and Game Protective Association (CFGPA) and striking a committee to extend its work throughout Alberta. Meeting in Darker’s business office in Calgary, the committee discussed the “ways and means of interesting true sportsmen in all parts of the province in the slaughter of fish and game.”⁶² They struck on sending a circular letter asking prominent businessmen, aldermen, and other elected officials in forty-three Alberta communities to form associations of their own with the view of later coming together in Calgary. The letters reached individuals from all walks of life, from Banff Brewster transport partner, P. E. Moore, to businessman and civic leader H. M. Shaw in Nanton, the new High River mayor, Dan Riley, and rancher F. W. Godsall in the small town of Cowley on the Oldman River. Darker followed up the letter with a tour of Southern Alberta to rally more support for the cause.

Darker was ideally suited to head a region-wide association. He was prominent as a leader of the Kiwanis Clubs in Western Canada, helped found the Shriners in Calgary, promoted Calgary’s tourism and business sectors, and helped lead the Calgary Good Roads Association. Darker cherished getting out of the city, away from his hard work and civic duties, to hunt and fish. He and his friends would take the CPR to be dropped off at a siding in the Eastern Slopes, returning days later

FIGURE 1.4

Robert Darker, 1920: conservationist, civic leader, Calgary booster and businessman, photographed here as president of the Kiwanis Club of Calgary. NA-3852-11 detail, Glenbow Library and Archives.



“bearded and smelling of fish.”⁶³ When *Standard Life* featured Darker in its company magazine, *Life*, the writer described him as “seven feet of muscular manhood.”⁶⁴

His imposing size and leadership abilities might explain how Darker was able to convince no fewer than eighty delegates from all over Alberta to attend a three-day convention in Calgary in January 1907.⁶⁵ Some of the attendees were those sent the circular letter a few months before. Others, however, had learned of the meeting and came with specific issues to raise. These included Board of Trade member A. T. Stephenson from Red Deer, Morley missionary John McDougall and his businessman brother, David, game wardens from Southern Alberta, and prominent sportsmen from Stavely, Gleichen, Fort Macleod, and the small village of Pekisko on the Highwood River.⁶⁶ Modelling its constitution on that of the Ontario Fish and Game Association, “subject to revision to meet the requirements of Alberta,” the association,

taking the name Alberta Fish and Game Protective Association (AFGPA), promptly voted the provincial premier, Alexander Cameron Rutherford, as its honorary president. The attendees then made strong recommendations in respect to the game laws to Benjamin Lawton, the province's newly appointed game guardian, who was present. Newspaper coverage suggests that the concerns of hunters shaped most of the meeting discussions, especially to change game regulations now that Alberta provincial status was achieved a few years before.⁶⁷ But meetings also addressed fishing concerns. A federal fisheries overseer who was present received and took seriously the association's own recommendations for changes to the fisheries laws. Reassuring Ottawa, he felt that the group comprised the "best settlers in the country and principal men of the towns and villages."⁶⁸

Darker aimed to create a province-wide association, but while vice-presidents for northern, central, and southern districts were appointed, Calgary sportsmen shaped the agenda to the point that it was characterized, even in *Edmonton Bulletin* coverage, as an organization of Southern Alberta.⁶⁹ The association's president was Reverend G. H. Hogbin, the principal of the Calgary Indian Industrial School. The rest of the executive was composed of Macleod, Red Deer, and Calgary members. Three Calgarians, including Darker, ran the association's special committees.⁷⁰ With Calgary sportsmen dominating its early conservation work, and Edmonton's own work not really beginning until 1920, Darker frequently wrote Ottawa simply on behalf of the Southern Alberta Fish and Game Protective Association.⁷¹

The association was quick to pressure the federal fisheries department to change regulations better suited to the realities of western watersheds. Its members were on hand to influence the outcomes of the 1910–11 Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission. The AFGPA continued its work during the war years, however, in 1919, anglers within the association formed a separate group to take the name Southern Alberta Angling Association (SAAA). According to the *Morning Albertan*, its executive board boasted that the SAAA had a membership of "several hundred" and seemed confident that its ranks would shortly grow to over four thousand, when "every settler in the vicinity of the creeks and rivers of Southern Alberta" joined up.⁷²

Darker's initial drive to organize the many rod and gun clubs in Alberta met with encouraging results. In 1908, newspaper editor Mark

Drumm in Frank, Alberta, within the frantic coal-mining areas of the Crowsnest, spread word about Darker's association, expressing hope that the "energetic campaign" to see every town with its own association would promote "right thinking about fish and birds, in fact all game." Drumm tried to dissuade readers from thinking that the movement was only "a good deal of a fad."⁷³ It is difficult to know how many towns formed associations on Darker's lead. Two years later, almost fifty citizens in Wetaskiwin formed a local chapter, each member pledging to observe the fishing regulations and impose them on fellow townspeople on nearby streams.⁷⁴

The war years magnified the importance of angling and fish conservation efforts. Just before the war, the cost of living in the boom years of immigration and urban growth had caused fishing to expand in Calgary. With the war came economic hardship. Pot fishing increased among Calgarians who saw wartime food prices soar and meat supplies rationed. The Calgary *News-Telegram* in August 1915 reported that, "Hundreds are searching the Bow from one end to the other for the finny swimmers, and every stream running into the Bow has been visited."⁷⁵ In the Crowsnest, anglers formed an association, vowing to better regulate streams while pleading with the government to open the streams much earlier in the season "to alleviate the distress in the district" and "benefit . . . the unemployed."⁷⁶ Toward the end of the war, the federal wartime food controller asked Red Deer's city council to encourage the consumption of fish, "at the rate of one pound per head of population." Responding to the request, the council secretary complained about the high cost of market fish and asked, "that fishing licenses be done away with in this district," apparently to allow citizens to eat more fish from local streams.⁷⁷

Compounding wartime problems was a period of drought that dried up mountain tributaries and critical trout-spawning habitat on the Eastern Slopes. In 1917 and 1918, a scourge of wildfires swept through the foothills. With brush and trees burned out, snow could not accumulate, and, as a result, meltwater was low in most of the principal streams. One alarmed fisheries officer noted that Pekisko Creek, which flowed into the Highwood, was so parched that fish were "cut off in pools with a temperature of water so high that it is doubtful if they could survive."⁷⁸ In 1919, drought and bad conditions downstream from Pekisko Creek prompted High River anglers to petition Ottawa for help, and in

1920 they formed their own angling association. By then, many other communities were lending support. Claresholm's "angling fraternity" hastily met at W. MacKenzie's barber shop on a Thursday night in May 1921 before the fishing season opened (the barber-proprietor was duly sworn in as vice-president) and devised a strategy to ensure that the fishing rules were observed.⁷⁹

Other factors drove the emerging conservation movement. The bleak post-war economy had given a sense of panic to most of the towns and villages in the region. Many communities had grown almost explosively during the early 1910s, benefitting from the massive investment flowing into the West before the great crash of 1913. The war abruptly ended the boom, and towns slumped into sluggish and disappointing growth in the years immediately afterwards. At the same time, the expansion of railway service and the unveiling of faster, more powerful, and more reliable automobiles that could travel over rougher terrain encouraged urbanite escapades, weekend fishing trips, and family angling excursions. One serial that appeared in the *Red Deer News* in 1922, entitled "Mr. Peavey's Car," suggests that urban dwellers turned to cars as a means of escape. The protagonist tries to convince his wife of the benefits of buying an automobile. "It will be the making of all of us," he says. "We'll take fishing trips along the river. We'll go somewhere every Saturday afternoon. We'll carry our suppers to the parks, and just live in the open. We'll get brown and hearty."⁸⁰ The "jolly parties" heading from towns and cities into rural areas soon had fishing stories inseparable from automobile technology, as exemplified by one Red Deer group who went fishing in what is now Clearwater County, to the northeast of Banff National Park. A *Red Deer News* writer claimed that the anglers caught such a "whale" of a fish that they had to use their automobile to drag it to shore.⁸¹ The *Macleod Times* reported on a foursome from Fort Macleod heading to the Crowsnest area in 1923 having a similar experience: they snagged such an inconceivably massive monster of a lake trout (ninety-six pounds) that they reportedly used their car to land the fish.⁸²

These rollicking and frequently disruptive visitors troubled the post-war countryside. In the foothills, rail links and auto travel spurred unprecedented numbers of visitors. The increased pace of recreational fishing during a post-war economic downturn presented a real problem to rural communities. In the eyes of the local population, these

outsiders, especially those driving automobiles, were prospering in a boom from which no one nearby seemed to be benefiting—and these invading anglers were plundering prized local streams and hauling creels back to their presumably already well-stocked homes.

The numbers spoke for themselves. In 1916, there were 1,200 anglers holding permits in Alberta. By 1921, the number of anglers issued permits had almost doubled, to 2,272, and by the next year their number had nearly doubled again, to 4,300.⁸³ The most heavily fished streams—the most desired river getaways—were, in order of preference, the Highwood River, Pincher Creek, and the Oldman River. These were frequented by outsiders, whether urban folk from Calgary or rowdy townies from new communities springing up along the Eastern Slopes.

In the end, then, it was a combination of factors—the economic downturn during and after the war, the drought, and the steady increase in pot fishing, coupled with an influx of recreational fishers—that prompted people in small towns to take up the cause of the fish in their local streams and rivers. But, as they joined associations, it soon became clear that achieving agreement among anglers on exactly what measures should be taken would be no simple matter.

Saving Calgary's Fish After the Great War

He hid patiently in the bushes, observing and counting before pouncing with his characteristic shock-and-awe tactic to enforce the fisheries laws. Calgaryian Frank Kemish was doing his part as a very seriously engaged “honorary” (i.e., voluntary) fisheries guardian in 1921. Most Calgaryians would have recognized him in the city or even here, on the Bow River’s western upper waters. On most days during the open season (and, one suspects, even during the closed season), Kemish patrolled nearer to home in the city, along the shores of Prince’s Island or the popular camping and picnicking spots on St. George’s Island.¹ He spent hours along the Elbow and Bow Rivers waiting to catch fish “hogs”—those landing more than their daily allowance or taking fish that were too small.

In 1921, Kemish was poised to realize one of his greatest coups in voluntary enforcement. He had tracked down a Calgary physician, Dr. Dyce, whom Kemish rated as one of the city’s top three “hog” offenders. Kemish had discovered the doctor’s automobile obscured in the trees on the boundaries of the federal forest reserve far to the west of Calgary. Under a large overhanging willow bush, the physician was busily cleaning some seventy-nine trout that he, his wife, and his fourteen-year-old son had landed. Kemish made his move. He crashed in on the doctor and wrote him up for breaking the law, later writing to Ottawa and the federal fisheries department to report the offence.²

In the years immediately following World War I, anglers in Southern Alberta were anxious to see the law respected. Like Kemish, they were willing to voluntarily enforce the regulations; they also deeply divided themselves in debates about the goals of conservation and, by extension, the measures needed to achieve them. Nowhere were issues

so keenly argued than in Calgary. No one questioned the wisdom of placing restrictions of some sort on fishing, and there were quite a few like Kemish who were willing to see regulations enforced. But controversy erupted between competing interests, pitting purists who sought, in the name of conservation, to preserve angling as a skilled sport against those whose vision of conservation led to support commercial expansion. The discord reflected more than just differing priorities, however: since actual fisheries regulations and their enforcement had only recently developed, diverging opinions were natural in such circumstances. But ultimately, debate about fish, fisheries regulations, and enforcement turned on differing understandings of nature itself.

Regulation in its Infancy

The need for improved fishing regulations in Southern Alberta became apparent in the first decade of the new century, given that fishery laws in the region were something of a relic of early territorial administration. The Dominion government had inherited daunting responsibilities when Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory were transferred to its care in 1870. The province of Manitoba—consisting originally of only a small area surrounding Winnipeg—was created that same year and expanded in 1881 to encompass the southern portion of the present-day province. The immediate concern for the federal Department of Marine and Fisheries, which was responsible for regulating fisheries on lakes and streams throughout the West, was to promote commercial lake fisheries on the big Manitoban lakes. The Dominion government sought to encourage large commercial fishing operations to exploit the abundant populations of whitefish and sturgeon in the lakes, with a view to increasing exports to the United States.³

By World War I, a similar process to encourage commercial lake fishing occurred in the newly created provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905. The construction of rail links into the northern parkland region of the provinces allowed big companies to ship whitefish to urban markets in eastern Canada and the United States. Rosily optimistic, government officials believed that Canada's northern lakes could feed all of Europe if need be. At the very least, Canadians eating more fish would free greater quantities of meat and poultry that could be shipped to the men fighting overseas.⁴

At the outset, Manitoba's regulations for lake fishing were simply cast, like a huge net, over the entire North-West Territories—a landmass the size of Western Europe. In the following decades when settlers moved into the area, it became clear that this “one size fits all” approach was nonsensical. It was urgent to make fishing “fair” for all involved and create more nuanced regulations better suited to the needs of a very diverse region.

In 1906, Alberta's fisheries inspector, Harrison Young, wrote to Edward E. Prince, the commissioner of fisheries for the Dominion government, about the need for better regulations. Young included in his report comments from settlers and officers of the North-West Mounted Police, as well as the particularly alarmist views from the editor of Calgary's *Eye Opener*, Bob Edwards. Edwards had informed Young that a single party of fishers had taken some six hundred trout from Nose Creek, then flowing from a short distance into the heart of the city. And yet, as Young well knew, not a single guardian had been appointed south of the Red Deer River. Understanding that “it is in the proximity of the town that most reckless fishing is done,” he recommended a guardian be appointed in each town in the province.⁵

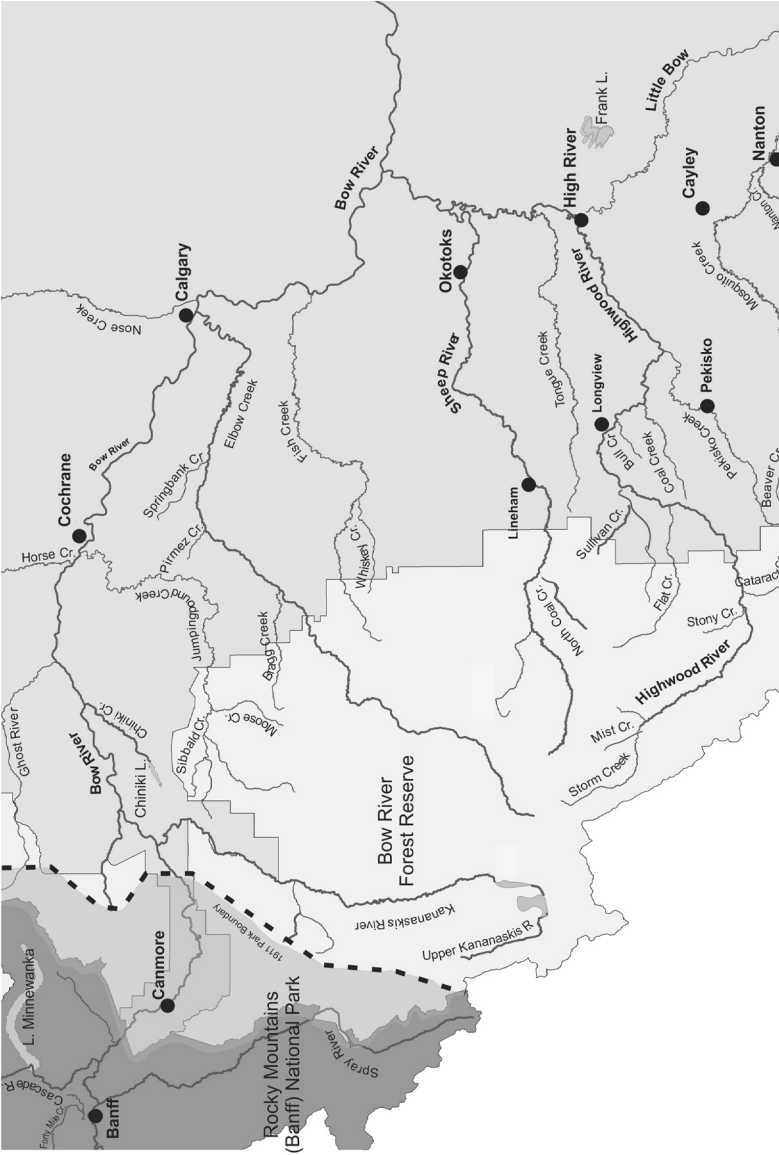
Meanwhile, sports fishers were beginning to press for regulations better suited to the fish that were swimming about in local rivers and lakes. Arguing that cold-water trout required special consideration, Calgary's anglers insisted that the foothills needed different regulations. In part, they needed regulations to protect “sporty” fish from the depredations of what were, in the opinion of anglers, less desirable species.

At the time, relatively little was known about the species composition, spawning and behaviours of trout in the magnificent mountain streams running up and down the Eastern Slopes. Trout spawning dates, alone, were not well understood. The members of the Alberta Fish and Game Protective Association (AFGPA), recently founded by Robert Darker, differed in their views on such matters.⁶ During the association's very first meetings, some members, undoubtedly accustomed to early seasons in eastern Canada, had proposed April 1 as a fishing season opening date. By the end of their deliberations, however, those with more experience fishing mountain streams had greater sway. The group recommended July 1 instead. This later start would better respect the spring spawning times for cutthroat, but the problem was

that no one really knew when precisely that occurred.⁷ Even by 1908, Darker asked the government to appoint an inspector “who will keep data and records” to precisely nail down when trout were in spawn. He and other anglers had such wide-ranging experience, he himself could not exactly tell.⁸

Albertans got some of their first tailor-made regulations after an inquiry took place in 1910 and 1911. Headed by a trio of federal appointees, a commission travelled through Alberta and Saskatchewan, enduring “arduous, often perilous experiences” as they journeyed to “remote waters usually difficult of access, and to be reached only by dangerous trails abounding in muskeg, or by ascending swift rapids.”⁹ Wherever they travelled, the commissioners held public hearings in a genuine effort to draw from local opinion on fish-related matters. Fisheries commissioner Edward E. Prince headed the inquiry. An impressive Scottish fisheries expert and a prolific scientific writer on all things aquatic, scion of St. Andrews in Scotland and its experimental marine station tradition, Prince was one of the new, pioneering specialist fisheries scientists who were emerging in the years preceding World War I. Prince had already devised substantial portions of the commercial regulations in other parts of Canada, from British Columbia’s coastal waters to Nova Scotia’s lobster grounds.¹⁰ Travelling with him was a medical doctor from Calgary, Euston Sisley, an ardent amateur natural historian.¹¹ Sisley came recommended by no less than Arthur Lewis Sifton, Alberta’s premier. Sisley served as president of the Alberta Fish and Game Protective Association and had, according to Sifton, a fine scientific mind. He once had “extensive trout-breeding ponds of his own in Ontario,” credentials Sifton maintained would serve him well on an inquiry into restoring and maintaining Alberta’s fish populations.¹² Travelling with them was a man of the law, the respected jurist Judge Thomas H. McGuire.¹³ A long-time territorial magistrate, McGuire had gone on to serve as a jurist in the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories.¹⁴

The three commissioners toured Alberta and Saskatchewan, stopping not only in railway towns, but also travelling by canoe and along rough roadways to remote boreal forest communities. In three short months, before moving to the northern areas of the provinces, they visited Regina, Saskatoon, Wynyard, Prince Rupert, Battleford, Bresaylor, Edmonton, Wetaskiwin, Red Deer, Lacombe, Calgary, High River, and,



MAP 2.1
 The Bow and
 Highwood
 Rivers, with
 Tributaries.
 Map by
 author.

finally, Banff.¹⁵ They filled up two dozen leather-bound notebooks and wore down to stubs several dozen lead pencils as they heard testimony from local informants. Given the rugged travelling conditions of the time, it is perhaps not surprising that Sisley and McGuire each charged to the government two bottles of scotch whisky. Prince, a staunch Presbyterian and teetotaler, did the trip completely dry.¹⁶

In addition to writing up new regulations, the commission provided a public forum in which townspeople could air grievances, rally their communities around fish protection, and draw attention to the impact of industry, ranching, and other activities on populations of fish.¹⁷ Townspeople complained of waterways fouled by sewage and other pollutants, of settlers throwing manure and domestic animal carcasses into streams, of irrigation works not sufficiently screened, and of haphazard stream diversions killing fish in the droves. They bemoaned city folk heading up streams for “holidays,” taking more fish “in one day than they could reasonably make use of,” and leaving large piles “rotting on the bank.”¹⁸ One Springbank rancher lamented the recreationists “coming out here from Calgary for the week-end and boasting that they caught a couple of hundred fish or half a sackful as the case may be.”¹⁹ During the commission’s Calgary meetings, convened over two days at the Board of Trade building, Darker’s association seized the opportunity to press the government to establish a hatchery. Their membership and other associations in British Columbia had already urged the fisheries department to begin investigating Banff as a location for such a facility.²⁰

The ensuing regulations, announced in 1912, reflected in large measure the views of community members who had testified at the public hearings. They also marked a turning point in the history of Alberta’s fish conservation, bringing the region more firmly into the larger tradition of regulation in the western United States and in the provinces of Québec and Ontario. The regulations continued a system introduced in 1907 whereby British citizens would pay a dollar annually for an angling permit, whereas non-British visitors (it went without saying that almost all of them were American) would pay \$5.²¹ Waters frequented by trout and mountain whitefish (or “grayling”) were protected, but others were left without regulation, and fishing their waters required no permit. The vagueness of the term *trout*, problematic from the start, was indicative of anglers’ perspectives at the time. The

legislation did not specifically mention bull trout at all, and, in terms of catch limits, referred only to cutthroat and rainbow (the latter still limited at that point to a small indigenous range in the Athabasca River watershed) as well as to mountain whitefish. Town anglers had clearly influenced the commissioners' final report, which reflected the popular view that the bull trout was a weedy fish unworthy of protection. High River anglers considered the bull trout a "game fish," but most anglers in Fort Macleod and Calgary viewed it as a pest that should be exterminated to save the cutthroat.²²

The most important feature of the regulations, however, was their designation of season dates based on still poorly understood spawning times of preferred sporty fish. The law set aside the area from Bow River waters to the US border as spring spawning waters, while the Red Deer and North Saskatchewan Rivers were designated as fall spawning waters. This exercise in "state simplification" drew major differences in the dominant fish populations of these streams and would go a long way toward dividing Alberta's waters, quite literally, into separate and thus more easily managed, areas.²³ To align with their designations as spring and fall spawning areas, respectively, the Bow opened later in the season, July 1, the Red Deer and North Saskatchewan opened earlier, with matching fall closing dates. Season dates on lakes also differed, as did minimum landing size and creel limits. The rules allowed a nine-inch minimum for trout (fifteen inches for lake trout), and a maximum daily catch of twenty-five "cutthroat, rainbow and mountain whitefish." (Again, the omission of any reference to bull trout was significant and would soon haunt the Department of Marine and Fisheries.) Where they were fished, a maximum of twenty-five pike (*Esox lucius*) and pickerel (walleye, *Stizostedion vitreum vitreum*) per day was allowed.²⁴ To modern readers, these seem like high daily catches, but anglers, it was understood, usually shared their creel with family members and friends, and the larger community upon their return from fishing excursions. Fish, after all, constituted a significant element of local diet.²⁵

But even after the formal adoption of these regulations in 1912, Calgary's protective association, with Arthur G. Wolley Dod now president, found enormous holes in enforcement. That year, Calgary anglers were concerned that "everyone is fishing" in the city and nary but a few seemed even aware of the regulations. Euston Sisley tried to distribute copies of the legislation but sporting goods stores selling tackle, rods,

and other items were refusing to post them since even local newspapers had yet to publish any legal notice of the Act's passage. The NWMP, meanwhile, had received no formal instructions and knowing "nothing about the regulations," they were unwilling to make convictions.²⁶ The Department of Marine and Fisheries sent the association more copies of the official Fisheries Act of 1912, but its suggestion that anglers wanting licences should apply to the fisheries inspector, E. W. Miller, at distant Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, was not helpful at all.²⁷

Whatever initial concerns for their enforcement, the regulations and increased vigilance by fisheries overseers did nevertheless make some difference. Calgary's overseer saw officials following up on the commission's concerns about pollution: "the mills in the district were visited and sawdust, &c., found to be satisfactorily disposed of."²⁸ In the ensuing years, the regulations were becoming generally known and fairly observed by many Calgarians.²⁹

Calgary's Divided Angling Communities

By the end of the war, however, even the commissioners' regulations seemed woefully out of touch with the realities of the times. This was particularly the case in cow-town Calgary. There, pot fishing had increased during the war while angling as a form of recreation had risen as a palliative for the stress of life, work, economic insecurity, and the war itself. In 1915, the *Calgary News-Telegram* noted the widespread popularity of angling, particularly fly fishing, which it termed "the pastime of the gods." Calgarians were for the most part still wet-fly fishers, the newspaper reported, casting downstream to reel back their streamers against the current. But the newspaper did note gaining adherence to dry-fly fishing, and with it, casts upstream.³⁰ If there was a manner of fly fishing better suited to Calgarians looking forward to new economic opportunities just after the war, it was one that cast flies upstream to catch fish coming their way, rather than after fish had passed them by.

And it was just after the war when anglers, sensing an urgent need to regulate fishing more effectively, had themselves appointed as "honorary" guardians and applied the law, sometimes fearlessly, on their own. Frank Kemish is a good case in point. Born in Southampton, England, and having learned the engraving trade in Toronto, Kemish subsequently moved to Calgary where he became an ardent hunter and fisher, as well as a dedicated gardener. His home's ornamental gardens at

1719 13 Avenue SW became a showcase attraction in the city.³¹ Just after the war, Kemish became intent on improving the skill and sportiness of Calgary's fishing. He did so in his honorary guardian appointment, conferred by the Calgary fisheries overseer. By 1924, D. A. Richardson approved twenty members of a city angling association to "watch the prohibited areas" and "also check up on those fishing without licenses."³² These guardians were usually assigned a circumscribed "jurisdiction" to focus on, but that did not stop Kemish from keeping an eye on city anglers who were fishing far from the city. Kemish himself was shocked by the rough ways of settlers who, rather than pursue sport on their leases and quarter-section farmlands, still regarded fishing merely as a source of food, and was enraged when one rancher "cleared out" Whiskey Creek with a potato sack "made into a trawl-net."³³ Like most city anglers, he believed that citizens should do their part. A good citizen ensured regulations were obeyed by everyone. This sense of direct action mirrored provincial politics at the time. The progressive platform of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) swept the party to power in 1921, with promises to unite all classes and occupations in common economic prosperity based on co-operation. This grassroots revolution had its beginnings in the depressed town and rural economies. UFA locals run by both women and men rejected the old nostrums and empty words of what now appeared to be war-profiteering Conservatives and inconsistent, manufacturer-friendly Liberals. Under Henry Wise Wood, the UFA and its close backer in social reform, the United Farm Women, led by Irene Parlby, promoted the idea of co-operative rather than competitive politics and the need to achieve a just, equitable society in the face of interest groups, monopoly businesses, and eastern manufacturing consortia.³⁴

Like their contemporaries who sought to change society for the better through greater grassroots engagement and direct democracy, most of the city's anglers were intent on seeing the underwater worlds around them improved and the fish within them conserved. While the city yearbook for 1919 assured readers that "the Bow and Elbow and the mountain streams abound with trout and grayling" and that "one does not have to go out of the city limits to successfully cast a line," it also admitted that "the larger game fish are caught further up stream, and the fisherman's slogan is 'the farther you go for them, the bigger they are.'"³⁵ Especially coming from a promotional publication, this qualifier

speaks to the changes perceived in Calgary's own environs. Indeed, in 1919, Charlie Hayden, the *Calgary Daily Herald's* news editor and future president of the Alberta Fish and Game Association, perceived the urgent situation around him. Confident about Calgary's growth before the war, he now saw the cattle industry, the grain futures market, and the retail trade in peril. Like many Albertans now facing uncertainty, he expressed his alarm about the "vanishing game fish" of the region in a letter to the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Drawing on ten years of angling experience on the Bow River, he wrote that "the situation is absolutely desperate" and that "unless the Federal Government takes measures to improve it game fishing will soon be one of the lost sciences so far as Alberta is concerned."³⁶ Hayden began inserting stories about conservation, natural history, and angling into the pages of his daily newspaper. Fishing stories appeared in sections on automobiles, recreation, and Banff attractions. By the late 1920s, the paper boasted a special section dedicated to fish and wildlife conservation.

The times certainly emboldened anglers like Kemish to act with greater purpose. With pot fishers now lining Calgary's Bow River, Kemish was particularly concerned that some city folks were asking for an earlier start to their fishing to please tourists and boost the post-war economy. As Kemish knew, an earlier season would protect the more numerous but less sporty mountain whitefish populations in streams and might be fine for some anglers, but it would not suit an accomplished fly fisher like himself.³⁷ His priority was to see spring-spawning cutthroat trout thrive. So concerned was Kemish that mountain whitefish were displacing cutthroat, he devised, quite illegally, an experiment to compare the growth rates of both to demonstrate that mountain whitefish, if protected, would menace cutthroat in their native habitats. He secretly transplanted about a hundred of each species into a beaver pond outside of Calgary and then measured their growth over a three-year period, catching and releasing as he went. Kemish did not leave a record of his results.³⁸

Fly Fishing and Calgary's Prized Fish

Calgarians committed to the fine art of fly fishing were in complete agreement with Kemish's priority to preserve a trout sport fishery. There was quite a bit at stake. Their sport tested their fly-tying abilities, heightened their sensitivity to nature, and refined their command of the



FIGURE 2.1

All that was needed: bamboo split rod, reel, basket, net, and a canoe to get around. Maligne Lake, Jasper National Park, 1928. E011073174, RG 84, 1960-124, box 2249, album 11-20, Library and Archives Canada.

art of casting. Spurning the tourists lined up along riverbanks, many trudged far up streams to remote and secluded pools to land their trout. By the 1880s, fly fishers were divided between adherents to dry and wet-fly fishing. The most challenging, and long regarded as *the* sport for elites, dry-fly fishers typically cast upstream toward rising trout and depended on carefully selected attractor flies, those that through careful tying resembled the insects on which trout feed. Bow River master fly fisher, Jim McLennan, called the myriads of strategies, techniques, and considerations going into successful dry-fly casting, “the fly-fisher’s chess match.”³⁹ In western American mountain streams, anglers began abandoning smaller, exquisitely tied eastern fly patterns when they recognized the different demands of western trout in their very different aquatic habitats in fast-moving mountain streams. Fly fishers saw cutthroat snapping at giant salmon flies (some growing as large as two inches long), olive-coloured common stoneflies, green stoneflies, and

grasshoppers. In turn, the flies fishers tied struck the “duns and drabs and sober greys” of patterning that Rudyard Kipling commented on in his fly-fishing trip in Wyoming and Colorado in 1889.⁴⁰ With time, western fly fishing became unorthodox, indeed, relying on the woven animal hair flies popularized by Franz Pott, later the bulky Bunyan Bug, carved out of wood by Norman Edward Means.⁴¹ The other change was that true sport could be had in wet-fly fishing, using streamers. Long disdained by purists, some of them calling wet-fly fishing mere poaching, the technique of casting downstream with sinking bait attractors, whether feather wingers or furry bucktails, to emulate leeches and minnows gained its appreciation and respect among western fishers.⁴² With long silk lines now replacing clumsy, braided horsehair, flies of whatever sort could be cast long distances and then danced, hopped, or dropped into the water’s surface or current, mimicking the natural behaviour of a fish’s prey. Other key developments were split-bamboo rods—bamboo planed along its length six ways, split apart and glued back together, and then buffered smooth—and more sophisticated reels, which allowed for greater precision in playing the line.

Despite the increasing technological sophistication of the sport, anglers wielding this delicate new equipment regarded fly fishing as an art. It required an intimate familiarity with a stream’s environment, its remote pools and peculiar eddies, as well as an almost trance-like intensity of focus. Movements of the water, breaths of wind, and flashes of sunlight all had to be contemplated before a fly was cast intuitively and only precisely to where air or water carried it to where a fish was holding, feeding, or taking refuge.⁴³

Anglers’ solitary contemplation of trout behaviour, feeding, and breeding made them confident experts on the Bow River’s natural world. Expert anglers could speak at length on the fine behavioural distinctions and appearances of fish in their local environments. The most exalted trout, in their estimation, was the native westslope, or black-spotted, cutthroat, *Oncorhynchus clarkii lewisi*, known for its large mouth and the long slash of red under its jaw. Described by Euston Sisley as “a very beautiful and gamey fish,” he and his fellow commissioners in their 1910–11 inquiry agreed that the cutthroat was “as graceful in form and in its silvery hues as it is bold and strenuous in game qualities”: “Of all the indigenous fish of the western streams,” they wrote, “none are more worthy of preservation

... than this highly esteemed and beautiful trout.⁴⁴ In his guide to the fish in Rocky Mountains Park, Banff artist and fish guardian Sidney C. Vick, declared that the cutthroat was “without doubt the game fish of the mountains”—a “strong and swift swimmer” that “takes the fly in July and August with a snap that thrills the angler with delight.” But this angler’s delight was also notoriously finicky about what it took: “He is a dainty chap and if you do not cater to his taste you simply get no fish.”⁴⁵

Anglers were aware of another, larger fish—the bull trout, *Salvelinus confluentus*, sometimes referred to as (but not to be confused with) the Dolly Varden trout, *Salvelinus malma*. The fall-spawning bull trout is a comparatively large and heavy fish, providing a modicum of sport to the relatively unskilled angler. Before the extensive fishing that occurred during the pioneer period, and before stream habitats were significantly altered by logging, industrial pollution, and irrigation schemes, the bull trout had a massive range in Alberta. It was probably one of the most widespread trout in Alberta, swimming in almost all the major Eastern Slope drainages, surviving even far into the Badlands areas, with especially large populations in the North Saskatchewan, the Red Deer River, and in the lower Bow and Oldman Rivers. With its large mouth, capacious body, and hefty appetite, it was known to consume everything from rodents to other fish (most commonly, mountain whitefish) and could, in prime locations, grow to a weight of seven to eight kilograms.⁴⁶ It tended to swim, some said, more like a shark, turning its belly fully up before swallowing another fish.⁴⁷ Among anglers, the bull trout was a crowd pleaser because it was comparatively easy to catch. “This trout is a most accommodating creature,” Vick wrote, “for no matter how many times you may lose him, he will always come back and have another crack at it.” He claimed that the bull trout could be caught by “anyone who can hold a rod.”⁴⁸

Others were less polite in their estimation of the fish. An early report on the Rocky Mountain fisheries dismissed the bull trout simply as a poor sport, “an awkward country cousin . . . of insipid flesh.”⁴⁹ Following the testimony of local anglers during its public hearings, the 1910–11 Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission had condemned the bull trout as a cannibal fish, contrasting it with the cutthroat, which, with its more insectivorous habits, was viewed as more virtuous. The bull trout, the commissioners wrote in their report, “has not the fine shape, active behaviour, determined gaminess and fine

table qualities” of the cutthroat; it is “most voracious, feeding greedily on its own and other species, and usually skulks at the bottom of pools or behind a stone ready to pounce upon any passing fish.” Its weakness was its appetite: “it requires no skill to secure and on that account has some popularity among anglers of little ambition or experience.” As local anglers informed them, tourists “are pleased with bull trout as nine out of ten don’t know the difference between it and a good game fish.”⁵⁰ If overfished or “weeded” out as a coarse variety, the bull trout could be eradicated in certain areas, and, in the long run, dam building and other environmental changes to streams would extirpate it even from headwaters and doom it to threatened status in Alberta.⁵¹

Kemish, for one, had little use for the bull trout. He wanted to hold fast to a later fall closing date on the understanding that it helped contain fall-spawning mountain whitefish that were “destroying” cutthroat trout spawn in the spring. A later date also kept at bay the bull trout, which, like the grayling, spawned in the fall. To Kemish, keeping the fall fishery open, as opposed to caving into populist pressures in favour of grayling, was more in line with what he regarded as true sport.⁵²

Angler Purists Versus Civic Promoters

Kemish was by no means alone in his views about conservation. A lot of the membership of the Calgary Fish and Game Protective Association (CFGPA), but also the group’s anglers who formed the Southern Alberta Angling Association (SAAA) in 1919, agreed with Kemish. Darker served as president of the SAAA, redoubling his efforts to see all farmers and townspeople in Southern Alberta joined in the work of conservation and end stream pollution and the still-prevalent dynamiting of streams by hungry settlers and miners.⁵³ John F. Eastwood, the president of the CFGPA, likewise wanted to encourage anglers to save their streams. Eastwood corresponded far and wide with other provincial sportsmen, hustled to raise money to gather fisheries statistics and launch aquaculture experiments. He even proposed that his association publish the equivalent of the government’s annual blue book reports on the health and status of Alberta’s fish.⁵⁴

Although urban anglers agreed on the need for conservation, they by no means agreed on the best approach to protecting the fish in the streams. In fact, so divided were Calgaryans that the chief fisheries officer, looking to them for guidance on appropriate regulations, lamented,

immediately after the war, that “no two bodies of fishermen appear to hold the same views,” with the result that the measures they suggested were often at variance.⁵⁵

He likely had in mind those challenging the conservation ethic of Eastwood's CFGPA. An alarming number of newcomers were arriving to cash in on an always expected and seemingly imminent boom economy. They were, in turn, anxious to promote Calgary and foster its growing reputation as both a western metropolis and an angling paradise for tourists. Some of the conditions and infrastructure in the vicinity of Calgary helped them in their efforts. The city's fish contended with terrific seasonal flushes and ice jam flooding.⁵⁶ The city's Bow River weir, built just below Prince's Island in 1904 and raised further by the CPR in 1912, diverted water into the company's western irrigation district canal and threw up a barrier to spawners. The weir in other respects seems to have provided good fishing immediately below it. Indeed, before the weir was finally replaced by the Harvey Passage in 2012, anglers knew that biggies could be landed in the churned-up eddies just downstream from the infrastructure where fish were congregating.⁵⁷ Then in 1928, Calgary Power raised the Ghost Dam 60 km upstream to wreak further havoc. After its construction, winter river flows slowed dangerously to imperil fish survival. In most of the year, the dam would discharge every night at 7 pm. The Bow's water levels in Calgary, dropping in the drawdown during most of the day, suddenly rose some four feet by 7:15 pm. City anglers usually strategized accordingly. During the drawdown, some easily waded out to one of the many little islands on the river in city limits to fish from there; some even got marooned after the dam's discharge raised a torrent of water around them.⁵⁸ All the same, the Ghost Dam's flush, pouring down a drawn-down river, did create its own possibilities for good fishing. Calgarian Harold Edward Horne, who owned the Glengarry Service Station, had a favourite fishing spot from an island on the Bow at Shepard, 24 km downstream from city centre in the 1920s. After the Ghost Dam's construction in 1928, he realized that the fishing was best after the dam discharge raised water levels there some eighteen inches to two feet.⁵⁹ The river flushing continued until the city built the Bearspaw Dam in the mid-1950s to finally regulate the Bow's flow. Until then, fish likely seized opportunities to find their places and migrate in a flushing stream, or they responded to nutrients suddenly released in the Bow's

Fishing is the Sport!



WHEN YOU GO
**Fishing,
 Camping or
 Hunting**

There is nothing more restful or rewarding than a day's fishing. This is doubly true when the tackle used is the Famous  Brand.
 We are showing a very complete line and at attractive prices.

your trip will be a pleasure if you secure your outfit from us, as it is our special business to fit you out properly and reasonably.

Get One of Our Catalogs

Alex. Martin Sporting Goods Co. Ltd.
 231 Eighth Avenue East

FIGURE 2.2

Calgary's Alex. Martin Sporting Goods ad, 1913, *Calgary New-Telegram*, 14 August 1913. Glenbow Library and Archives.

already highly-altered hydrology amid dam barriers and irrigation diversions.

More than dam discharge was flowing in Calgary's waters. By the 1920s, massive amounts of raw sewage entered the Bow from the outtake at city centre. The sewage boosted the river's biotic capacity and likely improved fishing, at least at that time, thus promoting Calgary's reputation as a great fly-fishing destination. But fisheries officials soon learned from farmers living directly below the city's sewer that the fish were "not fit for food."⁶⁰ One individual felt that "the fish caught in the river for miles below the mouth of the sewer had a bad taste something like gasoline."⁶¹ D. A. Richardson, reporting on the situation, confirmed the "bad, oily taste" of fish downriver from the city's sewer.⁶² Even after the Bonnybrook treatment plant opened in Calgary in the 1930s,

Calgary's sewerage continued to boost the Bow's productivity for ironic effect. As Armstrong, Evenden, and Nelles pointed out in their history of the Bow River, "the Bow below Calgary was dirty, smelly, and coated in places with a dark grey slime; on the other hand, the fish seemed to be enjoying this state of affairs." By the 1950s, before yet more urban population growth required significant expansion of the Bonnybrook facility to save the river's fish, the Bow's unnaturally boosted biotic productivity ensured that "more trout were to be found in the stretch of the river from Calgary to Carseland than in any comparable trout stream in Canada."⁶³

Toward the end of the war, a formidable second force of anglers mobilized to promote Calgary tourism and expand angling opportunities on their river. Their priorities differed diametrically from those of the SAAA and the CFGPA. Calgary fisheries overseer, J. S. Hoad, yielded to their pressure in 1917 to recommend the department pull back the season dates. The 1912 regulations had started the season July 1, but Calgary boosters convinced Hoad that tourists would be pleased with an even earlier start.⁶⁴ Hoad, in turn, recommended that the season begin June 1 and end October 1. Fisheries commissioner Edward E. Prince took no time to quash the idea. Such an early start would harm spawning cutthroat. Worst still, ending the season earlier in the fall would protect bull trout. Better to keep season dates where they were, effectively reducing bull trout populations and keeping down mountain whitefish numbers, which were "devouring" cutthroat spawn in the spring.⁶⁵

But having nixed Hoad's proposal, the department had to deal with an even more radical one to follow. That spring, Alex Martin Sporting Goods, in Calgary, sent a petition signed by no less than 885 city anglers demanding to fish as early as May 15. Such an early start on "the Bow River and its tributaries" was being pressed "in the best interests of preservation of all trout and of the sport of Angling."⁶⁶ Although the Winnipeg-based chief inspector, G. J. Desbarats, rejected the demand, the size of the petition prompted him, his Calgary staff, and Banff hatchery officials to decide on a compromise. The department opened the season that year on June 15.⁶⁷

This hardly satisfied booster Calgarians and by 1921, they organized a rival fishing club, the Calgary Angling Association (CAA). The association was officially dedicated to improving the "character" of

fishing in Alberta and to encouraging a more intensive approach to fish management. But it was clear that the chief purpose of the CAA was to lobby for an earlier spring start to the fishing season. In the view of the CAA, June 15 was still too late, and it pushed again for much of what Calgary petitioners had asked for in 1917: a May 24 start date.

The CAA was also annoyed by the growing clout of angling purists, notably those in nearby High River, who had recently helped persuade fisheries officials to raise the price of a fishing permit from \$1 to \$2 and were pressing for the closure of tributaries to protect native cutthroat. This had resulted in the first closures in 1919, which are discussed at length below. As the CAA saw it, nothing squelched tourism more effectively than tributary closures and elevated permit fees. In January 1921, its membership passed resolutions stating that closures led to “over congestion” on the main streams and illegal fishing on the closed ones. They also urged that fishing start earlier to allow for more cutthroat fishing, and likewise close earlier, to encourage larger populations of the fall-spawning mountain whitefish, or “grayling,” which were popular with tourists.⁶⁸ As for the menace of bull trout protected by an earlier closure to the fishery in fall, the CAA had a solution: simply exterminate bull trout through a concerted open- and closed season attack on the fish.⁶⁹

Early in 1921, the CAA membership met with the visiting G. S. (George) Davidson, the department’s central division chief inspector posted in Winnipeg. The members urged him to open the season on May 23, claiming that cutthroat had finished their spawning well before that date. To Davidson, the group seemed composed of “fishermen of equal experience and knowledge” as those organized by Robert Darker’s SAAA and, finding himself “overwhelmed” by their arguments (and sheer numbers), he complied with the request. Although Darker and others had tried to explain the folly of the decision, Davidson ended up “siding with the opinion of the majority.”⁷⁰

Celebrating the very early start that year, the CAA membership organized a Calgary Victoria Day fishing derby. Prizes totalling \$300 were disbursed among those landing the biggest fish or the heaviest overall creel. The day’s festivities must have evoked memories of bygone days on the Bow River when, with little or no regulation, anglers were bagging the river’s bounty almost effortlessly. One of the big winners that day: “Old Bill” Huskins, who ran the Grain Exchange cigar shop. His

deft hand and experience as a former game warden clearly gave him an edge, or at least an extraordinary sense of where large cutthroat and mountain whitefish swam—although Huskin kept their whereabouts strictly secret except to his closest friends.⁷¹

Whatever fun CAA anglers were having, Davidson soon regretted pulling back the start date. In the next few months, Calgary's fisheries officer, D. A. Richardson, began inspecting streams west of Calgary to determine exactly when cutthroat spawning ended. Whatever experience CAA members claimed to have had, they were dead wrong about cutthroat spawning times. As Richardson reported to Davidson in November, he had found cutthroat spawning well into early June.⁷² Experienced anglers of the SAAA already knew what Richardson had confirmed. With their association still outraged by the earlier start to Southern Alberta fishing, Davidson admitted that the May 23 date was "far too early."⁷³ And so, in 1922, the likely deeply embarrassed fisheries department again opened fishing only after 15 June. Beyond the misstep, the episode demonstrated the potential influence of the CAA. It was large, well organized, and represented powerful business interests and city boosters prepared to push for an early tourist-pleasing season, regardless of the consequences for native cutthroat.

The CAA membership was not easily deterred. In 1924, it proposed an even earlier season opening date of May 1, with an October 1 closing. Robert V. Hunt, who ran the Fisherman's Inn in Calgary—and who, not coincidentally, favoured a longer angling season, as this would allow him to sell more rods, gear, and licences—easily gathered 171 signatures on a petition to support the CAA's proposal.⁷⁴ These petitions mattered to federal fisheries officials, given the instability of the traditional party system in the west and the constant shifting of political support behind Conservative, Liberal, and now agrarian party candidates in elections just after the war.⁷⁵ In the end, the CAA's new proposal was only stopped by an intense backlash from Robert Darker's SAAA faithful and anglers in High River, who continued to advocate on behalf of spring-spawning cutthroat.⁷⁶

There were, however, additional differences between the CAA and other angling associations. The CAA wanted Banff's regulations applied in Calgary, allowing anglers to land seven-inch rather than nine-inch trout (Banff's regulations were based on the smaller size of cutthroat in higher mountain streams).⁷⁷ Perhaps more importantly, the

CAA wanted new fish to catch in Southern Albertan streams. After the war, the CAA initially championed rainbow—not the native variety found in the Athabasca watershed but one imported from Ontario (and those originally from California). Very soon into the organization's work, however, the membership began openly pressing for other exotics. In 1923, the association's leader, the Calgary businessman David Keir, became a vocal supporter of newcomer fish that had already been introduced into mountain streams in Montana and Idaho. Many anglers advocated for brown trout and eastern speckled brook trout. Between 1909 and 1913, the Department of Marine and Fisheries was receiving petitions in support of the introduction of the latter into Eastern Slope streams, on the very improbable argument that they would survive winter-cold water better than native species of trout.⁷⁸ Certainly, by the beginnings of World War I, many Calgary anglers were demanding the eastern brook trout already extensively planted in the western US, "where the dancing mountain streams foam over hidden boulders, tumble into shaded pools, and renew their brawling and winding course through rugged canyons." In Alberta, brookies, though growing smaller in size than in the East, would develop "sharp lines and symmetrical form. . . , large and powerful fins that enable it better to resist the force of rushing waters, to ascend the swiftest rapids, increase its activity, and likewise its powers of resistance to capture with hook and line."⁷⁹

During the war, Keir's posting to a regiment in Scotland seems to have taken the CAA's preferences in another direction. It might have been in his homeland where Keir regained a strong attachment to its fish. He and the CAA membership pushed for the introduction of a subspecies of brown trout, and a genetic interloper in Alberta, the Loch Leven, which was felt offered both brute size and a good fight. Keir's association even volunteered to stock the fish in Southern Alberta if the Banff hatchery, by then in operation, would begin producing them in large enough quantities.⁸⁰

Many European fish had already been introduced in the United States because they tended to be heavier and sportier than native species, and, at the time, experiments with Loch Leven brown trout were taking place in New Brunswick, as well as in Montana and in Yellowstone. But in reply to Keir's request for them in Southern Alberta, the Dominion fisheries superintendent, W. A. Found, drew on Edward Prince's keen

concerns about the fish, that there was “some danger that its introduction would eventually mean the extermination of the smaller native species.” Prince was following American studies that suggested that once introduced, European species like the Loch Leven became sluggish and complacent and were thus of far less value to sport fishers than native species.⁸¹ Prince indeed had long put the kibosh on demands for exotics in Western Canada. As early as 1909, at a time when the introduction of exotics was first gaining popularity, Prince had warned that, in the United States, bass, yellow perch, brown trout, and brook trout had been introduced to waters “without proper investigation,” and was “ill-advised.” At that time, and ever since, he had recommended to the fisheries department that only native Rocky Mountain species, primarily cutthroat, be planted in Eastern Slopes streams.⁸²

In 1924, Red Deer anglers were successful in arguing that the Banff hatchery should at least supply the Raven River with Loch Leven. However, the Department of Marine and Fisheries refused to see the fish introduced into Southern Alberta, as the CAA wanted. In the end, Calgary anglers gained a concession to their request only accidentally. In 1925, the fish was introduced to Carrot Creek, near Canmore, when a truck carrying Loch Leven from Banff to Red Deer basin streams broke down and the driver had to hurriedly release his cargo there.⁸³

Plans to open the season earlier, catch smaller fish, and stock streams with species of fish that had never swum in local waters horrified purists. All the same, even by 1919, individuals within the SAAA had already begun breaking ranks to lobby for the introduction of “spawn or fry game fish not already in this province,” and there was now open support among some members for introducing not only Ontario Nipigon brook trout but also rainbow into the Bow.⁸⁴

This, in the opinion of the High River angler’s association, was a disaster in the making. As the group noted in a letter to Darker, “When we start to interfere with what nature has done we are at sea.”⁸⁵ Four High River angler-conservationists—W. D. Elliott, Edward McCorquodale, C. A. Farquharson, and Henry Gould (also regarded as a local bird expert)—likewise took exception to the SAAA’s shift in favour of exotics in a strongly worded letter to Ottawa. Elliott, writing with the association’s secretary, Frank Watt, argued that introducing anything “other than nature has placed in the stream” was a poor idea, adding that, “We think the [SAAA] is on the wrong tack.” As for the push for changed

season dates, which might encourage the spread of fall spawners, High River anglers had noticed a steady decline in cutthroat some forty miles up their own stream, the Highwood. “When one looks back ten or twenty years,” Elliott and Watt wrote, “it is sad to reflect that their numbers are now replaced by the grayling.”⁸⁶

The stage was set. Whatever anglers who aligned themselves with conservationists might say about the need to protect their favourite fish, the native cutthroat, the business and commercial classes—and, behind them, the demographic clout of the city—were moving in a different direction immediately after the war.

Ironically, anglers so fiercely debating season dates and minimum catch sizes were not in the position to see much of the bigger picture at the time. The fight between cutthroat preservationists and mountain whitefish advocates in Calgary was largely based on assumptions that species of fish grow at the same rate and each species spawns at its own respective times of the year. Setting a minimum size of landings, it was hoped, would move anglers to kill only adults that had already reached sexual maturity; killing smaller fish would otherwise kill juveniles before they reached maturity and strike decisively at a fish population’s breeding stock. But, in fact, depending on the water body, for instance, the McLeod River drainage, fish such as rainbow trout grow very slowly and become sexually mature long before they reach five to six inches; conversely, in the Oldman River, the same fish might reach ten inches before it even reaches maturity to spawn.⁸⁷ It is clear, too, that anglers wanted to nail down exactly when cutthroat spawn, this to protect them accordingly within closed season dates. It was true that cutthroat is generally a late-spring and early-summer spawner, but it turns out that the species can have “both prolonged and variable” spawning times—from April to August; members of cutthroat populations can have changing spawning times annually and they can spawn at different times within the different streams they occupy in Alberta.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the debate among Calgary anglers about how to conserve fish and which species to prioritize in regulations mattered a great deal in the ensuing question about how to save pioneer fishing in Alberta’s cold-water streams.

Tending the Highwood's Underwater Gardens

They stood about on the rough trail beaten in the cow pasture along the Highwood River. It was an otherwise quiet Saturday afternoon in July 1926, just up on the benchland above the river valley. At the very spot where the first of many cattle gates opened and closed to anglers driving west along the river in new-fangled, noisy, and cantankerous automobiles, the members of High River's angling protective association were stopping drivers to ask where they were coming from and just where they were headed with their fishing rods.

Town anglers were taking such interest in these matters for a reason. As Calgary's own streams grew crowded with pot fishers and urban industry and construction affected waterways, the popularity of countryside visits and recreation in "nature" had exploded. During the early 1920s—a period so difficult economically and demographically for towns like Didsbury, Fort Macleod, Lethbridge, and High River—automobiles quickened the pace of outsider visits to rural areas. Farmers owned autos, but urbanites used them in ways that thoroughly rankled countryside folk. City "auto-tourists" arrived like gawking, intrusive, and rude colonizers, seemingly ready to take whatever a town could offer and make demands for whatever it did not.¹ The influx of outsiders, many of them intent on fishing, expanded significantly with automobile use, spurring some of the largest and most influential conservation campaigns of the interwar era.

Few Alberta towns mobilized so methodically and with such determination as High River anglers did in the 1920s. Throughout the decade, its angling protective association wielded considerable political influence to shape fisheries policies, with its members guarding the trout sanctuaries of the magnificent Highwood River.

The Calgary Auto-Tourist

As almost everyone knew, most of the visitors to the Highwood in 1926, trammelling ranges and driving pell-mell over riverbanks in automobiles, hailed from Calgary. The city's population, although still growing sluggishly after the wartime hiatus, exceeded sixty-five thousand. Poised for the next boom, Calgary was a city with aspirations of rivalling the status of Winnipeg, which, before the war, had been the region's chief commercial and cultural centre and the point of entry to Canada's West. Calgary's bustling literary clubs, women's auxiliaries, social scene, and arts-supporting, theatre-going classes were mobilizing for economic prosperity.

Nothing seized Calgarians' imagination quite like the ultimately modern contrivance, the automobile. In 1921, the city's *Morning Albertan* ran sections devoted to automobiles, their maintenance, and their use, especially in countryside visits. It also ran no end of reports on the abuse of the new transport device, often in the hands of inexperienced drivers. There was the case of Thomas Stinson, who "ran amuck" with his vehicle and, on Ninth Avenue, ran down a certain G. C. Abernathy, who was visiting the city from Champion. Reportedly, "after running over him," Stinson calmly backed the car off the man's body and . . . drove away at a good rate of speed." He then flattened Allan Laughton, who was riding his bicycle. Stinson was finally apprehended at his home and arrested.²

Calgary streets were already becoming congested with automobiles. In 1914 auto registrations in Alberta topped 4,700, a tenfold increase from only four years before. Dozens of automobile models were seen on Calgary's streets by that time.³ People were speeding down roads to the peril of pedestrians and parking vehicles along curbs overnight, contrary to a bylaw ordering them to use garages at their residences. It is surely ironic that they also turned to their cars to escape all the mayhem and "overcivilizing" effects of city life. With the help of technology, they could escape the mess of modernity and retreat to the countryside to fish the upper stretches of Southern Alberta rivers and streams. One was the *Morning Albertan's* society page columnist, Daisy MacGregor, who clearly relaxed along the Highwood to cast her line in the war years.

Although early vehicles notoriously broke down or blew tires, and most roads were "dirt trails riddled with almost impassable ruts,"



FIGURE 3.1

Daisy MacGregor, Society Editor of the *Albertan*, fishing the Highwood, 1918. NA-2772-10, Glenbow Library and Archives.

automobiles made possible the great urban invasion of the countryside and spurred the growing popularity of outdoor leisure.⁴ In the case of fishing and hunting, the rapid growth of Calgary, which had led to the flushing out of game from its nearby forests and fields and the crowding of local stream fronts, gave urbanites all the more reason to procure an automobile. As one sportsman explained it, by 1921 one needed to go as far from Calgary as Innisfail (just south of Red Deer) to find the last braces of rapidly disappearing prairie chicken. A car was the best way to get there.⁵

Among the well-heeled Calgarians taking to the wheel in those years was Austin de Burnus Winter, a lawyer who was also one of the city's most sophisticated sportsmen. Born in Exeter, England, in 1882, Winter moved to Calgary in 1903 and was admitted to the bar in 1909. He arrived in Calgary just in time to witness streams drained of fish and fields emptied of pronghorn antelope and native birds. His conservation concerns dovetailed well with the work of John F. Eastwood's Calgary Fish and Game Protective Association, and Winter became involved with others in the association who were scrambling to replenish

these wild places. He and his associates talked of replacing the disappearing antelope with Swiss chamois.⁶ More immediately, in 1907, Winter, Fred J. Green, and George I. Wood, all Calgarians, brought in bobwhite quail, the broods travelling comfortably in a heated rail car to be liberated at Midnapore, just south of the city. Unfortunately, most of them froze to death in the famous cattle-killing blizzards that winter. But, in 1908, Winter's group tried again with Hungarian partridges purchased from a Pennsylvanian dealer. The birds multiplied quickly. An Oregon breeder supplied Chinese ringnecks in 1928 and, later, Mongolian pheasants. But their greatest work was possibly in transplanting chukar partridge in a bid to replace the now-disappearing prairie chicken. The plan was simple: raise the broods, distribute them to other associations for careful guarding, and see that they multiply in the province's far-flung fields and forests.⁷

Winter had broods pecking at seed in the backyard of his posh house in Mount Royal. The home on 21st Avenue and 6th Street West in Calgary's most exclusive neighbourhood perfectly captured his work ethic, his flair for introducing the exotic into western environs, and his passion for all things sporty. Built on a precipitous slope, Winter's home was designed to capitalize on its location and impressive landscaping. The winding front steps led through a garden lined with blue spruce and past Japanese lanterns, a tile-roofed mailbox, and shaded pagoda, all contributing to an oriental theme.⁸ But it was not a quiet retreat, by any means. Winter himself was an avid dog-man and kennel keeper. He bought setters and retrievers from distant US dealers and entered them in competitions convened in the foothills. His evenings were spent corresponding with sporting associations in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. From American and English dealers, he purchased guns and replacement parts, and handcrafted hobnailed boots for the next spring duck hunt.⁹ Winter was also an unapologetic "moderationist" in the post-war prohibition era. His sporting companions made sure to share their supply of "splendid stock" with him on their shooting trips.¹⁰ In the run-up to the big Alberta plebiscite on prohibition in November 1923, voters were to decide on continuing the wartime booze restriction or choose between various wet options. One of Winter's bird-hunting companions joked with him about evoking the ghost of Alberta's legendary imbiber, Bob Edwards, to foresee whether the vote would mean "moisture" in Alberta's weather forecast

or more “internal dryness” in the province.¹¹ Winter threw himself into the campaign of the Moderation League of Alberta.¹² So did R. A. Darker, serving as the league’s secretary, who invited Winter, as a lawyer, to attend meetings and show that “every trade, business, profession or calling” was represented in the movement to end prohibition.¹³ In the end, the Moderationists prevailed. Almost 94,000 Albertans voted to allow government sales of liquor through permits and the controlled sale of beer in licenced establishments. Almost 62,000 voted to continue prohibition.¹⁴

By 1923, Winter and most of his friends had cars, which were providing “every travelling comfort” for their owners and their dogs and attendants, as one friend told Winter: he saw “no reason for spending money on hotels and taking long scouting drives in the morning. Each evening we will locate a roosting ground and park our car close at hand.”¹⁵ Cars like these had removable seats so that sleeping bags could be stretched out, and the trunks could carry cooking equipment and food stuffs. Winter frequently caught lifts with friends who were more than happy to provide the gasoline if he brought along his dogs, rated as some of the best sporting animals in the city.¹⁶ To one of his bird-hunting companions purchasing a Hudson sedan, Winter only trusted that he had fully considered “our annual chicken shoot.” Beyond the comfort of driver and passengers, it would need “space for the usual impediments, the game and the bird dogs.”¹⁷

Drivers rambled almost anywhere in cars in those years. They used autos more like mechanical horses on four wheels. In roadless areas, they cranked gears to get over rocky slopes, backed up to gain momentum needed to climb hills, and splashed across creek and riverbeds. They chugged their way into otherwise remote spots, their backfiring engines an endless source of consternation to farmers and ranchers. Many tended to leave a trail of garbage behind them when they returned to the city. At least in the eyes of locals, there was nothing more obnoxious than Calgary’s automobile drivers.

One of their choice destinations for fishing: the Highwood Valley. In 1922, the *Calgary Herald* recognized that over the past eight to ten years, the upper sections of the river had become “the poor man’s playground” for Calgarians. Banff had its appeal to well-off Calgarians, but it was in the Highwood’s forestry reserve where picnicking is “altogether unrestricted in the matter of free and easy personal liberty of action,”

provided that Calgaryans respected the very liberal reserve regulations. A Calgary man “with a car and his pleasure-seeking family” needed little in ways of supply and only a short forty-five-mile drive from High River brought everyone to the rock grade of Mount Head and then the “far-famed” Cataract Creek fishing holes, “wherefrom several five-pound cutthroat have been taken.” The *Herald* writer himself claimed to have landed Cataract cutthroat beauties “using only a willow pole, a rough string, and a chunk of raw beef dangling on a hook.” He now saw the fish delighting “to battle with the man handling expensive tackle, alluring flies, and a wading costume from head to heel; also a wicker basket.”¹⁸

Frank Watt, of the recently formed Highwood River Angling Protective Association, grew concerned with these hordes of Calgary visitors. Watt, a construction worker from Guelph, Ontario, had come to Alberta in the late 1890s and, ironically, had helped build most of the roads and bridges along the Highwood River that later so frustrated him. He also served as a district school trustee and was an avid reader who prided himself on being well-informed about national and local issues.¹⁹ Apparent to this road builder were the deleterious effects of visiting automobilists on the once “splendid” fishing holes along the Highwood. Now “heavily fished” by anglers “who never had an opportunity to do so before,” Watt reported that his river’s trout were “scarce and very wary.”²⁰ The river had been spared the impact of railroad construction up its valley, of big-scale coal mining, such as that in Bankhead and Canmore, and the hydroelectric development of the sort beginning on Banff’s Lake Minnewanka. Although seasonally affected by the heavy upstream logging and the spring log drive organized by the High River-based Lineham Lumber Company, the Highwood had retained its robust fish populations well into the pioneer period. The Lineham company’s log boom just north of the town limits, which provided a narrow bridge for traffic, served anglers well: in the fall, mountain whitefish came up the river to the boom. Early pioneers remembered the bridge “lined with boys with long bamboo poles with brass wire snares attached to the end of the poles, snaring the fish. Others were fishing with hook and line.”²¹

As early as 1913, however, E. W. Miller, chief inspector of fisheries for the Department of Marine and Fisheries, saw a dramatic increase in automobile traffic along rivers in the southern areas of the province, with

the Highwood drawing the biggest crowds. George Stanley, a physician soon to be High River's representative to Alberta's legislative assembly, had alerted the fisheries department to the increase, commenting that the Highwood "is probably the most important river in Southern Alberta as far as fish is concerned."²² With local pressure growing on the department of fisheries, the river got S. H. (Sam) Smith, who lived in the small settlement of Pekisko, as a paid guardian. A Conservative Party man respected by the many ranchers on the western sections of the river, Smith proved a good choice. Smith was lauded by cattleman Frederick Ings, whom Miller described as "living in the heart of the best fishing waters" of the Highwood and who was among the "many persons much interested in the preservation of trout."²³ During open season, Smith patrolled the river four or five days of each week. Helping him was the Calgary-based fisheries department overseer, J. S. Hoad, who also visited the river and issued tickets to offenders. There was also the High River detachment of the North-West Mounted Police that maintained its own patrols of the mountain stream.²⁴

The Highwood's reputation grew after the war, and so did visits by automobile-driving tourists. Regarded as one of the premier fly-fishing spots in the west, the river was especially popular because it was accessible by the railroad from Calgary, which ran through High River, and had good road access as well. None other than Chicago's Dr. H. J. Morlan, of the powerful conservation organization, the Izaak Walton League of America, and one of the editors of *Outdoor Recreation*, visited the Highwood in the interwar years. Having fished "all over the world," he concluded that there was "no more beautiful or deserving stream anywhere" than the Highwood. In 1925, having "cogitated over the possibilities of that magnificent stream," Morlan wrote a letter to fellow anglers in High River urging them to take up the cause of protecting the river from overfishing. "To neglect this stream in my opinion would be nothing short of treason," Morlan wrote. "And after all, we are ALL Americans, even though we fly a different flag."²⁵

Morlan really did not have to convince High River people about the merits of their river. They had an almost mystical relationship with it. The Highwood is a mountain stream, born officially at 1,752 metres above sea level, where Mist and Storm Creeks join in the slate-grey crags of the Rockies in what is today Peter Lougheed Provincial Park. The river's origins in such perpendicular circumstances lend it a dangerous,

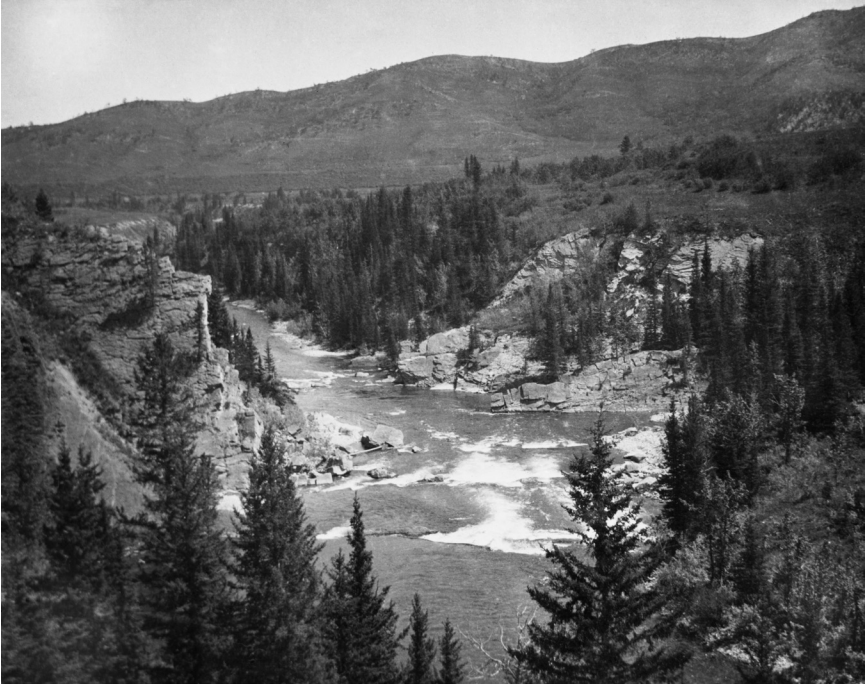


FIGURE 3.2

Early view of the Highwood Valley. NA-695-79, Glenbow Library and Archives.

almost feral, character. At its higher elevations, the Highwood is chiefly fed by snowmelt, and the cliffs, mountain mosses, and stands of lodgepole pine near its source are almost perpetually soaked in moisture. The spirit of the river, its essence, is created in swirling mountain clouds and mists, as if the water flows from heaven itself.²⁶

In its higher reaches, the Highwood tumbles out of V-shaped valleys. Ranchers have difficulty getting cattle close enough to the river to drink in these areas, but, at 1,416 metres above sea level, the river slows and spreads out into a U-shaped valley, scoured in ancient times by glacial ice. The waters lose speed, and in many places, like a dog following its nose, the river meanders back and forth among glacial terraces. People living along this stretch of the river, now fully in ranching country, learned long ago not to discount the river's power, even at this slower rate of flow. The Highwood can easily change course on its gravels,

and, from time to time, it bucks its floodplain and destroys everything a farmer or rancher owns.²⁷

From the earliest days of the settlement, High River citizens knew and respected the river that flowed through their town. They lived their lives to the sound of its waters. They knew it could flood in spring, during runoff, and in winter, with ice jams. Old-timers referenced their lives according to the Highwood's high-water marks, remembering the big floods, such as those of 1899, 1902, 1908, and 1912, when the river decided to rise and inundate their living rooms. High River citizens were reminded of the river's power in the great flood of 2013. As photographs in the Museum of the Highwood later made plain, during floods, the grey waters could swirl right through downtown, carrying board sidewalks with it.²⁸ The unpredictability of its waters, however, never detracted from the Highwood's beauty. The river had such life that it could even console pioneers whose hopes were dashed, as it apparently did a certain Harry Albert Ford. After spying coal seams along the river's western stretches, Ford had purchased leases, dropping his real-estate work, and sank his capital—too little, it turned out—into a failing mine. Despite this cruel reversal of fortune, the *High River Times* later found him quite content, ensconced in a cabin above the floodplain, in the company of his Airedale. The Union Jack flew from a flagpole, the paper reported, and both man and dog seemed “at peace with the world” in the Highwood valley.²⁹

Dr. H. J. Morlan's concerns about overfishing on the Highwood River were long understood by High River citizens. Frank Watt, as mentioned, complained in 1922 that autos now opened Highwood streams to angling by outsiders.³⁰ Herbert N. (“Bert”) Sheppard, whose ranch house to the west of High River—appropriately called Sheer Cliff Ranch—looked directly over a magnificent escarpment onto the Highwood near present-day Longview, was likewise concerned, especially with the damage done to riverside hay meadows by campers. “Not only do people camp and drive through the hay meadows tramping down the hay,” he reported in 1922, “but they are most careless about fires.” He now saw “thousands of people from the cities and adjacent prairies who since motors have come into use, and especially during the last four dry years have enjoyed the use of the Forest Reserve as a picnicking and camping place, and while there have passed the time fishing.”³¹

The problem expanded in scope in the mid-1920s. Willow Creek, with its headwaters close enough to the Highwood basin that High River anglers included it in their protection efforts, flowed south to the Oldman, within reach of bustling, growing towns including Stavely, Claresholm, Granum, and Fort Macleod. On a visit to the Willow Creek area in 1926, R. T. Rodd, who was by then the fisheries inspector for Alberta, noted that “there are hundreds of people from the small towns such as Nanton, Stavely, Champion, Carmangay, etc. who during the summer months, fish in the Willow Creek and make trips into the foot hills for camping.” Nor was he blind to the result: “No doubt these campers, or fishing parties, cause considerable trouble,” he surmised, by opening gates and letting cattle out as well as leaving “rubbish, tin cans, etc.” behind them.³²

Since the law gave anglers a right of access to streams, including streams flowing through private property, those seeking sport in out-of-the-way fishing holes ended up raising the hackles of a lot of farmers and ranchers. Calgary angler Henry Stewart, claiming thirty years of experience fishing the streams west and southwest of the city, was irked by the hostility he was feeling among country folk in the foothills by the late 1920s. In a letter to the *Calgary Daily Herald*, he reminded his fellow urban anglers of their right to fish, despite reports that “people living on land running into streams chase anglers off with shotguns and vicious dogs.”³³

In response to Stewart’s letter, conservationist and public speaker Dave Blacklock took the opportunity to write to the *Herald* to complain about the campers who were chugging by car up and down the Highwood and the Bow, mangling stream fronts. He suggested Stewart take up land along one of the heavily fished streams. He would know what a local resident had to contend with when he had to “put up broken fences, shut gates, [and] catch and remove tin cans from the lower jaw and hoofs of cattle, due to careless campers.”³⁴

The invasion of visitors, with their apparent lack of concern for the welfare of locals, bothered High River people at precisely the same moment when the community’s own prospects seemed bleak. The town’s fantastic growth in the first decade of the century—from a mere 153 souls in 1901 to 1,182 in 1911—had stalled during the war years. The 1921 census showed that High River’s population had increased by only

sixteen people since the war's end, and townspeople watched rival communities now attracting settlers, railway stations, and investment.³⁵

Quite apart from the implications for the economic fortunes of High River, the expansion of settlement elsewhere in the area had potentially grave implications for the Highwood. Always a source of natural wealth, it now nourished not only High River citizenry but also the bustling and quickly growing communities downstream or via the Little Bow River.

High River Anglers Organize for Tributary Closure

As early as 1918, locals began organizing to remedy the problem of overfishing. Drought conditions in the foothills were tempting individuals to take fish below legal size. At least a thousand such fish, High River's anglers reckoned, had been poached "in a big killing of under-sized trout" in the 1918 season alone.³⁶ Conditions were no better the next year. Tributaries ran so low in 1919 that, by August, anglers in the town were seeing dead fish floating in the river, killed by elevated water temperatures in parched tributaries.³⁷ The *High River Times* fretted about dour angling prospects: "We fear the waters of the Highwood River have been sadly depleted of all its large fish."³⁸

In High River, one of the most impressive groundswells of support for conservation moved toward tributary closure, an idea that took hold in 1918. Even before many young men returned from the war, town elders began pushing for tributaries to be closed, believing that these fed the Highwood with its prized trout. As one resident stated, this critical habitat was now visited by "larger numbers of people from Calgary, Lethbridge, Vulcan, Okotoks and other towns around about" who would "camp out for days at a time, salting down their catches in barrels."³⁹ A meeting held in 1919 brought together Edward McCorquodale, Henry Gould, and a number of other professionals from the town, notably W. D. Elliott, the town's most respected fly fisher and considered "the most informed angler in our community."⁴⁰

At that meeting, forty-eight anglers from the town and nearby ranches demanded that, "for the preservation of good sport in the future," the government close "all tributaries of the Highwood," as well as Willow Creek, on the grounds that these streams constituted "the natural breeding grounds for trout."⁴¹ The petition, sent to Ottawa by George Stanley, had an immediate effect. The department dispatched



FIGURE 3.3

Distributing hatchery fry on the Highwood River, Fish Guardian Sam Smith seen on the left. NA-0695-67, Glenbow Library and Archives.

its Winnipeg-based central region chief inspector, George Davidson, to confirm the poor state of the streams in question, and, in May 1919, as High River anglers had requested, a federal order-in-council closed the Highwood's tributaries (erroneously including Willow Creek as one of its tributaries) to angling for two years, later extended to 1922.⁴²

High River's stream closure idea spread. Dealing with their own disappointing creels, Calgary conservationists followed High River's example to push for more stream closures. During the summer of 1919, drought conditions had had a grievous impact on the streams in Eastern Slope watersheds, including the Bow River. A common complaint among anglers was that fish on the river were undersized, a phenomenon to which G. C. Langley, a Calgary fisheries officer, was able to attest. Langley reported that, in 1918 and again in 1919, he had to catch and release a hundred trout in order to bag ten or twelve fish large enough to keep.⁴³ Langley sent on to Ottawa a petition from Fish Creek anglers demanding that Bow and Elbow Rivers tributaries be closed for one or two years to recover.⁴⁴ In Robert Darker's SAAA meetings, members raised concerns that unless tributaries were closed for at least two years, "it would be difficult to obtain a good day's fishing" anywhere.⁴⁵

Darker's group pressed the government to close Bragg Creek and Fish Creek, "which are the natural breeding place for trout," all tributaries of the Elbow River, and Bow River tributaries (except the Ghost River) on its north side from Calgary to Rocky Mountains National Park.⁴⁶

The fisheries department, overwhelmed by grassroots support for the measure, especially the SAAA's recommendation that all streams in Southern Alberta be closed, complied.⁴⁷ In 1920, an order-in-council closed for two years "all Southern Alberta tributaries," including those of the Red Deer River.⁴⁸

Drought prompted other changes. On Pekisko Creek, a major tributary of the Highwood, fires in the foothills burned off much of the snowmelt water that fed the creek. Several years of low spring and summer precipitation also lowered water levels to the stream's very gravels in some places. The creek ran right through George Lane's Bar U ranch, one of the most important spreads in the Pekisko valley.⁴⁹ Lane had built irrigation works to help relieve his ranch, but it was obvious that few fish remained in the creek, all the way from its headwaters in the foothills to the point where it now slipped listlessly into the Highwood.⁵⁰ Even with such tributaries closed to fishing, fish populations had to be revived.

To save the situation, Lane made a bold request. He asked the Banff hatchery to plant no less than 1.5 million cutthroat fry in Pekisko Creek and another million in the upper sections of the similarly parched Willow Creek.⁵¹

The request must have raised the eyebrows of R. T. Rodd, who was the hatchery's superintendent at the time. In those years, the Banff hatchery was lucky to produce half a million cutthroat fry annually, and almost all of them were destined for the mountain streams in the park itself.⁵² All the same, the hatchery was willing to help. Rodd arrived in High River with about fifty thousand fry to be released into Pekisko Creek. They were not cutthroat, however, but rainbow trout, and the stocking constituted the fisheries department's first real experiment in planting the new fish in Southern Alberta streams. Rodd had little difficulty planting the rainbow fry darting about in the water-filled milk cans he had brought. Lane had sent a truck and cars to the High River rail station to meet him. On arriving, Rodd was duly greeted by "several of the good sports of that town." With the help of Lane's vehicles, the fry arrived in good shape for their release into Pekisko Creek.⁵³



FIGURE 3.4

Hunting Party on the EP Ranch, with Alec Ballachey (left) and Edward, Prince of Wales, third from left. NA-2046-4, Glenbow Library and Archives.

With the planting an apparent success, in 1920 High River anglers formally created their association, its members dedicating themselves to guarding the streams they had helped close while lobbying for more hatchery fry to renew life in their river. The association was composed of very serious anglers. Prominent among them was W. D. Elliott, the manager of the local branch of the Bank of Commerce.

Elliott revered the Highwood. As he later wrote in his bank's in-house magazine on his experience on the river: "No you cannot go out and fill a creel by simply casting a nondescript fly any place on the stream, not by any means." Hooking a fish on the Highwood required skill. But for Elliott the river was more than about its trout. It was also:

the scenery; the benches; acres and acres of wild geraniums, tiger lilies, Marson meadow, a picture crammed with flowers against the mountains—sun rises and sunsets that a man would give millions to live with—and then that tumbling, foaming, tempestuous, clear-as-a-crystal mountain stream. Here a rushing torrent, there a limpid pool, a nice quiet run, rapids, and

above all, no dirt, no dust—ozone purified by being swept over miles of clean, clear snow-fields and tall green forests.⁵⁴

At their first meeting, the Highwood anglers elected Elliott president, Edward, Prince of Wales their honorary president, and George Lane their honorary vice-president.⁵⁵ Although Edward, Prince of Wales, was voted merely as the association's figurehead president, there was rationale in his appointment. The Prince had purchased his spread, the EP Ranch, in 1917, and in his frequent visits to Western Canada, he rode horses on his land and fished in the stocked lake on his spread and along Pekisko Creek. Most socialites in Calgary relished the opportunity to join Edward for grouse hunting or angling, followed by dinner around his lake at the ranch.⁵⁶

The Highwood River Angling Protective Association, as it was named, charged \$2 for a membership. In addition, the annual fishing permit fee had recently been raised from \$1 to \$2, this to reduce the numbers of permit-holding anglers and raise government revenues to pay guardians to better enforce the law.⁵⁷ Angling the Highwood as a member, then, would now cost \$4 in fees (almost \$60 in today's money). The association's membership immediately moved the request to the federal government to keep the Highwood's tributaries inside and outside the forest reserve closed to angling. They also lobbied for the Highwood River itself closed for a year west of the Gunnery Grade, in the Bow River Forest Reserve.

In addition to their motions, the association wrote up its own application for hatchery fry for the Highwood's tributaries. They made their preference for native fish clear: they again asked for cutthroat, and no less than two million of them.⁵⁸

The association also urged the government to appoint more guardians of their own choosing, these to serve year-round on each of the closed streams and seize fish hogs.⁵⁹ Although the department could not have paid for such extensive protection, it did accept the association's demand to reappoint the local hero—the paid guardian Sam Smith. Smith had been a cowhand at the Rio Alto Ranch on the Highwood River when he was assigned to the job after the Conservative Robert Borden's sweeping win in the federal elections of 1911. William Lyon Mackenzie King's Liberal victory in 1921 might have threatened Smith's reappointment. However, he was known as one of the most

effective guardians in the region. After his brief replacement earlier by a returning war vet, the High River association members met with a visiting senior Ottawa administrator, impressing on him that Smith's successor "did not act" in patrolling, did no enforcement, and allowed a good portion of anglers on Highwood waters without permits. They convinced him to keep Smith in his duties.⁶⁰

There was a reason why High River anglers wanted Smith. According to Frank Watt, a good friend of Smith's, the guardian knew "no friends or favourites" when it came to the fisheries laws. Watt said that he himself had "frequently been checked up by him on my fishing trips and have had to show him my license and catch."⁶¹ Angler and rancher Bert Sheppard agreed. In his memoir, Sheppard said that Smith "would pinch his own grandmother if he caught her fishing in a closed stream."⁶² The great wilderness writer, Raymond M. Patterson at the Buffalo Head ranch in the 1930s, perfectly described Smith's ability to appear in the most unexpected places. On one occasion when Patterson accompanied his ranch hands moving cattle up to Flat Creek, reaching it before dawn's light, he saw something off to the side: "A match flared out some distance away from me and a humorous, weather-beaten face, crowned by an old-time Stetson, glowed red for a moment and then vanished again into a gloom that seemed deeper than before. That would be Sam Smith, the fishery warden of the Highwood district, a firm friend and ally, communing with his first pipe of the day."⁶³ No doubt Smith's trail skills and uncanny ability to show up just about anywhere in patrol kept him in such high esteem by members of the Highwood River Angling Protective Association.

High River's idea of tributary closure rested on a vision of the watershed dividing into "nursery" areas, where fish spawned, and fishing zones, where anglers could catch them. In those spaces the same anglers could be better scrutinized by those concerned with enforcing the regulations, an approach implying strong surveillance over closed streams as well as vigilance over the open ones. High River anglers seem to have learned of the measure from American precedents in stream closure. Here, the movement originated with the rank and file, those who had a practical, rather than an academic or scientific, understanding of the foothills streams. The idea of closing tributaries was based on a theory that trout first grew, as fingerlings, in the tiny feeder streams high up in the watersheds, near the mountains in which they hatched, before

moving into numerous small tributaries, such as Pekisko, Cataract, and Bull Creeks. These small streams sheltered young fish and, having given them enough respite to gain sufficient girth, would send them out into the larger rivers as mature trout.⁶⁴ These same mature trout would return to spawn from whence they came. The idea was, then, to protect the tributary “nurseries” so that plenty of fish would be available to stock major rivers such as the Bow, the Highwood, the Oldman, and the Red Deer.

Decades later, close scientific study of trout behaviour in mountain streams overturned the assumptions that supported the tributary closure movement. Cutthroat populations are composed of both migratory fluvial members and more stationary locals. The species gains some of its resilience by the varied life histories playing out within its membership, whereby some of its population moved from mainstreams into spawning grounds, while others, typically smaller in size, stayed put in tributary streams in more circumscribed territories.⁶⁵ Some key insights in cutthroat behaviours were first derived in the 1950s studies of fish biologist Richard Miller. He carefully studied cutthroat migration by tagging fish at Gorge Creek, in the present-day Kananaskis Park system. Miller found that, after drifting from their spawning beds and finding good feeding places on a stream, fish tended to stay put as they aged. The trout he studied over a three-year period remained, like homebodies, within twenty yards of the same place. Moreover, the trout remained stubbornly loyal to their birthplaces. When Miller moved individuals downstream or upstream from their homes, they returned to them, despite the exertion required, apparently using scent retained in their memory to do so.⁶⁶ As Miller explained in a 1953 assessment of permanent stream closures, still in effect in Alberta, two common observations of trout formed the basis of an erroneous idea of trout life history: “the presence of small trout in tributaries and the occasional use of tributaries by large trout for spawning purposes.”⁶⁷ Small fish in tributaries, however, were not all young. Some weighing 2–6 ounces could be five to seven years old, whereas “a few yards away, in the larger rivers, are trout of the same age weighing more than one pound.”⁶⁸ “It is impossible that these should be the parents of the trout in the tributaries,” Miller pointed out, especially since traps at the mouths of tributaries set in May “fail to intercept any significant downstream movement of trout throughout the summer.”⁶⁹ Though

some large river trout spawned in tributaries, the broader reality was that a lot did not and by closing a tributary, smaller cutthroat would grow up, mature and die and “contribute nothing to other parts of the drainage.”⁷⁰ In short, cutthroat lovingly protected as juveniles in tributaries were probably not swimming their way into larger rivers, as High River anglers had hoped.

The Magnificent Highwood: A River Worth Saving

Flaws in the theory notwithstanding, the idea of stream closure quickly seized imaginations in High River. With Highwood tributaries officially closed along with the rest of tributaries in Southern Alberta—even the Red Deer River’s—until 1922, High River’s citizens might have found a similar peace. However, their sense of security soon shattered. Calgary’s appetite for the fish swimming in closed streams revived. After the 1920 season ended, a breakaway group within the SAAA joined forces with the anglers in the CAA to push for the immediate reopening of several rivers to the southwest and west of the city— Sheep, Ghost, and Kananaskis Rivers.⁷¹ Nanton’s Foothills Angling Association, wanting to angle Willow Creek, felt that the SAAA’s interest in stream closures was strictly a “local one” and should not govern other parts of the province.⁷² Pincher Creek anglers, too, complained that the 1920 tributary closure disadvantaged homesteaders needing fish for food: “outsiders” had imposed the blanket policy on them.⁷³

With consensuses breaking apart, G. S. Davidson met with the CAA in March 1921 and managed to convince its members to live with the stream closures for another year. He promised them that reopening would happen in 1922, when the order would expire.⁷⁴ But the CAA wanted more than to scrap the measure. Their newspaper campaign would open all streams, while continuing only for a year the closure on those in the forestry reserve. The idea was to use angler pressure on the still-open main rivers in the reserve to go after the fish the CAA passionately hated: “War will be waged against bull trout, there being no season limit on them.”⁷⁵

With the Department weighing its options, the CAA’s influence rose as a clear threat to the SAAA. The CPR’s irrigation district manager, Allan Cameron, affiliated with the latter group, circulated in Calgary a petition protesting the CAA’s proposal signed by seventy-eight of the city’s most respected and experienced anglers—stalwart

conservationists like Robert Darker and other members of the SAAA who knew Alberta's streams well. Cameron sent the petition to J. G. Rutherford, a veterinarian in the federal Department of Agriculture, who forwarded it right to the desk of Ernest Lapointe, the minister of Marine and Fisheries, and Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's right-hand man and Québec lieutenant. Rutherford explained to the minister that "a lot of your old friends in Calgary are somewhat disturbed by a certain element in this neighborhood to throw all the streams open." He appealed to the minister "as a good Liberal, or as I should have said first, an old fisherman," to abide by the petition and keep streams closed.⁷⁶

Talk of reopening the tributaries enraged High River residents. Anglers in that community, whose tributaries had been closed since 1919, assumed that the closure was permanent.⁷⁷ Frank Watt hurriedly sent a telegram to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, which he followed up with a letter to George Gibson Coote, the Member of Parliament representing the Macleod riding. He declared emphatically that the urban-based anglers of the CAA were merely "selfish and have a narrow viewpoint and representative of the various sporting goods houses."⁷⁸

In his distant Ottawa office, the minister received a letter directly from the High River association decrying any CAA move to reopen Highwood streams. Its members, dedicated to "the conservation of the Cut Throat Trout" and "on the ground and in touch with the conditions year round," felt that any reopening would encourage the bull trout, since anglers fishing in newly reopened tributaries would naturally direct their pressure on "our Cut Throat, our sporting fish."⁷⁹ Lapointe even received a telegram from Bert Sheppard, vice-president of the angling association, who at the time was convalescing at High River Municipal Hospital. In a follow-up letter, written on hospital stationery, Sheppard informed the minister that, having "lived on this river for years," he knew "from experience what a beautiful trout stream it used to be." It was imperative that tributaries be closed "for all time," for otherwise "it will be 'good bye to our trout.'"⁸⁰ Cowhand Hugh Cameron, who also happened to be at the hospital the same time as Sheppard, wrote a hurried note in the same vein.⁸¹

No doubt shocked by the correspondence hitting its quiet offices in Ottawa, the fisheries department dispatched its senior officer from

Winnipeg, chief inspector George Davidson, to High River. Davidson met with the High River association. A year earlier, Davidson had met with members of the CAA, who had convinced him to pull the season opening date back to May 15—a decision he regretted. Although the department had decided to restore the June 15 opening, High River folk seemed to be the only ones still wanting tributaries to remain closed. In their meeting, the High River association's president and treasurer, with six other members attending, apparently made it "so evident" to the chief inspector that reopening tributaries would result in the cutthroat's destruction that Davidson took their side. With "each and every one" of the executive members giving their assurance that they would afford "every protection to the waters if the streams were closed," Davidson made a decision.⁸² While the fisheries department allowed Bow River tributaries west of Calgary to be reopened, it closed the Highwood's again for the 1923 season for three years and ended up keeping them closed for the rest of the decade.⁸³

Coarse Fish and other Interlopers in the Highwood's Trout Kingdom

Tributary closures complemented natural processes perceived in mountain fish habitats. But angling associations also wanted to intervene more directly in stream environments against coarse fish competitors. The Department of Marine and Fisheries reserved for itself the right to cull. Only paid guardians could officially weed out unwanted fish from streams. In the river systems of the Eastern Slopes, these undesirables could include the native bull trout, in addition to various "coarse" varieties. However, culling could often be avoided by setting correct season dates to protect certain species while discouraging the proliferation of others. In the considered opinion of Edward E. Prince, the Dominion's fisheries commissioner, prudently planned season dates could largely accomplish the goals of stream management and culling.⁸⁴

But anglers in High River wanted more direct action. Times called for it. In March 1922, the angling association's Frank Watt emphasized to the fisheries department that mountain whitefish were "overrunning our river" and conveyed the anglers' recommendation that no creel limit be placed on the fish.⁸⁵ Similarly, two weeks later, the High River association wrote again to report that the river, where it flowed

out of the forestry reserve, was “full of bull trout.”⁸⁶ Later providing a lengthy report inventorying the fish moving into the upper reaches of the Highwood, the association stated that there was “no menace” from pike in the upper portions of the river, but suckers “year by year are now seen in all the splendid trout pools as far up the river as Flat Creek,” hitting the cutthroat spawning beds “in great numbers.”⁸⁷ Ling (*Lota lota*) were “in all good sized pools as far as Flat Creek.” The association suggested that they should be speared out through the ice in winter. As for the mountain whitefish (grayling), it was not “an evil fish, but it is detrimental,” the report stated. “When one looks back ten or twenty years and thinks of the number of trout there were in the Highwood River a mile or so above the town it is sad to reflect that their numbers are now replaced by the grayling.”⁸⁸

High River anglers, then, were seeing a growing menace of aliens, such as pike, ling, and suckers—fish that they perceived as generally haunting warmer waters—in their own backyards. Downstream from High River, to the southeast of Calgary, the Highwood flows into the Bow River, which then wends its way to the south and east, before eventually joining up with the Oldman River to form the South Saskatchewan. As rivers like the Bow flow out of the foothills into grassy areas (still relatively moist) and then onto the parched plains in the southeastern sections of the province, the sun-baked water warms to produce a different aquatic world. In southern agricultural centres like Lethbridge, warmer-water species thrived in water carried in the main streams and they invaded, along with aquatic wildlife, the myriad of irrigation ditches built to deliver moisture to dry farms.⁸⁹ These coarse species could travel impressive distances either to reside or spawn. Suckers, for instance, were “caught freely” in Lethbridge’s irrigation ditch in 1919, which had, according to the *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, made their way to the city via the St. Mary River.⁹⁰ Sometimes communities along irrigation works and main streams transplanted coarse varieties to provide fishing on the prairie where little was to be had otherwise. The fisheries department in 1923 transported suckers “and other coarse fish” from Lake Winnipegosis to some fishless prairie lakes where “only suckers and fish of that class will live,” as one newspaper reported.⁹¹ For prairie fishers, pike offered sometimes the only sport in their lakes. At Newell Lake, near Brooks, good pike fishing was reported in 1919.⁹² The pike and pickerel caught at the Chin Coulee reservoir served the needs of

anglers. However, it is noteworthy that Lethbridge anglers, dissatisfied with that type of fishing, were ready to go to great lengths to improve the sport there. They urged the fisheries department to introduce lake trout and bass at the reservoir. Since the resident coarse fish would likely predate on the newcomers, the Lethbridge Rod and Gun Club thought the only solution was to completely drain the reservoir and do a “clean sweep of the undesirable fish therein” before planting gamier fish.⁹³ So convinced that a booming tourist resort at Chin Coulee could be supported by this means, two Lethbridge businessmen took it upon themselves to send by airplane a letter to Ottawa requesting the reservoir be drained and planted with these gamier fish. They thought the novelty of sending the letter via this “experimental air flight” across Canada would “do more to attract government attention to the matter than ordinary means.”⁹⁴

Farmers on the semi-arid and frequently droughty southeastern sections of the Bow were quite happy casting hooks and landing suckers, ling, and similarly coarse species. To High River anglers, that kind of fishing was fine for farmers, but for them the problem was that these coarse fish, like downstream country bumpkins, seemed to be migrating up the lower sections of the Highwood to spawn. If they were, the most probable route for these fish was close at hand. In the early 1920s, a canal east of High River was constructed to divert peak Highwood waters into the Little Bow.⁹⁵ According to R. T. Rodd, the Little Bow and some of its tributaries, including the nearby Mosquito Creek, were not trout streams.⁹⁶ They yielded an entirely different fishing experience. Mosquito Creek was so sucker-ridden that residents fished them with pitchforks in 1911.⁹⁷ Although High River anglers did not directly point to the Little Bow canal as their migratory point of entry to the Highwood River, R. T. Rodd, by then Alberta’s fisheries inspector, believed that it was. Ling, suckers, and pike could travel from the southern interior of the province through the Little Bow and enter the Highwood “any time they wanted.”⁹⁸ So direct this route seemed to Rodd that when the Department was considering in 1927 stocking perch in Silver Lake, a man-made irrigation work connecting to Mosquito Creek, Rodd saw danger that the fish would migrate into the Mosquito, then into the Little Bow to the Oldman, and, going the other way, into the Highwood.⁹⁹

Whatever the origin or migratory paths of these fish, High River anglers could swear that they were invading their trout territory. In response to their many letters on the subject, R. T. Rodd wrote to the department late in 1922 that he would investigate installing a screen at the head gate of the Little Bow canal. He also asked the Highwood fisheries officer to keep an eye out for ling skulking around in the deeper pools. If found, Rodd recommended to guardian Sam Smith to perhaps, “without doing much damage to the other fish,” eliminate these unwanted fish by dynamiting the pools.¹⁰⁰

With Ottawa apparently not attending to their complaints, High River anglers took matters into their own hands. It is impossible to know how much coarse fish they took from the river in season to improve the trout fishery. The fall-spawning bull trout, already maligned by fishers in the province and thought to have a taste for cutthroat spawn, was undoubtedly a prime target, too. The very reason why the High River association made sure that the closures they wanted in the forest reserve did not include the Highwood River itself, was that they saw angling there as an important means of removing bull trout, which otherwise would predate on their river’s preferred trout.¹⁰¹

The law officially stopped High River anglers from weeding bull trout from the Highwood River beyond open season. But in their waters near town, the local association took a firm stance on coarse fish. That was made clear in 1927, prior to the opening of the fishing season, when two High River youths used some sort of diabolical device to snare a wallop twelve-pound pike right in the middle of town. They proudly exhibited the three-and-a-half-foot biggie in plain view. This triumphant display left the local fisheries guardian, Sam Smith, in a quandary. Almost everyone in High River hated these fish, seen as invaders from downstream. But the regulations were clear. Smith, ordinarily unwavering in upholding the law, now found himself caught between his sense of duty and intense community pressure. He asked his overseer in Calgary, D. A. Richardson, for advice, and in the end struck a compromise: he pursued a conviction against the two, but he applied only a nominal fine and, contrary to the conventional practice in such cases, allowed the kids to keep their fish.¹⁰²

But even here Smith overstepped his bounds, at least from the perspective of the town’s anglers. According to the regional fisheries manager, the High River association adopted “what can only be described

as a childish view of the case,” paying the youths’ fine, feting them as heroes, and encouraging other kids to do the same destructive work.¹⁰³ In a front-page story subtitled “High River Boys Penalized for Landing Trout Killer,” the *Calgary Daily Herald* reported that the boys were treated as “objects of admiration” in High River and were celebrated for doing precisely what any good citizen should do, noting as well that no one else had “tried for the other whoppers still carrying on in the Highwood,” at least not yet. The paper also reported that the angling association was officially protesting the fisheries department closing the Highwood to pike fishing while it was spending good money planting trout fry in it.¹⁰⁴

The association’s position was made clear by its president, Alec A. Ballachey. In a letter to R. T. Rodd, he declared that “it has always been the policy of our Association to encourage as far as possible the destruction of pike in the river.” Whereas on some streams pike provided the only fishing and therefore merited some form of protection, “this surely does not apply to a stream such as the Highwood.”¹⁰⁵ As a long-time fisheries guardian and the superintendent of the hatchery program, however, R. T. Rodd knew that these Highwood protectionists, so valuable for conservation efforts in other respects, were walking a dangerous line. If regulations were changed to allow for what the association wanted—unlimited culling of pike on a trout stream in and outside the season—he replied to Ballachey, “many unscrupulous people would take advantage” of the allowance to evade the season dates on the Highwood and take pike “and any other fish they could get.”¹⁰⁶ D. A. Richardson, Rodd’s overseer in Calgary, agreed. Should an angler “assist in removing coarse fish from the lower waters of the Highwood River he has all the open season in which do so.” But no angler, Richardson said, could be permitted to do what the boys had done: using a snare device, fishing out of season, and taking a fish—even one so despised by High River folk—still protected in its spawning season.¹⁰⁷

Farmers and Ranchers Fight over Tributary Closure

At least High River anglers got what they wanted in tributary closure. However, stream closures were by no means popular as they extended farther south in the province. Townies to the south of High River saw the steady closing down of their favourite fishing grounds. At first, the

entirety of the forest reserve was closed in 1919 due to the problem of forest fires.¹⁰⁸ Then Ottawa in 1920 closed all southern tributaries, including those of Willow Creek, and in 1922, the *Blairmore Enterprise* reported, it went as far as closing the Crowsnest Forest Reserve, except the main rivers: the Oldman, Livingstone, parts of Racehorse Creek, and the Castle River.¹⁰⁹ In 1925, another order closed streams in the Crowsnest Forest Reserve.¹¹⁰

No wonder that Claresholm citizens felt squeezed out of their own fishery. Many of their prized streams ran through the eastern portion of the forest reserves in the Porcupine Hills. Citizens and nearby farmers had avidly fished there. In 1911, the Claresholm town paper reported on one town party making the journey to Trout Creek in 1911 to make “a very large” catch of fish.¹¹¹ The comic element of one such expedition on the same creek was retold dramatically in the *Claresholm Advertiser* in 1914:

*Scene—Trout Creek, near Lyndon. Dramatis Personae—Insp. Tucker, J. T. Kingsley, H. O. Haslam, O. L. Reinecke. Time—Friday about 4 p.m. Properties—Motor car, basket of refreshments, fishing poles, especially a fine, new outfit. Act I: Flies, silence. Act II: Large fish. Great excitement. Act III: Broken fish-pole. Fish escaping. Some language, jeers from mob. Mad druggist. Otherwise a fine trip and catch.*¹¹²

Porcupine Hills tributary fishing provided recreation and a relished foodstuff for Claresholm and Stavely town citizens and settlers. The Mosley family, homesteading land twenty-eight miles to the east of town, would regularly take week-long fishing trips “to the hills,” which constituted “a highlight of the summer.” Oliver Mosley remembered travelling to these streams by wagon or saddle horse until switching to auto in the age of Ford Tin Lizzies after 1914. “The streams were so full of fish,” he recounted, “you had to get behind a bush to bait your hook.”¹¹³ Years later, Mrs. Gentry Ohler, whose parents (Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Nelson) settled nearby from Sweden via Montana in 1906, evoked her own homestead memories. Difficult pioneering was offset by fishing. It was the family’s “main entertainment,” Ohler said. They ice-fished on the lakes nearby, or they took visitors from prairie country for excursions to western streams, “and of course would have

a real fish feast upon returning to the house.”¹¹⁴ Stanley Wyatt, too, recounted coming west from St. Catharines, Ontario, in 1900 to settle in the new town of Claresholm. Late in his life, he could name the Willow Creek tributaries in the Porcupine Hills. They were etched in his mind: Lyndon, Sharples, and others. Even nearer at hand, his biographers noted, “One of his greatest joys was fishing with a willow stick in the creek not far from his ranch.”¹¹⁵

It was alarming, then, in 1922 when Claresholm citizens buying permits found their favourite fishing grounds closed to them. The fisheries department’s choice of ranchers to supervise the closed streams did not help. Fishing, it seemed, had fallen under the control of “five or six different barons” who “patrol the streams and order the unfortunate fishermen off,” the *Lethbridge Daily Herald* reported. The town’s protective association forming in 1921 wrote to Ottawa in protest, with the Lethbridge paper agreeing that “it looks very funny” that such a few cattlemen “can domineer all the streams that Nature put in the Porcupine.”¹¹⁶

Closer to the situation at hand, and a friend of the ranching community, the *Macleod Times* dismissed Claresholm’s protests: was there “any wonder that owners of lands through which trout streams meander, are averse to allowing every Tom, Dick and Harry to whip the water in their quest for the elusive trout?”¹¹⁷ The newspaper looked back to a time when Trout, Brown, and other creeks in the foothills afforded excellent sport. “When settlers began to come in they spent their week-ends along all these streams catching everything that bore a fin. Fish under a certain size were ripped off the hook and left to rot on the banks. Macleod fishermen lost their finest fishing grounds through such unsportsmanlike conduct.” With “human hogs everywhere,” the paper said, “the innocent must always suffer for their meanness.” The newspaper applauded ranchers turning away these outsiders, “giving the fish a chance to establish themselves in their old haunts.”¹¹⁸

A clear divide widened between distant communities in agricultural districts and their rancher counterparts in the foothills. The latter wanted tributaries closed to outsiders, but not necessarily to themselves. A rancher at Todd Creek, a Crowsnest tributary favoured by Claresholm anglers, asked the fisheries department to extend the closures in 1924, specifically to the stream on his property. The fisheries department suspected that he wanted it “to have the fishing for

himself.”¹¹⁹ The fisheries department took it more seriously when Coleman and Bellevue angling associations fused together to lobby for the further closure of Crowsnest River tributaries outside the forest reserves in December 1925. The associations were reacting to the Alberta government’s further extension of roads in those areas.¹²⁰ Additional lobbying from Pincher Creek, Bellevue, Blairmore, and Fort Macleod anglers¹²¹—all from communities that had seen invasions of outsiders in the backcountry—finally forced the department’s hands. Tributary streams of the Oldman, Crowsnest and Waterton rivers both within and beyond the forest reserve were closed indefinitely as of 1927, comprising more than eighteen streams.¹²² Lethbridge anglers, notably, continued to object to the measures.¹²³

None of this pleased the Claresholm community. Ranchers along Willow Creek might have urged tributary closure, since they might discourage visiting anglers from camping on their properties, but town fishers needed them to remain open.¹²⁴ The Claresholm Fish and Game Protective Association, taking town anglers’ case to Ottawa in 1926, pointed out their difficult position: there were actually “very few streams that can be closed without cutting off all the fishing in the district.” League members estimated that there were fifteen miles of very small creeks, two to three feet wide, running through the thick willow brush to the west of them, all of which would be closed if the government followed through with its plans.¹²⁵

R. T. Rodd, meeting with the group to allay their concerns finally struck on a compromise. Only two of the streams (Coal and Camp Creeks to the southwest of the community and tributaries of the Oldman River) would be included in closures to take effect in 1927.¹²⁶ But good portions of the Willow Creek tributaries that ran outside the forest reserve, prized by Claresholm anglers, remained open for fishing.

Private Interests and Stream Protection

Suspicion that ranchers had urged closures to keep trout to themselves lingered as a problem for the fisheries department. Bragg Creek, closed in 1927, exposed just how complex sentiments behind tributary closure could be. Local ranchers and landowners identified the creek as needing closure in 1926, but the fisheries department suspected that landowners were simply annoyed by visitors coming on their properties. Closure would give them the means to exclude them. As R. T. Rodd thought,

“there may be a personal reason for these farmers wishing to have the streams closed, other than for the protection of the fish, I would therefore recommend that the matter be thoroughly investigated.”¹²⁷

Rodd followed up with his own inspection of the creek and gathered the views of the local fisheries guardian, Thomas William Fullerton, and Calgary’s overseer, David Richardson. Rodd understood from these efforts that the creek needed more protection, and the department included it in their 1927 steam closures.¹²⁸ However, Rodd’s concerns that locals had ulterior motives were soon borne out. Guardian Fullerton, described by individuals in the area as an “exceptionally good fishery guardian,” was soon making sure that Bragg Creek’s closure was respected by everyone, locals included.¹²⁹ Fullerton was one of the sons of an early pioneer to the Twin Bridges area west of Calgary, T. K. Fullerton. The family then settled at Bragg Creek where Tom’s father operated a sawmill on the Elbow, floating logs downstream to Calgary. Thomas William likely learned his devotion to duty as a child. As T. K.’s granddaughters recounted, the Fullerton household was strictly Methodist. Only “the most necessary chores” were done on the day of rest. “The Bible was read and hymns sung, the children were not allowed to play games nor indulge in frivolities of any kind.”¹³⁰ That did not stop the Fullerton boys from sneaking away on Sundays—as we shall see, the Sunday closure was respected by some, but by no means all—“down to the river or a nearby creek and catch a big mess of fish. They did not dare take them home so they hid the fish until Monday, believing their parents knew no difference.”¹³¹ As an adult, Thomas William took up land at the site of the present Bragg Creek Provincial Park. Appointed as fisheries guardian, he patrolled the Elbow River and its creeks from the forest reserve to Twin Bridges. As his daughter later recalled, “Fishermen would warn their friends to watch out for ‘the man on the white horse.’”¹³²

After Bragg Creek and other tributaries of the Elbow closed, Fullerton suspected that one rancher was continuing to fish his creek and inviting his friends to his property and join in the fun. He arrived at the man’s ranch on the fateful day of 3 June 1928, only to find cars on the man’s property—apparently parked there by anglers. However, when Fullerton attempted to get down the creek, the landowner barred him from doing so, and when Fullerton insisted, the owner and his wife pulled him from his horse and beat him.¹³³

The record does not offer information as to how Fullerton's assault was followed up. However, Fullerton nevertheless secured witnesses to lay charges against one of the poachers. His legal proceeding was then complicated when local residents organized a petition to have Fullerton removed from his duties and have someone else appointed "who will cooperate with the residents and property owners of the district."¹³⁴ In the same period, one of the witnesses to provide testimony in the case apparently "was forced to sign the petition and was warned not to appear in the coming prosecution."¹³⁵ Fullerton still had enough evidence to send the poacher to court, who received a \$50 fine. As for the petition, R. T. Rodd, who received it, immediately doubted its legitimacy. Many of the petitioners were friends of the landowner, including the accused poacher. "It would appear to me," Rodd said, "that these people wish to have Mr. Fullerton removed simply because he is enforcing the law and trying to stop people from fishing in Bragg Creek." He concluded that they wanted a guardian who would "cooperate with them as they stated, to the extent of allowing the property owner to fish in the stream or their friends to do so."¹³⁶ The department ignored the petition and kept Fullerton assigned to his duties.

Controlling Outsider Anglers in Local Fishing Grounds

High River's stream closure movement reflected local concerns about outsiders descending on and depleting the Highwood's very source of life—the spawning grounds in its tributaries. Even with the area's tributaries closed, one rancher reported in 1920 that he had seen carloads of anglers regularly driving up to the north fork of Sheep River to fish that stream.¹³⁷ Stream closure did, however, make it easier for locals to take action to protect these important areas of the fishery. As the High River association explained in 1922, "the men living along those creeks"—that is, the ones closed—"would feel more disposed to tell a fisherman to go elsewhere than they would to examine a creel to check up on a man's catch if the creeks were open." If tributaries were reopened, the "Fish Hog will run riot," and residents would have a hard time trying to enforce the law on them all.¹³⁸

The need to keep critical areas of their watershed productive and protect them from visitor incursions remained part of High River's approach to conservation. It was reinforced not only by the work of the town's angling association but also by Dave Blacklock. Blacklock,

whose family had emigrated from Scotland, was a resident of the foothills town of Black Diamond. He and his brother Adam had once hauled cartloads of coal from their leases on the Highwood over the “coal trail” that made its way from the Big Rock to Calgary, where the market for fuel was booming. The Blacklocks earned a good living from their hard work. They could make 75¢ a day, at least until mines in the town of Carbon, northeast of Calgary, began delivering coal to Calgary in higher quantities and at much lower prices. Adam had subsequently bet everything—the family property, the cattle, and the coalmine itself—on an oil slick he had found near Black Diamond, but it never amounted to much.¹³⁹

By the mid-1920s, Dave Blacklock had achieved status as a conservationist. He had injured a hip in a mine accident, which impaired his mobility for life, and he later recalled how he often had to fish seated in a chair, his hip in such bad shape that he could “hear it squeak.”¹⁴⁰ Blacklock had a close rapport with the natural world in the Eastern Slopes, and he frequently heading out, despite his bad hip, on long packhorse trips to the Kananaskis Lakes. Back home, he tamed magpies and crows on his property and had a knack for raising and training fine hunting dogs. Described by the *High River Times* as the “practical authority on the life, habits, propagation and destruction of our bird and fish life,” he undoubtedly inherited some of his knowledge from his father, who had been a gamekeeper on a large Scottish preserve.¹⁴¹

With the persuasion of a Presbyterian preacher, Blacklock gave a series of public lectures in High River early in 1926. His talks, sponsored by the High River Fish and Game Association, focussed on what should, even in an age of automobiles, roads, and steel railway lines, be the town’s main concern: protecting the fish in the river.¹⁴² The Highwood valley, Blackwood reminded his audience, constituted “one of the greatest countries in which the Lord has ever allowed a man to cast a hook.” But this land of plenty was being overrun. He cautioned his listeners to guard “your tributaries, both from cannibal fish and from the poachers.” Singling out the leading cause of the destruction of fish life in the valley, he cited the growing number of “cars bearing men and women, old and young, coming from the cities with tents, frying pans, and fishing rods, to camp and fish along those streams.” With tributaries protected and local anglers standing guard, Blacklock saw

no reason why the Highwood would then, in more rational times, and “in years to come, be the mecca for thousands of visitors.”¹⁴³

Blacklock refrained from saying just who he was bemoaning as car-driving outsiders, but the angler association in High River understood most of the culprits came from Calgary. Not only had the association’s members stood guard along the river, but they conducted censuses. One by one, they had polled the point of origin of anglers on their streams, especially those using automobiles to mosey up the cow trails from High River and then bounce along the river floodplain when the roads gave out. Just about anywhere along the river, outsiders were unpacking rods from rumble seats when a good fishing spot appeared. In 1926, the association’s statistics showed it plainly: that year, 181 anglers came from High River itself, 16 from Longview, 33 from Okotoks, and no fewer than 1,968 from Calgary. On a single Sunday afternoon, the association counted three hundred cars passing the first cow gate on the Highwood. Quite apart from leaving trash strewn about and cattle gates open, outsiders were fishing the river so heavily that they were imperilling the pools of life on which High River’s citizens depended.¹⁴⁴

The impetus behind tributary closure had grown with the evident changes in the social life of the Highwood River itself. High River residents, and the ranchers who lived along the Highwood valley, had seen outsiders using new technology to reach far into their world. The river valley was breathtaking and alluring, as townsfolk knew. It was one of their town’s greatest assets, a font of life. All the same, newcomers, especially those from Calgary, arrived in overwhelming numbers, left their mark on the landscape, and disrupted rural life. High River anglers had helped see tributary closure, initially a measure intended to apply only to the Highwood watershed, put in place in the entirety of the Eastern Slopes. However, the campaign against the measure, led by the tourist-friendly CAA, revealed how differently anglers could feel about what needed to be done to save Alberta’s streams.

In the end, this grassroots movement, at least in High River, constituted quite a selfless understanding of the natural environment. There might have been ranchers who wanted stream closures to keep the fish for themselves but, though concerns about automobile-driving urban tourists and campers had initially propelled their actions, High River anglers had closed tributaries as much to their own fishing as to that of outsiders. The remedy for overfishing that the townspeople

settled on conserved what was understood to be the town's very source of wealth—the Highwood River itself. In that respect, the anglers' imagination was shaped by the essential spirit of progressive conservation: guarding one's capital, in the form of a natural resource generated in tributary "nurseries," and consuming only the interest accrued on nature's wealth. Tributaries, if closed to angling, would provide a perpetual bounty of mature trout in the river's main stretches.

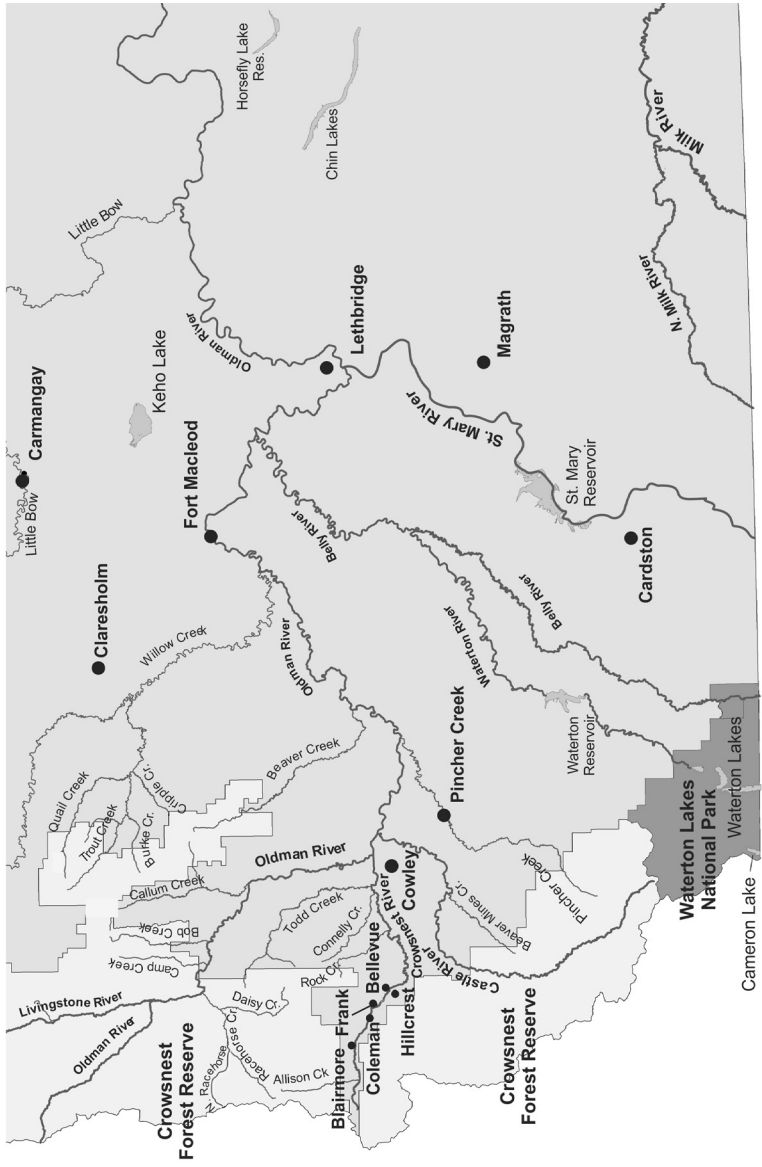
It remained to be seen, however, just how far this spirit of conservation would survive in the face of competing pressures and the lure of other forms of wealth.

Stewards of Streams in Southern Alberta

The Oldman watershed had long lured anglers. Newcomers travelled upriver from the mines and agriculture around Lethbridge to find the Oldman River stiffening, its fishing opportunities abounding, especially as the stream dropped from the mountains into the wind-hammered passes to the west and east of Pincher Creek. In these grassy entryways to the Rockies, the waters churned through rocky chutes of slate and limestone. Anglers looking for a day's sport could wind their way northwestward up the Oldman, along streams that flowed icy cascades of crystal-clear mountain water. Most sport fishers, however, headed directly west, continuing to the Rockies via the Crowsnest River, which joined the Oldman not far to the northwest of the town of Pincher Creek, at about 1,200 metres above sea level. From there, the undulating velvet ranchlands of the Crowsnest valley stretched west to the first, sudden, crags of the Rockies. Through these outcrops of stone flowed veins of sooty coal, and adventure seekers soon encountered the mining towns of Frank, Bellevue, Blairmore, and Coleman, as well as a myriad of makeshift camps crowded with men who worked the seams of coal and fished the streams for sustenance. High above this hub of activity, the Crowsnest River tumbled from its source at an elevation of roughly 3,000 metres, an elemental pure flow from the melting mountain snowpack.

The Crowsnest was initially a sojourner's river, a convergence zone of itinerant workers. It drew sodbusters who hoped to make a few extra dollars in hopes of purchasing full patents to homesteads elsewhere. As railway construction and mining operations proceeded, its communities grew quickly, and people stayed. No wonder that in such circumstances and in such ethnically diverse communities, fish conservation

MAP 4.1
 Southern
 Alberta: The
 Oldman
 Basin,
 Rivers and
 Tributaries.
 Map by
 author.



would take a different course in the Oldman River valley. People here knew both nature and human nature differently. Saving fish was an urgent priority, but measures to do so would differ remarkably than the steps taken by anglers in High River.

Coal Mining Communities, Fishing, and Conservation

By 1911, in the space of only a decade, the population in the Crowsnest valley had jumped from 31,962 to 50,772, with towns forming a variegated social landscape in which native speakers of English struggled to remain in a majority.¹ The ethnic diversity was especially noticeable among mineworkers: federal census takers classified 85 percent of them as “foreign born.” Towns drew a mix of Italian, German, French, Austro-Hungarian, Chinese, Russian, and Scandinavian navvies and colliers.²

For many mineworkers, fishing was a necessity, not a form of recreation. The basic wage for an Alberta miner in 1905 was \$3.00 a day, barely enough to survive in the Crowsnest area. The situation only worsened between 1906 and 1915, when inflation outstripped wages, leaving newcomers little choice but to turn to the foothills for fishing, hunting, and berry picking in season.³ Both itinerant workers, whose employment was often precarious, and more settled town residents placed constant pressure on the Crowsnest fishery. Dynamiting, netting, and lime bottle detonations, all against fishing regulations, were rampant in early days. More devastating still, however, was the almost immediate environmental transformation of the valley. Although it is certain that heavy food fishing in the area quickly depleted streams, the sudden structural changes to the river probably had a greater impact on fish populations: siltation smothered spawning beds, coal seeped into the water from slags left at abandoned mine shafts, and chemical pollutants drained from roads and railway trestles.⁴ By the beginning of World War I, stretches of the Crowsnest River were undoubtedly impacted by local industrialization.⁵ The waters here once had a large resident bull trout population, with spawning beds on Allison Creek and possibly on Crowsnest Creek as well. But if the latter beds existed, coal mining probably obliterated many of them, and the Allison Creek diversion further devastated the breeding stock. A long-time resident of the area, Jean Kerr, remembered the bottom of Crowsnest Lake as clogged with coal dust.⁶ This was not a forgiving environment for fish.

The industrialization of the river threatened to wipe out cutthroat, mountain whitefish, and, especially, the bull trout population. Between 1901 and 1911, as the human population boomed, the number of fish plummeted. Very early in the industrialization of the Crowsnest Pass, outlier portions of the Oldman watershed offered relatively better fishing—the upper waters of the “North Fork” of the Oldman from its confluence with the Crowsnest. Some anglers were also going as far as the Livingstone River and its own tributaries, such as Racehorse Creek. The “South Fork” (Castle River) additionally drew fishers. These places could be reached only by hiking considerable distances or by horse travel, thereby rendering them inaccessible to many miners, who often enjoyed only a single day’s rest from work. These river and stream fronts were also subject to greater surveillance and control, chiefly on the part of long-term town residents who took it upon themselves to enforce the law.⁷

Settled citizens took up the cause of fish conservation. Family histories from Coleman, Bellevue, and Blairmore strongly suggest that citizens across ethnic lines embraced the conservation ethic, purchased permits, and dutifully abided by rules regarding fishing dates, catch limits, and the like. In Crowsnest Pass communities, members of professional classes, including ministers, teachers, and doctors, joined with the mining managers and relatively skilled workers to promote conservation. These workers, often British colliers, were long accustomed to strict rules around fishing in their places of origin. Contrary to the familiar image of mining communities as sites of bitter polarization between mine owners and union workers and populated largely by transient labourers, Crowsnest communities had, by the beginning of World War I, become relatively settled and well ordered, with an unusually high percentage of married men.⁸ Some towns, like Blairmore, gained distinction as “labour towns,” where citizens elected council representatives from organized labour, leftists served as aldermen and mayors, and a well-established class of mineworkers wielded considerable power in the town.⁹ In these settings, conservationists generally found co-operation within working-class communities—and, most importantly, within the labour movement itself—to work against destructive practices such as dynamiting and to adopt stringent rules designed to regulate subsistence fishing. The history of stewardship, then,

took on a life of its own in the relationships between humans and the natural world of coal-mining Alberta.

Mainstream Poverty and Tributary Prosperity in the Valley

In the coal town of Frank, in the years it struggled to survive after the devastating 1901 rockslide, fish conservation gained momentum immediately after R. A. Darker began his campaign to create the Alberta Fish and Game Protective Association. Taking up the cause was Mark Drumm, who had been a newspaper reporter in Butte, Montana before he was employed in Frank as secretary-treasurer of the Canadian American Coal and Coke Company. In 1905, he helped establish the town paper, the *Frank News*, and soon became its sole proprietor and editor.¹⁰ In these years, when its population in 1906 jumped to its high-water mark of 1,178, Frank needed a local paper. In 1908, Drumm learned that R. A. Darker was forming a conservation association and expressed hope that it would promote “right thinking about fish and birds, in fact all game” within the community.¹¹

In 1909, he used his newspaper to more forcefully campaign for the cause. Drumm found plenty of evidence to support his efforts. Crowsnest newspapers regularly reported the comings and goings of town fishing parties and their creels. Occasionally, they shared anglers’ classic fish stories, with all the exaggeration expected of them. There was the whopper reportedly taken by a Blairmore hotel manager in 1913, snagged from “a pool containing two gallons of creek water and covering an area of a cubic foot.” The fish landed, the local paper reported, measured two feet from nose to tail, and five and a half inches in circumference.¹² Some stories were simply not to be taken seriously, such as the Hillcrest fishing tale “going the rounds” in 1922, where an angler sighted a fish “eight feet long and two feet broad—a young whale.” Apparently, a posse in town was searching for harpoons to go and catch it.¹³

But a newspaper editor heard enough real accounts of current fishing conditions that he could make reasonable assessments of the overall health of streams. Drumm, himself an angler, saw a dire situation in the Crowsnest valley in 1909. Several parties from Frank early in the season had tried their luck on the South Fork (the Castle River),

“and the whole bunch did not get two dozen fish.” With several other parties “now camped on the stream, one coming from as far away as Lethbridge,” he reported “no one is getting any fish.”¹⁴ The “natural consequences of overdoing a good thing,” the river was “fished to death” by anglers who had been “killing every fish possible in about every way possible until what was only a few years ago one of the greatest trout streams in the west appears to be almost entirely fished out.”¹⁵

A week later, Drumm returned to the matter: “streams that have been the best in the country are becoming so depleted it has become necessary to go many miles into the mountains and then to parts so inaccessible that few go there before a decent catch can be made.”¹⁶ With the South Fork once offering “grand fishing,” times had changed: fish were now “not only woefully scarce but are all very small.” In no better shape was the “Middle Fork,” or Crowsnest River, where “Old timers will recall that no better trout fishing was to be found anywhere” when the district opened to settlement. Only a few years after the building of the Crowsnest railway line, linking Medicine Hat to Cranbrook, British Columbia, anglers considered themselves lucky to land a Crowsnest trout.¹⁷ “These streams have become depleted simply through abuse. They have not only been fished at any and all times but by every method conceivable,” Drumm reported.¹⁸ The permit system that was introduced to Alberta in 1907 had set a regulation on the minimum size of a landing, but anglers paid scant attention to landing legal-sized fish.¹⁹ As Drumm noted in 1909, “some have been known to take as high as 200 fish, not one of which but was smaller than the prescribed limit.”²⁰ Without a protective association yet at work, he urged locals to write Calgary conservationists to press the government to restock the streams and enforce the regulations.

Newspaper coverage does bear out Drumm’s assertion that, with mainstreams in decline, better fishing was being had on more remote tributaries. Anglers devoting more time to their outings were hitching horses and packing their camp gear for the better landings found in northern tributaries of the Crowsnest—Rock, Connelly, and Todd Creeks—and Daisy Creek that flowed toward the Oldman north of town via Racehorse Creek. The other great draw: the Livingstone River, higher in the Oldman watershed.²¹ A community history recounted that “transportation left much to be desired” in these excursions. “If you went south, you had two choices: walk or ride a horse. If you went



FIGURE 4.1

Callum Creek anglers landing a lot of trout. NA-237-39, Glenbow Library and Archives.

to the North Fork [the Livingstone River] and it rained you had to get back over a hump in the road known as ‘The Hog’s Back.’ Many were the stories of the tribulations endured in the pursuit of catching fish.”²²

It was anyone’s guess exactly what was happening in these camps. Angler parties going into the Oldman watershed beyond the river’s confluence with the Crowsnest so concerned the Cowley section of the UFA that it formed a special delegation in 1910 to speak to Frank Oliver, the minister of the Department of Interior in Edmonton. Besides the forest fire problem were those arising with angler campers. Forest rangers needed dual appointments as fish and game wardens: “our streams are depleted in spite of regulations, and as the fishing attracts the campers, who are the chief cause of fires, it would give the forest wardens an extra hold over them.” The delegates strongly suspected “that nets and dynamite are used in the best fishing grounds we have,” and that

forest wardens acting as fisheries officers might help stamp out those practices.²³

The higher one went on the Oldman from its confluence with the Crowsnest, the more one found tributaries drawing anglers. The upper Oldman had already attracted early settlers and ranchers to its luxuriant grassland valleys. This was the home of some of the big Alberta spreads, such as the upper block of the massive Waldron Ranch.²⁴ Anglers as far as Claresholm by 1910 were getting into these back countries. That year, writing a lengthy description in the *Claresholm Review*, Fred Palmer recounted that he and another town resident, Roy Schram, Roy's mother, Chester Rick, S. A. Schram and his wife and daughter, used a team of horses, wagon, and "grit" to cross the Porcupine Hills and the Waldron ranchlands to reach the Oldman and, finally, the fishing grounds near The Gap. They first used large spoon hooks and "all kinds of bait," before switching to "the best persuaders" (grasshoppers), and "tiny spoon hooks." Palmer wrote that if anyone was "fortunate enough to live to the ripe age of 149 you will never regret having made the trip."²⁵

The streams were indeed full of trout. Callum Creek offered excellent angling, as an early photograph suggests, showing two anglers still dropping lines into the creek with already some forty-five large trout landed on the rocks around them.²⁶ Bob Creek got its name from "Old Bob," an original settler who opened a coal mine nearby. He found fish plentiful enough that he shipped them wholesale to I. G. Baker and J. W. Smith to sell at Fort Macleod in the 1880s.²⁷ Nearby was Camp Creek, and a little higher on the Oldman, Racehorse Creek. But the great prize was the North Fork itself, or Livingstone River. Its magnificent waters joined the Oldman in the Livingstone Range before the Oldman flowed through The Gap, a narrowed canyon. The Gap seemed like a doorway to a piscatorial paradise.

By 1909, however, Drumm was seeing declines even on the Oldman River above its confluence with the Crowsnest. The same year that he reported fisheries problems on the Crowsnest and Castle Rivers, he was organizing his own "North Fork" getaway, likely into the watershed of the Livingstone River. With the local Reverend T. Jones taking over his newspaper responsibilities, Drumm, another Frank angler C. V. O'Hara, and Coleman's postmaster D. J. McIntyre headed out for a fortnight of fishing, the length of the trip to be "measured by the

longevity of the grub pile,” his replacement editor reported.²⁸ The trip, however, took a turn sideways. The party’s horses got loose and disappeared into nearby forests. The trio needed a local rancher’s help to get back to Frank. Once there, Drumm posted a reward for anyone finding the horses; but he also reported his concerns about fish in the North Fork. On a stream where Drumm said it was always “possible to take an almost unlimited number of trout” from half a pound to three, “what a difference has come over the stream in two years.” His party had not landed a dozen trout over half or three quarters of a pound and “the vast majority were really small fish, not many going beyond a quarter of a pound.”²⁹ Drumm’s experience was not that far off from that of other anglers. Coleman anglers, too, had reported declining conditions on the North Fork a year earlier.³⁰ Perhaps Drumm was simply observing the end of the halcyon days after increased angling, abusive practices, or the expanded pace of change along main rivers had resulted in smaller-sized creels. But seeing the consequences, he predicted that the North Fork would follow the same fate as the Middle and South Forks, “to be completely depleted of game fish or so nearly that there is no pleasure in fishing.” Strong enforcement of the regulations was needed.³¹

Just how bad the situation was depended on one’s local experience. Certainly, anglers continued to occasionally land biggies in the same streams that Drumm thought were in peril. It is noteworthy that following Drumm’s dire reports early in the season in 1909, a young employee of the Northern Bank in Fort Macleod, Peter H. Douglas, saw the Crowsnest completely differently. Relating his plans for a September fishing trip to his fiancée in Hamilton, Ontario, soon to join him in Alberta, Douglas was confident that bountiful angling awaited him. “The fellows who have been up this year report good sport,” he wrote. “One chap brought back to town 10 trout that weighed over 100 pounds. Imagine what sport it ought to be standing in the stream with a 10 lb. mountain trout on the end of our line.”³² Despite Drumm’s own sense that fisheries were in decline in 1909, the *Bellevue Times* continued to report great catches on the very streams that worried him. On the South Fork in 1912, a Blairmore angler returned from a two-week expedition in September hauling back enough that “many citizens were supplied with a luscious fish for their Friday’s dinner,” the paper reported.³³ Two women from Bellevue in 1913, “Mesdames Baker and King,” were the

“high-liners of a party fishing near Burmiss on the Crowsnest River, landing fish averaging a pound to four pounds in weight.”³⁴

Pincher Creek, Ground Zero of the Fishing Crisis

Drumm’s concerns at Frank were nevertheless shared by the Pincher Creek newspaper proprietor E.T. Saunders in 1909. Saunders had moved to Fort Macleod in 1874 with the NWMP, establishing with C. D. Wood the *Macleod Gazette* in 1882 before relocating to Lethbridge three years later. In 1905, he moved to the bustling ranching hub of Pincher Creek where he established the *Rocky Mountain Echo* (by 1906, the *Pincher Creek Echo*).³⁵ The westward orientation of Pincher Creek citizens was captured in the newspaper’s masthead illustration: it looked toward the mountains from the foothills prairie where cattle grazed; a setting sun projected rays of light toward the reader. These folk firmly fixed their gaze on the mountain streams: the South Fork, streams joining the Crowsnest River, and the mainstream of the Oldman River.

Saunders’s paper gushed praise on Pincher Creek flowing nearby. His April 1905 editorial announced the arrival of spring: gophers were digging new burrows, the bluebottle fly was “making merry in the hot sun,” and the “fisherman furbish up his rod and tackle, and prepares to slay the finny monster.” The same was figuring “out fresh tales and measurements, on occasion he poaches, for the season is not yet here.”³⁶ A veritable rite of spring was to see a lad from town “with long bamboo rod, large hook [and] an ounce of beef thereon,” whipping the waters daily on Pincher Creek.³⁷

Above all, townies looked to the Castle River for their sport, enough that the paper carried a lengthy “Ode” to the South Fork in 1906. The tongue-in-cheek poem recounted the exploits of “Gill,” a town lumberyard merchant, and “Ed,” the town’s tailor who, in August 1905, followed up their idea that the “fishing was good—on the South Fork,” and soon reached their spot on the river:

*You can talk about whales and I don’t know what,
And the great big fish Gill nearly caught:
But Ed caught one, and as sure as thunder
Twould have jerked Gill in and pulled him under
—Where the fishing is good in the South Fork*

The problem was that the fish was so big that once landed and tied onto the cart, it broke its “blooming axle.”³⁸

Pincher Creek anglers fished for sport and for food. The *Echo* made a light-hearted report of a party including a town lawyer and local minister, loading up “several rods, reels and casts,” to set out for some artless casting on the South Fork, a sport excursion that “entered openly upon a pot fishing campaign.” The only real sport was found in the nearby grasses where the men scrambled to pocket enough grasshoppers to use as bait.³⁹ When they had no luck, one of the members of the party gave up in frustration, speaking “in infinitely unmeasured terms against any man who would go demean himself and so prostitute the noble sport glorified by Isaac Walton. If I can’t catch trout with flies,” said he, “then I’m blankety-blanked if I want to catch trout.”⁴⁰

All joking aside, Saunders’ paper engaged in serious local fisheries issues. Irksome to Pincher Creek anglers was the fishing season, which until 1912 began on May 1. Though early in comparison to later starts legislated to protect spring spawners, the date still seemed too late, especially with the flush on mountain streams often ruining fishing by that time. More aggravating was the early closure, September 15. “The closed season is intended for the due protection of fish, not the prohibition of fishing,” an editorial fumed. The federal government, “in spite of the various reports sent in from all over the Territories,” had set an inappropriate season, “another case where what is sauce for the east is certainly not for the West.” The paper pointed out that it was “the belief of those who have lived long in this country and have carefully studied the habits of fish, that there is no set time for spawning.” With Pincher Creek townsfolk usually taking their holidays in September or October, “when weather was good for camping and the flies have gone,” to deprive them of the right to fish at the same time when “the fish are biting the best,” was simply and categorically wrong.⁴¹

When R. A. Darker’s Calgary association sent its circular letter to Pincher Creek’s police magistrate, G. D. Plunkett, urging that a local branch form, the *Echo* gave the proposal its hearty endorsement. An association would check the fish “slaughter” occurring on the North, Middle, and South Forks of the Oldman, these rivers now “being rapidly depleted.”⁴² The paper’s chief concern was the food fishery, supported by fishers using dynamite. The rapid growth of the coal towns brought hundreds of newcomers, “by no means all sportsmen, but many of the

miners prefer to dynamite fish, thus for the sake of making a large and easy bag destroying the sport for legitimate fishermen and killing thousands of immature fish.”⁴³ The paper especially wanted the government to close the trout market: “those who now make a business of fishing for the market, bringing in two or three hundred pounds of fresh fish in the summer at one time to towns (as has been done in Frank) would find their occupation gone and the fish would have a fair chance.” But this would require an enforcement of legitimate, one-at-a-time, angling. “It is ridiculous to suppose that any man can go out for two or three days by himself and catch that amount of fish with rod and line. It might be done once, but not several times in a season.”⁴⁴ And if the government was not enforcing rod-and-reel fishing, the *Echo* endorsed Calgary’s call for more local engagement. It was up to “every man to act as a self-constituted game guardian and not to be afraid to gain the ill will of any person because he not only keeps the Game Laws himself but also insists on others doing likewise.”⁴⁵

Only a week after Saunders wrote his editorial, both the actual practice of market harvesting and the ways some locals were trying to stamp it out were suggested in a case from Frank. Jack Ruis, while bird shooting, passed by the banks of the Oldman River, where he chanced upon a complete set of neatly folded clothing at water’s edge. Since the river was too cold for bathing, Ruis “concluded someone was engaged in dynamiting fish.” He accordingly laid low for a few minutes, expecting to see the man show himself, but when no one appeared, he alerted the police. Coming back the next day with a couple of officers, the group found on the opposite bank of the river a fishing net with a number of putrefying fish in it. The culprit was never found and there was no means of identifying the poacher from the clothing he had left behind.⁴⁶

The widespread practice of dynamiting or netting streams, especially in the Crownsnest, concerned Calgary conservationists. Shortly after establishing the Alberta Fish and Game Protective Association in 1907, its executive committee pointed out the dynamite problem in meetings with the fisheries inspector, Harrison Young.⁴⁷ Individuals, it claimed, were dynamiting and netting streams to fill the local fish markets. With commercial licence-holders able to sell lake trout to traders and merchants in open season, poachers could work the system to funnel their illicit stream catches to complicit store owners.

Young learned that in Calgary the retail market was so hot that poachers selling through stores were flagrantly netting the Bow River right in Calgary as well as in the new community forming at Cochrane.⁴⁸ Darker's association was particularly concerned by the situation in the Crowsnest. A joint letter, written on behalf of the Calgary association by Darker, Captain W. H. Coddington in Red Deer, and Norman Luxton in Banff asserted that most of the dynamiting in the Crowsnest was being done by "foreign" miners on Sundays, selling to the fish markets. They urged that a guardian be appointed in Frank or Cowley to stamp out the practice and that "some means be taken at the different mines where it is necessary to use dynamite that the foreigners be prevented from getting access to the same for illegitimate purposes."⁴⁹ They also wanted the restriction on Sunday fishing specifically imposed on these miners. Many of them, apparently, were harvesting fish on their day off from the mines. The problem was that a mine employee could purchase "all he wants cheaply from the company," Young reported to Ottawa, agreeing with anglers that fishery officers in the Pass should stop such sales.⁵⁰

The association's lobbying made its mark. In 1907, the fisheries department mandated the purchase of angling permits by the fall of that year.⁵¹ As they did across Canada, angling permits explicitly prohibited an individual from selling their catch.⁵² Particularly pleasing to the Calgary association, the same legislation now banned the sale and export of "speckled trout and brook trout of every kind, including char."⁵³ The loophole had been closed.

The 1907 legislation redressed, at least legally, other matters. It introduced the twenty per day limit to daily creels and imposed a seven-inch minimum trout size (the 1912 regulations later raised the bag limit to twenty-five per day but a nine-inch minimum).⁵⁴ Many anglers, albeit often begrudgingly, accepted the new rules. The *Frank Vindicator* in 1912 reported Blairmore anglers landing "some excellent fish" one week, but that "all complain that they are duty bound to consign to the water from whence they came all fish under nine inches in length." There was, as the paper said, "a limit to the length of fish, but no limit to the 'wait.'"⁵⁵

As Saunders and Drumm had noted in 1909, many anglers were not about to "wait" for big enough fish to take their hooks. Poachers on unsupervised streams continued to use nets, dynamite, or lime to

take fish for their own consumption. Regulations did not translate quickly into change in other respects. F. W. Godsall, who had arrived to ranch in the Pincher Creek area in 1882 to eventually run his spread, the “Cowley Ranch” at the juncture of the Middle and South Forks,⁵⁶ understood the need for permits and, by 1912, was still disappointed by how difficult it was even to obtain them. R. A. Darker’s committee had sent one of its circular letters to Godsall to urge that a local conservation association form at Cowley in 1906.⁵⁷ As will be seen, this proved difficult for Godsall to follow up, but he remained in communication with Calgarians and in 1912, wrote to the then-president of the AFGPA, Arthur Wolley Dod, to express frustrations with local conditions and the lax enforcement of regulations. No one in Southern Alberta had a clue as to how to obtain a permit, even if they wanted to buy one. The *Cayley Hustler* carried excerpts of the new fishing laws,⁵⁸ but the government had not even sent instructions to magistrates to apply them.⁵⁹ The police “are now prosecuting in the Crows Nest Pass for fishing close season,” Godsall wrote, but with local magistrates not having any official instructions, they “would have to dismiss any case.”⁶⁰

His main concern, in any respect, was the closed season. Saunders in Pincher Creek had wanted a longer fishing season, especially to accommodate holiday camp angling in the fall season. In 1912, the season, opening now July 1, extended to October 30, but Godsall thought the closed period still favoured bull trout and mountain whitefish. He claimed the Crowsnest River had converted to a whitefish stream over the thirty years he had been fishing it. These fall spawners “had worked their way up from the main river and increased, and the trout are disappearing.”⁶¹

Angling or Not on the Lord’s Day

As Godsall knew, there was urgency to see fair play introduced to the streams. To the northeast, many Cayley residents were anglers. In the years of earlier open seasons, they enjoyed spending Victoria Day picnicking and fishing on their nearby rivers. Cayley anglers stayed current with the latest and most exotic materials used in fancy flies, from mouse whiskers to African bird feathers.⁶²

There, as elsewhere, anglers barely contained their enthusiasm to respect the Lord’s Day. Officially, the fisheries department prohibited Sunday commercial fishing; its legislation in Western Canada explicitly

ordered that seines, nets, “or other apparatus, used for catching fish” be raised to “admit of the free passage of fish” from Saturday at 6pm until 6am on Monday morning.⁶³ Until the department completely dropped the restriction from its legislation in 1922, purists interpreted the term “apparatus” broadly to including angling gear.⁶⁴ The *Cayley Hustler*, then, read the fisheries laws as prohibiting Sunday angling, and reminded its readers of the restriction in 1912.⁶⁵ Officially, however, the Sunday closure “has never been interpreted as applying to angling with a rod and line,” as a fisheries official explained to an Alberta government representative demanding its enforcement. All the same, the official pointed out that police could enforce a Sunday no-fishing rule with the passage of the federal 1906 Lord’s Day Act. The Act halted all forms of entertainment and sport on the Sabbath, and that clearly included angling.⁶⁶ The *Pincher Creek Echo*, in support of the restriction, reprinted the entirety of the Lord’s Day Act to make sure its readers were well aware of its broad application.⁶⁷

Even if fish guardians were not enforcing the weekly closure, the police indeed killed the fun for at least a few Sunday anglers. In 1912, they nabbed and fined angling Blairmore citizens claiming to be only berry picking on the day of rest.⁶⁸ In 1920, the forestry officer in the Bow River Forest Reserve reported seeing carloads of fishermen on Sundays driving to Sheep River, where police did not patrol.⁶⁹

But police only inconsistently enforced the Act. And anglers knew it. Besides, they saw it as their right to engage in a form of restful recreation on the seventh day. For that very reason, many anglers unapologetically fished Sundays. Although a newspaper letter writer in Claresholm did not feel particularly “strait-laced” in raising the issue, he was concerned to see so many townfolk fishing streams west of town on Sundays. Their justification that angling was a fine activity on a day of rest was “worn out,” he said, asking them to study their own consciences and ask whether in fact their Sunday pastime “may become a menace to our Sabbath keeping.”⁷⁰ By contrast, the *Red Deer News* editor had few such scruples. He openly admitted to fishing on Sunday after a local minister preached against other forms of Sunday recreation in 1919.⁷¹ Another paper thought that Christians ready to “bounce a fellow right out of church because he went fishing on Sunday,” should instead be faithful to more important laws, such as paying personal debts.⁷² Just how much one observed Sabbath restrictions simply

devolved upon an angler's personal, political, and even ideological convictions. The *Blairmore Enterprise*, then, reported that local anglers, including the Reverend F. T. Cook, fished at Burmis on a Saturday in 1914, finding the fish "plentiful," while also noting that W. Patterson, of the same town, fished the very next day to land some "good ones" at Lundbreck Falls.⁷³ God, seemingly, blessed the faithful and unfaithful fisher in respect to the Sabbath. A foursome near Lethbridge were just as bold with their stories of Sunday "big catches" in 1919.⁷⁴ Even the *Cayley Hustler's* editor, on identifying the practice locally, could admonish the young people in the town for inaugurating "a revised version of the fourth commandment to read: 'Six days shalt thou labor and the seventh day go fishing.'"⁷⁵ In 1922, Federal fisheries laws dropped all Sunday restrictions and it became commonplace to spend the day angling, as Nellie McClung suggested in characters created for her 1925 novel, *Painted Fires*. She described a party regularly organizing Sunday fishing excursions to Eastern Slope rivers, "which abounded in mountain trout."⁷⁶

Closures and Season Openers in the Crowsnest

As Godsall had suggested in his letter to Wolley Dod, the great issue of concern in the Oldman watershed was not whether anglers were maintaining the sanctity of the Sabbath. He wanted seasonal closures that could protect trout. In Oldman basin streams where whitefish, bull trout, and cutthroat swam ecumenically together, anglers shared a wide range of opinions as to when any of them spawned. Many lobbied simply for an earlier start to fishing. At least that would allow fishers to get on rivers before the notorious flushes on these mountain systems ruined any fishing entirely.⁷⁷ Organizing in the dining room of the Grand Union hotel in Coleman in 1915, town anglers formed a protective association to press the government to open streams earlier in the season.⁷⁸ J. A. Joseph, the Coleman association's secretary, immediately sought to affiliate the town's angling association with the Calgary AFGPA, likely to gain lobbying clout.⁷⁹ When in 1917 season dates moved from July 1 to June 15, the Coleman paper attributed the change to the efforts of the associations pushing for an earlier start.⁸⁰ But the one given was not early enough. Coleman anglers in 1918 collected 124 signatures on a petition to urge the fisheries department to return the season start to May 1, the rationale being that locals knew

that spring flush ruined fishing between May 20 to July 10.⁸¹ Coleman anglers were not alone in wanting an earlier start. In 1915, when the mines at Passburg closed with work stoppages, members had requested that the government throw open streams as early as April 1, “to alleviate the distress in the district” and as “a benefit to the unemployed.”⁸²

At least some anglers within these communities supported tributary closures when they were inaugurated in 1920. When the *Bellevue Times* referred to the earlier fishing season established in 1917, the editor stepped back to view the issue more philosophically. Whatever season was chosen, it could not protect all fish in the region, and besides, the various species, whether cutthroat, bull trout, or mountain whitefish, seemed, at least to the newspaper editor, to spawn at all times of the year. Only temporary tributary closures would be effective. Closing streams in the Pass would allow them protection while streams were restocked and allowed to recover.⁸³ With the indefinite closure of headwaters and tributaries of the Oldman and Crowsnest inside and outside the reserves, including the magnificent tributaries of the Castle River, the *Blairmore Enterprise* wrote that it was “a move in the right direction, which should have been introduced years ago.”⁸⁴ The *Enterprise* backed the measures in 1922 when closures were then extended: the ongoing abuses of individuals who “go fishing and haul in everything they can, big and little, and keep it up regardless of their requirements for seasonable food,” necessitated that “every now and then” streams and lakes be closed altogether.⁸⁵

Certainly with time, a broad section of Oldman basin anglers came to back tributary closures. As mentioned, closures appealed to anglers who were becoming increasingly alarmed by the numbers of outsiders fishing their backcountry. Yet, paradoxically, at least one community resisted forming a protective sporting association entirely for fear that its very existence might exacerbate the problem. In Cowley, F. W. Godsall had little initial success forming an association after Darker’s call to do so in 1906. In 1915, John Eastwood asked Godsall to try again to create a Cowley affiliate, but his effort failed. Godsall wrote Eastwood to explain that farmers nearby “believed in protecting our native fish, and our native chicken and grouse, but there is a feeling against having any foreign game, English partridge, quail, etc. turned out on our lands or encouraged by the Government.” Knowing that Calgary sportsmen such as Austin de B. Winter were dedicated to such initiatives, Godsall

said that “We are troubled enough, as it is, by trespassers on our lands from the towns, doing us much damage.”⁸⁶ He was well aware of the irony that boosting game and fish in Cowley’s environs through the efforts of a conservation association would simply attract yet a larger number of visiting sports fishers and hunters.

Like the situation on the Highwood River, outsiders were already overwhelming Oldman basin areas, using automobiles, especially, to move hunters and anglers farther and farther into the southern Eastern Slopes. Initially it was town folk themselves doing the driving. As early as 1912, the *Cayley Hustler*, north of Nanton, noted that “All we could hear last Sunday was ‘Hunk! Hunk!’” advising readers, “look out for that new auto.”⁸⁷ Town anglers using autos in the war years, often experiencing mechanical difficulties, provided much comical comment in papers. The *Bellevue Times* found some humour in the misadventure of two town anglers who used a car in 1916 to get in a day’s fishing on the Oldman River north of its confluence with the Crowsnest. After their car broke down, the paper reported that they got to know the countryside well when they needed to walk all the way back home.⁸⁸ Another set of car-travelling Bellevue fishers visited Lundbreck Falls by car. When they “ran short of gasoline,” the paper reported, tongue-in-cheek, that they “were obliged to fry fish to get oil to run the car home.”⁸⁹

But by 1920, automobiles arriving from very distant communities in much larger numbers disconcerted Crowsnest communities. Lethbridge drivers now gained easy access to tributaries prized by Crowsnest townsfolk. That year, a Lethbridge party could reliably drive right up to The Gap on a road that had three completed bridges.⁹⁰ Even without bridges, Lethbridge auto folk were ready to do whatever it took to get their fish. The *Lethbridge Herald* reassured readers that crossing streams presented few hazards for tires or car engines in their country getaways.⁹¹ In 1920, there were approximately 2,350 cars licenced to Lethbridge citizens, a statistic that the newspaper suggested could embolden the city’s Good Roads campaigners to push the government to build yet more roads in the province.⁹² The increased roadwork in the Pass thereafter introduced greater numbers of outsiders to the region. Roads bringing yet more outsiders to their region were one of the very reasons that the Coleman and Bellevue fishing associations, the latter forming in 1925, joined together in 1926.⁹³ Anglers believed that their collaboration would help see regulations enforced and tributary closures

extended in southern watersheds that were now easily accessed by automobile drivers.⁹⁴ As we have seen, it was in the mid-1920s, as car drivers from towns well outside the Eastern Slopes increased, that Coleman, Bellevue, Pincher Creek, and Fort Macleod angling protective associations all pushed for extensive tributary closures in Southern Alberta. Their efforts seem to have directly influenced the fisheries department's decisions in 1927 over which streams to close indefinitely in Southern Alberta.⁹⁵ Closed were Crownsnest River streams of prime concern to Coleman anglers: these comprised Connelly Creek and those westward: Rock, Byron, Gold, Lyons, York, Blairmore, McGillivray Creeks, and, near the B.C. border, Allison Creek. The same legislation closed Beaver Mines Creek on the Castle River and tributaries of the Waterton River.⁹⁶ When R. T. Rodd met with anglers from communities that cast into these streams, including Fort Macleod, they had given him their "unanimous" support for the closures. He reported that only anglers in distant Lethbridge, and most of them car drivers, did not.⁹⁷

A Different Approach to Conservation in the Pass

However, Crownsnest Pass communities had mixed feelings about tributary closures, at least initially. From an early date, conservationists faced the reality of food fishing within coal mining communities. Wouldn't closing tributaries simply keep law-abiding anglers out while food-hunting poachers continued to do their misdeeds along their lengths? By keeping streams open, and opening them earlier in the spring, many anglers felt that fishing would be better regulated, permitted anglers would act as a deterrent to poaching, and everyone would be pressed to obey the law. Indeed, throughout the Oldman basin, conservationists generally wanted to see streams opened and patrolled, rather than closed.

J. J. Gillespie, as the secretary of the Pincher Creek Anglers' Association, appreciated the practical ends of fishing in his own community. The association had formed in April 1920 with the express purpose to "watch the streams and prevent if possible the dynamiting which has been pulled off in the past."⁹⁸ In addition to protecting "the now almost extinct trout" in nearby streams from the work of "unscrupulous dynamiters," its membership applied for trout fry from the Banff hatchery in order to help revive the fishery.⁹⁹ The association then engaged directly in protective work. After successfully securing some

40,000 rainbow trout and distributing them in one week in the Lower Oldman River, and Mill, Pincher, Drywood, and Yarrow Creeks, with others going to the Crowsnest Lakes and River, its members helped the RCMP slap charges on “six or seven” anglers fishing in closed waters or without permits.¹⁰⁰

But these stream closures did not initially sit well with the association aware of the food fishery nearby. Gillespie wrote to the Commission of Conservation in Ottawa that summer to complain about things. His association was happy with the fishery department’s plan to send fry to restock nearby streams, and he was sure to apply for more the next year. But anglers needed more support to enforce regulations, especially to stamp out what they saw as still-common dynamiting practices. Gillespie underlined the problem of stream closure as a conservation measure. Homesteaders in the area, he said, required fish for food during the summer, and most residents felt that closures were imposed on them by outsiders.¹⁰¹

Farther west in the Oldman basin, fish was certainly a dietary staple for coalminers. Joseph Brown, who chose to mine coal in the Crowsnest valley instead of enlisting to fight in World War I, remembered this reality. Steven Hume, writing Brown’s story from memories he related of the area, said that one of the creeks in the Crowsnest “once supplied Dolly Varden for the table between paydays when men like Joe earned a dollar a week and were thankful for it.”¹⁰² Children of coalminers did their part. Ted Pierzchala, whose father mined at Bankhead before moving to the Crowsnest in the 1920s, remembered spending “quite a lot of time fishing” on the river. “That was some of your fare. The fish you caught went on the table instead of buying something.”¹⁰³ When the fish guardian was not looking, Vince John Bosetti remembered constructing small dams on the river as a kid. He and his friends would use a snare pole to gather up mountain whitefish that his mother would pickle.¹⁰⁴ Miners likely had some difficulty finding time to fish and when they did, they probably restricted themselves to local streams near home. Union executives, such as James Burke, the secretary of the United Mine Workers of America’s Bellevue section, might have had enough time from work to pursue the good “sport” in more distant tributaries, as he did in one fishing expedition reported in 1911, but most miners probably fished more locally and pragmatically, when opportunities arose.¹⁰⁵ In 1908, the railcar shortage in Hillcrest



FIGURE 4.2
John and Jim
Kerr fishing in
the Crowsnest.
Kerr Collection,
CM-PA-21-09,
Crowsnest Museum.

seems to have cut enough mine production that “quite a few number have been putting in the time fishing,” the *Coleman Miner* reported.¹⁰⁶ The labour unrest leading to frequent strikes and slowdowns in the turbulent 1920s freed miners to fish, and they assuredly did for food now that their wages were cut. Across the Divide in British Columbia, miners on strike in 1922, according to the *Lethbridge Daily Herald*’s correspondent in Fernie, took up rods and reels along the Elk River

and its mountain creeks, becoming, “expert anglers”: “they are following the piscatorial art and are helping out their food supply with daily offerings of greyling [*sic*].” The miners were following the law, fishing only grayling before the trout season opened on May 1.¹⁰⁷ The fisheries department recognized the effects of strikes, when thousands of miners with “nothing else to do but fish continuously” left their mark, as R. T. Rodd put it. The miners would have been “a great drain on the fishing in any district.”¹⁰⁸

John Kerr knew the reality of the food fishery in his mining community. Born in 1873 in Craigmack, Scotland, Kerr was the son of a coal miner who followed the family’s trade, first in Scotland and then, after immigrating to Canada in 1903 with his younger brother Bill, in Western Canadian coal fields. The two settled permanently in the Crowsnest area in 1906, by 1910 opening a General store in Passburg and later another in Bellevue.. Ardent anglers, he and his brother passed on the “fine points” of angling and hunting to John’s sons, James and John Jr., in a region that the family remembered as “still unspoiled, unfenced and teeming with fish and game.”¹⁰⁹ However, the brothers lived to witness immense changes, particularly as the population in the valley increased and environmental degradation became more evident on the river, prompting both of them to take up trout conservation.

Kerr’s approach was eminently pragmatic. He felt that stream closures announced in 1920 were much too heavy-handed, even “autocratic,” and certainly not suitable to the region.¹¹⁰ Writing an article in response to the *Blairmore Enterprise*’s editorial supporting closures, Kerr pointed out: “A large percentage of the residents in this district are fishers. It is a pleasant and profitable recreation.”¹¹¹ However, if tributaries were closed, “the hogs who have been dynamiting these streams every season for years would have a better opportunity for doing their dirty work if there were not fishers around.”¹¹² He advanced what he termed the “modern method” of conservation: that of keeping all streams open but using fish hatcheries to keep them fishable. The other element of this modern approach, consistently promoted in Southern Alberta, was that hatcheries could not only restock the waters with native trout, but “introduce other species of game trout.”¹¹³

The Kerr family history remembers John independently following up on his ideas. In the early 1920s, he apparently visited the Banff hatchery and spoke with “the man in charge,” undoubtedly R. T. Rodd,

to strike up an arrangement for rainbow trout fry to be delivered by baggage car to the Hillcrest train station. From there, John and his son James did the legwork to get the fry planted.¹¹⁴ They continued to do this before fishing association memberships in the Crowsnest Pass grew to help in the work. Jean Kerr recalled the family's efforts reviving the streams through fish plantings. She remembered John, his sons James and John Jr., his brother Bill, and others in the family heading out on horseback with wooden crates filled with rainbow trout to discharge into distant lakes.¹¹⁵

Crownest conservationists promoted sport as they recruited adherents from coal-mining communities. The Coleman Angling Association, formed in 1915, tried to involve working classes and got off "to a good start" with a modest fee of 25¢ (as opposed to the \$2 charged by the High River association in 1920). The *Coleman Bulletin* reported "quite a large number have joined."¹¹⁶ In 1915, the Passburg association similarly formed around the specific issues of dynamiting practices and the local need for an earlier season. How much these associations continued their work after organizing is difficult to ascertain. Born to key issues of the moment, they may well have fallen into dormancy only to revive when new concerns emerged. While John Kerr seems to have continued his individual efforts, the degree to which the Coleman association remained active is difficult to determine in the early 1920s. In 1924, the *Bellevue Enterprise* did not even recognize associations in the Crowsnest Pass, if they still existed. Pointing to British Columbia's angling associations being successful in getting hundreds of thousands of fry from the provincial government for their streams (and seeming to overlook John's own independent work), the newspaper lamented that, "it is too bad that some similar action cannot be taken in this district," since its streams and lakes were "admirably adapted to the propagation of game fish." If the Coleman association was indeed still active, the paper nevertheless suggested that on "several occasions" the previous year, residents of Pincher Creek and Cowley had "attempted to secure co-operation of Pass anglers, but were unsuccessful" in driving a campaign for restocking.¹¹⁷

The drive to get hatchery fry for their streams did reanimate the work of associations soon afterwards. In April 1925, a front-page story in the *Blairmore Enterprise* announced that a fish and game association had formed in Bellevue, when a group of men from the town and

adjoining districts got together “for the purpose of organizing in an effort to propagate and protect trout fishing.”¹¹⁸ The organization was open to ideas, but a “general program” was in the works to temporarily close and stock smaller tributaries and suitable areas of small lakes. A Monday night follow-up meeting was “well attended.” John Kerr was named president and James Fisher, of Bellevue, secretary-treasurer; both were “enthusiasts of the first water.” There was talk of persuading anglers in “neighbouring camps” to join up. As the paper observed, “some form of organization is necessary to cope with the willful destruction of our fishing that has been going on in recent years.”¹¹⁹

As seen, Bellevue, Coleman, Pincher Creek, and Fort Macleod fish and game associations were by that point lobbying for hatchery fry and supporting at least temporary tributary closures. They encouraged sport angling and celebrated their work with convivial annual banquets. Held in 1925, the first anniversary dinner of the Blairmore Fish and Game Protective Association was described in the *Blairmore Enterprise* as quite the event. Hosted at the Bellevue Inn, the evening began at 8:00 p.m. with a “sumptuous” turkey dinner, followed by toasts to the King, speeches, songs from a community chorus, “highly delightful” fish storytelling, and prizes awarded for the association’s annual derby, with the brothers Kerr landing many of the honours for the best single-day baskets of speckled, rainbow, and bull trout. The recently appointed Methodist minister, J. W. Oliver, made a speech, and a certain Miss Hulme led songs while playing the piano. By that date, there were 160 members in the association.¹²⁰ These associations attempted to broaden rules-based angling across communities in such events as Blairmore’s derby in 1930. The local pharmacy donated a split-bamboo fishing rod (worth \$20) as the prize for a two-pound-twelve-ounce speckled trout caught by an angler from Lundbreck and a pigskin fly book (worth \$10) to the Blairmore angler who landed the largest bull trout, at five pounds, four ounces.¹²¹

All the same, angling associations promoting sport aimed to draw into the conservation movement working-class immigrants from Europe who fished to put food on the table. Residents of mining communities, whatever their cultural background, were encouraged to conserve in the interests of their long-term needs. By 1928, W. S. Purvis, representing the Coleman association, explained to R. T. Rodd that his members had gone to great lengths to “educate the general public” of

the regulations, doing so on the understanding that, in return, the fisheries department would plant streams near the community with more fry.¹²² According to Rodd, reporting to his department, Purvis had suggested that “unless they were supplied with some fry for their district, it would be impossible to hold their club together, and as a great many of the members are miners of foreign extraction, they are more difficult to be made observe the laws than the average English speaking person.”¹²³ The association, then, served as a critical lynchpin between the fisheries department and the larger community around it, serving to recruit conservationists using the promise of improved local fishing as key to its campaigning. The association drew, rather than excluded, a mining community into angling as a form of recreation, or at least it would have miners fishing for food conform to the rules. Undoubtedly, these associations also offered a social outlet and, for many, a greater claim to civic status. But whereas Rodd’s report suggests that associations were effective in convincing the “foreign element” to purchase memberships (the Coleman association boasting over 200 members in 1928),¹²⁴ their greater success was in seeing that more people in the larger community purchase permits. In 1925, no fewer than 1,003 permits sold in the Crowsnest, which, according to Rodd, was largely the result of the efforts of members of the Coleman Angling Association.¹²⁵ No wonder, then, that in 1928 the association expressed confidence that it was largely due to its work that infractions in the district, which were significantly reduced from previous years, were only “of a minor character.”¹²⁶

Conservationists, then, aiming to guard trout for their sport, recognized the reality of fish in miner diets and considered the very nature of their work to include, rather than exclude, the broader population in their efforts. But however much these sports fishers acknowledged its reality, the food fishery should not obscure their real aim: protecting sport, and through hatchery work, propagating game species for recreation. When the Hillcrest Fish and Game Protective Association, which formed in 1926,¹²⁷ met with R. T. Rodd in 1932 to discuss their concerns for the Crowsnest fisheries, they pointedly raised the issue of “people catching large quantities of fish to preserve for winter use.” They likely had in mind those, now in the horrid economic circumstances of the Depression years, who were still resorting to illegal means of harvesting large quantities of fish. But the conservationists took it from

Rodd's response that "it is expected this year that some such people will learn (at some cost to themselves) that fish in the rivers are primarily for sport instead of food."¹²⁸

The Beleaguered Bull Trout

Oldman River valley anglers shared with all Southern Albertans a common enemy in their efforts to revitalize streams: the bull trout. Attitudes toward the fish were set by the 1920s. The uncertain status of the bull trout had been reinforced over a decade earlier in the report of the 1910–11 Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission. During the hearings, anglers had expressed their antipathy toward the fish and, by not making recommendations for protecting the bull trout in their report, the commissioners had indicated their agreement that the species deserved no special attention. The resulting regulations, enacted in 1912, explicitly protected cutthroat, mountain whitefish, and rainbow trout by limiting their catch within open seasons. They did the same for pike and pickerel. There were no specific measures introduced to protect bull trout.¹²⁹ Anglers could take this silence on bull trout to mean that the fish was freed for eradication.

Regulations changed critically in 1915, but mindsets did not. That year, the law still protected "trout, grayling or Rocky Mountain Whitefish" and insisted that anglers buy permits to fish them.¹³⁰ Just what constituted the term, "trout," was contested in a watershed to the north of Calgary, the Red Deer River basin. There, bull trout was one of the only fish available for anglers. They had grown accustomed to fishing in Waskasoo Creek, a tributary of the Red Deer River, without a permit. Refusing to recognize the bull trout as a genuine species of trout, anglers still could claim that no "trout" swam in these waters. In 1916, two anglers who had been fined by the police for fishing at Waskasoo Creek without a permit responded by filing suit. In support of their case, the Red Deer Board of Trade's A. T. Stephenson argued in a letter to the *Red Deer News* that the very spirit of both the commissioners' report in 1911 and the 1912 regulations clearly indicated that the government had concurred with anglers about the unseemly quality of bull trout. Apart from some similar speckling, Stephenson claimed, the bull trout shared nothing with real trout: it had neither the game qualities of a trout species nor the spawning characteristics of trout in the region. Until the prosecutor could prove "that a bull trout is a species of trout," he wrote,

“I intend to fish the Red Deer River or its tributaries near here without a permit.”¹³¹

The Department of Marine and Fisheries was embarrassed when its Red Deer area fish guardian, Arthur B. Nash, published a newspaper letter supporting Stephenson’s decision to opt out of the permit system. Citing the 1915 fisheries regulations that did not require anglers to purchase permits to fish waters “not frequented by Trout, Grayling or Rocky Mountain Whitefish,” he said, definitively, “People will therefore clearly understand, that they are entitled to fish at Waskasoo Creek and the Red Deer River, at Red Deer without permits.”¹³²

Hastening to counter Nash’s damaging statement, the department’s chief inspector, G. S. Davidson, dispatched to the *Red Deer News* a letter he had received from Red Deer police inspector W. P. Lindsay, who offered his opinion on the law. Lindsay’s letter was published under the headline: “Do Bull Trout Come Within the Law?”¹³³ Lindsay believed they did. The law protected “every variety of trout,” he wrote, “and there is no doubt whatsoever that Bull Trout, otherwise known as Dolly Varden Trout, or Red Spotted Trout, is a trout in the fullest sense of the word.” The law, therefore, protected bull trout.¹³⁴

But the public mind was unmoved to accept the bull trout as a fish worthy of protection. The Calgary Angling Association (CAA) believed that the bull trout needed to go, regardless of what any pencil-pushing bureaucrat in Ottawa said. It continued to press the department to free up all restrictions on fishing bull trout, in and out of the season. In the meanwhile, the law might require anglers to purchase a permit to land “trout”, but the regulations only limited them to a daily creel limit of twenty-five cutthroat, rainbow and/or mountain whitefish.¹³⁵ They could take a limitless number of bull trout. The CAA members used the loophole to go all out against the fish. As mentioned, in 1921, they had hoped to get the fisheries department to reopen all streams in Southern Alberta except in the forest reserves. Those inside the reserves would remain closed for a year so that, in the main rivers, anglers could wage war against the bull trout, “there being no season limit on them.”¹³⁶ The CAA exploited the exclusion of bull trout in the per diem limit in other ways. In 1924, the CAA’s season-opener derby offered a purse for the “heaviest catch of fish taken on the opening day of the season” (with the profits from enrolments supporting Calgary hospitals)—but competitors could continue to land bull trout to supplement their weight even

after catching their aggregate limit of twenty-five cutthroat, rainbow, and/or mountain whitefish.¹³⁷

Beyond using loopholes in the regulations against the fish, in 1924 the CAA continued to demand from the department the freedom to weed bull trout from streams outside the season.¹³⁸ Fisheries commissioner Edward E. Prince well knew that allowing unlimited bull trout hauls would empty some streams of fish altogether.¹³⁹ R. T. Rodd made the same point in his own letter to the department on the issue. While he might support weeding out bull trout on cutthroat streams, he feared that allowing anglers to fish them from streams outside the season would lead to disastrous results on Red Deer and North Saskatchewan streams where, he said, only bull trout, mountain whitefish, pike, and suckers were found. Anglers would quickly deplete those streams of fish, and the Banff hatchery, Rodd pointed out, with limited output, simply could not restock all streams emptied in such a way.¹⁴⁰

Rodd, meanwhile concerned by the CAA derby, suggested his department to look into bag limits on any trout, including bull trout, similar to regulations in British Columbia.¹⁴¹ Dominion Parks legislation, including Banff waters, specified bull trout as a game fish for its protection in 1925, and to remove all doubt about the status of the fish and stop culling elsewhere in Alberta, in 1927 the fisheries regulations finally named bull trout along with cutthroat, rainbow, Loch Leven, and mountain whitefish as protected under the law.¹⁴² They also included the fish in the maximum trout per diem allowed to anglers.¹⁴³ Fishing derbies, at least the ones the CAA had hosted, would never be the same.

When members of a community gathered into conservation associations, their efforts to sway government could carry considerable clout, nevertheless. The problem was that the priorities of the different associations depended both on local stream conditions and on socioeconomic needs, and thus were prone to conflict. The lack of collaboration among these associations annoyed fisheries department officials, who looked to them to communicate with each other and find agreement on policies they recommended to the department. Such was not the case. Calgary and High River associations sought, ultimately, to protect cutthroat. Anglers in both communities helped prompt the department to expand tributary closures as a blanket policy across Southern Albertan streams. Although some anglers in the Crowsnest Pass welcomed the

same closures extending to the Oldman River basin, others did not: to some conservationists, stream closure was an ill-conceived measure given the reality of the food fishery in the region.

By 1925, the din of competing voices arguing about how to manage Alberta's upstream and downstream fish stocks revealed sharply divergent views on ideal season dates and brought most anglers in the province into contention. At the same time, the preference of these recreational anglers for a plentiful supply of suitably "sporty" fish demanded a revised approach to conservation, especially in respect to protecting native species or introducing new ones. Whatever waters they fished and whatever their concerns, anglers usually looked in some manner to a common headwater in fisheries management, the work at the Banff hatchery.



*Fly Assembly, Dave and Katherine Coutts Collection,
Collection of Glenbow (6038), Photograph by Francine Michaud.*

The Great Arbitrator: The Banff Hatchery

Serving as an arbitrator in the developing debate over conservation was the hatchery built in Banff in 1913 by the Dominion government. Like many other hatcheries across the country, its purpose was to boost failing streams and lakes with fry and fingerlings. The practice of pisciculture was by no means new. Confident that natural waterways could be “improved” by the addition of fish cultivated at facilities built for that purpose, France had introduced modern techniques by applying Napoleonic-era science. By the mid-nineteenth century, British and American hatcheries likewise churned with fry. In the United States, the state backed these fish-generating facilities to restock streams and lakes damaged by industrialization, agricultural development, and deforestation—forces that had by that time ruined, almost wholesale, many streams in the midwestern and eastern states.¹ In that country, with its abiding distaste for state limits over individual rights, hatcheries offered a means of superabundantly filling damaged and overfished streams so that people would be free to fish to their heart’s content.² All of these matters resonated in the fishing controversies developing in Alberta in the 1920s, particularly those surrounding the choice between protecting native species and introducing new, and presumably better, exotics in order to create a western trout kingdom.

Pisciculture Comes to Western Canada

The need to supplement what nature itself provided was amply evident in colonial Canada, given the rapidity with which fisheries were being exhausted along the Atlantic seaway and in the Great Lakes owing to the accelerating growth of the commercial fishing industry during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Integral to this growth was the

industrialization of fishing through the widespread adoption of mass harvesting techniques such as gill netting, coupled with a newfound ability to preserve the fish that had been caught by canning or refrigeration and to ship them long distances by rail. The “spirit of aggressive entrepreneurship” fuelled all of this with an emerging merchant class of fish dealers, many of them based south of the border.³ Although Toronto and Montréal were major markets, Canada’s population was far smaller, and a large-scale commercial fishing industry was slower to evolve. British colonists from central Canada to Nova Scotia had been completely caught off guard when, in mid-century, merchants began supporting industrialized fishing to cater to burgeoning southern markets in sprawling cities like Chicago and New York, causing a rapid decline in Canada’s lake and coastal salmon, shad, herring, and lake whitefish populations.

By the time of Confederation, Samuel Wilmot—a farmer who had become concerned about dwindling salmon runs in local streams—had pioneered some early hatchery work near Lake Ontario’s Bay of Quinte. In 1876, Wilmot was appointed as the Dominion’s fish culturist, charged with expanding hatcheries for whitefish, salmon, and other fish to supply not only Ontario, but also the Atlantic region, Québec, Manitoba, and British Columbia. These facilities were devoted to restoring commercial stock, but, in 1894, the fisheries department bowed to the pressure of recreationists and ordered that “certain waters resorted to by anglers be restocked and new hatcheries built for that purpose.”⁴

As we saw in chapter 2, at the time of the 1910–11 Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission hearings, the Alberta Fish and Game Protective Association was already pushing the idea of a hatchery in Banff, as were fish and game associations in British Columbia. In addition, the Calgary Board of Trade mounted a campaign asking Ottawa to establish a hatchery in what was then Rocky Mountains Park—an idea that Howard Douglas, the park superintendent, also firmly supported.⁵ After considering the possibility at some length, the Department of Marine and Fisheries finally approved Banff as the location for the facility by December 1912. The explicit purpose of the hatchery was to sustain the sport fishery. At the time, however, the department still had some concern that the freezing winter temperatures and high mineral content of Banff’s waters would pose a threat to newly hatched fish.⁶

The plan was to place the hatchery conspicuously close to the Banff Springs Hotel, obviously as a tourist draw, and to tap the town's water main sourced from distant Forty Mile Creek. While acknowledging the existence of a "strong desire" to see a hatchery established in Banff, which would be "of interest to tourists" and an "addition to the attractions" in the park, the Dominion's hatchery superintendent, Alex Finlayson, seriously doubted the soundness of the plan. For one thing, he argued, local trout such as the cutthroat could not be had in sufficient quantity to supply eggs, and even if they could be found, they would need to be eyed at a nursery pond where they were found before transporting the eggs to Banff, sloshing in tin cans. However, with even that laborious work providing so few eggs, the hatchery, once built, would still require large supplies of eastern trout eggs to raise as fry for release in Lake Minnewanka and other smaller lakes nearby by rail car.⁷

Given the local fishing situation, there was some urgency to the idea of locating a hatchery in Canada's first—and, eventually, most visited—national park. In 1897, Howard Douglas had inquired about how to make the park "more attractive to sportsmen" after it was discovered that Lake Minnewanka and many streams within the park near Banff had been devastated by railway and mining work. Construction crews had fished the lake intensively; coal dust and chemicals washed into the Bow and Cascade Rivers from coal towns like Anthracite, Bankhead, and Canmore, poisoning the fish. In a March 1897 letter to Douglas, one angler reported that, on a visit to Minnewanka a decade earlier, he had landed thirty to forty trout in a day, averaging fifteen pounds, with some as heavy as forty-five. Now, he said, he was lucky to catch four or five in one day, and then rarely exceeding ten pounds.⁸ Conditions were no better farther afield in the park. A British angler who headed out from the Banff Springs Hotel to Spray Lakes for five days of what proved to be unsuccessful fishing, saw miners ("Italian I think, from the Canmore coal mine") dynamiting the lake by day, spearing fish by night, and netting bays and creeks, "a regular practice of these men." Later, when "fine trout" were found littering the lakeshore, some miners were arrested.⁹

In May 1911, with the goal of preserving the country's natural heritage for the enjoyment of all, the Laurier government passed the Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act. The Act established the



FIGURE 5.1

Railway workers enjoying a day's catch at Lake Minnewanka, 1890s. NA-237-38, Glenbow Library and Archives.

Dominion Parks Branch (now Parks Canada), which fell under the purview of the Department of the Interior and was responsible for overseeing park waters. Recognizing that measures were desperately needed to supply visitors to Rocky Mountains Park with adequate fishing and to allay the effects of pot fishers, the department scrambled to lay down some ground rules. In addition to setting a seven-inch minimum for cutthroat, it imposed conservative season dates in the park. Pressure from Calgarians had initially prompted a generous, early season opening on Banff waters. However, in the war years, park administrators started pushing forward the season opening date, from May 16 to June 15, and finally to July 1. With the later fall closures, the park gave as its priority the protection of spring-spawning cutthroat in the area.¹⁰

All the same, the need for more fish to please tourists made the park anything but peaceful. Seeing the emptied lakes and streams in the park,

the angler who wrote to Douglas in 1897 pressed for the introduction of brook trout from Ontario into Banff's streams and of smallmouth black bass (*Micropterus dolomieu*) into its lakes.¹¹ In 1900, the fisheries department, with the support of the CPR (which had of its own stake in tourism), embarked on what proved to be an unsuccessful attempt to transplant black bass.¹² In 1904, again with the aid of the CPR, the park arranged for brook trout from Ontario's Lake Nipigon to be freed into the Bow River at Banff.¹³ These legendary prize-fighting trout had been recommended to the superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park as a good alternative to native fish, which "offered no good sport in catching them."¹⁴ Those sent by railcar to the park waters were immediately popular, "thriving splendidly here," a local angler gushed, calling them "by far the best fish in these waters, being much handsomer and gamier than any native trout."¹⁵ Moreover, because, unlike the native cutthroat, brook trout are fall spawners, they would not be curtailed by an earlier season opening date, which would appeal to park tourists.

The rewards for bringing in such transplants were potentially fantastic. A local hatchery could breed what came to be known as Nipigon trout in massive quantities, since it was much easier, ironically, to obtain fish from the Lake Nipigon district of Ontario and ship it to Banff than to procure cutthroat nearby. But as early as 1909, the park began curtailing the fish's further spread in cutthroat waters, despite many Banff residents, as well as the Banff Board of Trade, backing the Nipigon's widespread introduction.¹⁶ Banff park promoter and local businessman Norman Luxton certainly wanted the fish. In 1915, he went on a holy crusade for Nipigon in park waters in his *Crag and Canyon*, publishing a front-page article celebrating the fish, while also seizing the opportunity to savage Euston Sisley, the Calgary physician who had served on the 1910–11 Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission. In his capacity as commissioner, Sisley had championed the cause of hatcheries, but not at the expense of native game fish. Indeed, he had pointed to the "disastrous results" that attended extensive restocking of waters with exotics in the United States.¹⁷ Luxton was not convinced. "For some unaccountable reason," the paper declared, Sisley "has taken a most horrible dislike to this much-prized fish of the Banff fishing fraternity." Regardless of the views of Sisley and officials in Ottawa, "the Banff fishermen are of an entirely different opinion. One and all who have had any experience with the Nipigon speak strongly in its

favor.” The article went on to point out that, “These fishermen are men who fish the streams for ten miles around Banff, are men who study the habits of the different trout and can tell you each month of the year where each particular fish can be found.” Sisley simply did not know the mountain waters the way that Banff residents did: “Surely the doctor as an authority on fish in Banff is a joke, always was, and always will be.”¹⁸

While opinion was divided about the introduction of brook trout, transplanting fish posed nevertheless certain practical dilemmas. After the black bass shipped to Banff in 1900 failed to arrive in good condition, the Department of Marine and Fisheries helped the CPR to design a better shipping car for another experiment in 1902, with fish sent first to Buffalo Lake and then to a number of other lakes in the province.¹⁹ However, the logistical challenges of shipping live, fully grown fish quickly became evident. Among them were delayed starts, a long transcontinental journey, equipping a car fitted out with a giant water tank with a special aerator, and shipping in October, when it was none too warm.²⁰ Even though the Buffalo Lake residents were “greatly pleased at getting the bass,” Harrison Young, who oversaw the introduction, thought it was an “object lesson” about “the trouble and expense of transporting these fish.”²¹

Despite the difficulty in transporting them, black bass were followed up with more introductions. Almost annually from 1904 to 1908 about 1,000 Nipigon and 2,000 Wisconsin brook trout were introduced into Banff waters, together with another 900 mature lake trout, 750 two-year-olds, 4,000 fry, and 10,000 fingerlings from the town of Osceola, in western Wisconsin.²² The black bass plantings continued in 1908, when breeders from North Carolina, Wisconsin, and California sold 5,000 smallmouth bass to the federal government for introduction into Pine Lake, Sylvan Lake, and, again, Buffalo Lake.²³

In the meanwhile, parks in the United States had also launched restocking programs, thereby keeping their waters “much more attractive to tourists desiring fish,” as the CPR’s William Whyte fretted in 1908.²⁴ He pointed out that in 1906, Yellowstone National Park had embarked on a colossal stocking program, releasing almost half a million brook, rainbow, and black-spotted cutthroat trout into its “natural” waters.²⁵ That put pressure on Banff to improve its own rivers and lakes, at a time when both fish and game associations and the Calgary Board of



FIGURE 5.2

Collecting cutthroat spawn (“stripping”) at Spray Lakes, 1932 or 1933. This photo was taken after fisheries management was transferred to Alberta in 1930 and appeared in the Department of Lands and Mines Annual Report for 1936. A7051 Provincial Archives of Alberta.

Trade were urging the Department of Marine and Fisheries to build a hatchery in Banff. Added to this was the political influence of the well-known A. E. Cross, a ranching scion and now celebrated as one of the “Big Four” founders of the Calgary Stampede. Cross wanted the facility in Banff to transform what he saw as the sucker-ridden, pike-infested waters of the Eastern Slopes into trout paradises. He even offered to drive fry to the headwaters of Mosquito Creek himself if the department built the hatchery. His overall goal was to “get all the streams running east of the Rockies on the Canadian side filled with trout.”²⁶

The Banff Hatchery

Alex Finlayson’s concerns about a sufficient supply of cutthroat eggs were borne out, however, soon after the Banff hatchery was constructed in 1913. Quite apart from the fact that producing fish artificially from spawn was no simple matter, Jumpingpound Creek, the main source of cutthroat ova, could not produce enough fish for the growing needs of Alberta’s bustling sporting streams.²⁷ R. T. Rodd reported that, in June 1914, he collected spawn from both Jumpingpound Creek and Pirmez

Creek, but he also had to release seventy female fish “as we could not get the male fish for fertilizing the eggs.”²⁸ Although, during the war years, hatchery staff expanded the output at the facility, cutthroat spawn proved stubbornly difficult to procure, despite all the efforts of staff working booms and beds high in Bow tributaries and the Kananaskis Lakes. Just where to get more supply proved difficult. In 1921, while staff collected half a million eggs at the Spray Lakes, they only successfully eyed 200,000 of them to transfer to Banff. The hatchery had to get another 200,000 cutthroat from Yellowstone National Park, in exchange for returning the same number of Atlantic salmon eggs. R. T. Rodd, who had had some success getting eggs from Highwood tributaries, that year noted that “trout were extremely scarce and nowhere found in sufficient numbers” in the area to warrant building booms.²⁹

In addition to the problem of ensuring adequate supply of cutthroat, the hatchery faced pressure from anglers themselves, many now growing impatient with the native fish. By the late nineteenth century in the United States, many anglers in mountain stream areas had largely given up on cutthroat as “inferior in gaminess to the eastern brook trout.”³⁰ Although, south of the border, brook trout had lost ground in eastern waters—where land clearing, timber cutting, and industrialization had produced what one late nineteenth century US government report described as “changed conditions in and along the waters not agreeable to the brook trout’s wild nature”—it remained a favourite as an introduced species in western mountain rivers.³¹ Brook trout was, in fact, the fish of choice for many American newcomers to Alberta at the turn of the century, which is probably why it headed the list of possible fish to introduce into depleted streams, even at the expense of cutthroat.

When it came to introductions, however, the preference of the Banff hatchery was for rainbow trout, a tidy but aggressive snapper that, in contrast to brook trout, spawned in the spring. The rainbow trout is a West Coast native. In Canada, indigenous rainbows are almost exclusively confined to British Columbia, where they are primarily found to the west of the continental divide. East of the Rocky Mountains, native rainbow occur in only three rivers, the Peace and the Liard, whose headwaters lie in British Columbia, and, in Alberta, along the upper Athabasca River and its tributaries.³² Somewhat ironically, though, the rainbow that entered Southern Alberta waters did not come from the



FIGURE 5.3

The Banff Hatchery ca. 1920, postcard image. The *Calgary Daily Herald* reported on 22 December 1928 that the hatchery's show pond attracted "many thousands of visitors during the summer months." NC-7-868, Glenbow Library and Archives.

Athabasca River basin. Originally transplanted from California into the eastern United States to fill industrialized, polluted, and seriously damaged water basins, rainbow trout were introduced into the Great Lakes in the 1870s. By 1887, Wilmot, the Dominion's hatcheries expert, was raising them at the hatchery in Newcastle, Ontario. By 1900, rainbow populations in the Great Lakes were self-sustaining. It was from Ontario hatcheries, then, that teeming rainbow populations were introduced into the streams of Alberta's Eastern Slopes as it became increasingly clear that the supply of cutthroat could not keep up with demand.³³ In the long term, the large numbers of rainbow introduced through hatcheries would rival the cutthroat and its various subspecies up and down the cordilleran watersheds of the Rockies.

In its early years, the Banff hatchery, with its three troughs plus a bedroom and kitchen for the attendant, may have looked like a modest enterprise, but it was soon to become a veritable fish factory of exotic varieties.³⁴ The growing number of anglers during the war years forced critical changes in the composition of native and transplanted varieties

at the Banff hatchery. In 1918, some 84,000 cutthroat ova were brought to maturity, along with 64,000 Atlantic salmon and 196,000 “Great Lakes trout.”³⁵ As yet, no rainbow trout were in production, but in 1919, what with the drought conditions that were ruining many fishing holes and returned soldiers now adding to fishing pressures, rainbow production abruptly shot from nothing to almost 167,000. The output of lake trout also increased, to 154,000, while that of cutthroat declined. The following year, the hatchery engaged in a concerted effort to collect cutthroat ova and was able to increase production significantly, to some 278,000. Far more dramatic, however, was the rise in the output of rainbow, with numbers rocketing to 600,000.³⁶

Anglers adored the rainbow. Less wary than the brook trout and generally regarded as much sportier than the cutthroat, the rainbow was also more readily adaptive—a species admirably able to keep pace with a rapidly changing pioneer landscape. Crucial to the rainbow’s proliferation in North America (and virtually the entire world) was the ease with which the fish could be bred in hatcheries for qualities that made it more attractive for angling, such as colour and overall “sportiness,” as well as resistance to disease, and that would allow it to thrive in particular streams.³⁷ In 1919, when the Banff hatchery began rainbow production, the *Calgary Daily Herald*—where staff writers, almost to a soul, were ardent anglers—excitedly reported that these newcomers were now darting about in the upper reaches of the Bow, “the first of these game fish east of Banff.” The *Herald* writer asked fishermen near Banff to give the rainbow on the Bow a few years before landing them, as “they will reproduce many more of their species and will provide a fighting demon of a game fish for the Bow River Waters between here and Banff.”³⁸

As the *Herald* article noted, High River holdouts learning of the rainbow sighting protested “against alien fish being placed in Alberta.”³⁹ But, in fact, as R. T. Rodd pointed out, the paper had got it wrong: the fish sighted east of Banff were not rainbow but Nipigon brook trout, introduced to Banff in the early years of the century.⁴⁰ High River anglers who voiced concerns about rainbow introductions were nevertheless clearly in the minority. But even they followed suit in 1922, when none other than W. D. Elliott, of the Highwood River Angling Protective Association, finally requested rainbow for Highwood tributaries. After George Lane’s request for cutthroat from the hatchery in

1919 returned only rainbow to Pekisko Creek and Elliott's own protective association's request for cutthroat in 1920 returned only rainbow, Elliott likely understood it was the only option available. Without at least rainbow, the Highwood would be "so far depleted that fishermen will lose their interest and one of the main drawing cards for tourists to this beautiful natural playground will be lost." He added that "we are informed that tourists and the money they spend in the country is worthy of real consideration."⁴¹

Many of the province's anglers believed that it was only because of the hatchery output that streams remained fishable at all. In 1920, J. J. Gillespie, secretary of the newly formed Pincher Creek Anglers' Association, begged the hatchery for fifty thousand rainbow fry for beleaguered local streams.⁴² But the Banff hatchery was hard-pressed to serve all the needs in Southern Alberta. In such circumstances, in 1920, the US parks administration began lending a hand to help. It magnanimously donated 200,000 rainbow fry from its Bozeman facilities to restock the Belly and Waterton Rivers. Unfortunately, most of the fish were dead when they arrived. The milk cans they had been shipped in were without ice on a particularly hot day.⁴³ In 1922, the Montana Fish Commission offered more foreign aid, this time working with the Lethbridge Rod and Gun Club whose members would plant the donated fry in the Waterton and Oldman Rivers. "These trout," the US Bureau of Fisheries wrote to its Ottawa counterpart, "will be our delegates to Canada. . . . We are joining hands with you in planting along the world's greatest border line these evidences of our mutual good sportsmanship."⁴⁴

Just getting the fry to their park destination proved expensive and time-consuming. American officials generously covered the fishes' transport charges to Canada. But it was the Lethbridge Board of Trade that picked up the costs of their travel from the border to Lethbridge, the fishes' feeding and change of water at a local garage there, and then their dispatch to Pincher Creek. Calgary and Pincher Creek angling associations, meanwhile, had to raise a public subscription to pay for other costs of the project.⁴⁵ To say the least, it was "an achievement" to successfully undertake the planting. Within Waterton Lakes National Park, mostly at Cameron Lake, the planting involved "a long and tedious journey of three days by rail, a forty-mile trip by motor transport, a ten-mile motor boat ride, final repackaging on the saddle ponies and

transport over seven miles of mountain trail to the headwaters of the Waterton Lakes,” the *Lethbridge Daily Herald* reported.⁴⁶

The American donation that year was not all what it seemed from Ottawa’s perspective. In 1925 J. Gillespie, of the Pincher Creek Anglers’ Association, referred to the 1922 gift from “our American cousins” in a letter to the federal director of fisheries and mentioned something the fisheries department had no knowledge of: Americans had included eastern brook trout in the shipment. Gillespie now asked for more brookies from the Banff hatchery.⁴⁷ The federal fisheries superintendent, W. A. Found, sternly rebuked the request. Introducing these fish in spring-spawning waters, he stated to Gillespie, was “not desirable.” The Bozeman donation had violated the law prohibiting “the introduction of non-indigenous fish alive . . . except by special permission of the Minister.”⁴⁸

Whether these infusions of fish were a matter of good sportsmanship or simply of necessity, most towns well understood the precariousness of their situation. Banff hatchery supply remained limited, a situation that sometimes pitted one town against another. Some communities lost out to the complicated logistics and heavy costs of transport. Bar U owner George Lane, with his considerable political pull, could ensure that Highwood tributaries were better served than, for example, Stavely’s starving streams. Logistically, too, the Highwood was more feasibly stocked. R. T. Rodd, for instance, found it much easier to deliver to the Highwood than to the streams at Stavely. To get to the Highwood, he could leave Banff by night train. Then he waited with his fish for six hours in Calgary, and arrived at Aldersyde, just north of High River, by 2:00 p.m. Fry bound for Stavely, however, had to wait again at the Aldersyde station a full evening before continuing their journey, which included a thirty-mile trip by auto or truck to their stream destinations.⁴⁹

The fact was, too, that High River anglers were well organized to support plantings, and Highwood ranchers donated the labour of ranch hands and vehicles. George Pocaterra’s spread at the Buffalo Head typically provided the meeting place for High River volunteers to bring fry up by wagon and truck, while its own ranch hands helped move them along to their tributary destinations, with fish guardian Sam Smith co-ordinating everything. The “annual stocking of the Highwood was always good for a lively day,” R. M. Patterson recounted in his memoir

The Buffalo Head. Smith would organize the ranch hands with pack-horses to meet the tank wagons. “The fry would be transferred into cans with ice containers and with wire-gauze, sacking-covered lids to allow the passage of air, and the horses would stand quietly while these were loaded on to them and secured,” Patterson wrote.⁵⁰ But inevitably it all became a “circus” when the parties moved on: “the unaccustomed glugging of the water in the fish cans never failed to alarm and excite the horses who would tear around in circles on the end of their lead ropes with a horseman hanging on to each side, pivoting on his horse and trying to quieten him.”⁵¹

The Loch Leven Comes to Alberta

In 1924, in a significant departure from previous policy, the Banff hatchery added Loch Leven to its production program. The Department of Marine and Fisheries had held firm after World War I against the CAA’s lobbying to have brown trout introduced into Southern Alberta, including the Loch Leven.⁵² But the department’s Winnipeg-based superintendent, George Davidson, and the local Calgary overseer, meanwhile, were having difficulty satisfying the needs of anglers in the Red Deer River basin. In 1920, when the department agreed to close tributaries in Southern Alberta, it had included the tributaries of the Red Deer River on the assumption that trout worthy of protection swam in those streams.⁵³

That raised the hackles of numerous anglers in Red Deer and other towns to the north of Calgary. They pointed out that stream closures served only to save bull trout and what they regarded as other coarse fish. The Red Deer Board of Trade, formally protesting these closures, pointed out that “no sporting fish are found in the Red Deer River or its tributaries for many miles on each side of Red Deer.” It demanded its waters, then, be reopened and permits be waived for the fishery, “which furnishes food and recreation for many people.”⁵⁴ The Board of Trade even arranged for a local authority on fish and insects to meet the Department’s inspector and convince him that no “sporting fish” worthy of stream closure existed in its watershed.⁵⁵

Red Deer angling interests contributed to a change in the department’s stance on Loch Leven. It was mainly A. T. Stephenson, of the Red Deer Board of Trade, who organized the town’s anglers and led the movement to reopen their river’s tributaries and see Loch Leven

introduced into them.⁵⁶ As Davidson explained to his superiors in the fisheries department, Stephenson had made it clear that he and most Red Deer anglers still did not recognize the bull trout as a genuine trout, nor were they interested in measures that would protect it.⁵⁷ Faced with little by way of community support for the native bull trout, the department had to find a suitable fall-spawning trout to serve as a substitute, and the Loch Leven seemed to meet that need.

The first Loch Leven produced at Banff, in 1924, were destined for the Raven River in the Red Deer River basin.⁵⁸ That same year, however, anglers in Red Deer, Olds, Innisfail, and Didsbury requested a wider distribution of the fish in their waters. They found a Loch Leven champion in Garfield Thompson. Thompson had immigrated in 1906 from Montana to the Mound district northeast of Sundre, and had seen Loch Leven doing well as a species in his home state. The Red Deer River catchment seemed ideal for the trout, and he pitched the idea of widely stocking tributaries of the Red Deer and Clearwater Rivers. In 1926, the Banff hatchery, together with the booms at Spray Lakes, produced some 750,000 cutthroat, but they were now troughed alongside half a million Loch Leven brown trout.⁵⁹

In 1926, with the Banff hatchery now producing a great number of Loch Leven, the federal government hired Thompson to do the legwork of distributing the fry. By the following year, he was planting them in tributaries of the Red Deer, including Grant and Schrader Creeks, thus laying the basis for one of the most stable Loch Leven populations in the province.⁶⁰ Over the next few years, Thompson expanded his plantings into an area covering 3,000 square miles. With so few roads in the region to the west of Red Deer, he used horse and wagon. Interviewed at the age of seventy-seven, he recalled that, in 1928, he had to undertake a seven-mile packhorse trip to plant his fish at Eagle Lake, well to the east of Edmonton, near the Saskatchewan border. On another trip, along a better travelled route to Moose Creek, his automobile broke down, and he had to plant all his fish at Swan Creek. Many of the streams he stocked later became famous in the province for brown trout, with anglers at Fallentimber Creek, Raven River, Dogpound Creek, Stony Creek, and Prairie Creek, as well as Eagle Lake, still “pulling fat loch leven from many of these places,” as a bulletin of Alberta’s Department of Lands and Forests reported in 1959.⁶¹ All the same, anglers unfamiliar with these trout could find them difficult to catch.

Fishing enthusiasts in the foothills town of Nordegg complained, for example, that Thompson's plantings had failed, many of them insisting that only one trout survived. That lone survivor kept putting in an appearance here and there, as if to taunt their efforts. When Thompson visited the streams, however, he could see that trout were plentiful: the problem was simply that locals had not yet learned the trick to bagging them.⁶²

Thompson did his work as a paid government employee. However, for the most part, hatcheries depended on local angling associations to help millions of fry find their homes in streams. Like the High River anglers who helped plant rainbow trout in Pekisko Creek in 1919, members of small-town angling associations provided critical labour by transporting fry and distributing them along streams.⁶³ Only when such an organization was on hand to provide help, and to supervise streams after they were restocked, would the fisheries department open a region to its stocking program. Writing to a new employee in March 1925, the federal superintendent of hatcheries, J. A. Rodd, advised him that he should "not fail" to enlist the support of members of angling associations "while you are responsible for the Banff distributions," adding that "there are associations in almost every town."⁶⁴ As hatchery output increased, so did the responsibilities borne by these associations. Given that fry could easily be killed in transit by spikes in temperature, transporters worked under severe time constraints. As Thompson's auto mishap suggests, fish "plantings" were sometime messy and hastily undertaken.

Hatcheries were trying to achieve a difficult balance in those years: putting fish into streams and lakes as quickly as anglers took them out. The American donations of fry in 1920 and 1922 (the latter resulting in an embarrassing introduction of brook trout) only underlined the need for a government hatchery in Southern Alberta. For these anglers, such a facility should provide exotics. A Taber angler, writing to the *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, witnessed year after year Waterton Lakes fish "being depleted to an alarming extent" and he pushed for a hatchery at Waterton. The *Herald* agreed with the writer that the great attraction in "modern pisciculture" was the ability to introduce fish "into some locality where they were not previously found." Americans had used hatcheries to introduce the "whitefish, the California trout, the brook char, the shad and various other fishes." A Waterton hatchery could

likewise be the source for such exotics and at the same time remedy the effects of overfishing.⁶⁵ Certainly, the Banff hatchery was barely able to keep up with local demand in Southern Alberta. In 1924, anglers' requests for larger portions of Banff fish stock for the south had been turned down by the department because it was diverting most of its fry to more immediately accessible streams in Banff National Park streams and to the west and south of Calgary.⁶⁶ That initiated a campaign by J. J. Gillespie, the secretary of the Pincher Creek Anglers' Association, and now one of the most influential conservation groups in the Oldman watershed. Gillespie wrote to the fisheries department to request 250,000 rainbow and cutthroat fry and 25,000 eastern brook trout fry for tributaries of the Oldman and Waterton Rivers.⁶⁷ Joining his request were petitions from boards of trade in Fort Macleod, Bassano, Lethbridge, and Calgary.⁶⁸ The Pincher Creek Anglers' Association, with the support of the Lethbridge Board of Trade, volunteered to help disburse 250,000 rainbow and cutthroat in Crowsnest stream if the government provided them with the fry.⁶⁹

There was some urgency in these communities' requests. With anglers from Saskatchewan and as far away as Minneapolis and Chicago using streams in the district, Gillespie saw it imperative to receive rainbow and cutthroat stock; but he was also keenly interested in eastern brook trout, apparently because it appealed to these visitors' tastes in sport. He suggested that a good source of supply could be from Yellowstone hatcheries.⁷⁰ The department rejected Gillespie's idea of introducing the fish of his choice,⁷¹ but did send rainbow trout for streams close to Pincher Creek.⁷² Other Southern Alberta anglers pressed the department for eastern brook trout. During the meeting to create the Claresholm Fish and Game Protective Association in 1925, apparently reviving the association created in 1921, members of the new organization asked for 50,000 brookies to stock Trout Creek as well as others in the eastern block of the Crowsnest Forest Reserve.⁷³ Learning that a hatchery was going to be built at Waterton, the Lethbridge Rod and Gun Club secretary, W. M. Harris, requested that facility produce British Columbia steelhead, eastern brook trout, Ontario lake trout, and Loch Leven and German brown trout for nearby streams.⁷⁴ R. T. Rodd was maybe willing to consider steelhead, but he was firmly opposed to any of the favoured fall-spawning exotics. The Waterton hatchery, he wrote, would only stock rainbow in streams where cutthroat resided:

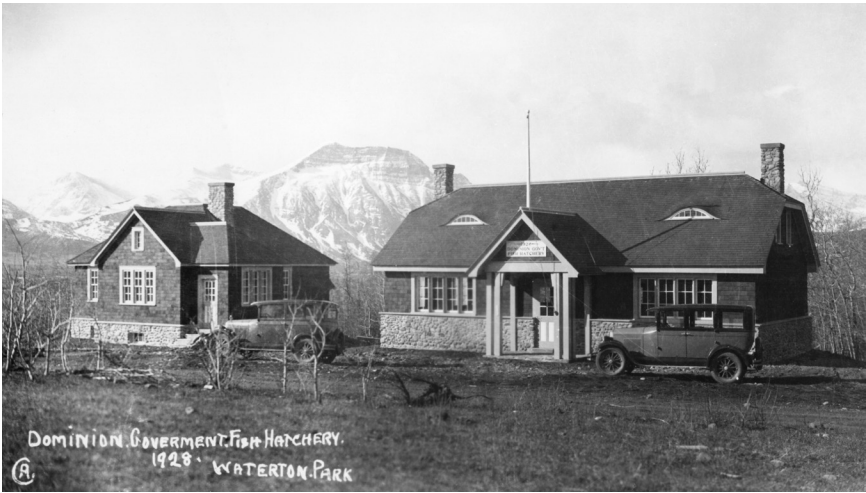


FIGURE 5.4

The Waterton Hatchery. NC-7-868 Glenbow Library and Archives.

brown and brook trout were “fall spawners and cannibals” and would ruin the chances for cutthroat in its native waters in Southern Alberta.⁷⁵

At the same time, fishing was one of the great attractions to Waterton Lakes National Park, making it a “holiday playground,” according to the Lethbridge Board of Trade’s H. W. Crawford.⁷⁶ Located due south of Pincher Creek, at the border with the United States, the park formed a convenient northern extension of Montana’s Glacier National Park. In view of the growing pressure on local streams, and cognizant of the need to keep Canadian park visitors happy, especially in view of competition from south of the border, the Department of Marine and Fisheries resolved to construct a second hatchery, at Waterton. The new facility, built in 1928, was intended to stock streams in the park as well as to support fisheries in the coal mining and ranching areas of the Oldman watershed. Although anglers in the area clamoured for fry of any sort, their preference was still for eastern brook trout. R. T. Rodd instructed G. E. Bailey, the hatchery’s overseer, to hold firm to the department’s dictum that local waters be stocked with cutthroat, supplemented with rainbow in areas where cutthroat populations were insufficient to meet demand. “There is a growing desire on the part of the general public,” Rodd wrote (not really explaining where he was seeing it), “to reserve

certain areas so far as feasible in their natural state.” To that end, the hatchery should supply these waters with fish native to them or, failing that, at least with fish in sync with their spawning times.⁷⁷

Tourist promoters and town boards of trade understood that better local fishing would attract outsiders and their cash. To this end, broad sections of the angling community continued to urge for species of fish they preferred to be distributed in southern waters of the province. To a writer for the *Blairmore Enterprise* in 1929, the steelhead fit the bill, “a fighting devil” that would “take fly, spinner or live minnow,” as well as the spring-spawning Athabasca River Arctic grayling (*Thymallus arcticus*).⁷⁸ In Calgary, even Dr. Euston Sisley promoted the introduction of Arctic grayling to Southern Alberta waters, convinced that “they would flourish here.”⁷⁹ Farther north, in the Red Deer area, townsfolk lauded the German brown trout or, as we have seen, the Scottish variety, the Loch Leven, in particular. But also did the 125 members of the newly formed Claresholm Fish and Game Protective Association, who requested 50,000 brook trout “of two or three varieties” to restock nearby tributaries.⁸⁰ Some anglers believed that brookies grew more quickly than native cutthroat, the very reason they should be released alongside them. W. M. Harris, championing the Loch Leven and German brown trout and writing to the fisheries department on behalf of the Lethbridge Rod and Gun Club, reported that, “it was the general opinion of the meeting [of the club in Lethbridge] that the Cut-Throat variety take too long to mature,” and the brown trout could grow to as much as a pound after a single year.⁸¹ In the eyes of the fisheries department, however, in waters that were the natural home of cutthroat, the spring-spawning rainbow was the exotic of choice.

This principle held in 1928, when the Banff hatchery was producing 2.2 million cutthroat, rainbow, Loch Leven, and German brown trout fry.⁸² In addition to a sizeable production of pickerel, the total number of fish from hatcheries had climbed to approximately 3.7 million fry to supply a total forty-one tributaries and lakes in Alberta. About 1.5 million cutthroat and 1.7 million rainbow trout were distributed to southern spring-spawning rivers. Tributaries of the North Saskatchewan River received roughly 135,000 Wisconsin-imported German brown trout. Tributaries of the Red Deer, where the only native trout was the bull trout, were receiving about 360,000 Loch Leven a year—in hopes

that these hefty, tourist-pleasing brown trout would supplant the bull trout and other fall-spawning populations.⁸³

Exotics in Alberta's Mountain Streams and Lakes

As for the fond hopes placed in stream plantings, the success of many fry was by no means certain. The volunteers who poured countless thousands of fry out of milk cans into tributary waters had faith that the fry released would yield, with time, a bounty of landed beauties—more so if the streams in question were closed. In 1928, Dave Blacklock, then living in Longview and reporting on the 100,000 cutthroat fry that his fellow anglers had helped to plant in Highwood tributaries that year, confidently claimed that the mortality rate was only 12 percent.⁸⁴ R. M. Patterson, remembering the plantings on the Highwood, also believed that, despite the difficulty in delivering fry to the river's tributaries, "strange to say, the mortality amongst the fry was never great. After two or three miles of some foothill pack trail the fish cans would be decanted into a likely looking pool. A few tiny bodies would float to the surface—but a brown cloud of swarming, active life would show for a moment in the clear water and then vanish, seemingly none the worse for their wild ride."⁸⁵ In all likelihood, these were rosy estimates. By the 1940s, fisheries managers in Alberta had begun to suspect that hatchery fry in fact suffered terrific mortality rates once released into streams.⁸⁶

Their suspicions were confirmed by studies conducted by Richard Miller in the early 1950s at Gorge Creek, a tributary of the Sheep River. As these studies revealed, resident trout are fiercely territorial, making claim to stream locations as their home, with the result that hatchery fry, once introduced into streams, struggle to find a place not already occupied by residents. Fry have difficulty feeding and, in their search for space, they must fight water currents to the point that they exhaust themselves and elevate the levels of lactic acid in their blood. If these tiny fish do not die in the first months of their release, their search for food and constant exertion leave them seriously weak and underweight by fall. As few as 3 percent of hatchery fry survive to the spring of their second year.⁸⁷ Miller's studies had a profound impact on Alberta's fisheries management. Because even a stream that appears "fished out" may have enough resident fish to out-compete with hatchery fry, Alberta managers began planting instead in lakes or only in streams where a

severe winter had killed off all resident trout.⁸⁸ Moreover, in the 1950s, it was becoming apparent that the very idea of a stream being “fished out” was often related more to anglers failing to land fish rather than the reality of fish populations themselves. A stream might have a lot of trout, but the conditions are such that very few are caught, save small numbers by very skilled anglers. More commonly, a “fished out” stream contains a lot of small fish that have “become too wary and wise to be catchable.”⁸⁹ The freeing of tens of thousands of fry and fingerling competitors into streams only complicated stream ecology, encouraged hybridization of native fish with exotics introduced alongside them, or perhaps simply changed a stream or river’s carrying capacity for its resident fish.⁹⁰

More problematic in the long term, however, was the genetic mixing that followed the introduction and survival of exotics in streams. The native bull trout had to fight for habitat with exotics, many of which were aggressive and adaptable. With their familiar waters staggering under the impact of forestry activity, ranch-related disturbances, especially soil erosion, and, on the Bow, hydroelectric damming, the bull trout was often pushed out of certain locations. It seems certain, now, that Bow River dams favoured the more adaptable German brown trout, which later introduced out-competed native species. Indeed, stream damming and diversions, which changed flow rates, rendered key bull trout and cutthroat spawning areas uninhabitable. Meanwhile, the cutthroat’s hybridization with introduced rainbow trout further imperilled that species in its native space.⁹¹

The upper reaches of the Red Deer River, once the haunt of the bull trout, similarly became a zone contested by new species. Elsewhere, the season dates worked against the bull trout’s chances for victory, as anglers waged an unofficial war on the fish, weeding it from streams as a pest. In 1930, the Canadian National Railway reported transporting 5.3 million fry or eggs, including Loch Leven, German brown trout, and eastern brook trout, as well as rainbow trout, for deposit in likely a lot of bull trout territory. These were destined for Jasper National Park and foothills waters.⁹² Wherever the “nuisance” bull trout existed, other fall-spawning species were introduced as an alternative—varieties that were, in the opinion of many, an improvement on nature’s original design.

Problems grew with these plantings, in large measure because they drew on a relatively simple understanding of streams and lakes as aquatic gardens into which a crop of fish could be planted, grown, and harvested by rod and reel. Ecological relationships were rarely considered or even perceived; instead, the main consideration was whether a particular stream or lake was good for angling. Some fish varieties were commonly seen as “weedy” or “coarse,” and some, such as those that were cannibalistic or predatory, were even referred to as “noxious.” For many angling enthusiasts, the logic was simple: clearing a river of the less preferred coarse varieties would leave more room for preferred ones. Others adopted a slightly more nuanced position, arguing that some coarse varieties were needed to provide a competitive environment to keep more sporty fish in “fighting” condition for the angler.⁹³

Aquaculture programs had consequences that were never anticipated or even imagined. In addition to stream plantings, the Banff hatchery was responsible for the annual restocking of numerous lakes: Bruce, Crimson, Boyne, Hazelwood, Crowsnest, Big Iroquois, Sylvan, Ministic, Cooking, Hastings, Beaverhill, McGregor, Leedlaw, Fish, Jasper, and Little Vermilion as well as the lakes in the Stoney Reserve west of Calgary. By 1922, these lakes were being stocked with everything from rainbow to pickerel and lake trout.⁹⁴ But key changes brought about by restocking were occurring at high altitude, in Rocky Mountain lakes. Many of these lakes, created during deglaciation tens of thousands of years ago, were originally empty of fish: they were oligotrophic environments, with very low levels of naturally occurring nutrients. Tourists arriving in the mountain park were disappointed to find many of these lakes barren of sporting opportunities. Many erroneously blamed railway construction crews for wiping out fish populations in these lakes.

In 1921, the superintendent of what was then known as Jasper Forest Park, S. Maynard Rogers—who had designed his administrative office to accommodate a fish hatchery in the basement—asked James B. Harkin, the commissioner of the Dominion Parks Branch, to take the “necessary steps” to stock glacial mountain streams and lakes with food suitable for fish to “prepare the way splendidly for the reception of fish fry at a later date.”⁹⁵ R. T. Rodd, at the Banff hatchery, agreed on the need to stock these high-elevation lakes with fish. In 1922, Rogers experimented with introducing fish into Maligne Lake, admitting that the

limited food in its waters would likely stunt their growth, “but inferior growth would be better than none as Nature in time may supply the deficiencies especially with the aid of a small start.”⁹⁶ As hatchery output increased, many more high-elevation lakes were planted with mountain whitefish, rainbow, and brook trout. To be sure, some of the lakes have never recovered from this unnatural intrusion. Fish introduced to oligotrophic waters probably disrupted their special zooplankton and crustacean communities and, in cases where the fish populations became self-sustaining, continued to do so even after stocking programs were stopped. According to some studies, efforts to return lakes to their original state by removing the introduced fish have proven failures.⁹⁷

The annual mixing of hatchery harvests each year also indelibly marked Alberta’s streams for the long term. Well suited to waters that were rapidly being altered by human development, the rainbow would live up to its reputation as a “fighting demon,” crowding the cutthroat out of its native haunts, as well as interbreeding with cutthroat to create hybrids. Indeed, of the fourteen subspecies of cutthroat that once swam in Rocky Mountain waters, two (the yellowfin and Alvord) are now extinct, another (the Paiute) is endangered, and five more are threatened.⁹⁸ In Alberta, as exotics introductions ramped up after the transfer of fisheries to the province, brook trout began out-competing cutthroat juveniles, while brown trout and lake trout also mercilessly preyed on native species, with the result that, over time, exotics have tended to displace or replace the native cutthroat. A 1996 study of the Bow River system in Banff National Park estimated that 36 percent of the original range of westslope cutthroat had already been occupied by rainbow.⁹⁹ In a more recent, comprehensive report by the Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada (COSEWIC) in 2016, the cutthroat’s status has become truly dire. In the Bow drainage, truly native cutthroat populations are “generally small and restricted to the extreme headwaters of a few major tributaries and upper mainstem, occupying less than 5% of the native range outside Banff National Park.”¹⁰⁰ There are remnant populations in very high headwaters of the Spray and Cascade rivers, and in only three small tributaries of the Kananaskis River. There are some still found in the upper reaches of the Ghost River and a few of its tributaries. For all of the love and protection High River anglers devoted to safeguarding the Highwood’s cutthroat populations, they can now only be found high up in five

tributaries of the Elbow River, above the Forest Reserve boundary on the Highwood mainstem and a few, short sections of isolated reaches of a few of its tributaries. Within its native range, many of the Bow drainage's subpopulations are, in fact, hybridized.¹⁰¹ Fisheries biologists now recognize the problem of trying to "balance" overfished waters with new varieties, especially in human-altered environments.¹⁰²

All of this modified both nature and perceptions of nature. As quickly as fish ecologies and fish populations changed, so did the larger angling experience. What seemed at stake in hatchery work was not just fish, but fishing. The growing popularity of angling that relied on the use of an automobile brought with it a shift in the philosophy of fishing, one that transformed the ways in which anglers understood and interacted with nature and, in the process, the very relationship of human beings and fish themselves.



*Hiawatha Brand Silk Line Reel, Jean Rozon Collection,
Collection of Glenbow (8810), Photograph by George Colpitts.*

The Bow Fishery, Baitcasting, and Modern Camping in the Rockies

The streams of Rocky Mountains Park had long been popular with anglers from Calgary. By the mid-1920s, however, Banff was emerging as a mass tourist destination. Newcomers, most of whom arrived by car, brought with them new attitudes and expectations. They put unprecedented pressure on local resources, including the Bow River and its lakes and tributaries. Many of these visitors had neither the financial means nor the time to engage in more than brief forays into nature. For the most part, they viewed the mountain landscape from a distance: for them, the wilderness was primarily a magnificent but static tableau that inspired a comforting sense of grandeur and peace. Many of these tourists also fished differently than locals did, and—given their ever-increasing numbers and, as a result, their collective financial clout—their ways of interacting with nature mattered a great deal.

Perhaps no one could have fully anticipated the ways in which automobiles transformed the experience of nature in the western watersheds in the interwar years. In the parks of Alberta, as elsewhere, automobiles altered sensibilities, enlarged the range of possible pleasures, and drove new consumer demands, while also giving tourists a new independence of movement.¹ But if automobiles individualized encounters with nature, they also mediated the experience through their technology. Tourists began to understand nature with the motions, sounds, and windshield optics of their cars.² Meanwhile, the lucrative revenues to be won in the arrival of larger numbers of automobile travellers led to the commercialization of parks and an expanded array of services. In the environs of Banff, auto-driving tourists also forced park administrators to build new roads—in the end, falling back on the model of picturesque vistas, viewpoints cut here and there along the way, and



FIGURE 6.1

Fishing near Banff. Byron Harmon Fonds, V263/NA-448, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.

attractive, photo-ready curves.³ Ironically, then, the park itself encouraged an understanding of nature as something ornamental, a “wilderness” panorama to be viewed in passing, while offering a different experience in angling, one favouring baitcasting.

Autotourism, Angling, and Banff

As early as 1907, automobile clubs in Calgary were forcing their entry into the Banff townsite, which at that point was still prohibiting vehicular traffic. Even after 1911, when parks policy relaxed to allow automobiles in town, driving was completely prohibited after 11:00 p.m., and while cars were allowed on the streets, it was at a reduced speed—even slower than the thirty miles per hour, the typical maximum cruising speed of early Model Ts.⁴ As they ventured outside town into the park itself, auto drivers again had little freedom, as they were restricted to the few cart trails suitable for traffic.⁵

But the road system and power capacity of automobiles expanded considerably during the war. In 1916, prisoners in the Castle Mountain and Cave and Basin Internment Camps built roads connecting Banff to the nearby mining town of Bankhead and to the thermal springs at the Cave and Basin. The following year, more roadway opened to Lake Minnewanka, located not far to the northeast of the town, and a portion of the Loop Drive was built. Shortly after the war, autos like the Ford Model A could cruise at fifty miles per hour, prompting improvements to the rather harrowing Tunnel Mountain hairpin turns. Already in 1919, tourists could drive all the way to Johnston Canyon. Road building quickened. In 1921, the road from Banff to Lake Louise opened. Not that these thoroughfares were the smooth highways of today. In 1921, Norman Luxton, writing in his *Crag and Canyon*, lamented the state of the roads and commented sardonically that Charlie McAulay, the general construction foreman at the park, was a greater evangelist than Billy Sunday: “The roads Charlie builds shakes more hell out of people than Sunday’s sermons.”⁶ All the same, in 1923, great fanfare accompanied the opening of the Banff–Windermere highway, and, by 1926, roadsters could roar from Lake Louise all the way to Field, British Columbia, stopping to feed bears along the way.⁷

The tourist pump, though, had to be primed. In the early years of the automobile, it was mostly local traffic going into the park. As of 1919, the roads linking Calgary and Banff to the lucrative American market in Montana were still very rough and full of detours and other interruptions, and most Americans remained completely unaware that Canada even had national parks. But James W. Davidson, president of the Calgary’s Good Roads Association, and other Calgary boosters understood that the southern trail to Montana, completed in July 1919, could whisk tourists from Glacier National Park to Calgary in a single day’s drive. Leaving early in the morning, one could stop “long enough en route to catch of mess of good-sized trout,” and still make it to Calgary in time for dinner.⁸ That “road,” however, was still only a trail, and it needed upgrading on the Canadian side of the border, as Davidson explained to parks commissioner James B. Harkin, pointing out that he had even found deep-pocketed Americans ready to give funds to see the route improved.⁹ As the *Calgary Daily Herald* reported, Davidson was also working south of the border to reassure tourists that Canadian parks beckoned them from Glacier (which, by 1919, hosted

about five thousand visitors annually). Closer to home, the paper noted that Davidson's association was working with town councils to make the route better known and "less confusing": evidently, many of the early American roadsters venturing into Canada managed to get thoroughly lost between Cardston and Calgary.¹⁰

In the end, Davidson's efforts to promote visits to Canadian parks proved unnecessary. Roadways to Banff, whatever their condition, were wired through American good roads manuals and auto guidebooks into a continental network. Beginning in 1920, the "Banff to Grand Canyon Road," some 2,200 miles, was well advertised in signs and pamphlets. Drove of intrepid visitors began arriving from the United States, lured northward in part by the attractive post-war currency exchange. Lethbridge and Fort Macleod competed fiercely to have the "Great Highway" from Glacier and Waterton built through their towns now that hundreds of Americans were leaving greenbacks in addition to their exhaust fumes on their way to Calgary and then to Banff.¹¹ It helped that the Good Roads Association was affiliated with the Calgary Auto Club, whose vice-president was none other than trout angler and sportsman R. A. Darker.

Despite road networking, park administrators did not want to let autos run amok in mountain nature. Cars were initially banned by order-in-council in 1905. At the time of its construction, park superintendent Howard Douglas was intent on restricting the Calgary-Banff road to use by only horse-drawn coaches driven by tour operators.¹² Automobolists drove the road anyway on its completion in 1909.¹³ With her son Norman at the wheel, Lady Isabella Lougheed and her family (minus Sir James) were the very first to drive an auto to Banff over the road. The group packed extra fuel and a large food hamper, "for of course there were no restaurants on the way." They bounced over ruts and through bogs. What a thrilling ride it was. One of the passengers remarked that they breezed "along wonderfully for the first ten miles. We had our hats tied on with a mile of veil. Norman wore big gauntlets and a driving cap with goggles. The motor veils streamed behind in the wind. It was wonderful: a lovely sight as we approached the Rockies." But the police promptly impounded their car on its arrival to the Banff townsite, releasing it only when the motorists promised to return home. To cap the adventure on their way home, the Lougheeds' roadster blew

a tire, left the road, and struck a tree. The group returned to Calgary by rail.¹⁴

The Calgary Good Roads Association was just as adamant on using the road, staging a group auto excursion to the townsite later in 1909, despite the law being against them. In 1911, they successfully pressed Frank Oliver, the minister of the Department of Interior, to lift the ban, albeit with the requirement that car owners park vehicles at the police barracks during their stay.¹⁵ But Calgarians promptly drove their “buzz wagons” everywhere in the townsite regardless.¹⁶ Parking restrictions were finally lifted in 1915 as J. B. Harkin, the park commissioner, began overseeing an ever-extensive road-building program. Drivers, however, could not do anything they liked. Norman Luxton (“Mr. Banff”) continued to complain of bylaws limiting driver freedoms, particularly when they could drive, and at what speed cars could travel. He attributed these bureaucratic decisions to a “public be damned” attitude, such as in 1921, when the superintendent ordered all the town’s main motor drives to be tarred at the same time, smack in the middle of tourist season.

All the same, Banff was in many ways created by the automobile. Growing auto traffic required the construction of service stations and auto garages, as well as restaurants and accommodations.¹⁷ For most automobile tourists, a campground was the accommodation of choice: a buck bought them thirty days of camping in the park. Although some of them preferred “random camping,” pitching their tent in a spot that appealed to them, many demanded properly organized campgrounds. In the early 1920s, Camp Rundle offered a ground in Banff alongside the Spray River. Registered campers were assigned small plots to pitch their tents.¹⁸ Tunnel Mountain’s campground, developed by architects in 1927, moved away from individual camping plots. Although Rundle’s grounds patched within a grid of roads that provided access to necessary services, campers at Tunnel Mountain could pitch tent wherever they wanted and more in keeping with the idea of camping in nature, a tradition honoured well into the 1960s.¹⁹ None of these sites offered truly rustic camping. The “Campers’ Paradise” at Tunnel Mountain described by the *Calgary Daily Herald* had twenty dining shelters, cement cooking stoves and even electricity.²⁰ Services there would “induce tourists to linger longer than they first planned,” enjoying “every comfort and convenience that can be devised.”²¹ The numbers spoke for



FIGURE 6.2

Fishing for trout in Lake Louise, 1894. V653 NA 72, Vaux Family fonds, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.

themselves. In 1927, the newspaper reported Tunnel Mountain hosting 6,017 vehicles and 21,620 campers.²²

Tunnel Mountain's planning, allowing campers the freedom to choose where, within the grounds, they wanted to pitch their tents, reflected J. B. Harkin's overall approach to parks campgrounds. He was mindful of the line between resort tourism and genuine camping, and discouraged his mountain park managers from improving campgrounds too much and restricting those who, travelling by car, wanted to find spots around roadways where they preferred to tent. Policies continued to tolerate campers who squeezed between spots lining the roadway to Radium in the 1920s.²³

Beyond the borders of Rocky Mountains Park, the Bow River valley quickly became a draw to automobilists. From Calgary, the road largely followed the route of what is now Highway 1A, running through a

landscape mediated by railway engineering, itself oriented to the Bow River. For much of its length, the Bow Valley is a wide and relatively level expanse, an expedient feature that attracted CPR surveyors in the first place. Running parallel to the rails, which required a gentle gradient, the road was almost ideal—only occasionally a little hair-raising on its steeper sections. From a motorist’s perspective, the Banff road nestled in the valley’s spaciousness allowed the viewing of mountains rising at a comfortable distance. The topography envelops, rather than overwhelms, travellers. Even as the foothills give way to the first mountains, the furl of valley complexes is far enough away that the austere slate peaks of the Rockies are incorporated—as thousands of snapshots attest—into a majestic scene, rather than towering over the passing traveller in frightening sublime. Roadsters enjoyed the meanderings of the Bow River, confident in their place in the world and not fearing for their lives by envisioning spills down roadside cliffs. Apart from the formidable gradient of the Cochrane hill, most of the Banff–Calgary trail, winding through the reserve lands of the Stoney Nation and the Seebe flats before skirting Lac des Arcs, offered a memorable portrait of forest vistas and the gentle roll of foothills, all rendered in a pleasing palette of colours, with the true alpine peaks looming safely in the distance.²⁴

The Bow was entirely open for angling amusements. The best conditions on lakes and ponds, especially at Minnewanka, were early in the season, before the summer heat drove trout into the darkest reaches of the lakes and beyond the reach of most anglers. Trout rose early in the morning and, especially, during the moody changes of weather in the mountains. Violent storms often swept down the Bow Valley, but the rumble of thunder, the colonnaded black clouds closing off the valley, and the mists clinging to the mountainsides were usually followed by shafts of sunlight piercing the haze to strike the valley floor. All of this played with the angler’s sensibilities. The sheer allure of fishing here drew a steady traffic of visitors through the Bow Valley to Tunnel Mountain and the Rockies beyond.

Since most traffic had to go through Calgary, the city served as a gateway and clearinghouse for the angling-camping craze. By 1923, the roadway to Calgary from the United States was bringing thousands of American tourists, who often stopped over in the city before the next leg of their trip to Banff. Calgary businessmen were aware that

American roadsters were in a position to choose where to go depending on the availability of campgrounds.²⁵ They knew an opportunity when they saw it, quickly having the city build a camping spot in the most lucrative location possible, right in the middle of the sprawling city. The campground located on St. George's Island, just east of Prince's Island, was accessible by a small bridge. St. George generally served as the spot for trade union picnics and church socials. Well within the heart of the city, its campground presented what the *Calgary Daily Herald* described as an "exquisite little spot . . . sacred to motor gypsies." Tables, shelters, benches, and stoves were provided, and, the *Herald* explained, "cars can be parked here indefinitely or permanent camping indulged in." For the modern businessman, this was an ideal combination: a camper could feel "cut off from the world as if he were in the centre of a forest reserve, far, far from civilization," while remaining conveniently situated "within elbow's length of the telegraph and post office." Sounding a remarkably global note, the paper added, "his business, thousands of miles away, is never entirely out of his reach . . . the pulse beat of 'outside' is never lost to him for a moment."²⁶

Urban Calgary intimately connected to the national park in a myriad of ways. Geographically, the proximity of the park meant that many well-to-do Calgarians kept houses in Banff, and many more moved back and forth between the two communities throughout the summer. Many drove, even in the early days of motor travel. Lady Loughheed loved Banff. She kept her own home there, and it was said that the season had not truly started until her summer residence officially opened. Meanwhile, scores of Calgarians drove or took the express train that went into service at the start of July, with Calgary's *Morning Albertan* often keeping track of the who's who coming back and forth in its society pages.²⁷

In Banff, beginning on July 1—the opening of fishing season—tourists lined the shores of the Bow and Lake Minnewanka to land their catches. Almost all of them drove to their casting spots. Minnewanka, by far the most popular angling destination, had been raised four feet in 1908 to improve navigation; in 1912, it was raised an additional twelve feet to provide water storage for the downstream hydroelectric generator that initially supplied power to the Banff townsite. Like the Bow a few decades later, Lake Minnewanka became a second nature, an artificially reconfigured version of the original.²⁸ The dammed lake, in

turn, transformed the experience of tourists. Its peaceful waters were refilled annually with hatchery trout, a necessary procedure in view of the massive influx of tourists to the lake. At dawn, these ever-smaller trout—verging on juveniles, given the high turnover of the fish population—jumped for the thick clouds of caddis and mayflies, the only disturbance to the morning serenity of the lake’s surface.

But there were still some big catches to be had in this jewel of the Rocky Mountains. Some of the granddaddies survived a few years, lurking in the dark depths of the lake. In 1923, a Minnewanka lake trout was landed weighing thirty-seven pounds—so big that it was immediately hauled to the Banff museum for display. Bagging this struggling giant—forty-two inches long and twenty-four inches in circumference—was no mean feat.²⁹ All the same, by the early 1920s, most visitors contented themselves with modest catches. Long-time residents of the area were, of course, fond of telling stories about how good the fishing *used* to be. One Red Deer angler, heading to Minnewanka on the CPR in 1924, encountered an old-time curmudgeon who, “between tobacco clouds,” remembered when “seven or ten or fifty casts meant seven or ten or fifty rises of the biggest, bitingist most vigorous fish that ever lived; all cutthroats none less than a pound and a half.” True to form, the man concluded: “Them days was real fishin’.” The Red Deer visitor came to share the old geezer’s pessimism. Arriving to Banff, he immediately headed up the Bow to a promising spot, “with weapons rigged.” But the promise proved empty: “Feverishly and eagerly I cast. Then steadily and doggedly. Then slowly and sullenly.” He bagged only a single nine-inch trout and lost another on his line before night finally fell. Only the next day, after avoiding crowds and starting early, did the visitor land his catch: “Praise be to cord and rod and hook,” he wrote. He fought a hooked fish across the river’s width for some forty yards before landing “three pounds of sparkling, spotted cutthroat trout, twenty-three inches long.”³⁰

In contrast to the Highwood, where there might always seem room for more anglers, Rocky Mountains Park waters became congested at key bustling points for tourists. What with the advent of automobiles, the river’s upper reaches now offered a veritable fast-food drive-in nature experience, if not always a flawless one. In 1920, Calgary’s *Morning Albertan* recorded one group’s experience fishing Minnewanka. The anglers came armed with all kinds of bait, only to attract more than



FIGURE 6.3

Minnewanka biggies, 1923, displayed in front of a Banff town café with weights inscribed on the photo. George Noble fonds, V469/1625, Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.

fish: they wound up blistered by “some sixteen hundred mosquito bites.” One of them told his wife that he had “hooked a dandy trout” and was reeling it in when “a monster of a fish, a trifle smaller than a whale, bobbed up and swallowed the trout,” heartlessly stealing it from their table.³¹ That was one way to explain a bad day’s fishing. But beyond its disappointments, Minnewanka’s reputation continued to draw ever hopeful anglers annually. Trout, it was said, were so massive there, that when one was pulled up on the hook, Minnewanka’s water levels dropped three feet.³²

Whatever proud catches awaited anglers in Minnewanka’s waters, it was, in the end, auto-driving anglers, coupled with the greater number of trout placed in streams and lakes, who shifted Albertans’ sensibilities about their wilderness places. As the hatchery facilities in Banff and then Waterton busily churned out fry, tourism surged, particularly toward the lodestone of the mountains to the west. As the

more refined anglers suspected would happen, the crushing numbers of tourists changed their sport entirely. A 1927 article in the *Ottawa Citizen* walked its readers through the various fishing options available at the time. There was the “still line” technique—dropping a line into the water by hand or from the end of a stick, as well as fly fishing, which required art and skill. The article suggested something between the two extremes: baitcasting. This also used a rod and a reel, but in place of delicately tied flies, it relied on an ever-increasing range of real and artificial (metal or rubber) baits. The rod was also shorter and thus easier to manage, as well as more readily portable: a baitcasting rod could easily be folded in half and stowed. With the weight of numbers in their favour, tourists often chose the simpler sport and stimulated the creation of a market for a dizzying “array of spinners of various sizes and shapes, with and without feathers partly concealing the hooks, pork rind baits, and a bewildering array of artificial minnows of all sizes, shapes, colors, and motions in the water.” However “fantastic” looking, each lure seemed to boast “a devoted following of admirers.”³³

It was certainly the easier technique of baitcasting that appealed to tourists arriving by auto with only a few days to spend in wilderness—most of them urbanites with only modicum angling skills. Quite apart from its ease, baitcasting was also versatile: it could be done from shore, from a bridge, from a boat, or from a dock or pier. It was not merely for kids only, then, that, early in July 1924, just as the season opened in the park, Banff’s Standish & Sons offered a “bamboo fishing pole, line, hook and sinker, the whole outfit,” for only thirty cents.³⁴ Dave White & Co., another enterprise in town, offered steel rods for as little as \$1.50, as well as “specially made bait for Minnewanka.”³⁵ It was most commonly baitcasting equipment seized upon by anglers fishing without permits, usually consisting of “steel or common bamboo” rods worth, at most, twenty-five cents apiece.³⁶ Not many baitcasters discriminated very carefully among the varieties of fish they were landing, if indeed they even knew them. Tourist fishers crammed themselves into boats or gathered in clumps on bridges and along riverbanks, keeping up a steady stream of conversation. Women and men mixed, snagged each other’s lines, and hilariously hooked nearby tree branches.

The transformation of the fishing experience related not only to the simple technique of rod-and-reel baitcasting but also to the larger camping experience. At least by 1917, the growing numbers of

automobile campers were forcing park administrators to encourage tourists to camp in organized grounds. That year, about a thousand autos were registered entering the eastern park gates at Exshaw, and the superintendent, Jack Clarke, reported an increase in “the number of camping parties at favourable points on the main roads, parties being able, without inconvenience, to carry all camping paraphernalia in their cars and make their quarters wherever the fancy seized them.”³⁷ Pitching one’s tent at random reflected the once-common pursuit of “woodcraft camping.” In the late nineteenth century, campers had tended to invade a section of woods, cut down trees, and start fashioning chairs, tables, and clotheslines, downright occupying the space—and, because they used horses and guides to get into their locations, they often stayed a long time. By the 1920s, the blunt force of automobile camping had made these “woodcraft” traditions impractical—a serendipitous development, since, in the long term, this mode of camping would have devastated parks that, after all, were set aside to be free from human artifice and interference.³⁸

Automobilists largely provided a solution to the problem of human impact. They carried all the camping paraphernalia they needed, loading their autos with portable canvas tents, a “tick” sleeping bag stuffed with feathers (usually whiffing of kerosene), and an extra rubber tire to serve in the event of a flat. Automobilists carried nifty gear, like the \$8.88 “waterproof” canvas tent, available in 1928, that could be clipped onto the side of an auto and opened on one side into the interior of the car. A large range of enamelled and nickel vacuum bottles and jugs to keep liquids fresh were on the market, as well as hatchets, axes, folding skillets, “auto spades,” portable folding cots with steel-reinforced hardwood frames, and no end of comforts prêt-à-porter. Auto camping was cheap, and the passenger and driver were self-sustaining and independent.³⁹

These automobilists ultimately succeeded in taming, if not the wilderness itself, then the idea of “wilderness.” It was a place one visited, deliberately yet very selectively forgoing some of the comforts of home, a place from which one could easily escape, if need be. Whereas the great fly fishers spent hours in solitude, quietly contemplating nature and studying the behaviour of fish in their aquatic environments, auto-driving tourists hurried their visits to nature before often throwing their lines willy-nilly into the water to try their luck and then moving on.

This change in sensibilities was summed up in the campground itself, laid out with an eye to separating campers while keeping them together. Where a traveller in the countryside “blissfully follows his inclination as to where he shall lay his head for the night,” he tended to opt for the convenience offered in campgrounds set aside for them by the various municipalities in Western Canada.⁴⁰ In choosing spots along roadways, travellers tended to again bunch up with other travellers at favourite spots, scenic places, and convenient points along the route. Organized campgrounds facilitated this gregariousness while also providing a measure of privacy and a sense of “home” ownership surrounded by scenic vistas. Describing Banff’s Camp Rundle, the *Crag and Canyon* opined that automobile tourists want “a real out and out camping ground where there is no danger of crowding on the other fellow’s lot and one gets the notion one is the sole proprietor of the earth.” Quite impressively, these independent tourists still bunched up together on the same grounds. How any of them found complete isolation from the hundreds of others tenting around them was largely achieved only in their imagination.⁴¹

In the end, then, the very forces that concerned anglers farther downstream in the Bow River basin—growing throngs of tourists, the need for fish that would keep them happy, and the resulting pressure on fisheries—came to define leisure fishing along the congested riverbanks and lakeshores of Rocky Mountains Park—and, indeed, Canada’s national parks in general. Propelling these changes was the automobile. Tourists in their speedier vehicles hurried through nature, temporarily occupying campgrounds to satisfy their needs and wishes, or finding spots alongside each other to fish streams along the roadways. Not surprisingly, these visitors preferred simpler baitcasting over fly fishing, and their sheer numbers meant that streams needed constant restocking, to which park administrators and fisheries staff gave top priority. With the advent of baitcasting, the line between fishing as sport and fishing as recreational activity arguably hardened, with each representing a specific understanding of nature and the place of human beings in the landscape. Looking forward, one may argue that car-driving and baitcasting tourism fostered a new orientation toward nature that, since World War II, has prevailed in the truly crowded environments of national parks to the current day.



*Fly Assembly, Boyce Collection, Collection of Glenbow (9222),
Photograph by Francine Michaud.*

Conclusion

In 1928, a new, pan-provincial organization, the Alberta Fish and Game Association, effectively brought together Calgary and Edmonton associations and the many town clubs scattered across the province. In its subsequent history, the association has gone a long way toward creating a single, coherent voice for anglers and hunters in the province. Its clout was felt in issues pertaining to fish and game conservation in the Eastern Slopes region that emerged during the difficult drought and economic downturn of the 1930s. By this time, baitcasting had grown in popularity, and fish conservation had likewise evolved. This book has examined earlier efforts in conservation. Before resources were transferred to Alberta in 1930, anglers in communities up and down the Eastern Slopes worked with the federal government to save their fish. Albertans took up fishery causes, drove hatchery fry to tributaries, added their names to petitions to demand changes to season dates, or rose as whole communities to have streams closed or opened, in response to perceived changes in fishing conditions in their local streams and lakes.

Many of these angler-conservationists practiced fly-fishing, an art that demanded an intimate knowledge of stream environments. That does not discount the experiences of other fishers. As master angler and writer Jim McLennan explained, “any method of angling will to a greater or lesser degree provide the thrill that comes from being connected to a wild, fighting fish.” But he pointed out that for himself, “the real objective of fishing is an understanding of what is going on in the fish’s world, and fly-fishing is simply the most entertaining means of furthering that understanding.”¹ “My desire to understand the fish’s world, of course, is presumptuous, for such understanding is never complete and therefore never certain.”²

Fly fishers in the Eastern Slopes, like those elsewhere, certainly gained a depth of knowledge of how fish rested, fed, rose, and chased insects above or prey below the water's surface; fishers perceived the effects of ambient air and water temperatures, and they knew a stream in sunlight or shade. Tying dry and wet flies for specific circumstances required patience, knowledge, and experience acquired only through close observation of fish behaviour. Even the solitary art of casting engaged the senses of the participant in relation to the fish's realm. Accomplished fly fishers of the period, such as those in the High River Angling Protective Association, finely trained their attention to the natural world: High River folk knew, and appreciated, the Highwood River very well, and they sought to defend it accordingly.

The onslaught of automobile tourism shattered the quiet of their streams, and the pressure of urban-based recreationists transformed angling dramatically. Many a tourist in park settings fished clumsily and was largely indifferent to the fish species they landed. They barely appreciated the debates firing conservation of cold-water trout: the introduction of exotics, season dates that would variously protect or endanger the native cutthroat, wars against species deemed undesirable, and so on. These anglers camped alongside their vehicles. They geared up from wages or salaries earned in economies very different from the natural one in which they fished on weekends and holidays.

Fundamental tensions always existed between rural and urban anglers about access to streams and about the kind of fish that should swim within them. In Calgary, anglers were divided over what kind of sport to preserve. Among purists, the cutthroat, at least initially, reigned supreme in the interests of anglers. Frank Kemish wanted a later start to the fishing season to preserve that trout, and he believed that throwing open a tourist-pleasing earlier season would only undermine the finest and the most "natural" fishery in the mountain watersheds. But Calgary business interests and, eventually, numerous anglers up and down the Eastern Slopes grew impatient with cutthroat. In Calgary, city anglers concerned by the growing competition for fish among human predators, and envious of the browns and brookies already transplanted into American mountain streams, demanded German, Scottish, and Ontario species of trout to replenish their waters. They were more than happy—in fact zealous—to live in a second nature of their own making.

Not everyone agreed. High River anglers thought that excessive meddling with nature was a dangerous path to tread. They pragmatically ceded to rainbow introductions on the Highwood because it was really the only fish available to them in hatchery production after World War I. But they remained ardent cutthroat preservationists. Then again, in their efforts to preserve cutthroat, High River's anglers imposed their own idea about the river and likely a distorted view of its history. They believed that the Highwood had been a pristine, abundant cutthroat stream and that mountain whitefish and coarse species were overrunning it in real time. Maybe they were. Or maybe in the tumult of mass angler tourism in the 1920s, their own catches were changing, and the river simply looked different to them. In such circumstances, old-timers could swear they were seeing an invasion of coarse fish, bull trout, and mountain whitefish in the Highwood watershed. To them, restoring the river required weeding out coarse fish, controlling mountain whitefish populations, and culling bull trout, all fish in fact indigenous to the same waters. The fundamental challenge facing conservationists was that human activity changed the environment. Likely their own conservation efforts, including stream hatchery plantings, did too. Restoring nature to a theoretical trout purity could be achieved only through human persistence, including the imposition of new regulations, a lot of culling work, and supercharged hatchery production. Arguably, there was nothing "natural" about the ends and means of early cutthroat preservation efforts.

Indeed, "Nature" itself was undergoing revision before and during the progressive conservation era. The accumulated weight of even incremental environmental change in the pioneer world was very early revising the ecological integrity of Alberta's lakes and waterways. As biologist and angler Lorne Fitch reminds us, change "happens slowly, insidiously and cumulatively." It was, he points out, "a series of seemingly innocuous compromises made over the health of the watersheds trout rely on" that nearly exterminated the cutthroat.³ Irrigation ditches were built, and new varieties of weeds exploded in them; sewage was dumped into rivers, boosting biotic productivity and changing fish in nature. As Fitch stresses elsewhere, changes in the landscape and in fish abundance were evident early in the pioneer environment. Native species, including the bull trout, dropped in number as pioneer developments, railway construction, quarrying, coal mining, and irrigation

works in areas such as the Crowsnest made steady inroads into local flora and fauna and altered the ecology of the worlds through which fish swam.⁴

Many angler-conservationists were thus struggling to protect fish in a natural world in upheaval around them, and they worked hastily as river environments were taken up among competing land uses and economic pursuits. Aside from changes in habitat that threatened certain species, however, the drive for conservation was (and still is) fuelled as much by human priorities. Just what anglers sought to conserve depended, in large measure, on what they valued in a world that they themselves were transforming. A fisher in the lower reaches of the Bow basin would have been happy to land what the High River folk were anxious to rid from their own streams. That the bull trout still swims in Alberta waters—albeit precariously with a highly threatened status—is something of a miracle of piscine history. Not many Albertans at the time believed it was even a trout. Today, when fishery policies aim to protect the bull trout and cutthroat, finding a suitable home for them is a challenge. Many mountain waters are so fundamentally changed ecologically that hands are often tied. Native fish have been overrun by brook trout and other introduced species after the 1950s to the point that, in Alberta, culling programs have been directed to remove the interlopers—fish so prized by anglers in the 1920s.⁵

The point of this book is not to condemn the struggle of well-meaning conservationists who turned to numerous remedies—including the introduction of exotics—to strike a balance between preservation and use. Nor is it to champion a view that looks back at the 1920s as the halcyon days when local anglers pulled a lot of weight in forming fishing regulations. As this book has made clear, Ottawa and its appointed experts and managers in Alberta provided a critical balance to the views of anglers. The fisheries commissioner, Edward Prince, knew current specialized aquatic science very well. He put a firm brake on exotics introductions, at least the sportier species many newcomer Albertans, especially from the United States, wanted freed in their Southern Albertan fishing grounds. The federal appointee R. T. Rodd gained a form of expertise eluding anglers in their sport. Supervising the gurgling water troughs at the Banff hatchery, Rodd knew fish culture, species characteristics, and fish spawning season dates probably better than anyone at the time. Later in his inspection work, Rodd had

the time and public funding to closely study streams near and far from the Banff hatchery and gain impressive knowledge across many watersheds. That expertise proved essential when Rodd had to strike compromises in policy to meet the demands of very different communities up and down the Eastern Slopes, communities he ultimately counted on to see that all anglers abided by regulations. The significance of early fish conservation is that it reveals how fishers, many of them having witnessed the comparative abundance offered in early streams, discerned how quickly nature could be depleted around them. This realization became crystal clear to individuals like R. A. Darker in Calgary, Mark Drumm in Frank, and E. T. Saunders in Pincher Creek in the first decade of the century. By World War I, anglers such as John Kerr worked hard to control waste with the full knowledge that, without regulation and intervention at a community level, a local resource would be lost. At a time when the new province was promoted for its resource superabundance to prospective town and city developers, investors, land companies, and farmers, anglers understood a sobering reality earlier than a lot of other early Albertans did. Knee-deep in the province's cold-water streams, they knew that nature could become unbalanced, quickly depleted, or worse.

Moreover, the infighting, controversies, and divergent opinions in the early conservation movement reveal the broad range of responses and adjustments within a pioneer society confronting significant and rapid change. Early conservationists rarely shared a single conceptualization of nature or necessarily agreed on what, exactly, should be conserved, and why. A striking element in this story, nevertheless, is the close engagement of Albertans with their natural world in the 1920s. When, in the late 1920s, Dave Blacklock counselled High River folk to "guard your tributaries," the closure movement he supported prevented High River anglers, as much as outsiders, from fishing in areas believed to be the ultimate sources of their wealth. Their numerous campaigns, and probably their own forbearance on streams like Flat, Sullivan, and Pekisko Creeks, was perhaps only possible because of the close rapport and inestimable respect High River citizenry had gained for the river running through their town. Communities of anglers conserved that which they valued. As McLennan pointed out, quoting one of the pioneers of modern American fish conservation considered the father of catch-and-release, Lee Wulff, "A river that is only fished by a few

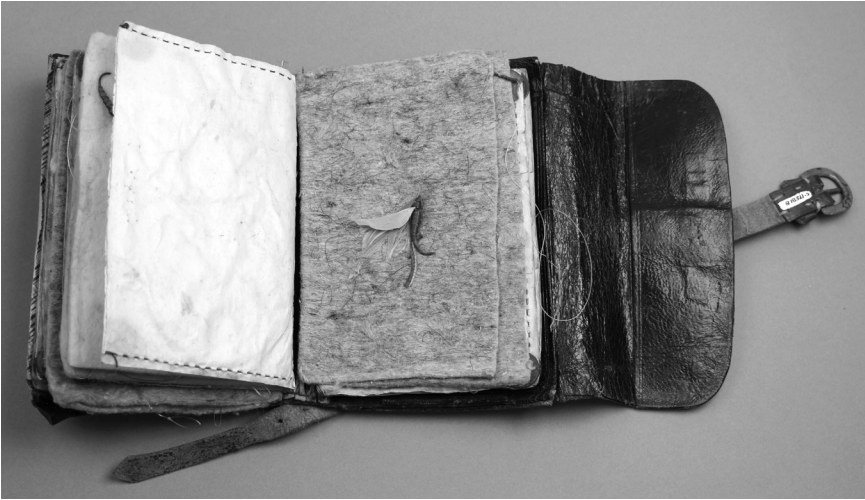
people, under attack by pollution or something else, doesn't have defenders. But a river that is loved and used by a great many people has a great many defenders and great strength."⁶

That should raise a host of questions for Albertans who now see tributaries carrying different wealth and fishing holes of a different sort attracting capital and resource developers. The interwar generation saw some of the most dramatic environmental transformations in the history of the province. The changes to landscape and its imagination in the age of the automobile, the impatient emphasis on "success" in fishing common among tourists, the thoughtless behaviour of motorists riding roughshod over river fronts, leaving a trail of garbage behind them: all epitomize attitudes that have become commonplace in our own era of super-consumerism, higher-speed automobiles, quad sports excursions, and increasingly hectic lifestyles prompting urban "recreation" in the out of doors. Undoubtedly, the mass tourism emerging in the 1920s laid down elements of a society increasingly—and, today, often completely—disengaged from "nature" and from issues of conservation. This is surely a loss, given that now, more than ever, Albertans need to give greater attention to the sustainability and environmental integrity of their resource-rich province. The great challenge for scientific managers in the present is to animate what are called "citizen science" initiatives, that is, programming reminding Albertans of human–nature relationships, down to the community level, these to prompt them to act thoughtfully and respectfully in their very complex river ecosystems.

Of course, history leaves its legacy. When Benga Mining Ltd. sought approval for its Grassy Mountain Coal Project in the Crowsnest Pass from a joint review panel of the federal Department of Environment and Climate Change and the Alberta Energy Regulator in 2016, the public hearings that followed in 2020 and 2021 provided community leaders and scientific experts an opportunity to express their keen concerns for the proposal. Beyond the mine's larger environmental impacts, panellists heard from scientists who pointed out the precarity of the subspecies of cutthroat native to Alberta, now occupying less than 20% of its historic range in the province. Mining would threaten critical cutthroat habitat in Gold Creek as well as Blairmore Creek—some of the last remaining in the province—while adversely affecting the Crowsnest River, the Oldman River, and the South Saskatchewan River.

The “significant environmental effects on westslope cutthroat trout and their aquatic habitat” figured importantly in the report.⁷ It perhaps is no surprise that, in 2022, when the Alberta government announced support for coal mining leases to such ecologically sensitive mountain areas, High River became the first municipality in the province to endorse a policy to ban new coal exploration and development.⁸ The municipality joined the efforts of First Nations, ranchers, hunters, and anglers concerned not only by the immediate environmental degradation promised in expanded coal mining, but how it would affect water flowing and the health of streams in Alberta. The same communities reacted to renewed applications for upper tributary forest clearcutting.

If current-day environmental debates reveal anything, it is the deep roots of riverside conservation in Alberta. Plainly, as in the past, today’s questions about resource use in the Eastern Slopes underline the fact that each river needs its advocates, each stream its defenders. Any angler in the 1920s would have understood this very evident truth.



*Fly Book, Dave and Katherine Coult's Collection,
Collection of Glenbow (6038), Photograph by George Colpitts.*

Notes

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1 See correspondence exchanged between the Calgary-based fisheries overseer for Southern Alberta, D. A. Richardson, and the fisheries inspector for Alberta, R. T. Rodd, 22 December 1929, and 3, 4, and 7 January 1930, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).
- 2 R. T. (Robert Thompson) Rodd should not be confused with his brother, James A. Rodd. Both served the Department of Marine and Fisheries. Robert had earlier set up and supervised the Banff hatchery, becoming an expert in both fish culture and the characteristics of Alberta fish; by 1924, he was appointed inspector of fisheries in Alberta. James was based in Ottawa, overseeing national hatchery programs as the superintendent of Fish Culture.
- 3 The expression “fat as butter” is from the 30 June 1924 report of the Highwood River Angling Protective Association (as it was called until early 1926) sent to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 26, LAC.
- 4 D. A. Richardson to R. T. Rodd, 22 December 1929, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 5 Richardson to R. T. Rodd, 22 December 1930, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 6 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 7 January 1930, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, LAC. William A. Found had a long career with the Department of Marine and Fisheries and was at this point the deputy minister of the department’s Fisheries Branch.
- 7 The Association informed the fisheries department that it was posting signs warning of the fine, 14 May 1925, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 28, LAC. “Anglers Demand \$1000 Penalty for Pekisko Poachers,” *Calgary Albertan*, 29 July 1926. The trial was also reported in “Anglers Arrested,” *High River Times*, 29 July 1926, and “Illegal Fishing Costs Anglers \$60,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 28 July 1926. (Present-day equivalents are per the Bank of Canada, “Inflation Calculator,” <https://www.bankofcanada.ca/rates/related/inflation-calculator/>.) By way of comparison, in 1919, Calgary anglers who were caught poaching cutthroat in the Elbow River were fined only \$5. “Fine Imposed for Taking Fish Under 9 Inches,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 July 1919.
- 8 D. A. Richardson to R. T. Rodd, 22 August 1928, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 9 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 24 August 1928, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 10 Canada, *Annual Report 1930–31*, Fisheries Branch, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 90. For a complete listing of associations, their date of formation, and their executive members, see “Independent Conservation Associations in Western Canada,” the appendix in George Colpitts, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada*, 169-171.

- 11 Donald G. Wetherell, *Wildlife, Land, and People: A Century of Change in Prairie Canada*, 489.
- 12 See Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*, esp. chaps. 1 and 2; John Reiger, *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*.
- 13 On the criminalization of poaching, see Bill Parenteau, "A 'Very Determined Opposition to the Law': Conservation, Angling Leases, and Social Conflict in the Canadian Atlantic Salmon Fishery," 444–45; see also Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America*; and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*.
- 14 On restrictions against Indigenous subsistence hunting, see especially John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories*, as well as David Calverley, "'When the Need for It No Longer Existed': Declining Wildlife and Native Hunting Rights in Ontario, 1791–1898." On the regulation of fishing, see Bill Parenteau, "Care, Control and Supervision: Native People in the Canadian Atlantic Salmon Fishery, 1867–1900"; and Douglas C. Harris, *Fish, Law, and Colonialism: The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia*. Brian Calliou has highlighted the considerable power wielded by elite sporting clubs in Alberta on federal government policies breaking treaty promises in respect to Indigenous hunting and fishing freedoms. See Brian Calliou, "Losing the Game: Wildlife Conservation and the Regulation of First Nations Hunting in Alberta, 1880–1930."
- 15 See Theodore Binnema and Melanie Niemi, "'Let the Line Be Drawn Now': Wilderness, Conservation, and the Exclusion of Aboriginal People from Banff National Park in Canada"; John Sandlos, "Not Wanted in the Boundary: The Expulsion of the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway Band from Riding Mountain National Park"; Jean L. Manore, "Contested Terrains of Space and Place: Hunting and the Landscape Known as Algonquin Park, 1890–1950"; and David Calverley, "'When the Need for It No Longer Existed': Declining Wildlife and Native Hunting Rights in Ontario, 1791–1896." See also Ben Bradley, "'A Questionable Basis for Establishing a Major Park': Politics, Roads and the Failure of a National Park in British Columbia's Big Bend Country," and John Sandlos, "Nature's Playgrounds: The Parks Branch and Tourism Promotion in the National Parks, 1911–1929."
- 16 On the development of fisheries science and its social implications, see Jennifer M. Hubbard, *A Science on the Scales: The Rise of Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Biology, 1898–1939*. See also Parenteau, "A 'Very Determined Opposition to the Law'" and the essays in, *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries*, edited by Dianne Newell and Rosemary E. Ommer. See also Michael Del Vecchio's analysis in "Surviving Fisheries Management: Aquaculture, Angling, and Lake Ahmic." That these tensions persist is evident as well from the work of the Fishermen and Scientists Research Society based in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, <https://fsrsns.ca>, which strives to promote mutual understanding between fisheries scientists and fishers themselves. Janet Foster's *Working for Wildlife: The Beginnings of Preservation in Canada* remains a valuable contribution to Canadian conservation history.
- 17 Up to a point, an exception being Tina Loo's insightful study *States of Nature*.
- 18 The 1927 federal fishery regulations defined *angling* as "the taking of fish with hook and line held in the hand, or hook and line and rod, the latter held in the hand; but shall not include set lines or lines tied to a boat." "Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta and the Territories North Thereof," adopted 27 May 1927, *Canada Gazette* (11 June 1927), 3749.
- 19 Jen Corrinne Brown, *Trout Culture: How Fly Fishing Forever Changed the Rocky Mountain West*, 37.

- 20 Albeit in the context of turn-of-the-century Québec, Darin Kinsey identifies a similar “mutually beneficial relationship” between anglers and the state. See “Fashioning a Freshwater Eden: Elite Anglers, Fish Culture, and State Development of Québec’s ‘Sport’ Fishery,” 143–44; see also Jennifer Bonnell’s *Stewards of Splendour: A History of Wildlife and People in British Columbia*, her masterful examination of British Columbia’s “stewards” of wildlife in British Columbia.
- 21 For a still-valuable history of the province-wide association, see Don Meredith and Duane Radford, *Conservation, Pride and Passion: The Alberta Fish and Game Association, 1908–2008*; see also Margaret Lewis, *To Conserve a Heritage*.
- 22 Richard B. Miller, “The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta,” 21.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

- 1 For an excellent treatment of industrialized landscape transformation from the 1880s through to the 1920s, see Graeme Wynn, *Canada and Arctic North America: An Environmental History*, 165–73, 175–238.
- 2 Bonnell sees generational expectations of nature changing in what Daniel Paul understands as “shifting baseline syndrome,” especially pertinent in fisheries management. Jennifer Bonnell, *Stewards of Splendour: A History of Wildlife and People in British Columbia*, 24.
- 3 For McNeill’s ideas about energy regimes, see John R. McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. On the application of these ideas to Canada’s frontiers, see Wynn, *Canada and Arctic North America*; and Clinton L. Evans, *The War on Weeds in the Prairie West: An Environmental History*. On the beginnings of fish and game conservation, see Margaret Lewis, *To Conserve a Heritage*.
- 4 Alan R. Smith and Todd A. Radenbaugh, “Historical and Recent Trends in the Avifauna of Saskatchewan’s Prairie Ecozone.”
- 5 “Fisherman’s Luck,” *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 27 August 1884.
- 6 “City and Vicinity,” *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 15 May 1886.
- 7 “Spring Fishing,” *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 29 February 1888.
- 8 “Gunning for Trout,” *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 2 January 1890.
- 9 “Sporting Events,” *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 15 August 1901.
- 10 On the progressive conservation movement, see Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920*; James Penick, Jr., “The Progressives and the Environment,” 116; and Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature’s Role in American History*, 136–54.
- 11 For an insightful analysis on this point, see Suzanne Zeller, “Darwin Meets the Engineers: Scientizing the Forest at McGill University, 1890–1910.”
- 12 Laurier’s conservation ethic extended to sport fisheries. See his 1909 letter to the editor of *Rod and Gun*, in which he voiced his concern that its articles and illustrations served more to encourage the killing and destruction of fish than “true sport.” Cited in Michel F. Girard, *L’écologisme retrouvé: Essor et déclin de la Commission de la conservation du Canada*, 25.
- 13 Treaty Between the United States and Great Britain Relating to Boundary Waters, and Questions Arising Between the United States and Canada, Article IV. For the full text of the treaty, see International Joint Committee, “Boundary Waters Treaty,” http://www.ijc.org/en_/BWT.

- 14 J. Alexander Burnett, *A Passion for Wildlife: The History of the Canadian Wildlife Service*, 8, 9. On the work of the commission, see also Laurel Sefton MacDowell, *An Environmental History of Canada*, 104–6.
- 15 Foster, *Working for Wildlife*, 162; Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914–1967*, 11; Robert McCandless, *Yukon Wildlife: A Social History*, 35–36.
- 16 Michel F. Girard, “The Commission of Conservation as a Forerunner to the National Research Council, 1909–1921,” 25. Progressive conservation played out beyond the federal sphere: by the 1920s, it had also affected provincial planning of fisheries. See Stephen Bocking, “Fishing the Inland Seas: Great Lakes Research, Fisheries Management, and Environmental Policy in Ontario,” 54.
- 17 Anders Halverson, *An Entirely Synthetic Fish : How Rainbow Trout Beguiled America and Overran the World*, 8–14; MacDowell, *An Environmental History of Canada*, 111. Walton’s *The Compleat Angler*, first published in 1653, offered what has become a classic celebration of fly fishing as a quiet, contemplative, almost spiritual art.
- 18 Darin Kinsey, “Fashioning a Freshwater Eden: Elite Anglers, Fish Culture, and State Development of Québec’s ‘Sport’ Fishery,” 224–27. These “elite anglers” could wield considerable political influence. See, for example, Neil S. Forkey, “Anglers, Fishers, and the St. Croix River: Conflict in a Canadian-American Borderland, 1867–1900.” For a study of more recent privileging of sports fishing and the introduction of exotics into the Great Lakes, see Kristin M. Szylyvian, “Transforming Lake Michigan into the ‘World’s Greatest Fishing Hole’: The Environmental Politics of Michigan’s Great Lakes Sport Fishing, 1965–1985.”
- 19 “Barrack Notes,” *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 17 June 1885.
- 20 “The Secret Out,” *Qu’Appelle Progress*, 23 June 1893.
- 21 “Local Notes,” *Macleod Gazette*, 28 February 1889. Dr. G. A. Kennedy was named president of the association.
- 22 See “The Game Ordinance,” *Macleod Gazette*, 11 October 1895; and “That ‘Game Ordinance,’” *Macleod Gazette*, 24 March 1899. For further discussion, see George Colpitts, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada*, 131–32.
- 23 Greg Gillespie, *Hunting for Empire: Narratives of Sport in Rupert’s Land, 1840–70*, 109–12.
- 24 Colpitts, *Game in the Garden*, 73–75.
- 25 Marcella Crawler and Chiniki Research Team, “Stoney Place Names,” 3.
- 26 Quoted in Irene Spry, *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857–1860*, 433.
- 27 Irene Spry, *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857–1860*, 433.
- 28 See Gillespie, *Hunting for Empire*, 4–5, 35–44.
- 29 Entry for 8 June 1863, Walter B. Cheadle, *Cheadle’s Journal of Trip Across Canada, 1962–63*, 135.
- 30 Jen Corrinne Brown, *Trout Culture: How Fly Fishing Forever Changed the Rocky Mountain West*, 23–24.
- 31 In 1849, a visitor on the Provo River in Utah described the Utes guddling: “The Indians stood in the eddies and when fish approached would slide their hands under water with the ends of their fingers touching the belly of the fish which is magnetized by the touch and caught.” Quoted in William F. Sigler and John W. Sigler, *Fishes of the Great Basin: A Natural History*, 19. For a description of the technique, see Sheridan Anderson, *Curtis Creek Manifesto: A Fully Illustrated Guide to the Strategy, Finesse, Tactics, and Paraphernalia of Fly Fishing*, 41. See also Brown, *Trout Culture*, 22.
- 32 Sigler and Sigler, *Fishes of the Great Basin*, 18–19.

- 33 A party travelling up the Oldman River to The Gap visited a lake for fishing, reporting that “the whole lake swarms with fish primarily trout both speckled and salmon . . . A boat is required for the capture of these monsters which dispose themselves in the depths in the middle of the lake. The Indians catch them by constructing a raft, and have been known to capture some very large ones in this way.” “A Trip to the Crow’s Nest Pass,” *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 2 October 1888.
- 34 M. E. Malainey, R. Przybylski, and B. L. Sherriff, “One Person’s Food: How and Why Fish Avoidance May Affect the Settlement and Subsistence Patterns of Hunter-Gatherers.” Brian J. Smith argues that fish was a necessary part of the Plains First Nations diet in “The Historical and Archaeological Evidence for the Use of Fish as an Alternate Subsistence Resource Among Northern Plains Bison Hunters.” See also Eleanor Verbicky-Todd, “Communal Buffalo Hunting Among the Plains Indians: An Ethnographic and Historic Review,” 7–8.
- 35 Special Fishery Regulation, Manitoba and the North-West Territories, 2 October 1881, *The Canada Gazette* 15:15 (8 October 1881), 443.
- 36 “Regulations Relating to Fishing in Manitoba and the North-West Territories,” 4 January 1892, *The Canada Gazette* 25:28 (9 January 1892), 1253.
- 37 Angling permits were free for British subjects and \$5.00 for non-British visitors; it allowed an angler using a hook and line up to twenty trout a day. “Regulations Respecting Anglers’ Permits in the Inland Waters of the Dominion of Canada,” 30 June 1894, *The Canada Gazette* 28:7 (18 August 1895), 243–44.
- 38 “Regulations Respecting Anglers’ Permits in the Inland Waters of the Dominion of Canada,” 30 June 1894, *The Canada Gazette* 28:7 (18 August 1895), 243.
- 39 E. T. Saunders reported on the common sale of game fish in Crowsnest stores in “Game Protection,” 7 September 1906, *The Pincher Creek Echo*. See chapter 5.
- 40 Brian Calliou, “Losing the Game: Wildlife Conservation and the Regulation of First Nations Hunting in Alberta, 1880–1930,” 13.
- 41 On the growing conflict between sportsmen and First Nations along the Eastern Slopes, see W. Keith Regular, “Red Backs and White Burdens: A Study of White Attitudes Towards Indians in Southern Alberta, 1896–1911,” 111–17, 138–47; and Hugh A. Dempsey, *Indian Tribes of Alberta*, 15, 22, 28. In 1886, W. R. Witcher, a former federal fisheries official who was advising the government on its mountain federal park, reported that the Stoney were no longer allowed to fish within Rocky Mountains Park, suggesting an early conflict between Native subsistence and early sport fishing interests. See Witcher’s report to Minister of the Interior Thomas White, 31 December 1886, RG 84, vol. 70, U3-1-1 part 1, LAC. For the Stoney name, see the First Nation’s website, “Rocky Mountain Nakoda,” <http://www.rockymountainnakoda.com/our-lands>.
- 42 See Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, with Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, and Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 243.
- 43 Brown, *Trout Culture*, 20.
- 44 Courtney W. Mason, *Spirit of the Rockies: Reasserting an Indigenous Presence in Banff National Park*, 90–92.
- 45 Calliou, “Losing the Game,” 127–28. Calliou quotes from Grasse’s letter of 17 May 1894 to the assistant commissioner, A. E. Forget, of Indian Affairs in Regina. Grasse assured the commissioner that the Stoney greeted the idea in a “splendid humor” (128).
- 46 Letter of J. M. Salaun, Stand-Off, to Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 25 March 1908, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year ended March 31, 1908* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1908), 371–72.

- 47 Letter of J. S. LeVern, Gleichen to Frank Pedley, 10 May 1908, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year ended March 31, 1908*, 374.
- 48 Markle had been tasked to survey the lakes within the Stoney Reserve during World War I and look into the Stoney's "adaptability for raising fish, variety, etc." He reported that they could "be made a source of profit to these Indians, and, too, provide food for them." If the Stoney could be taught to like fish as food, "I think it is our duty to so educate them and in this way save beef consumption." J. A. Markle to the secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, 22 August 1917, RG 23, vol. 777, 718-11-1, file 4, LAC. For the Stoney perspective on the hunting rights granted to them by Treaty 7, see Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council et al., *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, 79, 90, 154.
- 49 "Fisheries Regulations," *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 14 June 1907.
- 50 D. [Daniel] McKerrisher to R. N. Venning, 11 August 1908, RG 22, vol 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 51 Memorandum, 12 October 1908, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I.
- 52 See "Instructions to Fishery Officers," 1906, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I. At least in one case, a camp stove and axe were also thrown in: see R. N. Venning, assistant commissioner of fisheries, to Harrison Young, fisheries inspector for Edmonton, 10 September 1904, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC. The phrase "warm party friend" is from P. G. Laurie to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 8 March 1895, RG 23, vol. 292, file 2241, part I, LAC.
- 53 John Atsinger to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 5 February 1912, and F. B. Greene to John Douglas Hazen, Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 11 March 1912, both in RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 54 One farmer on an irrigation ditch used a screen to protect fish from being trapped in his property, but he referred to many others on ditches who did not bother with the measure and took little interest in angling: "Some of them had never handled a fishing rod; others wished to be able to put a sack or some other trap at the mouth of their ditches and so get a plentiful supply of fish, without the trouble of catching them in a legitimate manner." "Fish and Irrigation," *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 6 July 1899.
- 55 J. R. Romer, signing his letter from "Peaven, Alberta," to K. W. McKenzie, 12 April 1909, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 56 Brown, *Trout Culture*, 16–18.
- 57 Quoted in Brown, *Trout Culture*, 18.
- 58 The most complete study of historical angling experiences in Alberta, derived from oral interviews, was undertaken by Bruce A. Masterman and Jim D. Stelfox, with preliminary research also by Percy Wiebe. See *Looking Back: An Historical Report of Angler Experiences Along the Eastern Slopes of South-Western Alberta*, and in particular their discussion of changing angler experiences on sections of the Bow and Jumpingpound Creek, 8–11.
- 59 George Hunter to Secretary of the Interior, 1908, RG 84, vol. 70, R 296, part I, LAC.
- 60 "Eye Openers," *The Eye Opener*, 24 August 1907.
- 61 Howard Palmer with Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 78.
- 62 The newspaper coverage included a list of the communities and individuals to whom the letter was addressed. "Game Protection," *The Eye Opener*, 25 August 1906.
- 63 George Colpitts, *Game in the Garden*, 141.
- 64 "R. A. Darker: Manager for Southern Alberta," *Life*, August 1912, 5.
- 65 "Southern Sportsmen Want Law Improved," *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 18 January 1907; "Fish and Game Association," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 January 1907.

- 66 “Hunters gather at Calgary,” *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 25 January 1907; “Fish and Game Association Meeting,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 24 January 1907.
- 67 “Hunters gather at Calgary,” *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 25 January 1907.
- 68 Harrison Young to R. N. Venning, 18 February 1907, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, reel T-4031, LAC.
- 69 “Southern Sportsmen Want Law Improved,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 18 January 1907.
- 70 “New Provincial Game Association—Welcomed Elsewhere—Edmonton should make a move,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 January 1907.
- 71 Darker used this title when describing the association’s first meeting to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 14 February 1907, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, reel T-4031, LAC. Edmonton did not form a protective association until 1920. In 1919, Christopher Irgens, of the Edmonton Gun Club, wrote Austin de B. Winter to say that he had talked with several sportsmen in Edmonton and “I believe the time has now come that we should all get together and form a Game Protective Association. As far as I know, Edmonton has never had one, so that we are not in touch with anyone who is or has been connected with such a body.” He asked for information on how to form one, and invited Winter to attend the club’s annual banquet, expenses paid, to speak on the issue. Christopher Irgens to Winter, 11 December 1919, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1327, file 21, GA. By 1922, the Northern Game and Fish Protective League was hosting naturalist Jack Miner, selling tickets to school children and offering prizes to public school children in competitions. “Jack Minor to Lecture,” *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 June 1922.
- 72 “Anglers of South Alberta Organize,” *Morning Albertan*, 9 July 1919. For more on Robert A. Darker and the association that he formed, see George Colpitts, “Fish and Game Associations in Southern Alberta, 1907–1928,” and *Game in the Garden*, 125–33.
- 73 “Fish and Game Protective Association Is Active,” *Frank Paper*, 9 April 1908, 2.
- 74 A. T. Kinnaird, Wetaskiwin Branch, to Garrett, 14 July 1910, Austin de B. Winter Files, M-1327, file 21, GA. Evidently, Darker had also made efforts to promote his association in High River. According to a 1909 report in the *High River Times*, Darker had just spent several days in the town, seeking to establish a High River branch of the association. “Local Paragraphs,” *High River Times*, 4 March 1909.
- 75 “Local Fishermen Enjoy the Sport,” *Calgary News-Telegram*, 19 August 1915.
- 76 “Passburg Happenings,” *Bellevue Times*, 12 March 1915.
- 77 “City Council Meet,” *Red Deer News*, 6 March 1918.
- 78 W. A. Found to J. B. Harkin, 30 August 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 13, LAC.
- 79 “Angling Club Organized,” *Claresholm Review-Advertiser*, 20 May 1921, 5.
- 80 “Mr. Peavey’s Car,” *Red Deer News*, 23 August 1923, 7.
- 81 “A Fishing Party,” *Red Deer News*, 28 July 1920, 10.
- 82 “Great Excitement—At Crow’s Nest and Vicinity,” *Macleod Times*, 30 August 1923, 4.
- 83 Canada, Annual Reports, Fisheries Branch, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1916, 1920, and 1922.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

- 1 See “St. George’s Island Busy Beauty Spot,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 9 August 1919; and “Oddfellows Have Enjoyable Picnic,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 7 August 1919. Today, the Calgary Zoo sits on St. George’s Island.
- 2 Frank Kemish to Department of Marine and Fisheries, “February Report,” 26 February 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.

- 3 See Frank J. Tough, "Depletion by the Market: Commercialization and Resource Management of Manitoba's Lake Sturgeon (*Acipenser fulvescens*), 1885–1935," 100–102. On the application of conservation laws applied equally to commercial fishers and Indigenous peoples, see Jean Friesen, "Grant Me Wherewith to Make My Living," 145–47; and Frank Tough, "*As Their Natural Resources Fail*": *Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870–1930*, 235–37. Similar issues are explored in Dianne Newell, *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries*.
- 4 On Northern Alberta fish as a good substitute for beef in Canada, see W. S. Campbell, of the Canadian Fishermen Association, to G. S. Davidson, 1 February 1918, RG 23, vol. 999, 721-4-37, file 5, LAC. The Food Board file contains brochures such as "What Canada Has Done to Feed the Armies and Civilian Populations of the Allies," 1918, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 10, LAC. On the growing commercial lake fishery, see Liza Piper, "Parasites from 'Alien Shores': The Decline of Canada's Freshwater Fishing Industry."
- 5 Harrison Young to Edward E. Prince, 30 August 1906, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, reel T-4031, LAC. The "extreme lack of proper patrol by Fishery officers," as well as the need for inspectors to oversee their work, was underscored in the report of the 1910–11 Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, which Prince chaired. See Edward E. Prince, Thomas H. McGuire, and Euston Sisley, *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission: Report and Recommendations with Appendices*, 26.
- 6 R. A. Darker to G. J. Desbarats, Deputy Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 26 May 1908, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 7 Harrison Young to R. N. Venning, 18 February 1907, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, reel T-4031, LAC.
- 8 "There seems to be a very considerable division of opinion in regard to when our trout spawn, some maintaining in the Spring, and some maintaining in the Fall. The writer has caught, some years, trout loaded with spawn in the month of May, and again in September I have found fish filled with spawn." R. A. Darker to G. J. Desbarats, Deputy Minister, 26 May 1908, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, Part I, LAC.
- 9 Edward E. Prince, "Prefatory Note," in Prince, McGuire, and Sisley, *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910–11*, vii. The commissioners' papers and notes are available in RG 23, vol. 365, file 3216, part II, LAC.
- 10 Hubbard describes Prince's impressive work for the Fisheries Board for Scotland and contributions to fisheries biology before his hiring as Canada's Commissioner of Fisheries in 1892. *A Science on the Scales: The Rise of Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Biology, 1898–1939*, 18.
- 11 Calgary Natural History Society, minute book, 26 October 1926, 87-013, City of Calgary Archives. In 1912, Sisley was serving as president of the society, which was organized into zoology, ornithology, botany, geology, and "Indian" sections.
- 12 A. L. Sifton to L. P. Brodeur, 20 June 1909, RG 23, vol. 365, file 3216, part III, LAC. Louis-Philippe Brodeur, who was instrumental in the creation of Canada's navy, served as minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Laurier government.
- 13 I discuss the commission in more detail in "Science, Streams and Sport: Trout Conservation in Southern Alberta, 1900–1930," chap. 1.
- 14 Shelley A. M. Gavigan notes McGuire's career as a judge in *Hunger, Horses, and Government Men: Criminal Law on the Aboriginal Plains, 1870–1905*, 42.
- 15 For a full description of the itinerary, see Prince, McGuire, and Sisley, *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910–11*, 3–10.
- 16 Memos regarding the commission's supplies, 24 August 1910 and 10 January 1911, RG 23, vol. 365, file 3216, part III, LAC.

- 17 One critical issue had to do with ranchers outside of Calgary emptying their dipping troughs into trout streams. See W. H. Heald's testimony to the commission, RG 23, vol. 351, file 3049, part I.
- 18 Prince, McGuire, and Sisley, *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910-11*, 44.
- 19 Prince, McGuire, and Sisley, *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910-11*, appendix XV, letter from Cecil E. Byron, 65.
- 20 A description of the association's efforts to promote a full roster of changes to the regulations and to promote the hatchery is available in 1910 meeting minutes of the association, untitled and undated, attached to Howard Douglas' request for the association's resolutions dated 11 February 1910, Austin de B. Winters fonds, M-1327, file 21, GA. The Calgary meetings took place in October, but the fisheries department was already identifying Banff as a possible location because of the requests from associations in Calgary and BC. See Inspector of Fisheries Alex Finlayson, memo, 15 September 1910, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC.
- 21 "The Regulations for Fisheries Changed: Order in Council Passed Changing the Regulations for Western Provinces as Far as They Apply to Alberta and Saskatchewan," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 March 1912. Angling permits had been introduced in 1907—see Sec. 1, "Fishery Regulations for the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Northwest Territories, including the Yukon District," 14 October 1907, *The Canada Gazette* 41:17 (26 October 1907), 1034.
- 22 See Prince, McGuire, and Sisley, *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910-11*, 5, 7. Trout species are described on 17-21. Regarding the rainbow trout, the commissioners remarked: "Apparently it is only found in the upper tributaries of the Athabasca river" (18).
- 23 State simplification, reducing the complexity of an environment, became critical to effective governance, as James C. Scott argues in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*.
- 24 "Stringent Laws in June for Fishing in Province," *Bellevue Times*, 3 May 1912. The closed season for angling that was established across the Prairie Provinces in 1907 (13 September to 30 May) was changed in 1912: in waters north of the boundary to and including the Bow River, the closed season was 1 November to 30 June; in the Red Deer and North Saskatchewan, 1 September to 30 April; in the Athabasca River, 1 November to 31 May. Sec 32, "Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta," 12 February 1912, *The Canada Gazette* 45:38 (16 March 1912), 3437.
- 25 At least by 1919, the daily limit of twenty-five was perceived as excessive by Alex Finlayson, hatchery inspector of the Marine and Fisheries department. He was concerned that coal miners and logging camp labourers were exploiting their daily catch limit at Spray Lakes in intensive food fishing over a number of days and salting their catches in barrels. Since many of their trout were quite large lake trout, it seemed "too heavy a basket." He advocated that the department reduce limits for those food fishing and not for those sport fishing. Alex Finlayson, departmental memo, 17 March 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 12, LAC. David Blacklock was concerned by the bag limit by 1928. Although some individuals he fished with only went out a couple of times during the year, there were others he had seen fishing their daily limits throughout the season on the Highwood River. "Of Interest to the Alberta Angler," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 13 February 1928.
- 26 A. G. Wolley Dod to Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 13 May 1912, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1327, file 22, GA.
- 27 A. Johnston, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries to A. G. Wolley Dod, 27 May 1912, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1327, file 22, GA.

- 28 E. W. Miller, "South Alberta," in *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1912–13: Fisheries*, 268. In 1904, the department had tried to remedy the problem of sawdust and mill rubbish entering streams by sending letters to Southern Alberta mill owners. See the form letters in RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC. In 1909, Calgary's overseer, W. A. Dunlop, had already taken measures to stop log-driving wood mill owners from blasting spring logjams with dynamite. W. A. Dunlop to R. N. Venning, 8 January 1909, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 29 Miller, "South Alberta," 268. On the basis of what Miller described as "careful observations" made during trips "throughout the district," the overseer had also estimated the total catch by anglers in Southern Alberta to be "not less than 80,000 trout and 8,000 graylings."
- 30 "Fishing Is Getting Better Every Day Around Calgary," *Calgary News-Telegram*, 21 August 1915.
- 31 "Dies After Work on Coffin Plate," *Calgary Herald*, 8 June 1940, 1.
- 32 Kemish was among the twenty honorary guardians drawn from the Calgary Anglers Association in 1924. See the list provided in "Game Guardians for Fishing Appointed," *Calgary Herald*, 26 June 1922.
- 33 Frank Kemish to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 14 March 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC. Although he held no government appointment, Kemish took to writing lengthy monthly reports to the department.
- 34 Donald B. Smith, *Calgary's Grand Story: The Making of a Prairie Metropolis from the Viewpoint of Two Heritage Buildings*, 160–66.
- 35 *Calgary, Ideally Situated in Canada's Youngest and Wealthiest Province . . . : The City of Calgary Year Book*, 42.
- 36 Hayden reported his concerns in a letter to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 20 June 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 12, LAC. He attached to his letter an editorial titled "Vanishing Game Fish" that had appeared in the *Calgary Daily Herald*.
- 37 Frank Kemish to Department of Marine and Fisheries, "February Report," 26 February 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.
- 38 Kemish mentioned his experiment in one of his self-styled reports to the fisheries department, in which he argued that pulling back season dates would increase the populations of mountain whitefish, which "are destroying the [cutthroat] spawn," Kemish to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 14 March 1921, RG 23, vol.1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.
- 39 Jim McLennan, *Blue Ribbon Bow: A Fly-Fishing History of the Bow River—Canada's Greatest Trout Stream*, 76.
- 40 Paul Schullery, *Cowboy Trout: Western Fly Fishing As If It Matters*, 133.
- 41 Schullery, *Cowboy Trout*, 142–46.
- 42 On changing attitudes towards dry and wet fly fishing, see William C. Black, *Gentlemen Preferred Dry Flies: The Dry Fly and the Nymph, Evolution and Conflict*, 9–12; 145–69.
- 43 Jen Corrinne Brown, *Trout Culture: How Fly Fishing Forever Changed the Rocky Mountain West*, 24–34.
- 44 Euston Sisley, "Fish of the Eastern Slopes of the Rockies," 114; Prince, McGuire, and Sisley, *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910–11*, 16.
- 45 S. C. Vick, *Classified Guide to Fish and Their Habitat in Rocky Mountains Park*, 6. Portions of Vick's pamphlet later appeared in Calgary's *Morning Albertan*, the Calgary paper having gained Vick's permission to reprint the "interesting facts" of what it termed his

- “treasured booklet.” See “Fish and Their Habitat in Rocky Mountains Park,” *Morning Albertan*, 3 June 1921, 3.
- 46 Wayne Roberts, “Empty Streams: The Decline of Bull Trout in Alberta.”
- 47 Frank Kemish described bull trout behaviour in this manner in his report to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 14 March 1921, RG 23, vol.1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC. The *Calgary Morning Albertan* offered the following: “In deep river pools a large one will often follow a hooked fish right up to your hand. At such times if one fixes some strong hooks near the tail of the smaller fish and throw him in the big fellow will take it like a shark.” “Fish and Their Habitat in Rocky Mountains Park,” *Morning Albertan*, 3 June 1921, 3.
- 48 Vick, *Classified Guide to Fish and Their Habitat*, 6. For the shark comparison, see, for example, “Fish and Their Habitat in Rocky Mountains Park,” *Morning Albertan*, 3 June 1921, 3.
- 49 This was how W. F. Witcher, in a significant report on fish and game vicinity of Rocky Mountains Park in 1886, thought of bull trout. His description is found in RG 84, vol. 70, U3-1-1, part I, LAC.
- 50 Prince, McGuire, and Sisley, *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission 1910-11*, 20.
- 51 Today, the bull trout is designated a “Species of Special Concern” by the Province of Alberta, owing to a combination of overfishing, the introduction of non-native species, and the degradation of natural habitats. See “Aquatic Species at Risk: Bull Trout (Western Arctic Populations),” Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2014, <http://www.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/species-especes/species-especes/bulltrout-ombleteteplate-w-arct-eng.htm>; Kerry Rees, Isabelle Girard, Dave Walty, and David Christiansen, *Bull Trout Conservation Management Plan, 2012-2017*; and Matt Blank and Tony Clevenger, *Improving the Ecological Function of the Upper Bow River: Bow Lake to Kananaskis Dam*, 8. On the historical range and loss of habitat of the bull trout, see Joseph S. Nelson and Martin J. Paetz, *The Fishes of Alberta*, 281-83. For perspectives on the bull trout’s fate in other drainage systems, see Robb F. Leary, Fred W. Allendorf, and Stephen H. Forbes, “Conservation Genetics of Bull Trout in the Columbia and Klamath River Drainages,” 857.
- 52 Frank Kemish to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 26 February 1921, and 14 March 1921, both in RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.
- 53 “Anglers of South Alberta Organize,” *Morning Albertan*, 9 July 1919. The Pincher Creek Anglers’ Association was working to curb dynamiting, which was “depleting our present supply of fish” in a district where fish was a staple food. See J. J. Gillespie to J. B. Hawkins, 22 June 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16.
- 54 John F. Eastwood to G. J. Desbarats, 24 March 1915, Austin de B. Winters fonds, M-1327, file 23, GA.
- 55 G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 25 February 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.
- 56 Christopher Armstrong, Matthew Evenden, and H. V. Nelles, *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow*, 233.
- 57 Trout Unlimited wanted to close the fishery immediately below the weir because it felt that the high oxygen levels in the churned-up waters disoriented fish and made them too easy to catch. See Lisa Church, “Bow River a Mecca for Sportsmen,” *Calgary Herald*, 1 June 1986. More likely, the weir, like many dam structures, created a barrier to fish that tend to congregate below them in their attempts to migrate.
- 58 This happened to an unfortunate angler in 1949 after he walked over the four inches of water in the Bow at 6:45 pm to fish from the weir, only to find that three feet blocked his return by 7:15 pm. See “‘High Tide’ Fools Angler,” *Calgary Herald*, 6 May 1949.

- 59 Horne noticed that once a month, during full moon, the fishing was not good at his spot. That persuaded him that the fishing was not affected by the dam itself but by the effects of gravity influencing the availability of oxygen in the water during full moon. He believed that the same force influenced fishing success on lakes and rivers not affected by power dams. Horne diverted himself to demonstrating through experimentation the effects of gravity as more than an attractive force of nature, circulating a paper called the "Oxygen Theory of Angling" among astronomers and physicists, one being Albert Einstein, who pointed out the fundamental flaws in Horne's experimental method. Horne did, however, go on to market a "Timetable for Anglers" in Calgary which, following the lunar cycle, claimed to predict at what times during the day an angler would experience the best fishing success. See "The Oxygen Theory in Angling," and Letters from Albert Einstein to Harold Horne, 24 April to July 28, 1943, Box 2; and "Tim's Timetable for Anglers," in "Publications," Box 1, Harold Horne Fonds, SPC 2018.64, Glenbow Library and Special Collections, University of Calgary.
- 60 Armstrong, Evenden, and Nelles, *The River Returns*, 235.
- 61 Armstrong, Evenden, and Nelles, *The River Returns*, 235.
- 62 Armstrong, Evenden, and Nelles, *The River Returns*, 235.
- 63 Armstrong, Evenden, and Nelles, *The River Returns*, 235–36.
- 64 Sec. 32(a), "Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. . ." 9 February 1917, *Supplement to the Canada Gazette* (15 December 1917), 4.
- 65 J. S. Hoad's proposal was included in Edward E. Prince Memorandum to Department, 26 February 1917, RG 23, vol. 999; 721-4-37, file 3, LAC.
- 66 Alex Martin, with petition enclosed, to Department, 9 April 1917, RG 23, vol. 999; 721-4-37, file 3, LAC.
- 67 G. J. Desbarats Memorandum, 17 April 1917, RG 23, vol. 999; 721-4-37. Sec. 32(a), "Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. . ." 9 February 1917, *Supplement to the Canada Gazette* (15 December 1917), 4.
- 68 See CAA resolutions, passed 24 January 1924, included in letter of William Crichton of the CAA to G. S. Davidson, 24 January 1921. Both the resolutions and Crichton's letter cite the problem of "over-congestion" on open streams. RG 23, vol. 999, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC. Davidson outlined the strong divergences of opinion between the CAA and the SAAA in a letter to W. A. Found, 25 February 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC. For Frank Kemish's comments on the argument that stream closure would cause congestion, see his report to Department of Marine and Fisheries, "April Report," 28 April 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.
- 69 For the CAA's views on grayling and bull trout, see Calgary Angling Association to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 13 November 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16.
- 70 G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 20 May 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 17. See, attached to this letter, the order-in-council confirming the new season, 23 May to 1 October, signed 12 April 1921. The new season dates were reported in "Trout Fishing in Alberta Will Commence May 24th," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 5 May 1921. It was published as PC. 1250, "Trout Fishing in Certain Portions of Alberta," in *Prefix to Statutes, 1921* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1921), xi. Among other members of the angling elite, Frank Kemish was outraged by this decision. The department, he said, was overlooking the needs of three thousand anglers in the city by pandering to the wishes of an association of 134 members. Kemish to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 28 April 1921, RG 23, vol. 999, 721-4-37, file 17, LAC.
- 71 "Catching Fish Is a Real Cinch for 'Old Bill' Huskins," *Morning Albertan*, 7 June 1921.

- 72 D. A. Richardson to G. S. Davidson, 14 November 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 17, LAC.
- 73 G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 29 December 1921, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 17, LAC. In fact, the department had already recognized that earlier season dates posed risks to spring-spawning fish and protected fall-spawning mountain whitefish and bull trout. See G. J. Desbarats, Deputy Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, to Alex Martin, 17 April 1917, RG 23, Vol. 999, 721-4-37, file 3, LAC.
- 74 When D.A. Richardson appointed twenty honorary fish guardians in Calgary from the CAA, it included Lou Doll, a jeweller and bicycle dealer who also ran the Hudson's Bay Company's Sporting Goods department, and Frank Stephenson and Charles Venables, both of Western Sporting Goods Co. in Calgary. "Game Guardians For Fishing Appointed," *Calgary Herald* 26 June 1922.
- 75 For Hunt's petition to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, see Robert Hunt to Arthur Cardin, Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 19 May 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 24, LAC. The department perceived the mixed motives in Hunt's petition: D. A. Richardson observed that it was made "entirely for business purposes," noting also that "he sells bait of all kinds and does a good trade in the summer months." Richardson to R. T. Rodd, 7 November 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 24, LAC.
- 76 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 11 November 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 24, LAC.
- 77 Rocky Mountains National Park regulations had changed significantly over the years. In 1890, there were no regulations on fishing, except to prohibit netting. The 1909 regulations established a closed season from 15 September to 15 May. Sec. 66, "Regulations of the National Parks of Canada," 21 June 1909, *The Canada Gazette* 43:2 (10 July 1909), 80. A 1919 amendment to the park regulations closed the season from 1 November to 30 June. Sec. 66 Amendment, 19 April 1919, *The Canada Gazette* 52: 45 (10 May 1919).
- 78 On the local demand for brook trout, see the report from Alex Finlayson, the Inspector of Fish Culture, to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 7 May 1913, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC.
- 79 "Eastern Brook Trout Now in Western Waters," *Calgary Herald*, 29 August 1914.
- 80 David Keir to J. A. Rodd, 8 June 1923, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 11, LAC.
- 81 See Prince's views in W. A. Found to David Keir, 10 July 1923, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 11, LAC.
- 82 G. J. Desbarats to E. W. Beatty, 9 January 1909, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, reel T-4023, LAC.
- 83 Nelson and Paetz, *The Fishes of Alberta*, 278. Indeed, such accidents were by no mean rare. Writing about railway shipments of fish in the late-nineteenth-century United States, Jen Corrinne Brown notes that applicants awaiting their treasure sometimes received only "a 'forced to plant en route' telegram." *Trout Culture*, 50.
- 84 "Anglers of South Alberta Organize," *Morning Albertan*, 9 July 1919.
- 85 Highwood River Angling Protective Association to Robert A. Darker, 11 July 1919, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 5, LAC.
- 86 W. D. Elliott and Frank Watt to Deputy Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 25 November 1922, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 10, LAC. In addition to Elliott himself, the letter cited McCorquodale, Farqharon, and Gould as local authorities on such matters.
- 87 Miller, "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta," 22.
- 88 Miller, "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta," 21.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

- 1 Some indication of the rise in such countryside visits is seen in the increased number of angling permits issued by the province. They grew from a little over two thousand in 1920 to well over eight thousand by the end of the decade. See reports from Southern Alberta in Canada, Annual Reports, Fisheries Branch, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1913–14, 229; 1926–27, 56; 1929–30, 290.
- 2 “Is Charged with Running Down Two Pedestrians,” *Morning Albertan*, 11 April 1921, 3. (The headline neglected to mention who was charged.)
- 3 “Automobiles and Motorcycle Racing,” in William M. McLennan, *Sport in Early Calgary: An Account of the Sports, Games, Personalities, Facilities, and Recreation of the Pioneers in the Early Calgary Area*, 360–66.
- 4 Donald G. Wetherell, with Irene Kmet, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta 1896–1945*, 17–18. On fishing as leisure, see 180–81.
- 5 See Austin de B. Winter’s comments on the range of prairie chicken in 1922, Winter to W. H. Rose, 3 October 1922, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1942, file 264, GA.
- 6 Basil Hamilton to Robert A. Darker, 8 February 1910, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1327, file 27, GA.
- 7 The work is detailed in Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1327, files 12, 13 and 17. His orders for Hungarian partridge are found in M-1942, file 259, GA.
- 8 On the landscaping of Winter’s home, see his correspondence with C. D. Smith, Western Nursery Co., 30 April 1921, M-1942, file 262. An amateur photographer, Winter also photographed the exterior landscaping of his Mount Royal home. See Austin de B. Winter fonds, PA-1996-131, GA.
- 9 Winter’s correspondence with gunsmiths, sporting goods manufacturers, and boot makers is found in Austin de B. Winter fonds, personal files, 1916–23, M-1942, file 259, GA; see M-1942, file 260 for his correspondence with dog breeders.
- 10 “Frank” to Winter, 3 May 1922, M-1942, file 264, GA.
- 11 “Mid” to Winter, 7 May 1923, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1942, file 268, GA.
- 12 Winter told one of his correspondences that in 1923, with the government poised to pass “at least one sane law” that his time “is going to be very much taken up with the activities of the Moderation League.” Winter to Harry W. Lay, 24 July 1923, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1942, file 268, GA.
- 13 R. A. Darker to Winter, 28 May 1923, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1942, file 268, GA.
- 14 Bradford J. Rennie, “From Idealism to Pragmatism, 1923 in Alberta,” Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell and Catherine Cavanaugh, eds. Vol. II, *Alberta Formed, Alberta Transformed* (Edmonton and Calgary: University of Alberta and University of Calgary Presses, 2006), 455–59.
- 15 “Mid” to Winters, 7 May 1923, Austin de B. Winter files, M-1942, file 268, GA.
- 16 Winter to W. H. Rose, 19 September 1921, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1942, file 264, GA.
- 17 Winter to Hal. E. Middleton, 6 April 1923, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1942, file 268, GA.
- 18 “Highwood Trail Offers Anglers Every Advantage,” *Calgary Herald*, June 21, 1922.
- 19 Lillian Knupp, *Leaves from the Medicine Tree: A History of the Area Influenced by the Tree, and Biographies of Pioneers and Oldtimers Who Came Under Its Spell Prior to 1900*, 413.
- 20 Frank Watt to G. G. Coote, 27 March 1922, RG 23, vol. 999; 721-4-37, file 18, LAC. George Gibson Coote was the Progressive party’s MP representing the Macleod riding.

- 21 Sheppard, *Spitzee Days*, 74.
- 22 G. D. (George) Stanley to John Herron, 16 July 1913, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 23 E. W. Miller to W. A. Found, 23 June 1913, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 24 E. W. Miller to W. A. Found, 23 June 1913, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 25 H. J. Morlan to Frank Watt, 26 October 1925, RG 23, vol. 1002, 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 26 On the Highwood's geography, see George Colpitts, *History of the Highwood River*, 6.
- 27 Colpitts, *History of the Highwood River*, 6-7.
- 28 Colpitts, *History of the Highwood River*, 71-73. For peak discharge during historic floods on the Highwood, see also Northwest Hydraulic Consultants, *Highwood River Flood Plain Study for the Town of High River and Department of the Environment*, 4.
- 29 "Local Notes," *High River Times*, 3 September 1931.
- 30 Frank Watt to G. G. Coote, 27 March 1922, RG 23, vol. 999, 721-4-37, LAC.
- 31 Herbert Sheppard to Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 10 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 19, LAC.
- 32 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 20 November 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002, 721-4-37, file 29, LAC. See also R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 21 July 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002, 721-4-37, file 29, LAC, on the "considerable complaint" made by ranchers of campers on their property.
- 33 Henry A. Stewart, letter to the editor, *Calgary Daily Herald*, 28 January 1928.
- 34 Dave B. Blacklock, letter to the editor, *Calgary Daily Herald*, 13 February 1928, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 21, LAC.
- 35 Other Southern Alberta towns experienced a similar pattern of growth followed by stagnation. Fort Macleod's population rose from 796 in 1901 to 1,844 in 1911 but, by 1921, had slumped to 1,723, while Pincher Creek saw its population grow threefold, from 335 in 1901 to 1,027 in 1911, only to decline to 888 by 1921. For comparative statistics from other Southern Albertan towns and cities, see table 8 in George Colpitts, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940*, 141-42; and also, 200.
- 36 W. D. Elliott to G. D. Stanley, 18 February 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 12, LAC.
- 37 Extract from the report of G. C. Langley, 2 August 1919, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 4, LAC.
- 38 "Local and Other Items," *High River Times*, 26 August 1920. Evidently, in the fall of 1920, fish guardian Sam Smith and R. T. Rodd (then the Banff hatchery's superintendent) tried to gather scientific support for the problem of dwindling fish populations by stringing a net across Sullivan Creek, a tributary of the Highwood. Perhaps as predicted, they caught nothing. Sheppard, *Spitzee Days*, 199.
- 39 R. T. Rodd, departmental memo, citing information he received from High River MLA George Stanley, 5 September 1918, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 5, LAC. Stanley had conveyed to the department the views of High River anglers, who argued that the Highwood River's tributaries were important spawning grounds in need of closure. It is likely that High River anglers struck on the idea of tributary closure after learning of the practice in other locales. Certainly, by 1924 their confidence in the measure was supported by Izaak Walton League newsletters and correspondence with US clubs, leagues, and associations. One of their appeals to Ottawa included a copy of the bulletin of the American Game Protective Association and cited the Rowley Hunting and Fishing Preserve in Québec as a "perfect natural system" in which tributary closure apparently functioned beautifully. Memo of the Highwood River Angling Protective Association to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 14 May 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 40 George Stanley to W. Fisher, 20 February 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 12, LAC.

- 41 The petition, signed 18 February 1919, was attached to the letter by George Stanley to W. Fisher, 20 February 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 12, LAC.
- 42 G. S. Davidson's report on Highwood tributaries, sent to W. A. Found, 3 March 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 12, LAC. See Order-in-Council, 31 May 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 12, LAC. The order was published as "Fishing in Certain Streams, Province of Alberta, Prohibited," Government Notice, 31 May 1919, included in *Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada*, Vol. 1 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1919), xxxiv. A problem with the Highwood closures was that, when the notice was published in the *Canada Gazette*, the Geographic Board of Canada pointed out to the department that many of the streams listed had different names or were not registered at all in formal maps in Ottawa. R. Douglas, Secretary of the Geographic Board of Canada to Department, 15 June 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000; 721-4-37, file 12, LAC. G. C. Langley, the Calgary fisheries overseer, followed up to find that a number of tributaries ascribed to the Highwood, including Willow Creek, did not actually flow into the Highwood. G. C. Langley to G. S. Davidson, 10 July 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000; 721-4-37, file 13, LAC.
- 43 Extract from report of G. C. Langley, 30 August 1919, appearing in Memorandum, 6 October 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 14, LAC.
- 44 The petition was dated September 1919 and included in Memorandum, 6 October 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 14, LAC.
- 45 Walter Robie to G. S. Davidson, copy of letter written in 1919 (otherwise undated), RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 13; and attached to G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 24 November 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 14, LAC.
- 46 "Local Fishermen Urge Protection of Alberta Waters," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 19 June 1919. Charlie Hayden referred the Department to his coverage of the SAAA in this newspaper report, urging it to permanently close Fish Creek. C. Hayden to Department, 20 June 1919, RG 23, Vol. 1000; 721-4-37, file 12, LAC.
- 47 Telegram from Walter Robie [of the SAAA], 18 June 1919 to Department, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 12, LAC. G. S. Davidson seems to have become interested in such a blanket closure that year, suggesting to the department that "other streams in that section of Southern Alberta might have the same advantage if closed." G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 3 March 1919, RG 23, vol. 1000; 721-4-37, file 12, LAC.
- 48 "Public Notice," 1 May 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 14, LAC. The 1920 order included Highwood River tributaries and brought them into the same close period extending until 1922.
- 49 On Lane as an angler and the history of the Bar U, see Simon Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History*, 140.
- 50 On Lane's stream remedies, see Warren Elofson and George Colpitts, *Historical Report for the Zahava Hanen Pekisko Creek Property Multidisciplinary Land Study*, 87-88. http://www.salts-landtrust.org/docs/research/pekisko_valley_study_final.pdf.
- 51 Lane's application for fry is enclosed with Minister of Marine and Fisheries to G. J. Desbarats, 16 April 1919, RG 23, vol. 777, 721-11-1, file 5, LAC.
- 52 G. J. Desbarats to Thomas Tweedie, 24 April 1919, RG 23, vol. 777, 721-11-1, file 5, LAC.
- 53 R. T. Rodd to J. A. Rodd, memo on hatchery production and distribution, 2 August 1919, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 6, LAC.
- 54 "The Trout that Shook the Bridge, a Fishing Tale: W. D. Elliott, formerly well known Alberta Sportsman, Writes of the Highwood," *Calgary Herald*, 11 August 1928.
- 55 "Minutes of Meeting Held in the Interest of Fish Culture and Protection in High River, 16 February 1920," copy enclosed with letter of Frank Watt to R. T. Rodd, 23 February 1920, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 6, LAC.

- 56 The lake at Edward's ranch imposed its own demands on the Banff hatchery. In 1925, Edward's staff requested that the federal government stock the lake with trout for the prince and guest fishers. The lake, it turned out, was full of suckers and before complying with the request, the fisheries department advised hatchery staff to rid the lake of these undesirables. See R. T. Rodd, "Examination Report, EP Lake, 21 May 1925," and R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 30 June 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 16, LAC. The *Calgary Herald* reported that, "On every occasion that he has a few minutes to spare the Prince seizes a fishing rod and makes a sally after trout in the stream on his ranch." Quoted in Simon Evans, *Prince Charming Goes West: the Story of the E. P. Ranch*, and especially on game hunting, 107.
- 57 The strategy seems to have had no effect on angler numbers or on the problem of overfishing, as G. S. Davidson stated in a memo, 19 January 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 14, LAC.
- 58 Frank Watt to R. T. Rodd, 23 February 1920, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 6, LAC. Watt attached the application, along with a copy of the minutes of the association's 16 February meeting. The Department of the Interior administered federal forestry reserves outside the National Park boundaries and issued its own angling permits for their waters. However, an agreement between the Ministry of Interior and the Department of Marine and Fisheries allowed permits issued by either department to be used in waters inside or outside the reserves (except for the National Parks). See Special Fishery Regulations for the Province of Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the Territories North Thereof," *Canada Gazette* 56:1 (29 April 1922), 56.
- 59 G. S. Davidson reported the anglers' demand for year-round "special" guardians, as well as his reply to them that it was impossible for the Department to pay for such protection, in his letter to W. A. Found, 15 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000; 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.
- 60 Assistant Deputy Minister J. A. Rodd, departmental memo, 10 March 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 15. Recommending his reinstatement, Rodd called Smith "a conscientious officer" who "performed his duties well."
- 61 Frank Watt to R. A. Rodd, 23 February 1920, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 6, LAC.
- 62 Sheppard, *Spitzee Days*, 199.
- 63 R. M. Patterson, *The Buffalo Head*, 120.
- 64 As Frank Watt explained to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, tributaries served as "more or less natural breeding places for trout who when they come to a certain size will probably go into the main stream and help to keep it stocked." Frank Watt to G. G. Coote, 27 March 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.
- 65 Allen B. Costello and Emily Rubidge, "COSEWIC Assessment and Status Report on the Westslope Cutthroat Trout," 25; 28-29.
- 66 See Richard B. Miller, "Movements of Cutthroat Trout After Different Periods of Retention Upstream and Downstream from their Homes," and "Permanence and Size of Home Territory in Stream-Dwelling Cutthroat Trout."
- 67 Richard B. Miller, "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta," 22.
- 68 Miller, "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta," 22.
- 69 Miller, "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta," 22.
- 70 Miller, "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta," 23.
- 71 Resolutions of the CAA, 24 January 1921, with letter accompanying it from William Crichton to G. S. Davidson, 24 January 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16.
- 72 W[illiam]. C[hables]. Ebbert to H. M. Shaw, 6 May 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 17, LAC. See also the telegraph sent by the association to the Department requesting streams be reopened, 18 May 1921, attached to this file. W. C. Ebbert was president of the Foothills

Angling Association. At this point, Hugh Murray Shaw was the Macleod riding's MP representing the Union Government. He would lose his seat in the December 1921 federal election. Nanton and District Historical Society, *Mosquito Creek Roundup—Nanton/Parkland* (Nanton: Nanton and District Historical Society, 1976), 65.

- 73 J. J. Gillespie to J. B. Hawkins [of the Canadian Conservation Commission], 22 June 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000; 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.
- 74 G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 26 March 1921, RG 23, vol. 1000; 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.
- 75 "War on Bull Trout," *Macleod Times*, 29 December 1921; the same story appeared in "Items of Local and General Interest," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 29 December 1921.
- 76 J. G. Rutherford to Ernest Lapointe, 1 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC. The Liberal Party, under the leadership of William Lyon Mackenzie King, had come to power at the end of 1921.
- 77 "This whole agitation [to keep streams closed] by the [High River] Association was in the first instance caused by their misunderstanding of the Order-in-Council issued two years ago, by which the streams were closed for a period of two years; though this was done in the High River District at the Association's request, they had arrived at the conclusion that the streams were closed permanently." G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 2 May 1922, RG 23, vol. 1001; 721-4-37, file 19, LAC.
- 78 Frank Watt, telegram to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 13 March 1922, and Watt's letter to G. G. Coote, 27 March 1922, both in RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC. Interestingly, when Coote, the Progressive Party's member of parliament for the Macleod District, sent a copy of Watt's letter to G. S. Davidson, the chief fisheries officer in Winnipeg, he removed Watt's reference to sporting goods houses.
- 79 Highwood River Angling Protective Association to Ernest Lapointe, 8 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.
- 80 Herbert Sheppard, telegram to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 10 April 1922, and letter to Ernest Lapointe, 11 April 1922, both in RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.
- 81 Hugh Cameron to Ernest Lapointe, 11 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC. Hugh Cameron later became a Pekisko valley rancher, having married a nurse he met while in hospital. Knupp, *Leaves from the Medicine Tree*, 48.
- 82 G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 2 May 1922, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 19, LAC. See also Davidson's summary of the situation in a memo to the department, 15 April 1922, and the results of an inspection of the Highwood River conducted by Davidson and D. A. Richardson, reported in G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 21 April 1922, both in RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.
- 83 The closures on the Highwood were to take effect for three years beginning in the 1922 season, G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 2 May 1922, RG 23, vol. 1001; 721-4-37, file 19, LAC; an internal memorandum in the Department stated that Flat, Sullivan, and Pekisko Creeks, as well as all tributaries outside the forestry reserve were to remain closed "indefinitely" and only be opened if conditions on them changed. Memorandum, 5 May 1922, RG 23, vol. 1001; 721-4-37, file 19, LAC. The order-in-council specified no time limit for the closures. See Public Notice, 5 May 1922, *Canada Gazette* 55:47 (20 May 1922), 4959
- 84 See Edward E. Prince, "The Object of a Close Time for Fish," *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1899*, Sessional Paper no. 11a (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1900), lxxv-lxxvix. Prince indeed noted that "in framing regulations defining close times for various kinds of fishes," fisheries authorities "often have had very different aims in view" (lxxv).
- 85 Frank Watt to G. G. Coote, 27 March 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.

- 86 Frank Watt and W. D. Elliott, writing on behalf of the Highwood River Angling and Protective Association, to Minister, 8 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.
- 87 W. D. Elliott and Frank Watt to Deputy Minister, 25 November 1922, RG 23, vol. 777; 781-11-1, file 10, LAC.
- 88 W. D. Elliott and Frank Watt to Deputy Minister, 25 November 1922, RG 23, vol. 777; 781-11-1, file 10, LAC.
- 89 On the impact of irrigation projects on wildlife, including fish populations, see Christopher Armstrong, Matthew Evenden, and H. V. Nelles, *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow*, 167–68, 236–38.
- 90 “Boys Catch Fish in Irrigation Ditch,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 6 June 1919.
- 91 “Experiment with Fish,” *Blairmore Enterprise*, 1 November 1923.
- 92 “Localets,” *Lomond Press*, 29 August 1919.
- 93 “Local and Personal News,” *Macleod Times*, 22 June 1922.
- 94 “Chin Reservoir a Summer Resort,” *Macleod Times*, 22 June 1922.
- 95 Paul Voisey, *High River and the Times*, 88.
- 96 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 8 November 1927, RG 23, vol. 778; 718-11-1, file 12, LAC.
- 97 “Local News,” *Cayley Hustler*, 10 May 1911.
- 98 R. T. Rodd to J. A. Rodd, 18 December 1922, RG 23, vol. 777; 781-11-1, file 10, LAC.
- 99 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 8 November 1927, RG 23, vol. 778; 718-11-1, file 12, LAC.
- 100 R. T. Rodd to J. A. Rodd, 18 December 1922, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 10, LAC.
- 101 Frank Watt and W. D. Elliott to Minister of the Interior, 8 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000; 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.
- 102 Smith reported the events by telephone to Calgary fishery manager, D. A. Richardson, who sent them by letter to R. T. Rodd, 14 May 1928, RG 23, vol. 733; 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 103 D. A. Richardson to R. T. Rodd, 14 May 1928, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 104 “Snaffle Big Fish, Then Law Steps In: High River Boys Penalized for Landing Trout Killer,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 14 May 1928.
- 105 A. A. Ballachey to R. T. Rodd, 11 May 1928, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 106 R. T. Rodd to A. A. Ballachey, 17 May 1928, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 10, LAC. Angling on the Highwood, as a trout stream, was restricted only to the open season. There was, as well, a per diem limit of fifteen pike or pickerel still in force in 1928, introduced in the 1912 regulations, see sec. 34 (c), “Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan,” 12 February 1912, *The Canada Gazette* 45:38 (16 March 1912), 3438.
- 107 D. A. Richardson to R. T. Rodd, 14 May 1928, RG 23, vol. 733; 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 108 “Campers Barred,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 24 July 1919.
- 109 “A Hint to Anglers,” *Blairmore Enterprise*, 25 May 1922; “Fishing Restrictions,” *The Strathmore Standard*, 31 May 1922.
- 110 “Public Notice,” 23 February 1925, *Canada Gazette* 58:36 (7 March 1925), 2629.
- 111 The paper stating that it was a “big catch,” said that “We hesitate to mention the figures they quote. From pleasant experience we can testify to the size and toothsome-ness of some of the catch, however.” “With a Pinch of Salt,” *Claresholm Review*, 27 July 1911.
- 112 “Fill in the Blanks,” *Claresholm Advertiser*, 12 August 1914.
- 113 Oliver Mosley, “T. P. Mosley and Family,” in *Echoes of Willow Creek* edited by Helen Douglas (Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald Job Printing Department, 1965), 26.
- 114 Helen Douglas, ed., Presentation of “Mrs. Gentry Ohler,” in *Echoes of Willow Creek*, 44–45.

- 115 Helen Douglas, ed., "Stanley Wyatt," in *Echoes of Willow Creek*, 50.
- 116 "Have Licenses But Where are Fishing Streams?" *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 22 June 1922.
- 117 "Local and Personal," *Macleod Times*, 6 July 1922.
- 118 "Local and Personal," *Macleod Times*, 6 July 1922.
- 119 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 28 May 1924, RG 23, vol. 778; 781-11-1, file 12, LAC.
- 120 A copy of the letter dated 21 December 1926 from the Coleman Rod and Gun Club in 1925 reporting their amalgamation with Bellevue anglers and their aim to see tributaries closed, was attached to the letter from R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found 16 February 1927, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 27, LAC.
- 121 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 16 March 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 122 The closure would take effect 6 April 1927. R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 16 March 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 28, LAC. The order-in-council appears in Public Notice, 26 April 1927, *Canada Gazette* 60:46 (14 May 1927) 3435.
- 123 R. T. Rodd reported to W. A. Found that it was only the Lethbridge association that had objected to the closures, in R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 16 March 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 124 R. T. Rodd said, "there has been considerable complaint from time to time from the ranchers of this district [along Willow Creek] with regard to campers," and singled out the case of J. W. Dick, who wanted streams closed apparently just to keep outsiders off his property. R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 21 July 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 29, LAC.
- 125 R. T. Rodd included an "extract" of a letter he received from the Claresholm Fish and Game Protective Association in his letter to W. A. Found, 22 November 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 29, LAC.
- 126 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 22 November 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 29, LAC.
- 127 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 20 December 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 30, LAC.
- 128 "Special Fisheries Regulations for the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and the Territories North Thereof," 27 May 1927, *Canada Gazette* 60:50 (11 June 1927) 3752.
- 129 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 13 July 1928, RG 23, Vol. 733; 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 130 Freda Purnal and Winnie McLuskey, "Thomas Kerr Fullerton, 1852–1913," 434–35.
- 131 Purnal and McLuskey, "Thomas Kerr Fullerton," 435.
- 132 Winnie McCluskey, "Thomas William 'Tom' Fullerton, 1875–1949," 436–37. On Fullerton's sawmilling work and homesteading at Bragg Creek, see Diane Coleman, *Mountains to Metropolis: The Elbow River Watershed*, (Victoria: FriesenPress, 2015) 116.
- 133 R. T. Rodd, providing background on the case as well as Fullerton's report on arriving to the landowner's property, said that Fullerton had reported that the landowner "has strongly objected to anyone but his friends fishing in the part of the streams running through his property, and Guardian Fullerton has reported on a previous occasion that he had reason to believe that this man's friends were breaking the law in more ways than one, and that this offender was assisting them to do so." R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 16 May 1928, RG 23, vol. 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 134 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 13 July 1928, RG 23, Vol. 733; 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 135 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 13 July 1928, RG 23, Vol. 733; 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 136 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 13 July 1928, RG 23, Vol. 733; 715-12-1, file 10, LAC.
- 137 A. S. P. Gibson to G. S. Davidson, 18 July 1920, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, file 5, LAC.
- 138 Highwood River Angling Protective Association to G. G. Coote, 18 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC.
- 139 Knupp, *Leaves from the Medicine Tree*, 318.

- 140 Interview with Dave Blacklock, September 1992, at his home near High River. Blacklock was eighty-seven when he recounted to me his angling experiences in the 1920s on the Highwood.
- 141 “Fish and Fish Preservation,” *High River Times*, 8 February 1926, clipping in RG 23, vol. 1002, 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 142 In its January 1926 meeting, “because of the great interest all our members take in game birds and shooting,” the association changed its name to the High River Fish and Game Protective Association. W. D. Elliott to W. A. Found, 19 February 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 143 W. D. Elliott to W. A. Found, 19 February 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 144 W. D. Elliott to W. A. Found, 19 February 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002, 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

- 1 Stuart Barnard, “The Kootenay Revival Campaign of 1909,” 47.
- 2 Barnard, “The Kootenay Revival Campaign of 1909, 49.
- 3 On wages and the cost of living, and on miners’ lives more generally, see Charles Allen Seager, “A Proletariat in Wild Rose Country: The Alberta Coal Miners, 1905–1945,” 155–56, 170–73.
- 4 In 1915, the *Bellevue Times* reported that the “Elk River [in British Columbia] is being polluted with coal dust, which will have some damaging effect on the fishing in that stream.” “Of Local and General Interest,” *Bellevue Times*, 7 May 1915.
- 5 Joseph S. Nelson and Martin J. Paetz, *The Fishes of Alberta*, 5–6.
- 6 Author interview with Jean Kerr, Coleman, Alberta, 23 April 2013. Kerr is a descendant of coal miner and early conservationist John Kerr, discussed later in the chapter.
- 7 “Local and General News,” *Blairmore Enterprise*, 26 June 1924; “Frank News in Brief,” *Frank Paper*, 19 August and 24 August 1909; “Local and General Items,” *Blairmore Enterprise*, 23 August 1928.
- 8 Jim Selby, “One Step Forward: Alberta Workers, 1885–1914,” 56–57.
- 9 Seager, “A Proletariat in Wild Rose Country,” 181–85, 187.
- 10 Ian McKenzie, “Mark Drumm, Newspaperman,” *Heritage News* 6 (October 15, 2010), 2–3.
- 11 “Fish and Game Protective Association Is Active,” *Frank Paper*, 9 April 1908, 2.
- 12 “Local and General,” *Blairmore Enterprise*, 11 July 1913.
- 13 “Hillcrest Happenings,” *Blairmore Enterprise*, 20 July 1922.
- 14 “Frank News in Brief,” *Frank Paper*, 22 July 1909.
- 15 “Frank News in Brief,” *Frank Paper*, 22 July 1909.
- 16 “Better Fish Regulations,” *Frank Paper*, 29 July 1909.
- 17 “Better Fish Regulations,” *Frank Paper*, 29 July 1909. The Crowsnest Branch had been completed in 1898, connecting Lethbridge, Fort Macleod, Pincher Creek, and Crowsnest Pass coal mining towns. Barry Potyondi, *Where the Rivers Meet: A History of the Upper Oldman River Basin to 1939*, 92–95.
- 18 “Better Fish Regulations,” *Frank Paper*, 29 July 1909.
- 19 The 1894 Canadian angling permit was introduced in the General Fishery Act, imposing a creel limit of twelve bass or pike, perch (pickrel or walleye), twenty trout or four maskinongé (*Esox masquinongy*, also known as muskellunge or “muskie,” an eastern member of the pike family), with a size minimum of six inches, PC 1945, “Regulations Respecting Anglers’ Permits in the Inland Waters of the Dominion of Canada,” 30

- June 1894, *Canada Gazette* 28:7 (18 August 1894), 243; the creel limit was in force when angling permits were applied in 1907, but a seven-inch minimum was written into PC 2187, "Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta. . .," 14 October 1907, *Canada Gazette* 41: 17 (26 October 1907), 1034.
- 20 "Better Fish Regulations," *Frank Paper*, 29 July 1909.
- 21 Reports of town excursions to the North Fork and its tributaries abound in papers. One Bellevue angler was reported fishing the North Fork, and another party at Daisy Creek in "Bellevue Happenings," *Bellevue Times*, 30 July 1915; Daisy Creek was again being fished by a town angling party in a report in "Bellevue Happenings," *Bellevue Times*, 3 September 1915; two parties of Bellevue anglers fished Daisy Creek as reported in "Of Local and General Interest," *Bellevue Times*, 14 July 1916; A trio of anglers headed for a week of fishing on the North Fork from Bellevue as reported in "Local and General," *Bellevue Times*, 22 August 1913; a Frank party left for the North Fork, for a "week or so camping and fishing." "Of Local and General Interest," *Bellevue Times*, 4 August 1916. Reports of these parties suggest the transport and technique of early anglers: one angler, purporting to be hunting in the closed fishing season, was using "a split bamboo rod and deer-moss flies," in "Of Local and General Interest," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 6 November 1919. There was also the report of two Blairmore anglers walking to Racehorse Creek, "the trail over Gold Creek summit in good condition." "Items of Local Interest," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 13 August 1925. A man was reported as sighted on Racehorse Creek, "wading almost waist high in a pool with a steel rod in one hand and a parasol in the other, "and heavily clad in what the ladies nowadays term a waist band." "Items of Local Interest," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 22 July 1926.
- 22 *Crowsnest and its People: Millennium Edition*, 437.
- 23 "Forest Fire Case," *Grain Growers Guide*, 5 October 1910, 12.
- 24 Warren Elofson, *Somebody Else's Money: The Walrond Ranch Story*, 21–22.
- 25 "A Trip to the Rockies," *Claresholm Review*, 23 June 1910; the women who joined fishing parties is evident in newspaper coverage: Claresholm's Miss Kelsie Ford joined a party of fifteen anglers who travelled by horseback to the Oldman, likely taking a similar route as Palmer's party in 1911 for "a jolly week." "Chiefly Claresholm," *Claresholm Review*, 20 July 1911.
- 26 See the photograph of two men fishing below McEachran Falls, on the Walrond ranch, in Elofson, *Somebody Else's Money*, 114–15.
- 27 Emma Lynch-Staunton, *A History of the Early Days of Pincher Creek of the District and of the Southern Mountains*, 7
- 28 "Frank News in Brief," *Frank Paper*, 19 August 1909.
- 29 "Need of Fish Regulations," *Frank Paper*, 24 August 1909.
- 30 "Coleman Pebbles," reported a town party returning from the north fork with news that fish were "in abundance but not so large as they have been accustomed to get." *Coleman Miner*, 11 September 1908.
- 31 "Need of Fish Regulations," *Frank Paper*, 24 August 1909.
- 32 Peter H. Douglas letter, 3 September 1909, Peter H. Douglas fonds, M338, GA.
- 33 "Happenings in and around Blairmore," *Bellevue Times*, 20 September 1912.
- 34 "Local and General" *Bellevue Times*, 19 September 1913.
- 35 "E. T. Saunders," Pioneer Profiles of the Southern Alberta Pioneers and their Descendants, <http://www.pioneersalberta.org/profiles/s.html>; Barry Potyondi describes the boom occurring in Pincher Creek at this time in *Where the Rivers Meet*, 104.
- 36 "Spring," *Rocky Mountain Echo*, 19 April 1905. The season opening in 1904 was still May 1.

- 37 "Spring Fever," *Rocky Mountain Echo*, 9 May 1904.
- 38 "A Fishing Ode," *Rocky Mountain Echo*, 23 August 1905.
- 39 "Fishing at John Bull's Camp on the South Fork," *Rocky Mountain Echo*, 3 August 1906.
- 40 "Fishing at John Bull's Camp on the South Fork," *Rocky Mountain Echo*, 3 August 1906.
- 41 "Close Seasons," *Rocky Mountain Echo*, 18 October 1904.
- 42 "Game Protection," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 7 September 1906.
- 43 "Game Protection," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 7 September 1906.
- 44 "Game Protection," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 7 September 1906.
- 45 "Game Protection," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 7 September 1906.
- 46 Southern Alberta Mystery," *The Edmonton Bulletin*, 26 September 1905.
- 47 Harrison Young summarized the Edmonton meeting in a letter to R. N. Venning, 18 February 1907, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part I, LAC.
- 48 Harrison Young to R. N. Venning, 25 June 1907, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, Part I, LAC.
- 49 R. A. Darker (Calgary), W. H. Cottingham (Red Deer) and N. K. Luxton (Banff) to Harrison Young, 14 February 1907, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, part 1, LAC.
- 50 Harrison Young to R. N. Venning, reporting what he had learned from Calgary's conservationists on their visit in 1907 to Edmonton, 18 February 1907, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, file 1, LAC.
- 51 PC 2187, sec. 13 (5), "Fishery Regulation for the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta. . .," 14 October 1907, *Canada Gazette* 41:17 (26 October 1907), 1034.
- 52 PC 1945, sec. 7, "Regulations Respecting Anglers' permits in the Inland Waters of the Dominion of Canada," *Canada Gazette* 28:7 (18 August 1894), 243.
- 53 PC 2187, sec. 13 (5), "Fishery Regulation for the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta. . .," 14 October 1907, *Canada Gazette* 41:17 (26 October 1907), 1035. "I cannot too heartily endorse the action of the Department in their Order in Council passed, for prohibiting the sale and export of trout," R. A. Darker wrote in a letter to G. J. Desbarats, Deputy Minister, 26 May 1908, RG 23, vol. 344, file 2995, Part I, LAC.
- 54 PC 304, sec 33 (a) and 34 (a), "Special fishery regulations for the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta," 45:38 (16 March 1912) *Canada Gazette* 3437-38.
- 55 "Happenings in and Around Blairmore," *Frank Vindicator*, 19 July 1912.
- 56 Lynch-Staunton, *A History of the Early Days of Pincher Creek*, 26-27; 28.
- 57 Godsal, at Cowley, was included among the fifty-four letters sent out "asking them to organize a protective association in their districts." "Game Protection," *The Eye Opener*, 25 August 1906.
- 58 "Fishing Laws," *Cayley Hustler*, 15 May 1912; and "Local News," *Cayley Hustler*, 31 July 1912.
- 59 The Alberta and Saskatchewan Fishery Commission in 1912 noted the need that regulations "be prominently distributed throughout the provinces, especially by means of placards on cotton posted along the banks of the rivers and on the shores of the lakes, in hotels and in public places generally, but they should also be announced in the news columns of the local newspapers from time to time." Edward E. Prince, Thomas H. McGuire, and Euston Sisley, *Dominium Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910-1911: Report and Recommendations with Appendices*, 31.
- 60 F. W. Godsal to A. Wolley Dod, 11 June 1912, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1327, file 22. Godsal's 1912 report that police were enforcing the closed season is difficult to confirm. However, in 1915, the RNWMP arrested "a fellow" fishing Rock Creek, near Burmiss, confiscating his "beauties" and fining him \$10 plus costs of detaining him, "Of Local and General Interest," *Bellevue Times*, 2 July 1915; it would seem that police were responding

to an explicit instruction by the provincial government ordering them to check for permits, as well as to carry them to sell to anglers asking for them. "Says Fishing Laws Will in Future be Strictly Enforced," *The Edmonton Capital*, 4 April 1914.

- 61 F. W. Godsall to A. Wolley Dod, 11 June 1912, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1327, file 22. The RNWMP arrested "a fellow" fishing Rock Creek, near Burmiss, confiscating his "beauties" and fined him \$10 plus costs of detaining him, "Of Local and General Interest," *Bellevue Times*, 2 July 1915.
- 62 "For the Anglers: Queer Materials Used in Making Artificial Flies," *Cayley Hustler*, 23 October 1912.
- 63 P.C.1312, Sec 12. "Consolidated regulation relating to fishing in Manitoba and the North West Territories," *Canada Gazette* 18:47 (19 May 1894), 2048.
- 64 For the first time, a Sunday closure was not included in "Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. . .," Appendix F, 26 April 1922, *The Canada Gazette*, 2nd Supplement (29 April 1922), 53-57.
- 65 Editorial section, *Cayley Hustler*, 31 July 1912.
- 66 C. W. Fisher, the speaker of the Alberta Legislative Assembly, had wanted the fisheries department to pass a specific ordinance against Sunday fishing. However, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, L. P. Brodeur, believed that the matter "is more one to be dealt with under the Lord's Day Act," not fisheries legislation. L. P. Brodeur to C. W. Fisher, 13 April 1911, RG23, vol. 344, file 2995, LAC.
- 67 "An Act Respecting the Lord's Day," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 3 August 1906.
- 68 "Happenings in and Around Blairmore," *Bellevue Times*, 19 July 1912.
- 69 A. S. P. Gibson, of the forestry service, to G. S. Davidson, 18 July 1920, RG 23, vol. 733; 715-12-1, file 5, LAC.
- 70 "Sunday Fishing," *Claresholm Review*, 12 May 1910.
- 71 "This and That," *Red Deer News*, 13 August 1919.
- 72 "It Pays to Pay Up," *Empress Express*, 19 April 1917.
- 73 "Bellevue Happenings, Blairmore Enterprise, 7 August 1914.
- 74 "Local and General," *Bow Island Review*, 21 August 1914.
- 75 "Local News," *Cayley Hustler*, 23 August 1911; on the Sunday fishing prohibition, "Local News," *Cayley Hustler*, 31 July 1912.
- 76 Nellie McClung, *Painted Fires* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1925), 183-85.
- 77 A Calgary paper pointed the difficulty of fishing in flush conditions in the Eastern Slopes: "the recent rise of the Bow River has practically put an end to trout fishing for the present. It is a strange thing that in England the darker the water is the better the fishing. Here it is just the reverse." "Local," *Calgary Weekly Herald*, 13 June 1901.
- 78 "Form Anglers' Association Here," *Coleman Bulletin*, 1 April 1915.
- 79 Joseph reported to R. A. Darker that "several members" of the town's "strong Angling Club," wanted to affiliate with Darker's association. J. A. Joseph to R. A. Darker, 14 May 1915, Austin de B. Winter Fonds, M-1327, file 22, M1327, GA.
- 80 "Early Fishing Season," *Bellevue Times*, 18 May 1917.
- 81 William Rees to Department, with petition attached, 19 April 1918, RG 23, vol. 999; 721-4-37, file 8, LAC.
- 82 "Want Early Season," *Coleman Bulletin*, 25 March 1915.
- 83 "Early Fishing Season," *Bellevue Times*, 18 May 1917.
- 84 "Of Local and General Interest," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 8 April 1920. The newspaper included news from Cowley that the Department had issued citations to a number of

- parties fishing in closed waters by August: "Evidently the department intends to enforce the law this season." "Cowley Happenings," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 12 August 1920.
- 85 "Why and Wherefor of Prohibitory Laws," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 27 July 1922.
- 86 F. W. Godsall to John Eastwood, 26 May 1916, Austin de B. Winter fonds, M-1327, file 22, GA.
- 87 "Local News," *The Cayley Hustler*, 31, July 1912.
- 88 "Of Local and General Interest," *Bellevue Times*, 15 September 1916.
- 89 "Of Local and General Interest," *Bellevue Times*, 29 June 1917,
- 90 Lynch-Staunton, *A History of the Early Days of Pincher Creek*, 12.
- 91 "No Damage to Tires to Cross a Stream," *The Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 7 August 1920.
- 92 "2350 Autos in District," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 13 June 1919; "Good Roads, Great Community Builder; Get Behind Auto Club," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 7 June 1919.
- 93 "Bellevue Fish and Game Protective Association," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 30 April 1925.
- 94 R. N. Morgan to Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 21 December 1925, included in a letter from R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, February 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 27, LAC.
- 95 The Coleman anglers had asked for the closing of all tributaries to the "Crownsnest Branch of the Old Man River . . . to the west of the town of Blairmore," anticipating that, in return, the Department would provide fry to stock these streams. W. S. Purvis to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 22 February 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 96 PC 1034, Secs. 7 and 8, "Special Fishery Regulation for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta and the Territories North Thereof," 27 May 1927, *Canada Gazette* 60:50 (11 June 1927), 3752.
- 97 R. T. Rodd reported the meetings and the "unanimous support" he had for the measures from everyone except the Lethbridge association in his letter to W. A. Found, 16 March 1926, RG 23, vol. 1002; 721-4-37, file 28, LAC.
- 98 "Anglers Association Will Help Protect Fish," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 14 May 1920.
- 99 "Anglers Association Will Help Protect Fish," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 14 May 1920.
- 100 "Local Anglers' Association Are Doing Good Work," *Pincher Creek Echo*, 6 August 1920.
- 101 J. J. Gillespie to J. B. Hawkins, 22 June 1920, RG 23, vol 999; 721-4-37, file 16, LAC. In January 1921, the association requested another guardian be paid specifically to guard the streams the association was planting with fry to the southwest of the community, the one appointed having time only to guard the Oldman River. W. W. Fraser, president of the association, to Alex Finlayson, 12 January 1921, RG 23, vol 777; 781-11-1, LAC.
- 102 Stephen Hume, *Ghost Camps: Memory and Myth on Canada's Frontiers* (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers, 1989), 100.
- 103 Ted Pierzchala interview, 26 June 2003, by Kevin Wilkie as part of the "Life in the Pass: the Bellevue, Hillcrest and Passburg Oral History Project," Crownsnest Museum Archives, Coleman, Alberta.
- 104 Vince John Bosetti interview, 25 June 2003, by Kevin Wilkie, as part of the "Life in the Pass: the Bellevue, Hillcrest and Passburg Oral History Project," Crownsnest Museum Archives, Coleman, Alberta.
- 105 "Happenings in and Around Bellevue," *Frank Vindicator*, 19 May 1911.
- 106 "Hillcrest Hummings," *Coleman Miner*, 21 August 1908.
- 107 "Miners Become Expert Anglers," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 27 April 1922.
- 108 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 4 June 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 15, LAC.
- 109 "Kerr, John Jr." and "The Kerr Family of Passburg," in *Crownsnest and its People*, 618–20. Kerr helped to locate the seams of coal at Police Flats that were acquired by Leitch Collieries, and the community of Passburg sprang up to house miners. Kerr initially

worked for the company but, after a sojourn in Scotland, returned in 1916 to open a general store in Passburg, followed by a second in Bellevue. The mines closed in 1915 and Passburg all but vanished from map.

- 110 "Should Stock Our Streams," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 15 April 1920, 8.
- 111 "Should Stock Our Streams," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 15 April 1920, 8.
- 112 "Should Stock Our Streams," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 15 April 1920, 8.
- 113 "Should Stock Our Streams," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 15 April 1920, 8.
- 114 "James R. Kerr," *Crowsnest and its People* (1979 ed.), 615–16.
- 115 Author interview with Jean Kerr, Coleman, Alberta, 23 April 2013.
- 116 "Local News Items," *The Coleman Bulletin*, 15 April 1915, 4.
- 117 "Local and General Items," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 19 June 1924.
- 118 "Bellevue Has Angling Club," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 23 April 1925, 1.
- 119 "Bellevue Has Angling Club," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 23 April 1925, 1.
- 120 "First Annual Banquet of B. F. & G. P. Association," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 19 November 1925, 1. The actual numbers showing up at the banquet are not mentioned in the coverage. However, when the second annual banquet was announced, the association was confident that, "Upwards of one hundred will participate in this event." "Local and General Items," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 11 November 1926.
- 121 "Local and General Items," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 16 October 1930.
- 122 W. S. Purvis to R. T. Rodd, 18 April 1928, RG 23, vol. 777; 718-11-1, file 22, LAC.
- 123 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 20 April 1928, RG 23, vol. 77; 718-11-1, file 22, LAC.
- 124 W. S. Purvis to R. T. Rodd, 18 April 1928, RG 23, vol. 777; 718-11-1, file 22, LAC.
- 125 See R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 4 June 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 22, LAC. Similarly, In February 1925, J. J. Gillespie, of the Pincher Creek Anglers' Association, pointed out to the fisheries department that two thousand resident permits in the 1924 season had been sold in the district covering the Oldman and Waterton Rivers, "almost half of the number sold to the whole province." Gillespie to Department, 11 February 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 15, LAC.
- 126 W. S. Purvis to R. T. Rodd, 18 April 1928, RG 23, vol. 778-11-1, LAC.
- 127 "Fish and Wildlife," *Crowsnest and its People: Millennium Edition*, 43.
- 128 "Hillcrest Fish and Game Protective Association," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 19 May 1932.
- 129 Sec. 33(a), "Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta," 12 February 1912, *Canada Gazette* 45:38 (16 March 1912), 3437. See also the recommendations regarding game fish in Prince, McGuire, and Sisley, *Dominium Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910–1911*, 45–47.
- 130 Sec. 32(d), "Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta." 9 February 1915, *Supplement to The Canada Gazette* (27 February 1915), 63
- 131 Appearing under a headline as "The Fishing Question," Stepenson's letter was reprinted in *Red Deer News*, 9 August 1916, 1.
- 132 Arthur B. Nash, letter to the editor, appearing under "The Fishing Question," *Red Deer News*, 9 August 1916.
- 133 "Do Bull Trout Come Within the Law?" *Red Deer News*, 30 August 1916.
- 134 "Do Bull Trout Come Within the Law?" *Red Deer News*, 30 August 1916.
- 135 Sec. 34(a), "Special Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta," 9 February 1915, *Supplement to The Canada Gazette* (27 February 1915), 63. The 1917 regulations remained unchanged in this respect. See sec. 33 (a) and sec. 34 (a), "Special

- Fishery Regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta,” 30 November 1917, *Supplement to the Canada Gazette* (15 December 1917), 4–5.
- 136 “War on Bull Trout,” *Macleod Times*, 29 December 1921; the same story appeared in “Items of Local and General Interest,” *Blairmore Enterprise*, 29 December 1921.
- 137 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 27 May 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 23, LAC.
- 138 E. E. Prince, departmental memo, 26 June 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 23, LAC.
- 139 E. E. Prince, departmental memo, 26 June 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 23, LAC. Prince also noted that “inferior anglers” quite enjoyed catching the much-maligned bull trout.
- 140 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found, 6 June 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 23, LAC.
- 141 R. T. Rodd to W. A. Found 6 June 1924, RG 23, vol. 1001, 721-4-37, file 23, LAC.
- 142 The regulations included the “Dolly Varden” in both the size limits and per diem catches of permit holders. Sec 2(a), “Special Fishery regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta,” 27 May 1927, *Canada Gazette* 60:50 (11 June 1927), 3750.
- 143 Sec. 3(a), “Special Fishery regulations for the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta,” 27 May 1927, *Canada Gazette* 60:50 (11 June 1927), 3750.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

- 1 Darin Kinsey, “Seeding the Water as the Earth’s: The Epicenter and Peripheries of a Western Aquacultural Revolution.”
- 2 Anders Halverson, *An Entirely Synthetic Fish: How Rainbow Trout Beguiled America and Overran the World*, 6–9.
- 3 Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History*, 33. Bogue offers a useful discussion of the development of the commercial fishing industry during the nineteenth century in chapters 3 and 4 of her study.
- 4 Memorandum by John Costigan, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 18 January 1894, RG 23, vol. 124, file 165, part I, LAC. On Wilmot, see George Colpitts, “Science, Streams and Sport: Trout Conservation in Southern Alberta, 1900–1930,” 85–86. The most authoritative treatment of Wilmot, with respect to the sport fishery, is by William Knight, “Samuel Wilmot, Fish Culture, and Recreational Fisheries in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario.” See also Neil S. Forkey, “Maintaining a Great Lakes Fishery: The State, Science, and the Case of Ontario’s Bay of Quinte, 1870–1920.”
- 5 Alex Finlayson, departmental memo, 15 September 1910, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC; Howard Douglas, memo, 15 September 1910, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC.
- 6 When John Douglas Hazen, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, approved the facility, he remained concerned about reports he had received of its possibly impractical location given the high mineral content and winter freezing temperatures of the water. J. D. Hazen, Memorandum, 11 December 1912, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC. W. Cunningham, a fisheries inspector based in New Westminster who reported to the department, had believed that Banff would be a poor location for a hatchery given that he doubted trout eggs would be available nearby. He maintained these concerns in 1911 when he learned for the first time through the reports of the 1910–11 Alberta and Saskatchewan fisheries commission that cutthroat trout was native to the waters near Banff (having assumed the species was restricted to British Columbia’s streams). If the department did establish a hatchery, Cunningham thought that cutthroat eggs would still be available in only limited numbers and the hatchery would have to be provided speckled trout eggs from eastern Canada and cutthroat from British Columbia. W. Cunningham to W. A. Found, 4 May 1911, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC. An unsigned “Extract from Memo

of December 11, 1912” reaching the minister underlined the impracticality of the Banff location, which had “no doubt been urged on the impression that it would be of interest to tourists.” The memo highlighted the high mineral content of local waters fed by sulphur springs, their complete freezing in winter, and the difficulty collecting eggs nearby. Extract from Memo of December 11, 1912, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC.

- 7 Alex Finlayson to John Douglas Hazen, Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 7 May 1913, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC. The logistical challenges were also concerning park fisheries inspector, Sydney Vick, who inspected Spray Lakes as a cutthroat collection point: “The question hinges on whether trout ova could be carried on a pack horse over a mountain trail and still be fit for use. To give an idea what trails are like, there is an old saying in the hills ‘When is a trail not a trail?’ ‘When it is a mountain one’ is the answer, and a pack horse is about as uncertain as the trail.” Report of fishery inspector [Sydney C. Vick] to Department, 3 September 1912, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, LAC. See also Christopher Armstrong, Matthew Evenden, and H. V. Nelles, *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow*, 225–28.
- 8 T. Boswell to Howard Douglas, 31 March 1897, RG 15, vol. 747, file 469929, LAC.
- 9 Leopold Layard to Department of Interior, 14 July 1904, RG 15, vol. 747, file 469929, LAC.
- 10 The earlier opening date of May 13, closing September 13, was set in Sec. 66, “Regulation of the National Parks of Canada,” 21 June 1909, *Canada Gazette* 43:3 (17 July 1909), 80. It was Maxwell Graham, appointed as chief of the Dominion Parks Branch’s Animal Division after its creation in 1911, who helped push Banff’s opening date forward to 1 July. See his letter to parks commissioner James B. Harkin, 18 June 1917, RG 84, vol. 70, U3-1-1, part I, LAC. Edward E. Prince, of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, also wrote a key memo detailing the problems of earlier seasons in Banff from a scientific perspective. See Prince, departmental memo, 26 February 1917, RG 23, vol. 999, 721-4-37, LAC. The season was announced by Order-in-Council, 19 April 1919, *The Canada Gazette* 52:45 (10 May 1919), 3444. In 1925 an order-in-council maintained the 1 July season opener for “game fish” until 30 October. However, it expressly closed fishing whitefish and bull trout between 1 September and 30 April, in the same order. “Regulations Respecting Fishing in Dominion Parks,” 30 March 1925, *Canada Gazette* 58:41 (11 April 1925), 3051.
- 11 T. Boswell to Douglas, 31 March 1897, 31 March 1897, RG 15, vol. 747, file 469929, LAC.
- 12 J. A. Stuart to Department of Interior, 8 January 1901, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, part I, LAC.
- 13 The 506 brook trout from Lake Nipigon were listed in a memo by William Whyte to E. W. Beatty, attached to E. W. Beatty to Cameron Stanton, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 30 December 1908, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, reel T-4023, LAC. Edward Wentworth Beatty, who was at the time an assistant to the CPR’s general counsel, would become the railway’s president only a decade later.
- 14 William Wangach to William Whyte, 8 December 1900, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, part I, reel T-4023, LAC. Wangach, who worked for the Department of the Interior, had met with Douglas and had informed him of the opportunity to introduce brook trout from Lake Nipigon to Banff waters. William Whyte—later to become Sir William Whyte—was the superintendent of the CPR’s western operations.
- 15 William Mather to J. B. Harkin, 15 November 1913, RG 84, vol. 70, U3-1-1, part I, LAC. Mather also urged Harkin to permit the park to open earlier, for the sake of tourists.
- 16 The Banff Board of Trade’s backing of Nipigon trout introductions is reported in Commissioner [J. B. Harkin] to W. A. Found, 17 June 1914, RG 84, vol. 70, R 296, part I, LAC.
- 17 Upon the beginning of the commission’s work in Alberta, Edward Prince, Thomas McGuire, and Euston Sisley had spoken to an Edmonton audience. Sisley cited the problem of German carp introductions into Lake Erie by US authorities. “He urged

strongly the protection of the magnificent game fish of Alberta, the best probably in the world.” “Alberta’s Fisheries Subject of An Investigation Today,” *The Edmonton Capital*, 30 September 1910.

- 18 “Banff Fishermen Are Aroused: Object Strongly to the Stand Calgary Men Take on the Question of Barring the Gamy Nipigon Trout from Park Waters,” *Crag and Canyon*, 27 March 1915.
- 19 R. N. Venning to Harrison Young, 17 September 1902, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, LAC.
- 20 Edward E. Prince to Harrison Young, 25 October 1902, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, LAC. For a description of some of the technological innovations introduced to railway cars, see the design specifications tendered by the Lewis Brothers to Mr. J. M. Hurley, 8 September 1906, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, LAC.
- 21 Harrison Young to Edward E. Prince, 31 October 1902, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, LAC. On the history of black bass introductions, see J. A. Rodd to Hoyes Lloyd, 17 January 1923, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 10, LAC.
- 22 Copy of memo from William Whyte to E. W. Beatty, 1908 attached to E. W. Beatty to Cameron Stanton, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 30 December 1908, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, reel T-4023, LAC.
- 23 J. A. Rodd to Hoyes Lloyd, 18 December 1922, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 10, LAC.
- 24 Copy of memo from William Whyte to E. W. Beatty, attached to E. W. Beatty letter to Cameron Stanton, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 30 December 1908, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, reel T-4023, LAC.
- 25 E. W. Beatty letter to Cameron Stanton, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 30 December 1908, RG 23, vol. 337, file 2939, reel T-4023, LAC. Jen Corrinne Brown describes the expansion of US hatcheries: In the 1880s and 1890s, trout production in the western US shifted from state to federal agencies, connecting their work “to the rhetoric of national greatness and economic independence” as well as practical and economic reasons. By the early twentieth century, the US had opened three trout hatcheries in Leadville, Colorado; Bozeman, Montana; and Spearfish, South Dakota. A substation was also opened at Yellowstone National Park. Jen Corrinne Brown, *Trout Culture: How Fly Fishing Forever Changed the Rocky Mountain West*, 45.
- 26 A. E. Cross to John Douglas Hazen, Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 12 March 1913, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I. See also A. E. Cross to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 28 July 1917 and 16 August 1917, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 4, LAC.
- 27 The labour involved in hatching fish from spawn is made clear from a 1909 departmental memo that provided the necessary instructions. Fish first had to be caught using a boat and pound nets and then transported to pens, where they had to be examined daily. When females were “ripe,” spawn were carefully drawn from them, using “practically no pressure,” and deposited into a pan of water. The spawn of four or five fish were then joined with the sperm from a male, and the two stirred together “until the whole remains practically a milky colour.” The mixture was then placed in a can, and cans were taken to the shore and repeatedly flushed with cold water. After segmentation occurred and eggs showed signs of impregnation, the eggs were placed in trays and transported to the hatchery. Spawning instructions, undated [ca.1909], RG 23, vol. 365, file 3216, LAC.
- 28 Report of R. T. Rodd to G. S. Davidson, 18 December 1921, RG 23, vol.1000, 721-4-37, file 18, LAC. Rodd apparently attempted to collect spawn for the facility in 1913, but dealing with spring spawners proved difficult, and high water in the foothills region ruined his efforts. In 1916, he managed to obtain spawn from Fish Creek and, in 1917, from Spray Lakes, Sullivan Creek, and Flat Creek.

- 29 J. A. Rodd Report on Fish Culture, in *Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries for the Year 1921-22*, 18-19.
- 30 David Starr Jordan and Barton Warren Evermann, *American Food and Game Fishes: A Popular Account of All the Species Found in America North of the Equator, with Keys for Ready Identification, Life Histories and Methods of Capture* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1902), 196, quoted in Brown, *Trout Culture*, 52.
- 31 US Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Report of the Commissioner for the Year Ending June 30, 1897*, quoted in Brown, *Trout Culture*, 53.
- 32 Joseph B. Rasmussen and Eric B. Taylor, *Status of the Athabasca Rainbow Trout (Oncorhynchus mykiss) in Alberta*, 1-5. Joseph Nelson and Martin Paetz have drawn on historical observations confirming the presence of native rainbow in the headwaters of the Athabasca River. In 1910 railway employees described rainbow trout in the Hinton and Jasper areas, and in 1863 Dr. Walter Cheadle "almost certainly" described small native Athabasca rainbow. Joseph S. Paetz and Martin J. Nelson, *The Fishes of Alberta*, 265.
- 33 S. J. Kerr, *An Historical Review of Fish Culture, Stocking and Fish Transfers in Ontario, 1865-2004*, 117-18.
- 34 The interior of the Banff hatchery was described in the report of fisheries inspector Alex Finlayson to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 3 September 1913, RG 23, vol. 395, file 4747, LAC.
- 35 R. T. Rodd, memorandum on Alberta hatcheries, 1920, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 8, LAC. On the hatchery's imports from the United States and the fish biology of hatchery production, see Armstrong, Evenden, and Nelles, *The River Returns*, 227-28. The eggs of salmon trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*) were most likely purchased as they were in 1916 from Great Lakes commercial fishing crews, later collected at the Port Arthur hatchery, and then sent to the Banff hatchery. *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Fisheries Branch, Department of the Naval Service, 1916-17* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1917), 294. The Atlantic salmon (*Salmo salar*) reaching Banff likely came, as they had in 1916, from the St. John River, New Brunswick, purchased as eggs from fishermen and eyed at the department's St. John Pond before being shipped by rail to Banff. *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Fisheries Branch, Department of the Naval Service, 1916-17*, 288. The hatchery in 1916 also distributed large numbers of lake herring (*Argyrosomus artemis*), purchased as eggs from Lake Erie commercial fishers. About 5 million lake herring reached Banff in 1916, some 3.5 million distributed to Lake Minnewanka. *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Fisheries Branch, Department of the Naval Service, 1916-17*, 324. Nelson and Paetz record Atlantic salmon being introduced to Lake Minnewanka between 1915 to 1923, *The Fishes of Alberta*, 380.
- 36 R. T. Rodd, memorandum on Alberta hatcheries, 1920, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 8, LAC.
- 37 Halverson, *An Entirely Synthetic Fish*, 78-81.
- 38 "Alberta's Game Fish," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 25 July 1919.
- 39 "Alberta's Game Fish," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 25 July 1919. The anglers in High River were probably responding to groups within the SAAA that were, at that point, pressing for the introduction of exotics. In their protest, however, they were still supported by the bulk of the SAAA.
- 40 R. T. Rodd to J. A. Rodd, 11 August 1919, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 6, LAC.
- 41 W. D. Elliott to Deputy Minister, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 25 November 1922, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, LAC.
- 42 J. J. Gillespie to J. B. Hawkins, 22 June 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 16, LAC.
- 43 L. A. Ferguson to E. G. Langley, 3 July 1920, and R. T. Rodd to J. A. Rodd, 5 September 1920, both in RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 7, LAC.

- 44 W. T. Thompson, Bureau of Fisheries, to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 25 April 1922, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 9, LAC.
- 45 “Fingerlings for the Park Lakes,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 18 May 1922; “40,000 Visitors were in City Wednesday: They were fish,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 25 May 1922.
- 46 “Placed Fish in Cameron Lake,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 1 June 1922.
- 47 J. J. Gillespie to W. A. Found, 23 February 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 14, LAC.
- 48 W. A. Found to J. J. Gillespie, 4 March 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 781-11-1, file 14, LAC.
- 49 R. T. Rodd to J. A. Rodd, 23 September 1920, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 7, LAC.
- 50 R. M. Patterson, *The Buffalo Head*, 140.
- 51 Patterson, *The Buffalo Head*, 140.
- 52 W. A. Found to David Keir, 10 July 1923, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 11, LAC.
- 53 G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 13 May 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 15, LAC.
- 54 “Board of Trade,” *Red Deer News*, 9 June 1920.
- 55 “Board of Trade,” *Red Deer News*, 7 July 1920.
- 56 W. E. Ross to A. T. Stephenson, 20 May 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 15. Ross was writing on behalf of the SAAA.
- 57 G. S. Davidson to W. A. Found, 9 June 1920, RG 23, vol. 1000, 721-4-37, file 15, LAC.
- 58 Nelson and Paetz, *The Fishes of Alberta*, 278.
- 59 “Lending a Hand to Mother Nature,” *Stony Plain Sun*, 4 November 1926, 6.
- 60 See Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Alberta, “Father of the Loch Leven Trout,” 21.
- 61 Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Alberta, “Father of the Loch Leven Trout,” 24.
- 62 Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Alberta, “Father of the Loch Leven Trout,” 24–25.
- 63 R. T. Rodd to J. A. Rodd, memo on hatchery production and distribution, 2 August 1919, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 6, LAC
- 64 J. A. Rodd to J. E. Martin, 19 March 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 14, LAC.
- 65 “Hatchery at Waterton Lakes,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 8 April 1922.
- 66 The Banff hatchery was able to send annually 50,000 to 87,000 rainbow trout to Oldman tributaries from 1920 to 1923 and only 25,000 cutthroat trout in 1924, as R. T. Rodd reported to W. M. Harris, 7 May 1926, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 18, LAC.
- 67 See J. J. Gillespie to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 11 February 1925, and J. J. Gillespie to W. A. Found, 23 February 1925, both in RG 23, vol. 778, 721-11-1, file 14, LAC.
- 68 The Pincher Creek’s petition was read in a meeting of the Macleod Board of Trade, which dispatched its own letter of support, as well as a petition from the Macleod Anglers’ Association requesting hatchery fish “so that the fisherman’s paradise may not be entirely a thing of the past.” “Replenish Southern Streams with Trout, Anglers’ Objective,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 6 March 1925. The letter from A. Healey, of the Macleod Board of Trade, 4 March 1925 appears in RG 23, vol. 778, 721-11-1, file 14, LAC. In the same file are letters from W. J. Blackistan, of the Bossano Board of Trade, 4 March 1925; J. H. Howard, of the Calgary Board of Trade, 6 March 1925; and H. W. Crawford, president of the Lethbridge Board of Trade, 9 March 1925, all addressed to the minister of Marine and Fisheries.
- 69 “Local and General Items,” *Blairmore Enterprise*, 12 March 1925, 12.
- 70 J. J. Gillespie to W. A. Found, 23 February 1925, RG 23, vol. 779, 718-11-1, file 14, LAC.
- 71 W. A. Found to J. J. Gillespie, 4 March 1925, RG 23, vol. 779, 718-11-1, file 14, LAC.

- 72 The Department sent word to Gillespie's association in June that it was sending 85,000 rainbow trout to be distributed in Beaver, Yarrow, Mill, Pincher, Carpenter, and Racehorse Creeks. "Local and General Items," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 25 June 1925.
- 73 Freeman Anderson to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 2 April 1925, RG 23, vol. 779, 718-11-1, file 15, LAC. "At their first meeting [the Association] decided to secure 50,000 trout fry to stock streams in that vicinity." "Local and General Items," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 2 April 1925.
- 74 W. M. Harris to R. T. Rodd, 17 May 1926, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 18, LAC.
- 75 R. T. Rodd to W. M. Harris, 7 May 1926, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 18, LAC. Indeed, according to the Blairmore paper, in response to requests from local anglers, the Banff hatchery had begun supplying steelhead to streams in the Crowsnest Pass in 1920. Untitled local news item, *Blairmore Enterprise*, 16 August 1923, 6.
- 76 H. W. Crawford to P. J. A. Cardin, 9 March 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 717-11-1, file 14, LAC.
- 77 R. T. Rodd, letter of instructions to G. E. Bailey, 8 August 1928, RG 23, vol. 779, 718-11-1, file 23, LAC. The initial plan was that only cutthroat would be hatched at Waterton and would be reserved for the St. Mary's, Belly, and Crowsnest Rivers and their tributaries.
- 78 "Angling Conditions," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 3 January 1929, 4.
- 79 The article recounted that Sisley had participated in the 1910 and 1911 Alberta and Saskatchewan fisheries commission and remained "keenly interested in the movement to promote fish and game development in Alberta," calling the *Calgary Daily Herald's* attention to the Arctic grayling as a species to introduce in southern waters. "True Grayling Found in Waters North of Alberta," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 10 March 1928.
- 80 Freeman Anderson to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 2 April 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 15, LAC. The *Blairmore Enterprise* reported that "An anglers' club has been organized at Claresholm. . . . The name given the club was "Claresholm Fish and Game Protective Association." "Local and General Items," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 2 April 1925.
- 81 W. M. Harris to R. T. Rodd, 14 May 1926, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, file 18, LAC. Whether the Lethbridge anglers were justified in their belief is a matter of speculation. For more recent comparative studies of cutthroat, rainbow, and brown trout in the Cascades, see Bob Pfeifer, "Age and Growth Characteristics of Trout in Washington High Lakes." For another study examining brook trout and food supply as a critical factor in growth see Dale Toetz, Maurice Muoneke, and John Windell, "Age, Growth and Condition of Brook Trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*) from an Unexploited Alpine Lake," 92.
- 82 "Two Million More Trout in Alberta Waters," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 24 November 1928, clipping in RG 23, vol. 779, 718-11-1, file 23, LAC.
- 83 Hatchery production and distribution for 1928 is detailed in a table attached to W. A. Found to R. T. Rodd, 22 April 1928, RG 23, vol. 779, 718-11-1, file 24, LAC. A year earlier, the Banff hatchery had announced the safe arrival of some 800,000 Wisconsin brown trout eggs, as was reported in "Wisconsin Trout Eggs Received at Banff," *Strathmore Standard*, 23 February 1927. According to Blairmore's local paper, some 185,000 brown trout were placed that summer in the "North and South Raven rivers and Prairie, Alford and Muskeg creeks, tributaries of the Red Deer and Saskatchewan Rivers." "Distributing Trout Fry," *Blairmore Enterprise*, 21 July 1927.
- 84 Dave B. Blacklock to Department of Marine and Fisheries, 4 December 1928, RG 23, vol. 779, 718-11-1, file 23, LAC.
- 85 Patterson, *The Buffalo Head*, 140-41.
- 86 In 1944, Alberta Fish and Game Commissioner E. S. Huestis stated that fry plantings on Alberta's streams were not correcting the "diminishing supply" of fish, and that water in streams instead had to be better conserved to stop winter ice kills and avoid spring ice

flushing that carried away food for fish. Alberta, *Report of the Department of Lands and Mines of the Province of Alberta, Fisheries Division, for the Year 1944*, 73. A subsequent comprehensive biological survey of Alberta streams in 1948 found few traces of previous plantings in mountain tributaries such as those flowing into the Highwood River. Alberta, *Report of the Department of Lands and Mines of the Province of Alberta, Fisheries Division for the year 1948*, 83.

- 87 For a description of Miller's Gorge Creek experiments, see Richard B. Miller, *A Cool Curving World*, 194; and "The Role of Competition in the Mortality of Hatchery Trout."
- 88 Miller, *A Cool Curving World*, 207. See also Richard B. Miller, "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta," 22–23.
- 89 Miller, "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta," 23.
- 90 In discussing the failure of hatchery programs, Jim McLennan notes the remarkable growth in resident trout populations once plantings of fry were discontinued. Jim McLennan, *Blue Ribbon Bow: A Fly-Fishing History of the Bow River—Canada's Greatest Trout Stream*, 60–61.
- 91 Armstrong, Evenden, and Nelles, *The River Returns*, 230–32.
- 92 "Fish Fry Transported," *The Champion Chronicle*, 3 January 1930.
- 93 As a fisheries inspector suggested to the department, his experience was that "when the cut throat has his enemies he grows to greater perfection and is a fighting fish of the first water." Report of fishery inspector [Sydney C. Vick], 3 September 1913, RG 23, vol. 395, file 3737, part I, LAC.
- 94 Report of J. A. Rodd, 5 September 1922, RG 23, vol. 777, 781-11-1, file 10, LAC.
- 95 S. Maynard Rogers to J. B. Harkin, 10 November 1921, RG 84, vol. 74, file J296, LAC.
- 96 S. Maynard Rogers to Commissioner, 27 March 1922, RG 84, vol. 74, file J296, LAC. In 1925, James Harkin contacted the Department of Marine and Fisheries with a request for twenty-five pounds of a "good hearty description of algae" to help with trout plantings in barren Jasper lakes. J. B. Harkin to W. A. Found, 24 March 1925, RG 23, vol. 778, 718-11-1, LAC.
- 97 See Darin Kinsey, "Fashioning a Freshwater Eden: Elite Anglers, Fish Culture, and State Development of Québec's 'Sport' Fishery," 259–62; Ronald A. Knapp, Paul Stephen Corn, and Daniel E. Schindler, "The Introduction of Nonnative Fish into Wilderness Lakes: Good Intentions, Conflicting Mandates, and Unintended Consequences" (introductory remarks to special issue of *Ecosystems* devoted to fish introductions to mountain lakes); Edwin P. Pister, "Wilderness Fish Stocking: History and Perspective"; and David B. Donald et al., "Recovery of Zooplankton Assemblages in Mountain Lakes from the Effects of Introduced Sport Fish."
- 98 The five subspecies listed as threatened are the westslope, greenback, Rio Grande, Lahontan, and Humboldt. Three further subspecies of cutthroat (the Yellowstone, Colorado River, and coastal varieties) are considered to have vulnerable populations. Brown, *Trout Culture*, 10 citing Howard L. Jelks et al., "Conservation Status of Imperiled North American Freshwater and Diadromous Fishes," *Fisheries* 33, no. 8 (August 2008): 395–98. John H. Monnett provides a good overview of the characteristics of various varieties in *Cutthroat and Campfire Tales: The Fly-Fishing Heritage of the West*, 19–22.
- 99 Matt Blank and Tony Clevenger, *Improving the Ecological Function of the Upper Bow River: Bow Lake to Kananaskis Dam*, 13. On westslope cutthroat in the Bow River, the authors cite David W. Schindler and Charles Pacas, "Cumulative Effects of Human Activity on Aquatic Ecosystems in the Bow Valley of Banff National Park," chap. 5 in *Ecological Outlooks Project: A Cumulative Effects Assessment and Futures Outlook of the Banff Bow Valley*, edited by Jeffrey Green, Charles Pacas, Suzanne Bayley, and Laura Cornwall (Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage, 1996).

- 100 Allen B. Costello and Emily Rubidge, "COSEWIC Assessment and Status Report on the Westslope Cutthroat Trout," 13.
- 101 Costello and Rubidge, "COSEWIC Assessment and Status Report on the Westslope Cutthroat Trout," 15.
- 102 Walter R. Courtenay, Jr., and C. Richard Robins, "Fish Introductions: Good Management, Mismanagement, or No Management?" 168; Blank and Clevenger, *Improving the Ecological Function*, 14; Moira M. Ferguson, "The Genetic Impact of Introduced Fishes on Native Species." On the hybridization of Yellowstone cutthroat within Alberta stocks, see David W. Mayhood, "Provisional Evaluation of the Status of Westslope Cutthroat Trout in Canada," 583.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

- 1 According to Alan MacEachern, the coastal "sublime" was achieved through Cape Breton's Cabot Trail, where its dramatic grades "helped make the hills hillier and the sea more dramatic." *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970*, 49. He also highlights the work of parks promoters, such as Mabel B. Williams, whose publications by the 1920s focussed on automobile technology. One of her publications "rhapsodizes" about the automobile that allowed a tourist "to escape from the narrow boundaries of his local parish and to enter upon a wider, more joyous, more adventurous life." "M. B. Williams and the Early Years of Parks Canada," 41. Cars were centrally important in the "playgrounds" that parks became: see John Sandlos, "Nature's Playgrounds: The Parks Branch and Tourism Promotion in the National Parks, 1911-1929," 53-65. Useful perspectives on the impact of the automobile on recreation are also offered by Dale Barbour in *Winnipeg Beach: Leisure and Courtship in a Resort Town, 1900-1967*, 151-52. On the auto in parks that incorporated wildlife, see George Colpitts, "Films, Tourists, and Bears in the National Parks: Managing Park Use and the Problematic 'Highway Bum' Bear in the 1970s," 153-78.
- 2 Richard White, "From Wilderness to Hybrid Landscapes: The Cultural Turn in Environmental History," 558. See also C. J. Taylor, "Defining National Parks: J. B. Harkin and the National Parks Branch."
- 3 See Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement*, 30-35, 40-47; and David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks*, 3-4, 12-14, 37-39. The individualism of autotourists is also suggested in Hall K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*, 146-47.
- 4 C. J. Taylor, *A History of Automobile Campgrounds in the Mountain National Parks of Canada*, 9.
- 5 Eleanor G. Luxton, *Banff, Canada's First National Park: A History and Memory of Rocky Mountains Park*, 114-15.
- 6 "Local News Notes," *Crag and Canyon*, 18 June 1921.
- 7 Taylor, *History of Automobile Campgrounds*, 9.
- 8 "Trail from This City to Glacier Park Is Marked," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 22 July 1919. Davidson also sent to J. B. Harkin a newspaper clipping on his successful efforts to raise funds to improve the road leading from Glacier into Alberta when he met with American Good Roads promoters at Glacier: see "\$1,080 Brooklyn Subscription to Calgary Good Roads Ass'n," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 12 August 1919. See also "Permanent Boulevard to Connect Parks of Canada and Montana," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 7 August 1919.
- 9 James W. Davidson related the feasibility of the trip to W. B. Harkin, 9 August 1919, RG 84, vol. 107, file U125, LAC.

- 10 See also James W. Davidson to W. B. Harkin, 16 October 1919, and references to Davidson's speaking tours in the United States to promote Canadian automobile tourism in Davidson to Harkin, 10 November 1919, RG 84, vol. 107, file U125, LAC.
- 11 S. D. Fawcett [of the Dominion Land Survey] to R. Cooper, Superintendent, Waterton Lakes Park, 20 April 1920, RG 84, vol. 107, file U125, LAC.
- 12 E. J. (Ted) Hart, *J. B. Harkin: Father of Canada's National Parks*, 66.
- 13 Another Calgary motorist, as well as one from Winnipeg, chugged down mainstreet three days later. "Motor Cars in Banff," *Crag and Canyon*, 21 August 1909.
- 14 Recounted in Doris MacKinnon, "*Métis Pioneers: Marie Rose Delorme Smith and Isabella Clark Hardisty Loughheed*," 100–102.
- 15 Hart, *J. B. Harkin: Father of Canada's National Parks*, 66.
- 16 Hart, *J. B. Harkin: Father of Canada's National Parks*, 66.
- 17 "The actual development of Banff," the *Herald* reported in a retrospective of the automobile there, "commenced with the appearance of the first auto on its streets; the increasing yearly auto traffic demanded garages, service stations, more accommodations for visitors and more and better restaurants." "Many Attractions Offered Visitors to Banff District," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 2 June 1928.
- 18 Taylor, *History of Automobile Campgrounds*, 13.
- 19 Taylor, *History of Automobile Campgrounds*, 20–21.
- 20 The *Herald's* coverage is quoted in Taylor, *History of Automobile Campgrounds*, 21.
- 21 "National Parks Among Increasingly Valuable of Alberta's Assets," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 2 June 1928.
- 22 "Many Attractions Offered Visitors to Banff District," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 2 June 1928. In 1929, Taylor wrote that the campground autos numbered 7,309, with 26,861 campers. Taylor, *History of Automobile Campgrounds*, 23.
- 23 Taylor, *History of Automobile Campgrounds*, 18.
- 24 See "Minnewanka Is Favorite Drive for Banff Visitors," *Calgary Herald*, 15 August 1919, for a detailed itinerary of views and emotionally charged landscapes offered in the drive from Banff to Lake Minnewanka.
- 25 The federal parks service clipped a Vancouver newspaper article in April 1922, which reported that American tourists "in motoring from place to place are now avoiding those cities not possessing an auto camp ground." Taylor, *History of Automobile Campgrounds*, 11.
- 26 "Thousands of Motor Tourists Cross into Western Canada Area," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 24 March 1923.
- 27 See, for example, "Banff," *Morning Albertan*, 18 June 1920, 5.
- 28 See the discussion of Minnewanka and the Bow development in Christopher Armstrong, Matthew Evenden, and H. V. Nelles, *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow*, 127–29, 131–33.
- 29 "A Mammoth Trout," *Redcliff Review*, 21 August 1924, 5. Waterton Lakes trout were larger still: even as late as 1929, landings of fish up to fifty pounds were reported. "Waterton Lakes Famous for Trout," *Oyen News*, 5 June 1929, 2.
- 30 "Unexaggerated Fishing," *Red Deer News*, 14 August 1918, 2.
- 31 "Banff," *Morning Albertan*, 6 July 1920.
- 32 "A Fair Sized Trout," *Frank Vindicator*, 23 December 1910, 3.
- 33 "Fresh Water Fishing," *Ottawa Citizen*, 14 May 1927. For a detailed description of new bait-casting reels, especially the popular "anti-backlash" models that apparently appealed to female anglers, see "Rod and Gun," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 2 August 1919. Tips for

purchasing rods, reels, and line then available in hardware stores are provided in “Fishing Trips,” *Macleod Times*, 14 April 1920.

- 34 “Boys, We Have Just What You Want for Tuesday,” *Crag and Canyon*, 5 July 1924. The closed season in the park was set from 15 September to 15 May in 1909. This changed in 1919 to 1 November to 31 May. It was 1925 when the closed season was changed to 1 October to 30 June. Sec. 18, “Regulations respecting fishing in Dominion Parks,” 30 March 1925, *Canada Gazette* 58:41 (11 April 1925), 3052.
- 35 “Fishing Season Opens Thursday,” *Crag and Canyon*, 25 June 1926, 1.
- 36 Memo, 15 July 1921, RG 23, vol. 733, 715-12-1, LAC.
- 37 Superintendent Simon John “Jack” Clarke, quoted in Hart, *J. B. Harkin: Father of Canada’s National Parks*, 132.
- 38 James Morton Turner, “From Woodcraft to ‘Leave No Trace’: Wilderness, Consumerism, and Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America,” 220–24.
- 39 See “Auto Best Means of Travel for Modern Pleasure Seekers When Comfort Is Considered,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 3 June 1922; “Five Millions Answer Call to Open Road,” *Wainwright Star*, 20 April 1927; and “You’ll Need These Things When Motor Camping,” *Wainwright Star*, 1 September 1926. See also “You Can Buy All Your Camping Equipment at John Christie,” advertisement in the *Wainwright Star*, 26 May 1926; and “Tents and Campers’ Supplies,” advertisement in *The U.F.A.*, 15 June 1929.
- 40 “Thousands of Motor Tourists Cross into Western Canada Areas,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 24 March 1923.
- 41 “A Record,” *Crag and Canyon*, 19 July 1924.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

- 1 Jim McLennan, *Blue Ribbon Bow: A Fly-Fishing History of the Bow River—Canada’s Greatest Trout Stream*, 70.
- 2 McLennan, *Blue Ribbon Bow*, 70.
- 3 Lorne Fitch, “A Cutthroat We Should Respect,” 8, 9.
- 4 Lorne Fitch, “An Elegy for the Crowsnest Bull Trout.”
- 5 See Jennifer E. Earle, Jim D. Stelfox, and Brian E. Meagher, “Quirk Creek Brook Trout Suppression Project: 2009.” See also Jim D. Stelfox and Jennifer E. Earle, “Assessment of the Bull and Cutthroat Trout Stocking Program in Kananaskis Lake”; and Jim D. Stelfox and Brian E. Meagher, “Upper Kananaskis Lake Creel Survey: 2010 and 2011.”
- 6 McLennan, *Blue Ribbon Bow*, 68.
- 7 Decision 2021 ABAER 010: Benga Mining Limited, Grassy Mountain Coal Project, Crowsnest Pass, ix–x; 259–60.
- 8 “Alberta town endorses community-developed policy saying no to coal mining in Rockies,” *CBC News*, 25 May 2022. See, also, CPAWS’ Southern Alberta chapter’s campaign to “Defend Albert Forests: Fund a Future for the Highwood,” <https://cpaws-southernalberta.org/defend-alberta-forests-fund-a-future-for-the-highwood/>

Bibliography

- Alberta. *Report of the Department of Lands and Mines of the Province of Alberta, Fisheries Division, for the Year 1944*. Edmonton: Government Printer, 1945.
- Alberta. *Report of the Department of Lands and Mines of the Province of Alberta, Fisheries Division, for the Year 1948*. Edmonton: Government Printer, 1949.
- Altmeyer, George. "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893–1914." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11, no. 3 (1976): 21–36.
- Anderson, Sheridan. *Curtis Creek Manifesto: A Fully Illustrated Guide to the Strategy, Finesse, Tactics, and Paraphernalia of Fly Fishing*. Portland: Frank Amato Publications, 1978.
- Armstrong, Christopher, Matthew Evenden, and H. V. Nelles. *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.
- Barbour, Dale. *Winnipeg Beach: Leisure and Courtship in a Resort Town, 1900–1967*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011.
- Barnard, Stuart. "The Kootenay Revival Campaign of 1909." MA thesis, Department of History, University of Calgary, 2010.
- Barss, Beulah May. "Pioneer Food Patterns in the Western Interior of Canada." MA thesis, Department of Educational Administration, University of Calgary, 1979.
- Binnema, Theodore, and Melanie Niemi. "Let the Line Be Drawn Now: Wilderness, Conservation, and the Exclusion of Aboriginal People from Banff National Park in Canada." *Environmental History* 11 (October 2006): 724–50.
- Black, William C. *Gentlemen Preferred Dry Flies: the Dry Fly and the Nymph, Evolution and Conflict*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010.

- Blank, Matt, and Tony Clevenger. *Improving the Ecological Function of the Upper Bow River: Bow Lake to Kananaskis Dam*. Technical Report No. 7. Canmore, AB: Yellowstone to Yukon Conservation Initiative, 2009.
- Bocking, Stephen. *Ecologists and Environmental Politics: A History of Contemporary Ecology*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- . “Fishing the Inland Seas: Great Lakes Research, Fisheries Management, and Environmental Policy in Ontario.” *Environmental History* 2, no. 1 (January 1997): 52–73.
- Bogue, Margaret Beattie. *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000.
- Bonnell, Jenifer. *Stewards of Splendour: A History of Wildlife and People in British Columbia*. Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2023.
- Bradley, Ben. “A Questionable Basis for Establishing a Major Park?: Politics, Roads and the Failure of a National Park in British Columbia’s Big Bend Country.” In *A Century of Parks Canada, 1911–2011*, edited by Claire Elizabeth Campbell, 79–102. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011.
- Brown, Jen Corrinne. *Trout Culture: How Fly Fishing Forever Changed the Rocky Mountain West*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.
- Burnett, J. Alexander. *A Passion for Wildlife: The History of the Canadian Wildlife Service*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003.
- Calgary, *Ideally Situated in Canada’s Youngest and Wealthiest Province . . . : The City of Calgary Year Book*. Compiled by Arnold S. Wark. Calgary: n.p., 1919.
- Calliou, Brian. “Losing the Game: Wildlife Conservation and the Regulation of First Nations Hunting in Alberta, 1880–1930.” MA thesis, Faculty of Law, University of Alberta, 2000.
- Calverley, David. “‘When the Need for It No Longer Existed’: Declining Wildlife and Native Hunting Rights in Ontario, 1791–1896.” In *The Culture of Hunting in Canada*, edited by Jean L. Manore and Dale G. Miner, 105–20. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Canada. Annual Reports, Fisheries Branch, Department of Marine and Fisheries. Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1914–30.
- Cheadle, Walter B. *Cheadle’s Journal of Trip Across Canada, 1962–63*. Vancouver: Touchwood Editions, 2010.

- Colpitts, George. "Films, Tourists, and Bears in the National Parks: Managing Park Use and the Problematic 'Highway Bum' Bear in the 1970s." In *A Century of Parks Canada, 1911–2011*, edited by Claire Elizabeth Campbell, 153–78. Calgary: University of Calgary Press 2011.
- . "Fish and Game Associations in Southern Alberta, 1907–1928." *Alberta History* 42, no. 4 (1994): 16–26.
- . *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001.
- . *History of the Highwood River*. Calgary: Highwood River Restoration and Conservation Association, 1991.
- . "Science, Streams and Sport: Trout Conservation in Southern Alberta, 1900–1930." MA thesis, Department of History, University of Calgary, 1993.
- . "Wildlife Promotions, Western Canadian Boosterism, and the Conservation Movement, 1890–1914." *American Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, nos. 1 and 2 (1998): 103–30.
- Costello, Allen B., and Emily Rubidge. COSEWIC Assessment and Status Report on the Westslope Cutthroat Trout *Oncorhynchus clarkii lewisi* (British Columbia Population and Alberta Population) in Canada. Ottawa: Committee on the Status of Endangered Wildlife in Canada, 2006.
- Courtenay, Walter R., Jr., and C. Richard Robins. "Fish Introductions: Good Management, Mismanagement, or No Management?" *Aquatic Sciences* 1, no. 1 (1989): 159–71.
- Crawler, Marcella, and Chiniki Research Team. "Stoney Place Names." Morley, AB: Stoney Band, 1987.
- Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1991.
- Crowsnest Pass Historical Society. *Crowsnest and Its People*. Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1979; and Lethbridge: Robins Southern Printing, 2000.
- Decision 2021 ABAER 010: Benga Mining Limited, Grassy Mountain Coal Project, Crowsnest Pass, Report of the Joint Review Panel Established by the Federal Minister of Environment and Climate and the Alberta Energy Regulator, June 17, 2021.

- Del Vecchio, Michael. "Surviving Fisheries Management: Aquaculture, Angling, and Lake Ahmic," *Scientia Canadensis* 34, no. 2 (2011): 1–28.
- Dempsey, Hugh A. *Indian Tribes of Alberta*. Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1988.
- Department of Lands and Forests, Government of Alberta. "Father of the Loch Leven Trout." *Land, Forest, Wildlife* 2, no. 3 (1959): 21–25.
- Donald, David B., Rolf D. Vinebrooke, R. Stewart Anderson, Jim Syrgiannis, and Mark D. Graham. "Recovery of Zooplankton Assemblages in Mountain Lakes from the Effects of Introduced Sport Fish." *Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences* 58, no. 9 (2001): 1822–30.
- Elofson, Warren. *Somebody Else's Money: The Walrond Ranch Story*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009.
- Elofson, Warren, and George Colpitts. *Historical Report for the Zahava Hanen Pekisko Creek Property Multidisciplinary Land Study*. Calgary: Southern Alberta Land Trust, 2011.
- Earle, Jennifer E., Jim D. Stelfox, and Brian E. Meagher. "Quirk Creek Brook Trout Suppression Project: 2009." Cochrane, AB: Alberta Environment and Sustainable Resource Development, Fish and Wildlife Division, 2010.
- Evans, Clinton L. *The War on Weeds in the Prairie West: An Environmental History*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2002.
- Evans, Simon. *Prince Charming Goes West: The Story of the E. P. Ranch*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1993.
- Evans, Simon. *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004.
- Ferguson, Moira M. "The Genetic Impact of Introduced Fishes on Native Species." *Canadian Journal of Zoology* 68 (1990): 1053–57.
- Fitch, Lorne. "A Cutthroat We Should Respect." *Wildlands Advocate* 19, no. 2 (2011): 7–10.
- . "An Elegy for the Crowsnest Bull Trout." *Wildlands Advocate* 20, no. 3 (2012): 14–17.
- Forkey, Neil S. "Anglers, Fishers, and the St. Croix River: Conflict in a Canadian-American Borderland, 1867–1900." *Forest and Conservation History* 37, no. 4 (1993): 179–87.

- . “Maintaining a Great Lakes Fishery: The State, Science, and the Case of Ontario’s Bay of Quinte, 1870–1920.” *Ontario History* 87, no. 1 (1995): 45–64.
- Foster, Janet. *Working for Wildlife: The Beginnings of Preservation in Canada*. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Friesen, Jean. “Grant Me Wherewith to Make My Living.” In *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*, edited by Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen, 141–56. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1991.
- Gavigan, Shelley A. M. *Hunger, Horses, and Government Men: Criminal Law on the Aboriginal Plains, 1870–1905*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012.
- Gillespie, Greg. *Hunting for Empire: Narratives of Sport in Rupert’s Land, 1840–70*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Girard, Michel F. “The Commission of Conservation as a Forerunner to the National Research Council, 1909–1921.” *Scientia Canadensis* 15, no. 2 (1991): 19–40.
- . *L’écologisme retrouvé: Essor et déclin de la Commission de la conservation du Canada*. Ottawa: Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1994.
- Halverson, Anders. *An Entirely Synthetic Fish: How Rainbow Trout Beguiled America and Overran the World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Harris, Douglas C. *Fish, Law, and Colonialism: The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- . *Landing Native Fisheries: Indian Reserves and Fishing Rights in British Columbia, 1849–1925*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.
- Hart, E. J. (Ted). *J. B. Harkin: Father of Canada’s National Parks*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2010.
- Hays, Samuel P. *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Hubbard, Jennifer. *A Science on the Scales: The Rise of Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Biology, 1898–1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Hundred Thousand Club. *One Thousand Facts About Calgary*. Calgary: Herald Western Printing Co., 1909.

- Jacoby, Karl. *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Keeling, Arn. "A Dynamic, Not a Static Conception?: The Conservation Thought of Roderick Haig-Brown." *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 2 (2002): 239–68.
- Kerr, S. J. *An Historical Review of Fish Culture, Stocking and Fish Transfers in Ontario, 1865–2004*. Toronto: Fish and Wildlife Branch, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 2006.
- Kinsey, Darin. "Fashioning a Freshwater Eden: Elite Anglers, Fish Culture, and State Development of Québec's 'Sport' Fishery." PhD dissertation, Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, 2008.
- . "Seeding the Water as the Earth?: The Epicenter and Peripheries of a Western Aquacultural Revolution." *Environmental History* 11 (July 2006): 527–66.
- Knapp, Ronald A., Paul Stephen Corn, and Daniel E. Schindler. "The Introduction of Nonnative Fish into Wilderness Lakes: Good Intentions, Conflicting Mandates, and Unintended Consequences." *Ecosystems* 4, no. 4 (2001): 275–78.
- Knight, William. "Samuel Wilmot, Fish Culture, and Recreational Fisheries in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario." *Scientia Canadensis* 30, no. 1 (2007): 75–90.
- Knupp, Lillian. *Leaves from the Medicine Tree: A History of the Area Influenced by the Tree, and Biographies of Pioneers and Oldtimers Who Came Under Its Spell Prior to 1900*. Lethbridge: High River Pioneers' and Old Timers' Association, 1960.
- Leary, Robb F., Fred W. Allendorf, and Stephen H. Forbes. "Conservation Genetics of Bull Trout in the Columbia and Klamath River Drainages." *Conservation Biology* 7, no. 4 (1993): 857–65.
- Lewis, Margaret. *To Conserve a Heritage*. Edmonton: Alberta Fish and Game Association, 1979.
- Loo, Tina. *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.
- Louter, David. *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.

- Luxton, Eleanor G. *Banff, Canada's First National Park: A History and Memory of Rocky Mountains Park*. Banff: Summerthought, 2008.
- Lynch-Staunton, Emma. *A History of the Early Days of Pincher Creek of the District and of the Southern Mountains*. Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald, 1920.
- MacDowell, Laurel Sefton. *An Environmental History of Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012.
- MacEachern, Alan. *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935–1970*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- MacKinnon, Doris. *Metis Pioneers: Marie Rose Delorme Smith and Isabella Clark Hardisty Lougheed*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2018.
- Malainey, M. E., R. Przybylski, and B. L. Sherriff. "One Person's Food: How and Why Fish Avoidance May Affect the Settlement and Subsistence Patterns of Hunter-Gatherers," *American Antiquity* 66:1 (2001): 141–61.
- Manore, Jean L. "Contested Terrains of Space and Place: Hunting and the Landscape Known as Algonquin Park, 1890–1950." In *The Culture of Hunting in Canada*, edited by Jean L. Manore and Dale G. Miner, 121–47. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Masterman, Bruce A., and Jim D. Stelfox. *Looking Back: An Historical Report of Angler Experiences Along the Eastern Slopes of South-Western Alberta*. Cochrane: Fish and Wildlife Division, Alberta Sustainable Resource Development, 2010.
- Mayhood, David W. "Provisional Evaluation of the Status of Westslope Cutthroat Trout in Canada." In *Proceedings of a Conference on the Biology and Management of Species and Habitats at Risk, Kamloops, BC, 15–19 February 1999*, edited by I. M. Darling, 2:579–85. Victoria: BC Ministry of Environment, Lands and Parks and University College of the Cariboo, 2000.
- Mason, Courtney W., *Spirit of the Rockies: Reasserting an Indigenous Presence in Banff National Park*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- McCandless, Robert G., *Yukon Wildlife: A Social History*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1985.

- McCluskey, Winnie. "Thomas William 'Tom' Fullerton, 1875–1949." In *Our Foothills*, 435–38. Calgary: Millerville, Kew, Priddis and Bragg Creek Historical Society, 1975.
- McDonald, Robert, and Arn Keeling. "'The Profligate Province': Roderick Haig-Brown and the Modernizing of British Columbia." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36, no. 3 (2002): 7–23.
- McKenzie, Ian. "Mark Drumm, Newspaperman," *Heritage News* 6 (October 15, 2010), 2–3. e-newsletter <http://www.crowsnestheritage.ca/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/October-2010.pdf>
- McLennan, Jim. *Blue Ribbon Bow: A Fly-Fishing History of the Bow River—Canada's Greatest Trout Stream*. Red Deer: Johnson Gorman, 1998.
- McLennan, William M. *Sport in Early Calgary: An Account of the Sports, Games, Personalities, Facilities, and Recreation of the Pioneers in the Early Calgary Area*. Calgary: Fort Brisebois Publishing, 1983.
- McNeill, John R. *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2000.
- Meredith, Don, and Duane Radford. *Conservation, Pride and Passion: The Alberta Fish and Game Association, 1908–2008*. Edmonton: Alberta Game and Fish Association, 2008.
- Miller, Richard B. *A Cool Curving World*. Don Mills, ON: Longmans Canada, 1962.
- . "Movements of Cutthroat Trout After Different Periods of Retention Upstream and Downstream from Their Homes." *Journal of the Fisheries Research Board of Canada* 11, no. 5 (1954): 550–58.
- . "Permanence and Size of Home Territory in Stream-Dwelling Cutthroat Trout." *Journal of the Fisheries Research Board of Canada* 14, no. 5 (1958): 687–91.
- . "The Regulation of Trout Fishing in Alberta." *Canadian Fish Culturalist* 14 (October 1953): 20–25.
- . "The Role of Competition in the Mortality of Hatchery Trout." *Journal of the Fisheries Research Board of Canada* 15, no. 1 (1958): 27–45.
- Miller, E. W. "South Alberta." In *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1912–13: Fisheries*, 268–70. Ottawa: Government Printer, 1913.

- Monnett, John H. *Cutthroat and Campfire Tales: The Fly-Fishing Heritage of the West*. Boulder, CO: Pruett, 1988.
- Nelson, Joseph S., and Martin J. Paetz. *The Fishes of Alberta*. 2nd ed. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992.
- Newell, Dianne. *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Newell, Dianne, and Rosemary E. Ommer, eds. *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Norris, Marjorie. *A Leaven of Ladies: A History of the Calgary Local Council of Women*. Calgary: Detselig, 1995.
- Northwest Hydraulic Consultants. *Highwood River Flood Plain Study for the Town of High River and Department of the Environment*. Edmonton: Northwest Hydraulic Consultants, Ltd., 1974.
- Palmer, Howard, with Tamara Palmer. *Alberta: A New History*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990.
- Parenteau, Bill. "Care, Control and Supervision: Native People in the Canadian Atlantic Salmon Fishery, 1867–1900." *Canadian Historical Review* 79, no. 1 (1998): 1–35.
- . "A 'Very Determined Opposition to the Law': Conservation, Angling Leases, and Social Conflict in the Canadian Atlantic Salmon Fishery, 1867–1914." *Environmental History* 9, no. 3 (2004): 436–63.
- Patterson, R. M., *The Buffalo Head*. Victoria: TouchWood Editions, 2005.
- Penick, James, Jr. "The Progressives and the Environment." In *The Progressive Era*, edited by Lewis L. Gould, 333–52. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1974.
- Pfeifer, Bob. "Age and Growth Characteristics of Trout in Washington High Lakes." Technical report prepared for the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife, Mill Creek, WA, May 2005.
- Piper, Liza. *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.
- . "Parasites from 'Alien Shores': The Decline of Canada's Freshwater Fishing Industry." *Canadian Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (2010): 87–114.
- Pister, Edwin P. "Wilderness Fish Stocking: History and Perspective." *Ecosystems* 4, no. 4 (2001): 279–86.

- Potyondi, Barry. *Where the Rivers Meet: A History of the Upper Oldman River Basin to 1939*. Lethbridge: Robins Southern Printing, Ltd., 1990.
- Prince, Edward E. "The Object of a Close Time for Fish." Ottawa, 1899. Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions no. 17035.
- Prince, Edward E., Thomas H. McGuire, and Euston Sisley. *Dominion Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries Commission, 1910–11: Report and Recommendations with Appendices*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1912.
- "R. A. Darker: Manager for Southern Alberta." *Life* [Standard Life Insurance company magazine], August 1912, 5.
- Regular, W. Keith. "'Red Backs and White Burdens': A Study of White Attitudes Towards Indians in Southern Alberta, 1896–1911." MA thesis, Department of History, University of Calgary, 1985.
- Rasmussen, Joseph B., and Eric B. Taylor. *Status of the Athabasca Rainbow Trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*) in Alberta*. Alberta Wildlife Status Report no. 66. Edmonton: Alberta Sustainable Resource Development and Alberta Conservation Association, 2009.
- Reiger, John F. *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.
- Rees, Kerry, Isabelle Girard, Dave Walty, and David Christiansen. *Bull Trout Conservation Management Plan, 2012–2017*. Alberta Conservation Management Plan No. 8. Edmonton: Alberta Sustainable Resource Development, 2012.
- Roberts, Wayne. "Empty Streams: The Decline of Bull Trout in Alberta." *Wild Lands Advocate* 1, no. 2 (1993): 15.
- Rothman, Hall K. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998.
- Sandlos, John. *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- . "Nature's Playgrounds: The Parks Branch and Tourism Promotion in the National Parks, 1911–1929." In *A Century of Parks Canada, 1911–2011*, edited by Claire Elizabeth Campbell, 53–78. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011.

- . “Not Wanted in the Boundary: The Expulsion of the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway Band from Riding Mountain National Park.” *Canadian Historical Review* 89, no. 2 (2008): 189–221.
- Schullery, Paul. *Cowboy Trout: Western Fly Fishing As If It Matters*. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2006.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Seager, Charles Allen. “A Proletariat in Wild Rose Country: The Alberta Coal Miners, 1905–1945.” PhD diss., Department of History, York University, 1982.
- Selby, Jim. “One Step Forward: Alberta Workers, 1885–1914.” In *Working People in Alberta: A History*, edited by Alvin Finkel, 39–75. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2012.
- Sheppard, Herbert C. *Spitzee Days*. Calgary: McAra Press, 1971.
- Sigler, William F., and John W. Sigler. *Fishes of the Great Basin: A Natural History*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1987.
- Sisley, Euston. “Fish of the Eastern Slopes of the Rockies.” *Canadian Alpine Journal* 3 (1911): 113–16.
- Smith, Alan R., and Todd A. Radenbaugh. “Historical and Recent Trends in the Avifauna of Saskatchewan’s Prairie Ecozone.” In *Changing Prairie Landscapes*, edited by Todd A. Radenbaugh and Patrick C. Douaud, 73–94. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2000.
- Smith, Brian J. “The Historical and Archaeological Evidence for the Use of Fish as an Alternate Subsistence Resource Among Northern Plains Bison Hunters.” In *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*, edited by Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen, 35–49. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1991.
- Smith, Donald B. *Calgary’s Grand Story: The Making of a Prairie Metropolis from the Viewpoint of Two Heritage Buildings*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005.
- Spry, Irene. *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857–1860*. 2 vols. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968.
- Steinberg, Ted. *Down to Earth: Nature’s Role in American History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

- Stelfox, Jim D., and Brian E. Meagher. "Upper Kananaskis Lake Creel Survey: 2010 and 2011." Unpublished report. Alberta Environment and Sustainable Resource Development, Fisheries Management Branch, Cochrane, AB, 2012.
- Stelfox, Jim D., and Jennifer E. Earle. "Assessment of the Bull and Cutthroat Trout Stocking Program in Kananaskis Lake." Unpublished report. Alberta Environment and Sustainable Resource Development, Fisheries Management Branch, Cochrane, AB, 2012.
- Sutter, Paul. *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.
- Szylvian, Kristin M. "Transforming Lake Michigan into the 'World's Greatest Fishing Hole': The Environmental Politics of Michigan's Great Lakes Sport Fishing, 1965–1985." *Environmental History* 9, no. 1 (2004): 102–27.
- Taylor, C. J. *A History of Automobile Campgrounds in the Mountain National Parks of Canada*. Calgary: Western Canada Service Centre, Parks Canada, 2001.
- . "Defining National Parks: J. B. Harkin and the National Parks Branch." *Research Links: A Forum for Natural, Cultural and Social Studies* 5, no.1 (1997): 5.
- Taylor, Joseph E., III. *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.
- Toetz, Dale, Maurice Muoneke, and John Windell. "Age, Growth and Condition of Brook Trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*) from an Unexploited Alpine Lake." *Northwest Science* 65, no. 3 (1991): 89–92.
- Tough, Frank J. "As Their Natural Resources Fail": *Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870–1930*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.
- . "Depletion by the Market: Commercialization and Resource Management of Manitoba's Lake Sturgeon (*Acipenser fulvescens*), 1885–1935." In *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries*, edited by Dianne Newell and Rosemary E. Ommer, 97–120. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

- Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, with Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, and Sarah Carter. *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Turner, James Morton. "From Woodcraft to 'Leave No Trace': Wilderness, Consumerism, and Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America." *Environmental History* 7, no. 3 (2002): 162–224.
- Verbicky-Todd, Eleanor. "Communal Buffalo Hunting Among the Plains Indians: An Ethnographic and Historic Review." Occasional Paper No. 24. Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources Division.
- Vick, S. C. *Classified Guide to Fish and Their Habitat in Rocky Mountains Park*. Ottawa: Dominion Parks Branch, Department of the Interior, [1913].
- Voisey, Paul. *High River and the Times*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008.
- Warren, Louis S. *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Wetherell, Donald G., *Wildlife, Land, and People: A Century of Change in Prairie Canada*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016.
- Wetherell, Donald G., with Irene Kmet. *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta, 1896–1945*. Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism / Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1990.
- White, Richard. "From Wilderness to Hybrid Landscapes: The Cultural Turn in Environmental History." *The Historian* 66, no. 3 (2004): 557–64.
- Wynn, Graeme. *Canada and Arctic North America: An Environmental History*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007.
- Zaslow, Morris. *Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914–1967*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988.
- Zeller, Suzanne. "Darwin Meets the Engineers: Scientizing the Forest at McGill University, 1890–1910." *Environmental History* 6, no. 3 (2001): 428–50.

ABBREVIATIONS

GA	Glenbow Archives
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
RG 15	Record Group of the Department of the Interior, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa
RG 23	Record Group of Fisheries and Oceans Canada (formerly the Department of Marine and Fisheries), Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa
RG 84	Record Group of Department of Interior, Parks Division, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa

Index

- Advisory Board on Wildlife Protection, 17
Alberta and Saskatchewan Fisheries
 Commission, 29, 36, 38, 45, 112, 118, 121,
 170n5, 189n6, 194n79
Alberta Fish and Game Association (1928), 7,
 42, 155, 165n21
Alberta Fish and Game Protective Association
 (1907), 29–30, 35–36, 91, 98, 100, 102, 118
Allison Creek, 89, 105
angling, legal definition, 5–6, 21–22, 25.
 See also baitcasting; fly fishing; permits,
 angling
Athabasca River Arctic grayling (*Thymallus*
 arcticus), 134
automobiles and auto tourism, 11, 12, 31–32,
 55–57, 59, 60–61, 64, 84–85, 101, 104–105,
 139, 141–146, 149–153, 156, 160, 196n1,
 197n10, 197n17
- baitcasting, 12, 96, 141–142, 149, 150–151,
 153, 155
Banff, 11–12, 24 (fig. 1.2), 27, 38, 42, 49, 52–53,
 59, 67, 99, 105, 108, 114–115, 117–124, 125
 (fig. 5.3), 126–132, 134, 137–138, 141, 142
 (fig. 6.1), 143–145, 147–149, 150 (fig. 6.3),
 158–159, 163n2, 171n20, 177n38, 179n56,
 189n6, 190n19, 190n14, 190n16, 192n34,
 192n35, 193n66, 194n75, 194n83, 197n24.
 See also hatcheries; Rocky Mountains Park
Bellachey, Alec A., 2, 68 (fig. 3.4), 78
Bellevue, 81, 87, 90, 95, 104–105, 106, 109–110,
 182n120, 184n21, 187n109
Black Diamond, 84
Blairmore, 81, 87, 90–91, 95, 99, 101–102, 110,
 184n21
Bow River: fishery, xii, 9, 12, 14, 23, 26 (fig.
 1.3) 42, 47, 49–50, 66–67, 74, 99, 121, 126,
 136, 138, 141, 153, 171n24, 186n77, 195n99;
 tributaries, 37 (map 2.1); in Calgary during
 WWI, 9, 30, 33–34, 41–42, 49, 52, 58;
 Calgary infrastructure and sewage, 47–49
- Bragg Creek, 67, 81–83, 182n132
brook trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*), 11, 21,
 52–53, 99, 121, 122, 124, 126, 128, 131–134,
 136, 138, 158, 190n13, 190n14, 194n81. *See*
 also Nipigon brook trout
brown trout, German (*Salmo trutta*), 11,
 52–53, 129, 132–136, 138, 194n81, 194n83.
 See also Loch Leven
Buffalo Head ranch, 70, 128–129
Buffalo Lake, 122
bull trout (*Salvelinus confluentus*), 9, 19,
 39, 45–46, 49–50, 72–75, 77, 89–90, 100,
 102–103, 110, 112–114, 129–130, 134–136,
 157–158, 173n47, 173n49, 173n51, 174n69,
 189n139, 190n10
- Calgary Angling Association (1920), 49–53,
 113
Calgary Fish and Game Protective Association
 (1906), 27, 46–47, 49, 57
Calgary weir, 47, 173n57, 173n58
Callum Creek, 93 (fig. 4.1), 94
camping, 33, 63, 64, 81, 97, 141, 145–148,
 151–153, 184n21
Canadian National Railway, 136
Canadian Pacific Railway, 18, 27, 47, 72, 120
 (fig. 5.1), 121–122, 147, 149; Crowsnest Pass,
 92
Carmangay, 64
Castle (South Fork) River, 79, 90–92, 94–97,
 103, 105
catch, creel, bag limit, 14, 21, 39, 99, 113–114,
 171n25, 181n106, 183n19
Cheadle, Walter, 20, 192n32
Chin Coulee, 75–76
Claresholm, 31, 64, 79–81, 94, 101, 132, 134,
 182n125, 184n25, 194n80
Coleman, 81, 87, 90, 95, 102–105, 107, 109–111,
 182n120, 187n95
Commission of Conservation, Canada, 15, 17,
 106, 165n14, 180n73; US, 15, 192n31

- Connelly Creek, 92, 105
 conservation: progressive-era, 5, 12, 15, 16–17, 86, 157, 166n16; early pioneer-era, 4, 11, 13, 18, 22, 45, 54, 60, 126, 157–159; Federal-Provincial Advisory Board on Wildlife Protection, 17; Federal government fisheries approaches to, 73–74; culling, 74, 78, 114, 157–158. *See also* hatcheries; season dates
 Cowley, town of, 27, 93, 99–100, 103–104, 109, 185n57, 186n84
 Crowsnest River, 10, 20, 23, 30, 31, 79, 80–81, 87, 89–94, 95–96, 98–100, 102–106, 107 (fig. 4.2), 132, 160, 194n77
- Darker, Robert A., 27, 28 (fig. 1.4), 29, 30, 35–36, 38, 46, 50, 51, 53, 59, 66–67, 73, 91, 97, 99–100, 103, 144, 159, 169n71, 169n72, 169n74, 170n8, 185n53, 186n79
 Davidson, George S. (Chief Inspector), 50, 51, 66, 72, 74, 113, 129–130, 174n68, 178n47, 179n57, 179n59, 180n77, 180n78, 180n82, 196n8, 196n9, 197n10
 Davidson, James W., 143–144
 decline, depletion of fish and game: in Western Canada, 4, 11, 13–15, 17, 26–27, 92, 95; Bow River reports of, 35, 42; Highwood basin reports of, 54; Oldman basin reports of, 92–96, 97
 derbies, fishing, 50, 110, 113–114
 Desbarats, G. J. (Deputy Fisheries Minister), 49
 Didsbury, 4, 55, 130
 Douglas, Howard (Parks Superintendent), 118, 119, 121, 144, 190n14
 Drumm, Mark, 29–30, 91–92, 94–96, 99, 159
- Eastwood, John F., 46, 47, 57, 103
 Edmonton, 20, 29, 36, 93, 130, 155, 169n71, 185n50, 190n17
 Edward, Prince of Wales, 1, 68 (fig. 3.4), 69, 179n56
 Edwards, Bob, 27, 35, 58
 Elliott, W. D., 53–54, 65, 68–69, 126–127, 175n86
 EP Ranch, 1, 68 (fig. 3.4), 69
 Evenden, Matthew, xii, 49
 exotics: campaigns for, 9, 10, 11, 52–53, 131–132, 133–134; E. E. Prince and the Federal Government's concerns with, 121–122. *See also* brook trout; brown trout; Loch Leven
- Finlayson, Alex (Federal Hatcheries Inspector), 119, 123, 171n25
 First Nations: and fishing technique, 20; Treaty 7 and Kainai, Piikani, Siksika, 20–21, 22; *łáyǰé* Nakoda (Stoney), 19, 22–23, 137, 147, 167n41, 167n45, 168n48; residential schooling and angling, 23; Department of Indian Affairs and angling, 22–23
 fisheries guardians, 1, 6, 22–24, 29, 35, 45, 61, 66 (fig. 3.3), 69–70, 77–78, 82, 83, 98, 99, 106, 113, 128, 177n38, 182n133, 187n101; honorary, 33, 41
 fishing: early pioneer subsistence, 19, 25; guddling and tickling, 20; dynamiting, 4, 10, 21, 25, 46, 77, 89–90, 93, 97–99, 105, 106, 108, 109, 119, 172n28, 173n53; poaching, 3, 10, 21, 33, 65, 83, 84, 96, 98–99, 105, 163n7
 Fitch, Lorne, 157
 flies and fly-tying, 18, 20, 42–44, 60, 79, 96–97, 100, 151, 156, 184n21
 fly fishing, 3, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17–18, 20, 26, 40, 42–45, 48, 61, 68, 97, 151–153, 155–156, 166n17. *See also* flies and fly-tying
 Fort Macleod, 18, 28–29, 31, 39, 55, 64, 73, 80–81, 94–96, 105, 110, 132, 144, 176n20, 177n35, 179n72, 180n78, 183n17, 193n68
 Frank (town of), 30, 87, 91–92, 94–95, 96, 98, 99, 159, 184n21
 Fullerton, Thomas William (Fish Guardian), 82–83, 182n132, 182n133
- Gap, The (Livingstone Range), 94, 104, 167n33
 Ghost Dam, 47; Ghost River, 67, 92, 138
 Gillespie, J. J., 105, 106, 127, 128, 132, 188n125, 194n72
 Godsal, Frederick W., 27, 100, 102, 103–104, 185n57, 185n60
 Good Roads Associations, 27, 104, 143–144, 145, 196n8
 Gorge Creek studies, 71–72, 135–136. *See also* Miller, Richard
 Granum, 64
- Harkin, James B. (Parks Commissioner), 137, 143, 145–146, 190n15, 195n96, 196n8
 hatcheries, 8, 10–11, 17, 38, 68, 108, 117, 118, 121, 125, 126, 131, 132, 135, 137, 138, 139, 155, 157, 195n90; Banff, 38, 49, 52–53, 67, 68–69, 78, 105, 108–110, 111, 114, 115, 117, 118–119, 123–124, 125 (fig. 5.3), 126–130, 134, 137, 150, 158–159, 163n2, 171n20, 177n38, 179n56, 189n6, 191n27, 192n34, 192n35, 193n66, 194n75, 194n83 ;

- Waterton, 131–133, 133 (fig. 5.4), 134, 144, 150, 194n77, 197n29; US hatcheries, 17, 132, 191n25, 192n35; hatchery donations to Banff, 124, 127–128, 131; fry survival rates, 135–136. *See also* Waterton Lakes National Park—hatchery
- Hayden, Charlie, 42, 172n36, 178n46
- High River, ix–x, 1–4, 7, 10, 15, 27, 30, 36, 39, 50, 51, 53–54, 55, 60, 61, 63–66, 68–70, 74–75, 76–78, 84–86, 89, 126, 128, 131, 138, 156–157, 159, 161, 163n7, 169n74, 177n39, 180n77, 192n39
- High River Fish and Game Association (1926), 84, 183n142. *See also* the Highwood River Angling Protective Association
- Highwood River, ix, xii, 2, 10, 19, 23, 28, 30, 32, 55, 57 (fig. 3.1), 59–61, 62 (fig. 3.2), 63, 65, 66 (fig. 3.3), 68–69, 71, 74–78, 84–86, 104, 128, 156–157, 171n25, 177n28, 177m38, 178n48, 194n86
- Highwood River Angling Protective Association (1920), 1–2, 60, 69–70, 74, 83, 109, 114, 126, 156, 163n3
- Hoad, J. S. (Calgary Fisheries Overseer), 49, 61
- Innisfail, 57, 130
- Jasper Forest Park, 5, 137. *See also* Jasper National Park
- Jasper National Park, 43 (fig. 2.1), 136, 192n32, 195n96
- Kananaskis Lakes and River, 72, 84, 124, 138
- Kemish, Frank, 33–34, 40–41, 42, 46, 49, 156, 172n32, 172n33, 172n38, 173n47, 174n68, 174n70
- Kerr, John, 107 (fig 4.2), 108–109, 110, 159, 183n6, 187n109
- Lane, George, 1, 67, 69, 126–127, 128
- Langley, G. C. (Calgary Fisheries Officer), 66, 178n43
- Laurier, Wilfrid (Prime Minister), 15, 27, 119, 165n12 170n12
- Legislation, Federal Territorial and Provincial Fisheries: from 1881, 21; from 1886, 22; from 1894, 21, 22, 183n19; from 1907, 14, 38, 92, 99, 171n21, 171n24, 183n19; from 1912, 38–40; from 1927, 114, 164n18. *See also*, National Parks Fisheries Legislation
- Lethbridge, 10, 55, 65, 75–76, 80, 81, 87, 92, 96, 102, 104, 105, 127, 132–133, 134, 144, 182n123, 183n17, 187n97, 193n68, 194n81
- ling (*Lota lota*), 75, 76, 77
- Little Bow, 23, 65, 76, 77
- Livingstone River, 20, 79, 90, 92–93, 94
- Loch Leven (*Salmo trutta levenensis*), 11, 52–53, 114, 129–131, 132, 134, 136
- McDougall, David (businessman and brother of John), 28
- McDougall, John (missionary and brother of David), 28
- McLennan, Jim, 43, 155, 159, 195n90
- Miller, E. W. (Fisheries Inspector), 40, 60–61, 172n29
- Miller, Richard, 8, 71, 135–136
- Minnewanka, Lake, 60, 119, 120 (fig. 5.1), 143, 147, 148–150, 150 (fig. 6.3), 151, 192n35, 197n24, 197n28
- Morlan, H. J., 61, 63
- Mosquito Creek, 76, 123
- Nanton, 27, 64, 72
- National Parks Fisheries Legislation: from 1890, 175n77; from 1909, 175n77; 1919 amendment, 51, 125, 175n77; from 1925, 114, 190n10, 198n34
- Newell Lake, 75
- Nipigon brook trout (*Salvelinus fontinalis*), 11, 53, 121–122, 126, 128, 132, 134, 156, 190n13, 190n14, 190n16
- Oldman River, 22, 23, 27, 32, 45, 54, 64, 71, 75, 76, 79, 81, 87, 88 (map 4.1), 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 102, 103, 104, 106, 112, 115, 127, 132, 133, 160, 177n33, 184n25, 187n101, 188n125, 193n66
- Palliser, John, 19
- Passburg, 103, 109, 187n109
- Patterson, Raymond M., 70, 128–129, 135
- Pekisko Creek, 3 (fig. 0.1), 30–31, 67, 69, 71, 127, 131, 159, 163n7, 180n83; village of, 28, 61
- permits, angling: 1894 Federal permits, 21, 167n37, 183n19; introduced to Alberta, 1907, 14, 38, 99; absence of permits in North-West Territories, 21; numbers issued in Alberta, 1916–1922, 32; numbers issued in Alberta, 1920–1930, 176n1; in Crownsnest 1925, 111, 188n125; raised price, 50; demand to waive, 129; refusing to purchase in Red Deer basin, 112–113; federal park, 179n58

- pickrel (*Stizostedion vitreum vitreum*), 39, 75, 112, 134, 137, 181n106, 183n19
- pike (*Esox lucius*), 39, 75–76, 77, 78, 112, 114, 123, 181n106, 183n19
- Pincher Creek, 10, 23, 32, 72, 81, 87, 96–97, 100, 105, 109, 110, 127, 128, 132, 133, 159, 173n53, 177n35, 183n17, 188n125, 193n68, 194n72
- Pocaterra, George, 128
- Porcupine Hills, 79–80, 94
- Prince, Edward Ernest (Fisheries Commissioner), 35, 36, 38, 49, 53, 74, 114, 158, 170n5, 170n10, 171n22, 179n56, 180n84, 185n59, 190n10, 190n17
- rainbow trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), 11, 39, 52–54, 67, 106, 109, 110, 112–114, 122, 124–127, 131, 132–134, 136–138, 157, 171n22, 192n32, 193n66, 194n72
- Red Deer and the Red Deer River, 11, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 39, 45, 53, 57, 67, 71, 72, 99, 101, 112–114, 129–130, 134–135, 136, 149, 171n24
- Richardson, David A. (Calgary Fisheries Overseer), 2, 41, 48, 51, 77, 78, 82, 175n74, 175n75, 180n82, 181n102,
- Rocky Mountains Park, 5, 12, 24 (fig. 1.2), 26, 31, 45, 118, 120–121, 141–146, 148–153. *See also* Banff
- Rodd, James A. (J. A.) (Federal Superintendent of Fish Culture), 131, 179n60
- Rodd, Robert Thompson (R. T.) (Banff Hatchery Supervisor and Alberta Fisheries Inspector), 2, 4, 64, 67, 76–78, 81–83, 105, 108–112, 114, 123–124, 126, 128, 132–134, 137, 158–159, 163n2, 177n38, 177n39, 182n120, 182n123, 182n124, 182n125, 182n133, 187n97, 191n28
- Rogers, S. Maynard (Jasper Forest Park Superintendent), 137–138
- Rosebud River, 4
- Saunders, E. T., 96–98, 99, 100, 159
- season dates, x, 7, 9, 39, 49–51, 53–54, 74, 120, 156, 171n24, 171n70, 175n73, 175n77, 184n36, 190n10, 198n34; debates about, 2, 30, 35–36, 42, 49–51, 78, 97, 100, 102–103, 109, 113–114, 115, 121, 155, 172n38
- Sheep River, 72, 83, 101, 135
- Sheppard, Herbert N. (“Bert”), 63, 70, 73
- Sisley, Euston, 36, 38, 39, 44, 121–122, 134, 170n11, 190n17, 194n79
- smallmouth black bass (*Micropterus dolomieu*), 121–122
- Smith, S. H. (Sam) (Fisheries Guardian), 61, 66 (fig. 3.3), 69–70, 77, 128–129, 167n34, 177n38, 179n60, 181n102
- Spray Lakes, 119, 123 (fig. 5.2), 124, 130, 171n25, 190n7, 191n28
- Stanley, George, 61, 65, 177n39
- Stavely, 28, 64, 79, 128
- Stephenson, A. T., 28, 112–113, 129–130
- Southern Alberta Angling Association (1919), 29, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53–54, 66–67, 72–73, 174n68, 178n46, 192n39
- suckers (*Catostomidae*), 75, 76, 114, 123, 179n56
- Sunday closure, 82, 99, 100–102, 186n64, 186n66
- Thompson, Garfield, 130–131
- Todd Creek, 80, 92
- tributary, stream closure, 8, 10, 50, 65–67, 70–74, 78–86, 103, 105–106, 108, 115, 129, 159, 174n68, 177n39, 178n47, 182n122. *See also* Sunday closure
- Turner Valley, 1–2
- United Farmers of Alberta, 41, 93; United Farm Women, 41
- Vick, Sidney C., 45, 172n45
- Watt, Frank, 53–54, 60, 63, 70, 73, 74, 175n86, 179n58, 179n64, 180n78
- Whiskey Creek, 41
- William, 6th Earl Fitzwilliam and Viscount Milton, 20
- Willow Creek, 23, 64, 65, 67, 72, 79, 80, 81, 178n42, 180n78, 182n124
- Wilmot, Samuel (Dominion Fish Culturist), 118, 125
- Winter, Austin de B., 57–59, 103, 176n3, 176n8, 176n9
- Wolley Dod, Arthur G., 39, 100, 102
- Waldron Ranch, 94–132
- Waterton Lakes National Park, 5, 10, 16 (fig. 1.1), 127–128, 131–132, 197n29; hatchery, 133 (fig. 5.4), 150, 194n7
- Waterton River, 81, 105, 188n125

This book is a must read for conservationists, biologists, anglers, and especially politicians who make decisions about trout conservation today.

—LORNE FITCH, author of *Streams of Consequence*
and *Conservation Confidential*

Troubled Tributaries tells a prescient tale disturbingly like the current state of trout conservation in Alberta.

—BRUCE MASTERMAN, author of *One Last Cast: Reflections on an Outdoor Life*

Anglers knee-deep in Alberta's mountain streams after the First World War understood that there was something wrong. Coal mining, forestry, and irrigation were industrializing landscapes. Roads and railways brought unprecedented numbers of people to remote fishing grounds. Once home to abundant runs of cutthroat, mountain whitefish, and bull trout, the Bow, Highwood, and Oldman Rivers, and their many high mountain tributaries, were in crisis.

Up and down the Eastern Slopes, anglers rallied to defend their watersheds. The ensuing fish fights were not peaceful. Deep disagreement on tributary closures, open season dates, environmental protection, regulation and enforcement raged among fishers. But despite their disputed viewpoints, Alberta's anglers agreed to advocate fiercely for the conservation of their rivers and streams.

Troubled Tributaries reveals for the first time the work—and the controversy—of fisheries conservation in the Eastern Slopes of Alberta's Rocky Mountains from 1900 to 1930. It is a story of passion and commitment, of the struggle to balance nature's use and preservation, and of people coming together even when divergent viewpoints threatened to break them apart. This is the story of the first round in the great fight to save Alberta's western trout kingdoms.

GEORGE COLPITTS is a professor of History specializing in environmental history at the University of Calgary. He is the author of *Game in the Garden* and *Pemmican Empire*.

