

NOTES



Introduction

1. See Ralph D. Bird's *Ecology of the Aspen Parkland of Western Canada in Relation to Land Use* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1961) and S.C. Zoltai, *Southern Limit of coniferous trees on the Canadian Prairies*, Northern Forest Research Centre Nor-X-128 (Edmonton: Environment Canada, 1975). On species characteristic of the Beaver Hills, see Ross Chapman, *The Discoverer's Guide to Elk Island National Park* (Edmonton: Lone Pine, 1991).
2. Dale R. Russell, *The Eighteenth Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series 143 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991), 96, 150; John Warkentin and Richard I. Ruggles, *Historical Atlas of Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society, 1970), 88–89.
3. Richard I. Ruggles, *A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670–1870* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 41–45 and Plates 6 and 8.
4. Elliott Coues, ed., *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799–1814* (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1965) 566, 594; J.B. Tyrrell, ed. *David Thompson's Narrativ* (Toronto: 1916), lxxviii.

5. J.B. Tyrrell, Report on a Part of Northern Alberta and Portion of Adjacent Districts of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, Part E, Annual Report, 1886 Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada (Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1887), 44–45, 173.
6. James Hector, Journal, 29 December 1857 and 22 October 1858, in *The Palliser Papers*, ed. Irene M. Spry (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968), 200, 345.
7. Tyrrell, Report on a Part of Northern Alberta and Portion of Adjacent Districts of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, 44–45.
8. Grace A. Phillips, ed., *Tales of Tofield* (Leduc: Tofield Historical Society, 1969), 20 f.
9. James W. Van Stone, “The Isaac Cowie Collection of Plains Cree Material Culture from Central Alberta,” *Fieldiana: Anthropology*, New Series no. 17 (30 September 1991): 1–56.
10. Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 192–93.
11. *Ibid.*, 20.

Chapter 1

1. John Shaw, “Geomorphology,” in *Edmonton Beneath Our Feet*, ed. John D. Godfrey (Edmonton: Edmonton Geological Society, 1993), 25.
2. Roger D. Morton, “The Edmonton Region Through Time,” in Godfrey, *Edmonton Beneath Our Feet*, 17.
3. Deirdre Griffiths, *Island Forest Year: Elk Island National Park* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1979), 4.
4. See Ralph D. Bird, *Ecology of the Aspen Parkland of Western Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1961).
5. See R.A. Bryson and T.J. Murray, *Climates of Hunger* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 171 f.
6. For literature useful as aids to reconstructing past environments in Alberta, see Alwynne B. Beaudoin, *Annotated Bibliography: Late Quaternary Studies in Alberta’s Western Corridor, 1950–1988*, Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Manuscript Series no. 15 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, 1989).

7. A short and readable account of the main types of projectile points found on the prairies is provided in James T. Humphreys and Michael C. Wilson, *Record in Stone: Familiar Projectile Points from Alberta* (Lethbridge: Archaeological Society of Alberta, 1987). Also see Brian Kooyman and Jane. H. Kelley, eds., *Archaeology at the Edge: New Perspectives from the Northern Plains* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2001).
8. The technique was ancient first in the Old World. See Henri Breuil, *Beyond the Bounds of History: Scenes from the Old Stone Age*, trans. Mary E. Boyle, (London: P.R. Gawthorn, 1949). For the New World see Bryan C. Gordon, "World Rangifer communal hunting," in *Hunters of the Recent Past*, ed. L.B. Davis and B.O.K. Reeves (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 281–91; also see Donald Savoie, ed., *The Amerindians of the Canadian Northwest in the Nineteenth Century as seen by Emile Petitot*. Vol. 2. *The Louchebaux Indians*. MacKenzie Delta Research Project. (Ottawa: DIAND, Northern Science Research Group, 1970), 101, 114.
9. See L.A. Bayrock and G.M. Hughes, *Surficial Geology of the Edmonton District, Alberta*, Earth Sciences Report 62-6 (Edmonton: Alberta Geological Survey, Research Council of Alberta, 1962).
10. S.C. Zoltai, *Southern Limits of Coniferous Trees on the Canadian Prairies*, Information Report NOR-Ex-128, Northern Forest Research Centre (Edmonton: Environment Canada, Forestry Service, 1975).
11. Monrad E. Kjørlien, "A Review of historical information on fire history and vegetation description of Elk Island and the Beaver Hills," paper on file at Elk Island National Park Warden's Office (1977), 1.
12. See Griffiths, *Island Forest Year*, 4–5; Ross Chapman, *The Discoverer's Guide to Elk Island National Park* (Edmonton: Lone Pine, 1991). For a thorough discussion of the historic dimensions of the parkland succession around Elk Island see C.B. Blyth and C.J. Hudson, *A Plan for the Management of Vegetation and Ungulates* (Environment Canada, Parks. Elk Island National Park, 1991).
13. An attempt to chart the movements of Native peoples across the prairies and out of the Shield country was made by the Manitoba archaeologist Walter M. Hlady in 1961. See "Indian Migrations in Manitoba and the West," *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Papers*, Series III, nos. 17 and 18 (Winnipeg, 1964), 24–53. Such ideas have been regularly updated by scholars. A review of the literature was provided by Roderick J.

- Vickers in Alberta Plains Prehistory: A Review, in Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Occasional Papers no. 27 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1986).
14. Jack Brink, "Dog Days in Southern Alberta, in Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Occasional Papers no. 28 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1986).
 15. The Head-Smashed-In UNESCO World Heritage Site near Lethbridge is a famous example, one accessible to visitors.
 16. See the general comments made on this subject in Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada*, 5th ed. (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1960), 54 f.
 17. Geographic Board of Canada, *Place-Names of Alberta* (Ottawa: 1928), 16; J.G. MacGregor, *The Battle River Valley* (Saskatoon: Western Producer, 1976), 8 f.; John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988); *Fidler's Journal*, 10 March 1793. Bruce Haig, ed., *Journal of a Journey over Land from Buckingham House to the Rocky Mountains in 1792-93* (Lethbridge: Historical Research Centre, 1991), 88-89.
 18. See Omer C. Stewart, "Fire as the Great Force Employed by Man," in *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, ed. William L. Thomas Jr., vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 115-33; and "Why the Great Plains are Treeless," *Colorado Quarterly* II (1953): 40-50.
 19. Henry T. Lewis, *A Time for Burning*, Boreal Institute of North America, Occasional Publication no. 17 (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1982).
 20. Albert Tate, "A Winter Buffalo Hunt," *Alberta Historical Review* 6, no. 4 (1958): 25-26.
 21. David Thompson in 1798. Cited in Charles D. Bird and Ralph D. Bird, "The Aspen Parkland," in *Alberta: A Natural History*, ed. W.G. Hardy (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1967), 135.
 22. *Ibid.*, 136.
 23. MacGregor, *The Battle River Valley*, 163.
 24. For the Beaver Hills region, see Kjørlien, "A Review of historical information on fire history and vegetation description of Elk Island and the Beaver Hills."
 25. Editorial, *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 May 1895.

Chapter 2

1. Gail Helgason, *The First Albertans: An Archaeological Search* (Edmonton: Lone Pine, 1987), 34–35, 52–59. The Fletcher Site south-east of Lethbridge was the first important Paleo-Indian site confirmed in Alberta, one at which the now extinct Pleistocene bison had been taken by a communal hunting effort. See also John W. Ives, “13,001 Years Ago: Human Beginnings in Alberta,” in *Alberta Formed Alberta Transformed*, ed. Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell and Catherine Cavanaugh, vol. 1 (Edmonton/Calgary: University of Alberta, University of Calgary Press, 2006), 1–36; E.C. Pielou, *After the Ice: The Return of Life to Glaciated North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 156–60.
2. By the mid-1950s, efforts by the Glenbow Foundation under Douglas Leechman were underway to survey the fragments of prehistory that had accumulated in various rural collections. See H. M. Wormington and Richard G. Forbis, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Alberta, Canada*, Denver Museum of Natural History, Proceedings no. 11 (Denver: 1965), 1–4; see also J. Roderick Vickers, *Alberta Plains Prehistory: A Review*, in *Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Occasional Paper no. 27* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1986), 41–44.
3. Wormington and Forbis (1965), *An Introduction*, 150; Ian R. Wilson and Thomas H. Head, *Archaeology Inventory, Elk Island National Park*, Parks Canada, MR No. 318 (Calgary: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978), 19; B.O.K. Reeves, *Elk Island National Park Management Plan. Cultural Resource*, (Calgary: Parks Canada, 1991); *Cultural Resources Assessment: Elk Island National Park, Report on File, Archaeological Research Unit* (Calgary: Parks Canada, 1994), 35–40.
4. B. Newton et al., *Strathcona Site (FjPi-29): Excavations, 1978, 1979 and 1980*, *Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Manuscript Series, nos. 2, 3 and 4* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture: Historic Resources Division, 1981).
5. Reeves, *Elk Island National Park Management Plan and Alison Landals, “The Maple Leaf Site: implications of the analysis of small-scale bison kills,”* in *Hunters of the Recent Past*, ed. L.B. Davis and B.O.K. Reeves (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 122–51.
6. See B.H.C. Gordon, *Of Men and Herds In Canadian Plains Prehistory* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979).

7. A discussion of cultural dynamics on the plains may be found in Liz Bryan, *The Buffalo People: Prehistoric Archaeology on the Canadian Plains* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1991); for the period under discussion, see Chapter 8. See also Thomas Head, "Northern Plains Prehistory: The Late Prehistoric Period as Viewed from the H.M.S. Balzac Site," in David Burley, ed., *Contributions to Plains Prehistory. Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Occasional Paper no. 26* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1985), 100–15; Bryan, *The Buffalo People*, 104 f.
8. See B.O.K Reeves, *Culture Change in the Northern Plains, 1,000 B.C.–A.D. 1000*. Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Occasional Paper no. 20 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1983) and E. Leigh Syms, "The Co-influence Sphere Model: A New Paradigm for Plains Developments and Plains-Parkland-Woodland Processural Interrelationships," in *Directions in Manitoba Prehistory; Papers in Honour of Chris Vickers*, ed. Leo Pettipas (Winnipeg: Association of Manitoba Archaeologists and Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1980), 111–40
9. Reeves, *Elk Island National Park Management Plan*, 10 f.
10. Mildred Stefiszyn, ed., *Land Among the Lakes: A History of the Deville and North Cooking Lake Area* (Edmonton: Deville-North Cooking Lake Historical Society, 1983), 11, 263; Edo Nyland, "This Dying Watershed," *Alberta-Forests-Parks-Wildlife* 12:3 (1969), 23.
11. Wilson and Head, *Archaeology Inventory, Elk Island National Park*, 79, 141, 147. For reviews of work undertaken at Elk Island after 1978 see Reeves, *Elk Island National Park Management Plan and Cultural Resources*.
12. Wilson and Head, *Archaeology Inventory, Elk Island National Park*, 78–82.
13. Reeves, *Elk Island National Park Management Plan*, 11. While Avonlea sites have been previously associated with the southern Canadian plains, subsequent work in Saskatchewan has identified an increasing presence of Avonlea peoples in the Aspen Parkland belt. See Olga Klimko, "New Perspectives on Avonlea: A View from the Saskatchewan Forest," in Burley, *Contributions to Plains Prehistory*, 64–81.
14. See David Mendelbaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical and Comparative Study* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1979), 13 (Map); see also the maps in Arthur J. Ray, *The Indians and the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

15. The character of these changes is the subject of J.S. Milloy's study, *The Plains Cree: Trade War and Diplomacy, 1790–1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1990); see also Dale Russell, *The Eighteenth Century Western Cree and Their Neighbours* (Ottawa: National Museum of Civilization, 1991).
16. Mendelbaum, *The Plains Cree*; Milloy (1990).
17. See Alison Landals, "Horse Heaven: Change in Precontact to Contact Period Landscape Use in Southern Alberta," in *Archaeology on the Edge: New Perspectives from the Northern Plains*, ed. Brian Kooyman and Jane Kelley (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004).
18. F.G. Roe, *The Indian and the Horse* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 24–26; John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1955), 7–19.
19. See Trevor J. Peck and J. Rod Vickers, "Buffalo and Dogs: The Prehistoric Lifeways of Aboriginal People on the Alberta Plains, 1004–1005," in Payne, Wetherell and Cavanaugh, *Alberta Formed Alberta Transformed*, 55–86.
20. University of Victoria Archives, Frank Gilbert Roe Fonds, 04/02/66a, "The Indian Trail in Myth and History"; see also Roe, *The Indian and the Horse*, 299–306
21. L.J. Burpee, ed., *The Journals of La Vérendrye* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1927), 319; Journal of July 20, 1738 to May, 1739, 290 Larry J. Zimmerman, *Peoples of Prehistoric South Dakota* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), chs. 10–14; Milloy, (1990), Map 1.
22. Tracey Harrison, *Place Names of Alberta, Central Alberta* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1994), 179; Milloy (1990); J.C. Ewers, *The Blackfoot People* (Washington: United States Department of the Interior, 1944), 9–21
23. There are many references to the friction occasioned by these adjustments in the Fort Edmonton Journals of the Hudson's Bay Company between 1856 and 1864. See HBCA, B/60/A/29B and B60/a/31, Reel IM50. A few journal dates of particular interest: June 26, 1857; July 6, 1857; Sept. 2, 1857; Sept. 25–6, 1860. Feb. 9, 1861; Sept. 8–12, 1861; June 26, 1862; March 6, 1862; Dec. 7–10, 1862; Sept. 29, 1863; Oct. 2, 1863.
24. David Mendelbaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical and Comparative Study* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1979), 11.

Chapter 3

1. See Alison Landals, "Horse Heaven: Change in Precontact to Contact Period Landscape Use in Southern Alberta," in *Archaeology on the Edge: New Perspectives from the Northern Plains*, ed. Brian Kooyman and Jane Kelley (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), 231–62.
2. Fur trade history became something of a growth industry in the 1970s, responding to some of the more general interpretations that had been established by an earlier generation of scholars such as Harold Innis and A.S. Morton. The main reinterpretation for the Canadian context was Arthur J. Ray's *Indians and the Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), which examined the trade to assess more thoroughly the economic and cultural interest of Native peoples.
3. See W.J. Eccles, "La Mer de l'Ouest: Outpost of Empire," in *Aspects of the Fur Trade: Papers of the First Fur Trade Conference* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), 1–14.
4. L.J. Burpee, ed., *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de La Vérendrye and His Sons* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), 446–48, 483–88; Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures In Canada and the Indian Territories*, ed. James Bain (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969), 255.
5. A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 11–13, 237–79, 300–304; James G. MacGregor, *Blankets and Beads: A History of the Saskatchewan River* (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Arts Ltd., 1949), 70–71. An important critical addition to the literature on Henday is Barbara Belyea, ed., *A Year Inland: The Journal of a Hudson's Bay Company Winterer* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000).
6. See James Parker, *Emporium of the North: Fort Chipewyan and the Fur Trade to 1855* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism/Canadian Plains Research Center, 1987). On Pond's extension of the fur trade into Athabasca and the violence associated with his name, see H. I. Innis, *Peter Pond: Fur Trader and Adventurer* (Toronto: Irwin and Gordon, 1930), ch. 4; Henry R. Wagner, *Peter Pond: Fur Trader and Explorer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), 10–15; W. Stewart Wallace, "Was Peter Pond a Murderer?" in *The Pedlars from Quebec* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), 19–26. On Pink, see Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, 275–85; Dale Russell, *The Eighteenth Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, Archaeological

- Survey of Canada, Mercury Series Report 143 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991), 97–98, 101–102. On buffalo pounds see Frank G. Roe, *The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in its Wild State*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), Appendix AA.
7. Cocking's account of his travels was eventually published, and is one of the important documentary references for the later eighteenth-century history of the plains. See L. J. Burpee, ed., "Matthew Cocking's Journal," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, vol. II, pt. 2 (Ottawa: 1908), 91–121; but see also Russell, *The Eighteenth Century Western Cree and their Neighbours*, 106–107.
 8. Burpee, "Matthew Cocking's Journal," 92. An important bearer of this message was William Tomison, the long-serving veteran of the HBC based at York Factory. See John Nix, "William Tomison," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); and J.B. Tyrrell, ed., *The Journals of Hearne and Turnor* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), Appendix A.
 9. J.B. Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), 318–20; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, 319–31.
 10. E. Rich, ed., *Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journals, 1775–82*, Second Series, 1779–82, "Introduction" by Richard Glover (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1952), 225 f.
 11. *Ibid.*, 181, Feb. 27, 1781; Frank Gilbert Roe, *The Indian and the Horse* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 31.
 12. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, 331–33.
 13. J.G. MacGregor, *The Battle River Valley* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1976), 18; Tyrrell, *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, 328.
 14. Fidler, quoted in Peter T. Ream, *The Fort on the Saskatchewan*, 2nd ed. (Fort Saskatchewan: Metropolitan Printing, 1974), 12; see also John Nix, "William Tomison," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Roe, *The Indian and the Horse*, 31. J.G. MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969), 23.

15. See Ream, *The Fort on the Saskatchewan*, 13–15; see also Duncan McGillivray, *Journal*, Dec. 11, 1894, in A.S. Morton, ed. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1929), 49.
16. *Ibid.* Entry for Feb. 22, 1795
17. Cited in Ream, *The Fort on the Saskatchewan*, 15–16; MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History*, 23.
18. Bruce Haig, ed., Peter Fidler, *Journal of a Journey Overland from Buckingham House to the Rocky Mountains in 1792–3* (Lethbridge: HRC, 1991), 61.
19. *Ibid.*, 74. Entry for Feb. 12, 1793.
20. Entry for May 2, 1797. Alice M. Johnson, ed., *Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence, 1795–1802* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1967), 92.
21. *Ibid.*, 24, 160; see also Barry M. Gough, ed., *The Journals of Alexander Henry the Younger: 1799–1814*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1992), 546.
22. *Ibid.*, Henry's journal, July 8, 1810 and July 15, 1810.
23. Jack Brink, Dog Days in Southern Alberta, Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Occasional Papers no. 28 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1986), 4–13; Ray, *Indians and the Fur Trade*, 22.
24. This thesis is argued in John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790 to 1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988). Russell takes a somewhat different view of the reasons and timing for the arrival of Cree peoples on the plains, but his view of essentially peaceful relations between the Cree and Blackfoot up until at least 1800 parallels that of Milloy. See Russell, *The Eighteenth Century Cree*, 108–109.
25. Robert Scace, Elk Island: A Cultural History, Manuscript History Report (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), 18–20, and H.J. Moberly, *When Fur Was King* (London: J.M Dent, 1929), 67–68.
26. See Peter Walker, "The Origins, Organization and Role of the Bison Hunt in the Red River Valley," *Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly* 6, no. 3 (1982): 62–68.
27. See J.G. MacGregor, *John Rowan: Czar of the Prairies* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), ch. 10.
28. See Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of the Fur Trade Society, 1840–1846," in *Religion and Society in the Prairie*

- West*, ed. Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1974), 3–6.
29. Hugh A. Dempsey, ed., *The Rundle Journals: 1840–1848*, Alberta Records Publication Board (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta and Glenbow Alberta Institute, 1979), xxiv, 50, 316.
 30. *Ibid.*, 49. Entry for Jan. 14, 1841.
 31. *Ibid.*, 48–49.
 32. *Ibid.*, 49. Entry for Jan. 16, 1841.
 33. *Ibid.*, 50. Entry for Jan. 17, 1841.
 34. *Ibid.*, 118. Entries for Aug. 18 and 20, 1842.
 35. *Ibid.*, 50. Entry for Aug. 29, 1842.
 36. *Ibid.*, 151. Entry for Feb. 22, 1844.
 37. See H.H. Lamb, *Climate, History and the Modern World* (London: Methuen, 1982), chs. 10–12.
 38. Dempsey, *The Rundle Journals*, 49. Entry for Jan. 14, 1841. See also Timothy S. Ball, “‘As Cold as I ever Knew It’: Joseph Colon’s Observations at York Factory,” *Transactions, Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society* (1976–77), 61–66.
 39. Dempsey, *The Rundle Journals*, 125. Entry for Apr. 27, 1843.
 40. J.G. MacGregor, *Father Lacombe* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1975), 34.
 41. Fr. Alexis Tetreault, “Historic St. Albert,” *The Pioneer West*, no. 3, Reprints from the *Alberta Historical Review*, 9; MacGregor, *Father Lacombe*, 28–31.
 42. Michael R.A. Forsman, *The Archaeology of Victoria Post, 1864–1897*, Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Manuscript Series, no. 6 (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources Division, 1982.) 10; see also Leslie J. Hurt, *The Victoria Settlement, 1862–1922*, Occasional Paper no. 7, Historic Sites Service (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1979), 4.
 43. Peter Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*, ed. Irene Spry (Calgary: Glenbow Alberta Institute, 1976), 35.
 44. Hector’s Journal, Mar. 16, 1858, in Irene Spry, ed., *The Palliser Papers* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1968), 223.
 45. See Frits Pannekoek, “On the Edge of the Great Transformation,” in *Alberta Formed Alberta Transformed*, ed. Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell

- and Catherine Cavanaugh, Edmonton/Calgary: University of Alberta, University of Calgary Press. 2006), 181–208. See also *Report From the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* (London: British Parliamentary Papers, 1857), and Chester Martin, *Dominion Lands Policy*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 3–6.
46. Spry, *Palliser Papers*, 88–90, and Hector's Journal, Feb. 25, 1858, 22.
 47. *Ibid.*, 220–21.
 48. *Ibid.*, 221.
 49. See Ray, *Indians and the Fur Trade*, 185–86.
 50. Hugh Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1984), 28, and Dempsey, "Maskepetoon," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9 (1976), 537–38; The Victoria Settlement as it was called (now Pakan), was active until 1871 when it was relocated to Edmonton, although the HBC post operated sporadically until 1898. See R.G. Ironside and E. Tomasky, "Development of Victoria Settlement," *Alberta Historical Review* 19, no. 2 (1971): 20–30; Hurt, *The Victoria Settlement*, and Forsman, *The Archaeology of Victoria Post*, 1–5
 51. John Maclean, *Vanguards of Canada* (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1918), 202; James E. Nix, "John Chantler McDougall," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 695.
 52. Dempsey, "Maskepetoon," 28.
 53. Grace A. Phillips, ed., *Tales of Tofield* (Leduc: Tofield Historical Society, 1969), 20–21.
 54. Henry Thompson, Letter to the *Tofield Mercury*, Jan. 23, 1958. The letter is reproduced in Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 29; see also "Old Timer," "War at Beaver Hills," *Edmonton Journal*, Aug. 10, 1957. (The author is undoubtedly Thompson.)
 55. HBC, B60/a/31, Apr. 2, 1861. Cited in J.G. MacGregor, *Senator Hardisty's Prairies, 1840/1889* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979), 37; see also the citation from John Sellar's Journal, quoted in Thomas McMicking, *Overland From Canada to British Columbia*, ed. Joanne Leduc (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), 98–99, n. 47.

56. Viscount Milton and Dr. Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land*, 8th ed. (London: 1875), 169–72.
57. Frank L. Farley, “Changes in the Status of Certain Animals and Birds During the Past Fifty Years in Central Alberta,” *Canadian Field Naturalist* 39 (Dec. 1925), 200–202.
58. *Ibid.*, 178; on fires on the prairies in the fur trade period, see Greg Thomas, “Fire and the Fur Trade: The Saskatchewan District, 1790–1840,” *The Beaver* 308, no. 2 (1977), 32–39.
59. See Johnson, *Saskatchewan Journals*, xxxi; J.G. MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1967), 19; John Nix, “William Tomison,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Brock Silversides, *Fort de Prairies: The Story of Fort Edmonton* (Victoria: Heritage House, 2005), 2–3.
60. George Simpson, “Character Book” 2nd Class, Entry no. 4, in Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Hudson’s Bay Miscellany, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1975), 188.
61. *Ibid.*, 188, n. 3.
62. See Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), 140–41; and Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), 189–90.
63. “Two versions of origins of cemetery,” *Tofield Mercury*, Jan. 10, 1963. On the St. James the Apostle, Newton-Logan Cemetery and its modern restoration, see Tofield Public Library, Logan Cemetery Restoration Project Binder and www.tofieldalberta.ca/logancem.htm. St. James the Apostle-Newton-Logan. The cemetery is located in Sec. 31, Twp. 51, Range 18, West of the 4th. In 1896 it was consecrated by the Anglican Church as St. James the Apostle-Newton-Logan. On burials see *ibid.*, Transcript of the Funeral Register, 1896–1936.
64. Etat Trebla [Albert Tate] Letter to the *Tofield Standard*, Nov. 5, 1907. Reproduced in Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 29–31. Albert Tate was the son of Chief Factor Philip Tate, of Victoria Post.
65. Earl of Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1875), 140–41.
66. Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 10, 278.

67. Canada, Department of the Interior, *Lands and Forest Survey Map, Edmonton District* (Ottawa: 1894).
68. Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 133.
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Chapter 4

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6. George McDougall, *In the Days of the Red River Rebellion* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), 116; Hugh Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1984), 39–40.
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8. See Walter Hildebrandt and Brian Hubner, *The Cypress Hills: The Land and Its People* (Saskatoon: Purich, 1994), 35 f.
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Chapter 5

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30. Phillips, ed., *Tales* (1969), 184; Linda Redekop and Wilfred Gilchrist, *Strathcona County: A Brief History* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Publishing, 1981), 23.
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32. Cited in Redekop and Gilchrist, (1981), 38.
33. *Edmonton Bulletin*, May 7, 1884, cited in Redekop and Gilchrist, (1981), 39–40. W.C. Pollard, *Pioneering in the Prairie West* (Toronto: Nelson, 1926), 40.
34. John Morrow, “The History of Deville,” in Phillips, ed. (1969), 192–4.
35. Ibid., 194–5.

36. *Edmonton Journal*, March 31, 1962.
37. Cited in Leslie Lin, "Elk Island National Park. History," 1975. Typescript, Elk Island National Park Warden Office, 80.
38. Pollard (1926), 35 f; Reid, (1961), 22–24; Redekop and Gilchrist (1981), 15, 42A–43A; R. Douglas Francis, "Establishment of the Parry Sound Colony," *Alberta History*, 29 (1) (1981), 23–30.
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42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, 99–100.
44. James H. Gray, *Men Against the Desert* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1967), 14 f.
45. *Atlas of Alberta* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta and University of Alberta, 1969), Plates 56 and 57; Kim Mah, "Alberta's Church Country," *Westworld Alberta* (Sept. 2000), 9.
46. Pollard (1926), 60. See Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Dover, 1996), 121; Richard Allen, ed., *Religion and Society in the Prairie West*. Canadian Plains Studies, 3 (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1974).
47. See John H. Blackburn, *Land of Promise*, John Archer, ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), Ch. 3; Pollard, *Pioneering* (1926), 30 f.; Wilfred Egleston, "The Old Homestead: Romance and Reality," in Howard Palmer, ed. *The Settlement of the West* (Calgary: University of Calgary/Comprint, 1977), 114–29; David C. Jones and Ian MacPherson, eds., *Building Beyond the Homestead* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1988); Lyle Dick, *Farmers "Making Good": The Development of Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880–1920*, 2nd ed. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2008), Ch.1.
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- essays in R.C. Macleod, ed. *Swords and Ploughshares: War and Agriculture in Western Canada* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993).
49. See Waddel (1950); Lupul (1978); and Linda Goyette and Caroline Jakeway Roemmich, *Edmonton In Our Own Words* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), 88–106; 130–36; 150–51.
 50. For details on all treaties see Canada. *Indian Treaties and Surrenders*. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1891), 3 V.
 51. See Simon Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004), Ch. 2.
 52. See Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1990); "Demonstrating Success: The File Hills Farm Colony," *Prairie Forum*, 16 (2) (1991), 157–83.
 53. Ian Sumpter, *Report on Elk Island Park Archaeology* (Calgary: Parks Canada Regional Office. 1987), 10; Nyland, (1969), 23.
 54. On the cumulative effects of government and church educational policies with respect to Native peoples, see John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.
 55. See W.L. Morton, 'Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality' in: R. Craig Brown, ed., *Minorities, Schools and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 10–18; and see C.B. Sissons, *Bilingual Schools in Canada* (Toronto: 1917).
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 57. Peter Erasmus, *Buffalo Days and Nights*. Irene Spry, ed. (Calgary: Glenbow Institute, 1976), 268, and see Irene Spry, "Introduction," Erasmus (1976), xxix–xxxii
 58. The "jingoism" associated with the Boer War and mounting tensions with Germany, helped foster an aggressive pride in the Anglo-American community. See Ronald Hyam, "The Partition of Africa," in: R. Hyam and G. Martin, *Reappraisals in British Imperial History* (London: MacMillan, 1975), 142; and Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1992), 26 f; Robert W. Sloan, "The Canadian West: Americanization or Canadianization?" *Alberta Historical Review* 16(1) (1968), 1–7; and Howard

- Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 22 f.
59. Zonia Keywan, *Greater Than Kings: Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement in Canada*. (Montreal: Harvest House, 1977), 34–9; J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (1909). Introduction by Marilyn Barber (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 253.
60. On the idea of progress and Macaulay, See J.H. Plumb, *The Making of an Historian* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 253–5. On Woodsworth and his context in early 20th century Canada, see Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 213 f. And see Hugh Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1984), 39; Woodsworth, quoted in Fr. Boniface, *Pioneering in the West* (Vancouver: Evergreen Press, 1957), 49–50; Kostash (1992), 29 f.
61. See Frank J. Dolphin, *Indian Bishop of the West: Vital Justin Grandin, 1829–1902* (Ottawa: Novalis, 1986), 151; I.A. Silver, “French Canada and the Prairie Frontier, 1870–1890,” *Canadian Historical Review* 50 (1) (1969), 11–36; J. Skwarok, *The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and Their Schools, 1891–1921*. (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1959) 23–5.
62. See Raymond J.A. Huel, “French Speaking Bishops and the Cultural Mosaic in Western Canada,” in Allen, ed., *Religion and Society* (1974), 53–64.
63. *Ibid.*, 2,6 and Chapters 9–13.
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65. Vera Lysenko, *Men In Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1947), 63.
66. J. Skwarok, *The Ukrainian Settlers In Canada and Their Schools* (Edmonton 1958), 24.
67. Nicolas Zernov, *Eastern Christendom: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1961), 146–8.
68. Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918–1951* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), 7–18.
69. See Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891–1924* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1991), 3–5; and see

- Geoffrey York, "Ukraine fractured along ancient fault lines'," *Globe and Mail*, (June 22, 2001), A3.
70. Martynowych, (1991), 155 f.
 71. Yuzyk, (1981), 36.
 72. *Ibid.*, 36–40. The Russo-Orthodox Church of the Transfiguration, which now occupies the original site, dates from 1913. See Diana Thomas Kordan, *Historical Driving Tour: Ukrainian Churches in East Central Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, 1988), Stop 22.
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 74. Fr. Boniface, (1957), 61. On the distinctions between urban and rural in the development of local institutions in the pioneer period, and on other factors which shaped the success or failure of cultural programs, see Martynowych, (1991), Ch. 11; Kostash (1992), 173 f; 267 f.
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 77. Cited in Andry Makuch, *Hly's Church: A Narrative History of the Ukrainian Catholic Church at Buczacz, Alberta*. Historic Sites Service. Occasional Paper No. 19. (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1989), 11.
 78. Howard and Tamara Palmer, eds. *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity* (Saskatoon: Western Prairie Producers, 1985), 274 f.
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 80. See Bill Waiser, *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks, 1915–1946* (Calgary: Fifth House, 1995), 15 f.
 81. See *50th Anniversary - Skaro Shrine - Star* (Edmonton: 1969). Anthony Sylla, OMI, came to Alberta in 1909 and served many of the new Polish-speaking settlements and left an important diary and memoir of his experiences. See also *Pride in Progress* (Chipman: Alberta Rose Historical Society, 1982), 142-44; and Palmer and Palmer, eds. (1985), 279–82; 516–17. On Ruh, see Basil Rotoff, et al. *Monuments to Faith: Ukrainian Churches in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1990), 106–8.
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Chapter 6

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2. John H. Blackburn, *Land of Promise*, (Toronto: MacMillan, 1970), ch. 1, ch. 5, p. 188.
3. Michael Horn, *The Great Depression of the 1950s in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1984), 3.
4. Blackburn, *Land of Promise*, 189.
5. Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 136.
6. Blackburn, *Land of Promise*, 189.
7. Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 135.
8. James Gray, *The Winter Years* (Toronto: MacMillan, n.d.), 104–105.
9. On Aberhart see Howard Palmer, with Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1990), 277–78; John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); C.B. MacPherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); David Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore, 1987); Anthony Mardiros, *William Irvine: The Life of a Prairie Radical* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1979), 146–54.
10. Blackburn, *Land of Promise*, 191.
11. *Ibid.*, 191–92.
12. Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1972), 126.
13. See Carl Betke, "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies, 1885–1914," in *The Mounted Police and Prairie Society, 1875–1919*, ed. William M. Baker (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1998), 217–18, 298–301; Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, 22 f; Kostash, *All of Baba's Children*, 256–60.
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- Unemployment Relief Under Bennett and Mackenzie King," in *Explorations in Canadian Economic History: Essays in Honour of Irene M. Spry*, ed. Duncan Cameron (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1985), 7–26.
15. On the experience of those in the park camps in Waterton, see Frank Goble, *The 20 Cent Men* (Cardston: Frank Goble Publishing, 2000); and see Bill Waiser, *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's National Parks, 1915–1946* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1995), 63–64, 92.
 16. *Lamont Tribune*, Nov. 10, 1932; Robert C. Scace, Elk Island National Park: A Cultural History, Manuscript Report Series (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1977), 125.
 17. Linda Redekop and Wilfred Gilchrist, *Strathcona County: A Brief History* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Publishing, 1981), 48–49; and see J.R.K. Main, *Voyageurs of the Air: A History of Civil Aviation in Canada, 1858–1967* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 107 f.
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 19. Scace, Elk Island National Park, 127; Cathy Benson, "Elk Island Golf Course," *Elk Island Triangle* (Elk Island National Park: 1985).
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 21. W.F. Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976), 51.
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 25. Marianne G. Ainley, *Restless Energy: A Biography of William Rowan, 1891–1957* (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1993), 101–17, and Robert Lister, *The Birds and Birders of Beaverbills Lake* (Edmonton: Edmonton Bird Club, 1979), 15.
 26. Ainley, *Restless Energy*, 149–50.
 27. William Rowan, "Notes on Alberta Waders included on the British List," *British Birds* 20 (1926): 2, cited in Ainley, *Restless Energy*, 149.

28. Lister, *The Birds and Birders of Beaverbills Lake*, 15.
29. Ainley, *Restless Energy*, 150, 164–65.
30. *Ibid.*, 154, 172, 206–209.
31. *Ibid.*, 154 f; W.F. Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks*, vol. 4 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1981), 34; and W.A. Fuller, The Biology and Management of the Bison of Wood Buffalo National Park, Wildlife Management Bulletin Series no. 16 (Ottawa: 1966).
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33. Margaret Lewis, *To Conserve a Heritage* (Calgary: Alberta Fish and Game Association, 1979), 1.
34. William Rowan, "Some Effects of Settlement on Wildlife in Alberta," paper presented at the Canadian Conservation Association, June 5, 1952; William Rowan, "Canada's Premier Problem of Animal Conservation: A Question of Cycles," *New Biology* 9 (1950): 38–57. A bibliography of Rowan's writings is contained in Ainley, *Restless Energy*.
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36. *Ibid.*, 125.
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39. Janet Foster, *Working for Wildlife* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 159 f.
40. Ian L. Getty, A History of Waterton Lakes National Park, manuscript history (Ottawa: National Historic Sites Service. 1972), 160–63; LAC, RG 84, vol. 75, U 300, no. 3, W.W. Cory, Memorandum, May 20, 1925; Dunlap, "Ecology, Nature and Canadian National Park Policy," 143.
41. Aldo Leopold (1933), 21.
42. Ainley, *Restless Energy*, chs. 14, 15; Rowan, "Canada's Premier Problem of Animal Conservation," 38–57. Another scientist advancing the study of wildlife on ecological grounds was Charles Elton. The first edition of his

Animal Ecology appeared in 1927. Significant new journals included *Animal Ecology*, appearing in 1932, and the *Journal of Wildlife Management* in 1937.

43. For background to the resource transfer agreements, see: Chester Martin, ed., *Dominion Lands Policy* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), ch. 12; C.B. Blyth and R.J. Hudson, *A Plan for the Management of Vegetation and Ungulates, Elk Island National Park* (Environment Canada: Parks, Elk Island National Park, 1987), 116; W.F. Lothian, *A History of Canada's National Parks*, vol. 2 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977), 16–17.
44. LAC, RG 84, vol. 481, E. 232 pt. 1. C.M. Walker, National Parks Engineering Report on Buffalo Situation at EINP. Apr. 24, 1936; B.I. Love, *Veterinarians of the North-West Territories and Alberta* (NP: Alberta Veterinarians Association, 1965), 179. For a review of how ideas of carrying capacity were generally considered during the period of Love's superintendency, see R.Y. Edwards and C. David Fowle, "The Concept of Carrying Capacity," in *Transactions of the Twentieth North American Wildlife Conference*, March 14–16, 1955 (Montreal, Washington, DC: Wildlife Management Institute, 1955). On expansion, see Alberta Provincial Archives, Order in Council 933/36. June 30, 1936.
45. LAC, RG 84, vol. 268, file E210-1 (1936–1942). J. Buie, Report of the Inspector, Department of Agriculture. July 25, 1936.
46. See Graham A. MacDonald, *Science and History at Elk Island: Conservation Work in a Canadian National Park, 1906–1994*, MRS, 525 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1994), ch. 4; Blyth and Hudson, *A Plan for the Management of Vegetation and Ungulates, Elk Island National Park*, 135–37.
47. See Gary Wobeser, "Disease in Northern Bison: What to Do?" in *Buffalo*, ed. John Foster et al. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 179–188; MacDonald, *Science and History at Elk Island*, 42 f.
48. Alberta Provincial Archives, Alberta Order in Council 143/48, Feb. 11, 1948.
49. See Blyth and Hudson, *A Plan for the Management of Vegetation and Ungulates*, 192–93; *Elk Island National Park, Resource Description and Analysis* (Calgary: Natural Resource Conservation Division, 1989), fig. 123, 320.
50. LAC, RG 84, vol. 482, E. 299. Slaughter of animals.

51. Stefiszyn, Mildred, ed., *Land among the Lakes: A History of the Deville and North Cooking Lake Area* (Edmonton: Deville-North Cooking Lake Historical Society, 1983), 50–54.
52. See J. Alexander Burnett, *A Passion for Wildlife: The History of the Canadian Wildlife Service* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003), ch. 1.
53. Foster, *Working for Wildlife*, 159, 222.

Chapter 7

1. John F. Gilpin, *Edmonton: Gateway to the North*, (Edmonton: Windsor Publications, 1984), 168–80; J.R.K. Main, *Voyageurs of the Air: A history of Civil Aviation in Canada, 1858–1967* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 37, 64, 171; Oral testimony of Art Spooner, in Alberta, Environment Conservation Authority, Proceedings, Public Hearings on Proposal to Restore Water Levels in Cooking and Hastings Lakes (Edmonton: AECA, 1971), 178 f; R.S. Coates, ed., *The Alaska Highway: Papers of the 40th Anniversary Symposium* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985); and R.J. Diubaldo, "The Canol Project in Canadian-American Relations," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (Ottawa: 1977).
2. Howard Palmer, with Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1990), ch. 11; Linda Redekop and Wilfred Gilchrist, *Strathcona County: A Brief History* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Printing Services, 1981). 85; Hay Lakes History Book Committee, *Each Step Left Its Mark: A History of Hay Lakes and Surrounding Area* (Edmonton: D. Friesen, 1982), 140–41; Grace Phillips, ed., *Tales of Tofield* (Leduc: Tofield Historical Society, 1969), 13; David H. Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry and the Conservation Board* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993), 49; Gilpin, *Edmonton: Gateway to the North*, 199.
3. Redekop and Gilchrist, *Strathcona County*, 25, 75–76; Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 102–104. The question of a satisfactory definition of drought and the variability of moisture conditions on the prairies had been thoroughly reviewed in A.H. Laycock, Water Deficiency and Surplus Patterns in the Prairie Provinces, Prairie Provinces Water Board, Report no. 13 (Regina: PFRA, 1967).

4. See Sarah Carter, "'An Infamous Proposal': Prairie Indian Reserve Land and Soldier Settlement after World War I," *Manitoba History* 37 (Spring/Summer 1999): 9–21.
5. Phillips, *Tales of Tofield*, 104.
6. *Ibid.*, 127–28.
7. A plan was prepared in 1984 with assistance from the Alberta Heritage Fund. See *Grazing Reserves, Northeast Region* (Edmonton: Alberta Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, 1990), 6. Donna Von Hauff, ed., *Alberta Parks – Our Legacy* (Edmonton: Alberta Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation, 1992), 102–103; *Alberta Public Lands* (Edmonton: Alberta Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, 1988), 36–37.
8. W.F. Lothian, "Elk Island National Park," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 20, no. 1 (1940): 325.
9. LAC, RG 84, vol. 1005, E.16 (1941–55), pt. I, J.R.B. Coleman to Superintendent, Elk Island National Park, Sept. 14, 1954.
10. Robert C. Scace, *Elk Island National Park: A Cultural History*, Manuscript Report Series (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1977, 148–50).
11. Revised policies were adopted at the federal level in 1967, the outcome of the first extended discussion on park direction since the passage of the 1930 National Parks Act. See *National Parks Policy* (Ottawa: Queen's Printers, 1967). Scace, *Elk Island National Park*, 109; John Ise, *Our National Parks Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961); J.G. Nelson, ed., *Canadian Parks in Perspective* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1970), 27–31; More recent reviews may be found in Philip Dearden and Rick Rollins, eds., *Parks and Protected Areas in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993).
12. Oral presentation of P.B. Lesaux, *Proceedings: Public Hearings on Proposal to Restore Water Levels in Cooking and Hastings Lakes* (Edmonton: Alberta Environment Conservation Authority, 1971), 19–22; C.B. Blyth and R.J. Hudson, *A Plan for the Management of Vegetation and Ungulates, Elk Island National Park* (Environment Canada: Parks, Elk Island National Park, 1987), 195.
13. LAC, RG 84, vol. 482, E. 299, Slaughter of Animals.

14. LAC, RG 84, vol. 482, E. 299, vol. 9, Slaughter of Animals (1961–64), Webster to Chief, Dec. 21, 1961.
15. LAC, RG 84, vol. 482, E. 299, vol. 9, Slaughter of Animals (1961–64). DIANR, News Release, Jan. 16, 1962; Price List for Animal By-Products, May 14, 1962; H.R. Webster to Director National Parks Branch, Jan. 4, 1965.
16. Blyth and Hudson, Elk Island National Park, 196; K.W. Reid Limited, “Study of Bison Behaviour with Respect to Spruce Trees” Canadian Wildlife Service unpublished report (1964), cited in Blyth and Hudson, Elk Island National Park, 45 and 198–99.
17. Blyth and Hudson, Elk Island National Park, 197–98.
18. *Ibid.*, 199.
19. R.Y. Edwards and C. David Fowle, “The Concept of Carrying Capacity,” in *Transactions of the Twentieth North American Wildlife Conference*, March 14–16, 1955 (Montreal and Washington, D.C.: Wildlife Management Institute, 1955).
20. LAC, RG 84, vol. 1011, E. 41 (1966–67), Lloyd Brooks to R.T. Flanagan, May 9, 1968; Blyth and Hudson, Elk Island National Park, 68–69.
21. Blyth and Hudson, Elk Island National Park, 202.
22. *Ibid.*, 168. The complete story is told by C. Gates et al., “Wood Buffalo at the Crossroads,” in *Buffalo*, ed. John Foster et al. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 139–65. As of 2008, the Thunder Hills herd had ranged south into Prince Albert National Park and become a free-ranging herd based on the Sturgeon River. It is cooperatively managed through the efforts of public agencies and non-profit organizations. See Prince Albert National Park Management Plan (Ottawa: Canadian Heritage, 1995), 26 and Prince Albert National Park Management Plan (Ottawa: Parks Canada Agency, 2007), 8, 32. On the role of the non-profit Sturgeon River Plains Bison Stewards Inc., see panp.info@pc.gc.ca.
23. Blyth and Hudson, Elk Island National Park, 205–207.
24. See *Edmonton Journal*, Mar. 31, Apr. 18, 25, and 29, 1975; Ross Chapman, “Coyotes able to survive man,” *Fort Saskatchewan Record*, Feb. 29, 1984, 25. Scientists such as Ralph McTaggart Cowan and C.H.D. Clarke were active in the National Parks Branch in the 1940s and were important sources of new ecological thinking in Canadian National Park policy. See for example,

- LAC, RG 84, vol. 15, file K-300, Wildlife General, Clarke to Lloyd, Dec. 4, 1942.
25. Elk Island National Park. Management Plan (Parks Canada: Park Planning, Western Region, Dec. 1978); National Parks Policy (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1978); C.B. Blyth and R.J. Hudson, "Elk Island National Park, Canada – A Historical Perspective of Protected Areas Management," in *Science and the Management of Protected Areas: Proceedings of an International Conference, Acadia University*, May 14–19, 1991; Developments in Landscape Management and Urban Planning 7 (1992): 73; and S.C. Zoltai, Southern Limit of coniferous trees on the Canadian Prairies, Northern Forest Research Centre, Nor-X-128 (Edmonton: Environment Canada, 1975).
 26. This is an ongoing story. Readers are referred to Gates, "Wood Buffalo at the Crossroads," 139–65, and Gary Wobeser, "Disease in Northern Bison: What to Do?" in *Buffalo*, 179–88.
 27. Elk Island National Park Visitor Guide (Parks Canada, 1999).
 28. Public Hearings on a Proposal to Restore Water Levels in Cooking and Hastings Lakes, 3 vols. (Edmonton: AECA, 1971), vol. 1, 145–46.
 29. Alberta Environment, Planning Division, Cooking Lake Area Study, vol. 1, Planning Report (Edmonton: AEPD, 1976), 35; Edo Nyland, "This Dying Watershed," Alberta Lands, Forests, Parks, Wildlife 12, no. 3 (1969): 22–38, and "Miquelon Lake," Alberta, Forests, Parks, Wildlife 13, no. 1 (1970): 18–25; Scace, Elk Island National Park, 88; Graham A. MacDonald, Science and History at Elk Island National Park: Conservation Work in a National Park, 1906–1994, Parks Canada, MRS no. 525 (Ottawa: Department of Canadian Heritage, 1994), 36–37; and AECA, Proceedings, 3 vols. In 1958, Miquelon Lake was established as a Provincial Park.
 30. Dick Dekker, *Prairie Waters: Watchable Wildlife and Beaverhills Lake Alberta* (Edmonton: BST Publications, 1998), 13–14; Nyland, "This Dying Watershed," 22–38, and "Miquelon Lake," 18–25; and see AECA, Proceedings, 87–92; 136–39.
 31. Dick Dekker, *Naturalist Painter: An Artist's Observations of Western Wildlife* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980), 8; Dekker, *Prairie Waters*, 15–16. A range of views were expressed by farmers and farm groups during the 1971 hearings on water levels on Cooking and Hastings Lakes. See AECA, Proceedings, 149–56; 166–69; 199–202.

32. AECA, Proceedings, 4.
33. See AECA, Proceedings.
34. Oral testimony of A. H. Laycock, in AECA, Proceedings, 78–83; 212–15.
35. AECA, Proceedings, 27; Personal Communication, the author and Strathcona County. July 18, 2002.
36. Alberta Public Lands (Edmonton: Alberta Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, Public Lands, 1988), 6; Dekker, *Prairie Waters*, 126.
37. Dekker, *Prairie Waters*, 16.
38. “Trumpeter Swans,” in Elk Island National Park Visitor Guide (Parks Canada, 1999), 14; Elk Island National Park, Park Management Plan Newsletter No. 1 (Canadian Parks Service, 1992), 3–5; Beaver Hills Lake Nature Centre, Tofield, Alberta, News Clipping Binder, 1987.
39. Scace, Elk Island National Park, 202; and see the wildlife distribution maps for beaver in Alberta Environment, Planning Division, Cooking Lake Area Study, vol. 3, Ecology. See also Ross Chapman, *The Discover’s Guide to Elk Island National Park* (Edmonton: Lone Pine and the Friends of Elk Island National Park, 1991), 15.
40. Hay Lakes History Book Committee, *Each Step Left Its Mark: A History of Hay Lakes and Surrounding Area* (Edmonton: D. Friesen, 1982), 127–32; A.J. Gilchrist, “Preliminary report on Miquelon Lake Provincial Park,” unpublished report (Edmonton: Alberta Department of Lands and Forests, Parks Division, n.d.).
41. Redekop and Gilchrist, *Strathcona County*, 77 f.
42. Alberta Culture, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village: Historical Development Proposal (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1981).
43. Alberta Culture, Historic Sites, “Heritage Resource Inventory of the Cooking Lake Study Area, Jan. 1976,” in AEPD, Cooking Lake Area Study, vol. 5.
44. See Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Historical Development Proposal (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1981).
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 35 f.

47. Commencing in the early 1960s, it became the melancholy task of the Waterloo geographer, Ralph Krueger, to document the progressive disappearance of this important agricultural landscape. See Ralph Krueger, "The Disappearing Niagara Fruitbelt," in *Regional and Resource Planning in Canada*, ed. R. Krueger et al. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 134–49.
48. In 1988, Alberta was preparing integrated resource management plans for areas where public lands are involved or fish and wildlife resources on public or private lands. See Alberta Public Lands (Edmonton: Alberta Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, Public Lands, 1988), 23–25; and see Tom Raisbeck, "Wilderness Park in the Suburbs," *Fish and Game Sportsman* 5, no. 1 (1973): 93–94.
49. Fred Bamber, "Preparing to Meet the Challenges of the 21st Century," in Elk Island National Park, Park Management Plan Review, Newsletter No. 1 (Jan. 1992), 2.
50. Guy S. Swinnerton, "Beaver Hills Initiative: Applying the Protected Landscape Approach to Bioregional Planning," SRD-Integrated Land Management Workshop, Edmonton, Jan. 23, 2007; Jason E. Young, et al., "Trends in land cover change and isolation of protected areas at the interface of the southern boreal mixedwood and aspen parkland in Alberta, Canada," *Forest Ecology and Management*, 230 (2006): 151–61.
51. Cooking Lake-Blackfoot Grazing, Wildlife and Provincial Recreation Area Management Plan (Edmonton: Alberta Environmental Protection, 1997). On some of the measures put in place around Beaverhills Lake, see Dekker, *Prairie Waters*, chs. 22 and 24.
52. See M.I. Dyer and M.M. Holland, "The Biosphere-reserve concept: Needs for a network design," *Bioscience* 41 (1991): 319–25; and W.P. Gregg, et al., eds., *Proceedings of the Symposium on Biosphere Reserves, Fourth World Wilderness Congress* (Atlanta: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1987).
53. See Graham A. MacDonald, *Where the Mountains Meet the Prairies: A History of Waterton Country* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), 155–56.
54. See Dyer and Holland, "The Biosphere-reserve concept," 319–25; William L. Baker, "The Landscape Ecology of Large Disturbances in the Design and Management of Nature Reserves," in *Environmental Policy and Biodiversity*, ed. R. Edward Grumbine (Washington, DC and Covelo, CA: Island Press, 1994), 34–36.

55. Many of the issues associated with efforts to achieve effective integration of landscape values with multiple-use land management objectives were vetted in 1997 at the international conference on the Science and Management of Protected Areas, held at Calgary. See Neil W.P. Munro and J.H. Martin Willison, eds., *Linking Protected Areas with Working Landscapes Conserving Biodiversity: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Science and Management of Protected Areas* (Wolfville, NS: Science and Management of Protected Areas Association, 1998).
56. Mathis Wackernagel and William Rees, *Our Ecological Footprint: Reducing Human Impact on the Earth* (Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers, 1996); Phillip M. Hoose, *Building an Ark: Tools for the Preservation of Natural Diversity* (Covelo, CA: Island Press, 1981); Lesley P. Curthoys, *For the Love of Alberta: Ways to Save Our Natural Heritage* (Edmonton: Federation of Alberta Naturalists, 1998).
57. Wackernagel and Rees, *Our Ecological Footprint*; Hoose, *Building an Ark*; Curthoys, *For the Love of Alberta*; Kevin Lynch, *Managing the Sense of Region* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), 192 f.