Kluane National Park and Reserve Economic Impact Study

Background Paper No. 3

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE KLUANE REGION

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Background Paper #3
Economic History of the Kluane Region
Table of Contents

List of Tables

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1 Introduction

This background paper is the third of six prepared for the Kluane Economic Impact Study. In addition, a summary report was prepared outlining the findings of the six background papers. The six papers are:

1 Baseline Economic Profile
2 Economic Impact Analysis
3 Economic History of the Kluane Region (this one)
4 Community Economic Comparison Analysis
5 Economic Benefits Framework
6 Community Interviews

All papers are available in PDF format at **http://www.yukonomics.ca/reports/kluane/**

This paper presents the results of a considerable amount of research into the economic history of the region. The paper first provides an overview of the local economy prior to the construction of the Alaska Highway, focussing on the traditional subsistence economy and on mining. The following section examines the economy of the region from the construction of the Alaska Highway to just before the creation of the Park. The construction of the Highway had a profound impact on the economy of the region, not only by providing a transportation link and allowing the development of a tourism industry, but also by substantially undermining the traditional economy with the creation of the Kluane Game Sanctuary. A subsequent section is devoted to reviewing the economic issues surrounding the Park's creation. The final section examines the development of the region following the Park's creation in 1973.

2 Pre Alaska Highway

2.1 Traditional, trading and subsistence economies

It is not known when humans first began inhabiting the areas in and around the modern day Kluane National Park and Reserve. Archaeological evidence from adjacent regions such as Kluane and Aishihik Lakes in the Yukon and coastal areas in south-eastern Alaska provide evidence of people having lived in these areas between 8,000 and 11,000 years B.P. respectively. Oral traditions of Tutchone First Nations feature many stories with details of glacial surges, ice-damned lakes, people lost in glaciers and proper behaviour around glaciers; all indicating a long term familiarity of these people with the dynamic and ever-changing landscape of the Kluane region. These inhabitants, with numbers estimated at a few hundred, were nomadic, and depending on the season hunted, fished, trapped and traded over a large area of the southwest Yukon, northern British Columbia and south-eastern Alaska. Most, if not all, of the needs and material items of these people were provided from the surrounding natural resources and ingenuity.[1]

Prior to European trading ships appearing on the Pacific coast in the mid-18th century, a strong trading relationship also existed between interior Athapaskan and coastal Tlingit groups. Goods such as copper, marble, tanned skin and fur garments, lichen for dyes and soapberries in birch bark boxes were all brought from the interior. Around the turn of the 19th century, over-harvesting of the sea otter for their pelts on the northwest coast spurred an increase in demand for furs from the interior. Trapping began to occur more year-round than seasonally for the people of the interior and furs were traded along pre-existing networks to the coast with the Tlingit acting as middlemen. In exchange for the fur and other interior trade items, the Tlingit provided both coastal and European goods such as Chilkat blankets, seaweed, cedar baskets, dentalia shells, eulachon grease, calico, kettles, axes, knives, needles, guns, traps and other items.[2]

This trade is believed to have peaked between 1839 and 1867, beginning when the Hudson's Bay Company acquired the rights to south-eastern Alaska trade from the Russian-American Company in 1839, and increased the amount of European goods provided to the Tlingit. This continued until 1867 when Alaska was sold to the United States. After this point in time trade between the interior and coastal people seems to have dropped off.[3]

During the mid-19th century a smallpox epidemic (or epidemics) and a large flood took their toll on the population of the region. Many of the survivors of these disasters consolidated at either Dry Bay on the coast or Shäwshe/Dalton Post in the interior. Although the interior people suffered from these epidemics, their largest impact was on the Tlingit communities and effectively halted their slow expansion into the interior through migration and inter-marriage. By the time the first non-natives appeared in the area in 1880s, only the Tutchone villages remained.[4]

Although several early explorers and prospectors travelled through the Tatshenshini-Kluane region beginning in the 1880s, it was not until the mid-1890s that the first non-native trading centre was established near the old village site of Shäwshe and Neskatahin at the mouth of the Klukshu River by Jack Dalton. Dalton Post was situated along the Chilkat trading trail that ran from Klukwan on the coast to many points in southwest Yukon and beyond. Dalton upgraded parts of the trail, charged tolls and ran a pack-horse business to supply prospectors in the area. With the beginning of the Klondike Gold Rush in 1897-98, Dalton's upgraded Tlingit trail served as an important route for freight and people to reach the

[1]McClellan, 1964, 1975, 1981. Cruikshank, 1980, 1990. Workman, 1978. Davis, 1990.
[2]McClellan, 1964, 1981. deLaguna 1972.
[3]Legros, 1984. deLaguna 1991.
[4]Smith in Cruikshank et al. 1990. McClellan 1975. Glave, 1890.

interior. The increase in outsider traffic prompted the Northwest Mounted Police to establish a post at the US boundary in 1897 and another near Dalton's store in 1898. The completion of the White Pass & Yukon Route Railway in 1900 and the end of the rush to the Dawson goldfields caused a dramatic decline in traffic over this route. In 1902 Dalton closed his store and by 1906 the NWMP presence was gone. The decrease in outsider activity at this point in time combined with the establishment of the Yukon/British Columbia border in 1908 and subsequent imposition of stricter harvesting rules by regulators in British Columbia caused most of the people of the area to move to Champagne and other settlements further inland. For the most part, the early 20th century saw the return of the region to a mainly aboriginal population. Fur prices remained high into the 1930s and annual trips to trading posts played an important role in Tutchone's yearly cycles.[5]

2.2 Mining

The Southern Tutchone have had a long association with mining in the Kluane area. In pre-contact times copper, marble, obsidian and other material were all gathered within the Kluane area. Placer deposits of copper (often known as native copper) were particularly rich in Kletsan Creek at the headwaters of the White River. Obsidian played a particularly important role at this time as the main cutting material for hunting implements such as spear heads and blades. Obsidian gathered from within the modern-day Kluane Park & Reserve has been found throughout the western sub arctic, indicating the importance of this location to the local population and the extensiveness of aboriginal trade at this time.[6]

The first post-contact reports of gold in Kluane are from a discovery of placer gold on Shorty Creek in June of 1896 by Long Shorty Bigelow. Bigelow had worked for Jack Dalton and had helped drive the first herd of cattle over the Dalton Trail in 1895.[7]

The early 20th century saw some Tutchone, using their familiarity with the Kluane area's resources, undertake prospecting and claim-staking through many of the creek basins in the region. Paddy Duncan, of Tutchone-Tlingit background, is credited with the discovery of gold on Squaw Creek in 1927, which touched off a minor rush into the region with almost all of the staking done by CAFN people. Other mineral finds throughout the Kluane region also continued to spark interest and activity. Tutchone men participated in many of these efforts, not only through prospecting and mining work, but also by operating transportation services from the coast to the interior for other prospectors and operating a store at Squaw Creek.[8]

2.2.1 Placer mining

Although prospecting had been underway for years, placer mining for gold in Kluane did not seriously get underway until Dawson Charlie (one of the discoverers of the Klondike gold fields and sometimes referred to as Tagish Charlie) staked the Discovery claim on the Fourth of July Creek — a tributary of the Jarvis River — on July 4th 1903. This was the first payable gold find in the Kluane district and it set off a gold rush that lasted for several years. As miners began exploring the district, gold was found and claims staked on Bullion and Sheep Creeks — tributaries of the Slims River — in the fall of 1903. The initial find at Bullion Creek consisted of 40 ounces of coarse gold found in a few hours, leading to hopes that a second Klondike district had been discovered. Gold was found and claims staked on Burwash and Arch Creeks in the spring of 1904 by the same men who staked the discovery claims on Bullion and Sheep Creeks, but consistent paying ground was not found until 1909.[9]

The initial rush to the region faded very quickly as Kluane's creeks were found to contain highly inconsistent paying ground and little gold overall. The number of men actively prospecting and mining

[5]Kane in Waddington, 1975. Wood, 1899. McClellan 1975. Tanner in Cruikshank, 1985.
[6]CAFN, 1997.
[7] Coutts, R. Yukon: Places and Names. p. 241.
[8]CAFN, Gaunt and Greer 1995. Mandy, 1933. Mandy, 1992. Gray, 1985. CAFN, Jackson 1979, Adamson 1993.
[9] Coutts, R. Yukon: Places and Names. pp. 37, 104, 240.

dropped every year from 1905 and by 1914 only 96 placer claims were held in the district and very few new claims were staked.[10] However, prospecting and small scale placer mining did continue in Kluane.

D.D. Cairnes of the Geological Survey of Canada spent the summer of 1914 investigating the south-western Yukon and he estimated the gross value of the placer gold recovered from the creeks to that date.[11] Table 1 below summarizes Cairnes' estimates.

Table 1 Value of gold recovered, Kluane, 1903 to 1914

Creek	*Gold Value ($)*
Burwash Creek	$30,000 to $40,000
Fourth of July	$6,000 to $10,000
Ruby Creek	$6,000 to $8,000
Gladstone Creek	$2,000 to $3,000
Bullion Creek	$5,000
Sheep Creek	$10,000
Total	**$59,000 to $76,000**

The value of the gold found is dwarfed by the costs incurred by miners. Cairnes writes that the Bullion Hydraulic Company operated on Bullion Creek during 1904, 1905 and 1906, spending $300,000 while recovering $1,000 in gold.[12]

Table 2 below summarizes references to miners and mining in a number of RCMP patrol reports from the 1920s and 1930s.

Table 2 RCMP patrol reports, references to miners and mining, 1920s and 1930s

Date	*Remarks*
December 16, 1920	"On the Boutillier Summit I met two prospectors, brothers, the Foster Brothers, these men had been in Kluahne in the old Stampede days and were on their back in there to prospect.."
March 14, 1921	""We made Sheep Creek about seven and a half miles from Silver and camped. In the afternoon we snowshoed about four miles up the Creek. Alec Fisher was the only man working on this Creek last summer and there is nobody there at all this winter." " We found Supneck at his Cabin on Canada Creek... With the exception of Supneck there did not appear to be anybody else in the district." "The Fosters were on Bullion Creek this winter but have now gone to Fourth of July Creek."
May 9, 1921	"I have visited all the white men who are prospecting near Burwash they have no complaints." "The Foster Bros and McIntosh are repairing a small hydraulic machine on 4th July creek, these men consider conditions favourable for taking gold from this place."
July 28, 1921	"I was satisfied that Suppneck was there as we saw tracks lower down the creek, also dog tracks. These must have been his tracks as there is nobody else on Bullion Creek this year."
August 30, 1921	"...from there we walked to the cabin on Bullion Creek occupied by Albert

[10]Cairnes, D.D. In Bostock, H.S. p. 359
[11]Bostock pp. 362 to 369
[12]Bostock p.366

Date	*Remarks*
	Suppnick and on arriving there we found Suppnick lying on the floor face down, he had apparently been dead from 6 weeks to 2 months, as the body was completely decomposed."
October 19, 1921	"While in Whitehorse I met the Foster Bros. They had been working on Fourth of July Creek all summer but informed me that they were quitting this part of the country and going down the river. Their only kick was that it cost too much to get supplies out here."
February 1, 1923	"Sam May is prospecting on Burwash Creek as are Sid Frank and Frank Sketch. H. Hebb and John Olson (newcomers last fall) are prospecting on Congdon Creek. Alec Fisher will be working on Sheep Creek and McIntosh on Fourth of July Creek next summer. There are not many prospectors in the country as the freight rates are too high."
September 11, 1923	"...the Indians had here [head of Dezadeash Lake] left a note saying that Hutshi Jackson had found some gold and accordingly they had all gone to Shorty Creek to see if it was worth staking." "There is practically no mining going on around here now, none of the mining men appear to think much of Hutshi Jackson fining a few colours at Shorty Creek."
October 23, 1923	"There is practically no mining going on around these Districts." [Champagne and Canyon]
August 20, 1929	"There is very little mining being carried on in the district [Champagne, Silver City and Burwash], a few prospectors being located in various parts of the district, but none seem to be progressing rapidly."
October 7, 1929	"There is very little mining carried on in the district passed through [Champagne to Ruby Creek]. J.T. Knapp has spent the summer mining on Ruby Creek. H. Eskregg also mined on the 4th July Creek this summer. A few other White men have carried on prospecting on small scale in this district this season."
February 5, 1932	"At the date of this Patrol there was no active mining operations being carried on in the District passed through [Champagne to Burwash]. Ruby, Bullion, Fourth of July Creeks were mined last summer, but there were no important discoveries. The miners reported only making their expenses. Very little gold was taken out."
January 29, 1938	"From all accounts, mining in the Kluane district during the past season was not successful. So far, this district has been confined solely to placer activities although two years ago there was considerable quartz staking done around the Jarvis river, this did not bear up to expectations, good rock samples were found but the district through isolation and inaccessibility to transportation has been passed over by mining men from the outside who have visited the properties staked. Only five men were employed on Bullion Creek and they are contemplating abandoning the ground this year. High grade gold has been taken from this creek in the past, this creek is deeply canyoned and glacier fed and has been so badly ravaged by high water in recent years that pick and shovel methods of mining do not pay. There was no mining being done on Burwash Creek this year.

Source: National Archives, Mounted Police Records (Record Group 18) Assorted Volumes.

The Geological Survey of Canada's field reports from the 1920s and 1930s relate some other placer mining efforts in the Kluane region.

In a 1927 GSC report W.E. Cockfield wrote:

> "The only deposit which, to the writer's knowledge, has been worked in the area [Dezadeash] is a deposit of gold on Shorty creek, flowing into the head of Dezadeash lake. According to reports,

> an attempt was made to work this some years ago, and a minor amount of gold was obtained; but the attempted operations were on a large scale, and the result was a financial catastrophe."[13]

In the same 1927 report Cockfield reported that gold had been found by Indians on Squaw Creek (a tributary of the Tatshenshini) late in the season and that 11 ounces of coarse gold was brought to Whitehorse. In his 1929 report Cockfield writes that there was not a great deal of activity on Squaw Creek and that the original Indian stakers still held most of the claims.[14] Five men were reported working a lease on Squaw Creek in 1933.[15]

The very limited amount of placer mining and even of prospecting in the Kluane region through the 1920s and 1930s reflected in part the overall malaise of the Yukon's economy at the time. The generally unreliable pay streaks in Kluane's creeks and the high cost of transporting goods to the region prior to the construction of the Alaska Highway added to the lack of placer activity.

2.2.2 Quartz mining

Before the building of the Alaska Highway in 1942, quartz mining played a very minor role in the Kluane region's economy. There was some exploration and staking of quartz claims in the region, but the lack of any high-grade finds coupled with the lack of transportation infrastructure resulted in no development of hard-rock mines.

The first quartz claims staked in Kluane appear to have been in the Upper White River region — where First Nation people had long been finding placer copper in the waterways — in May 1905. The deposit was first staked as the Discovery and Solomon copper grants but is now known as White River. In 1912, 4.5 tonnes of ore were shipped out from this deposit to the Tacoma smelter, but no further major developments occurred.[16]

The staking of the White River deposit triggered more interest and exploration in the area and a small settlement known as Canyon City sprang up on the banks of the White River approximately 10 miles east of the Yukon Alaska boundary. Canyon City was located at the head of water transportation on the White River and acted as the supply centre and winter quarters for miners exploring the region. The settlement became very active with the discovery of placer gold in the nearby Chisana region in Alaska in 1913, but with the building of roads on the Alaskan side of the boundary and the lack of any further development on the Canadian side, Canyon City was abandoned in the 1920s.[17]

The discovery of placer gold in Burwash Creek in 1904 and the subsequent rush to the area led to the discovery of a number of copper showings around Burwash, Tatamagouche and Quill Creeks. Cairnes, in his 1914 report for the Geological Survey of Canada writes that a great number of claims were staked on these deposits beginning in 1908 but that most claims had been allowed to lapse by 1914.[18]

Although copper-gold showings were known of in the Dalton Post area probably from the late 1890s, there is little evidence of much hard-rock exploration or staking in the area until the 1950s and 1960s. W.E. Cockfield of the GSC makes an off-hand mention of known copper-gold deposits in the Rainy Hollow district in his 1927 GSC report.[19]

[13]Bostock. p. 576
[14]Bostock pp. 576 and 597
[15]Bostock. p. 647
[16]Yukon MinFile 115F 059
[17]Coutts, R. pp. 45-46
[18]Bostock. p.377
[19]Bostock. p.576.

2.3 Trading posts and settlements

Most of the trading posts and settlements in the Kluane region have their origins as gathering places for First Nation people who came seasonally to certain places to hunt or fish or trade.

Champagne
A permanent settlement at Champagne — a winter gathering place for the Southern Tutchone located on the Dezadeash River along the long-used First Nation travel and trade route between the coast and the interior — began when Harley "Shorty" Chambers built a roadhouse and trading post there in 1902. His timing was good as Champagne became an important part of the transportation route followed by miners and others from Whitehorse to the Kluane region. The Chambers' family still owned and ran the roadhouse at Champagne when it burned down in 1962.[20]

Aishihik
The settlement at Aishihik — located at the north end of Aishihik Lake — grew up on a spot long used by First Nation people as a regular part of their seasonal rounds. The location gave the people easy access to rich fishing, good caribou hunting, and good trapping areas. An airstrip was built at Aishihik as part of the Northwest Staging Route and military personnel were stationed there for a time. With the new arrivals came disease and there were fatal outbreaks of measles and pneumonia in the village. With the building of the highway and the later closing of the airstrip, most of the inhabitants moved away but Aishihik is still sees regular use by CAFN citizens.

Shäwshe (Dalton Post)
Jack Dalton built a base camp and then his trading post at this location for the very good reason that this spot on the Tatshenshini River was also on the traditional trade route to the interior and First Nation people came and stayed regularly to fish for salmon, humt, and to meet and trade. The Northwest Mounted Police built a post here in 1898 as part of their efforts to impose Canadian sovereignty and control access to the Yukon from the Alaskan coast. Dalton closed his store in 1902 and the police post was closed by 1906.

Today, Shäwshe/Dalton Post is still used seasonally by CAFN citizens for camping, salmon harvest and hunting.

Klukshu
Klukshu Village has a very long history as a seasonal salmon fishing camp for the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations. Eventually, Klukshu became a village with some year-round residents.

Kloo Lake
Kloo Lake — like Aishihik — has been an important part of the local First Nation peoples' seasonal round long before contact with Europeans as it offered both rich fishing and good hunting. The first permanent settlement on record was Kloo Lake City, a very small settlement built around a sawmill in 1905. The sawmill supplied timber to miners in the area but was abandoned within a few years.[21]

Silver City
The site of Silver City, near the mouth of Silver Creek at the south end of Kluane Lake, was originally a First Nation fish camp. A permanent settlement was started in 1903 with the discovery of placer gold in the Kluane region. The original name "Silver City" was quickly changed to Kluane to avoid confusion with another "Silver City" on the White River, but the original name eventually came back into use. The settlement was a supply hub for the region for a time and marked the end of the wagon road from

[20]McClellan 1975 and Coutts 1980.
[21]Coutts, 1980.

Whitehorse. But the areas' creeks did not produce much gold and Silver City was gradually abandoned with the post office closing in 1921.[22]

Burwash Landing

Burwash Landing began as a community when the brothers Louis and Eugene Jacquot built a trading post on the site in 1904. The brothers built a number of cabins near the post for the use of First Nation families who would stop and trade during their seasonal rounds. Eventually, some of those families settled in Burwash, creating the community as it is today.[23]

[22]Coutts, 1980.
[23]Kluane First Nation and Coutts, 1980.

3 World War II to Park formation (1943-1973)

3.1 Wartime construction — Alaska Highway, Haines Road, & Airfields

The Alaska Highway was pushed through the Yukon in an extraordinarily short period in 1942 as a wartime supply route to Alaska. But the idea of a highway link to southern Canada and the USA had been heavily promoted and routes had been studied years before the war began. In 1935 the United States Congress voted $2m for a road to Alaska, and T. Duff Pattullo — the premier of BC — lobbied a reluctant Canadian government to get involved. Eventually both federal governments established commissions to study possible routes for a highway, and both submitted reports in 1940. The Americans supported a highway built along the coast which would allow access to the Alaska Panhandle, while the Canadians favoured an interior route running north from Prince George to Dawson City. Neither route was chosen when construction actually began, in large part because the American Army wished to use the highway to link together the already existing airfields that became the Northwest Staging Route used to ferry airplanes to the Soviet Union.[24]

The airfields built at Grand Prairie, Fort St. John, Ft. Nelson, Watson Lake and Whitehorse were originally intended for commercial use as part of a planned airway to the Orient. The Canadian government had approved funds for them just prior to the outbreak of war and the airfields were usable in daylight by 1941. Radio stations allowing night time use were in place by the end of that year. Further work was done over the course of the war, including the building of emergency landing strips (e.g. at Snag) between the major airfields.[25]

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December of 1941, the US Army was ordered to examine the military and strategic value of building a highway to Alaska. Army planners studied previous reports and surveys and concluded that the highway was not needed for military purposes and that devoting resources to the project would mean other, more urgent needs would not be met. On February 12, 1942, the United States government ignored the Army's advice and decided to proceed with the highway. The Canadian government approved the American's request to build the Canadian portion of the road — entirely at American expense — less than a month later. Construction started almost immediately, with orders that the road be passable by the end of the year and that it link up the Northwest Staging Route airfields. The rough tote road was pushed through before the end of 1942. Construction work continued, however, as the route was improved and the Haines Road was pushed through in 1943 to improve the supply situation for work on the Alaska Highway and relieve pressure on the White Pass railway.[26]

3.1.1 Economic impact of construction

The economic impact of the construction of the Alaska Highway and the airfields on the Yukon was enormous. The initial work was largely done by more than 10,000 men from the US Army Corps of Engineers, but as 1942 proceeded, civilian contractors began to take over the work of improving and often rerouting the road. In 1942 there were 7,500 civilian workers employed on the highway, a figure that rose to over 14,000 in 1943. The Yukon had a population of less than 5,000 when construction began but by the end of 1942 Whitehorse alone had a population of four times that. But the mega-project's impacts were not all positive. Although the Yukon did end up with territory-altering infrastructure as the highway, the airfields, and the telephone system that were built, the Yukon, and especially First Nations, also suffered negative economic, social, and environmental impacts from the construction boom.

[24]Coates and Morrison. pp.221-223
[25]Coates and Morrison. pp.223-224
[26]Coates and Morrison. pp.225-228

Employment for locals was not always plentiful as the civilian contractors ramped up their workforces in 1942 and 1943. Although all the contracts were let on a cost plus basis and the mostly American companies involved were happy to hire locals, the Yukon's business community was very unhappy with the wage inflation that resulted and lobbied hard to keep existing wage rates in effect. They were successful and Canadian citizens were only permitted to work for Canadian sub-contractors, at Canadian wage rates, while all the American firms (the large majority) brought in American workers and paid them higher rates. While a general labour shortage muted the protests from local workers over being shut out of work, the wage differential of 30 to 100% caused considerable hostility and friction. In general, local employers found it difficult to retain workers, but with the federal government enforcing lower wages and fewer job opportunities for Canadian citizens, the labour shortage never became impossibly difficult.[27]

Another part of the economic "crowding out effect" of highway construction was the leasing and use of the White Pass Railway by the US Army. Although part of the lease arrangement required the US Army to handle shipments for the Yukon's civilian population and economy with reasonable dispatch, the military men running the railway in 1942 and 1943 largely ignored that provision. The railway was run 24 hours a day, 7 days per week and the Yukon's citizens and firms complained loudly that they were unable to plan on any shipping anything at all. The military also left the railway in very bad shape by the end of the lease, having done only the bare minimum of railbed and rolling stock maintenance required to keep things moving,[28]

The impact of the highway construction boom on First Nation peoples was largely negative. Although some took up the high paying work available on the project, the economic gains were dwarfed by the negative social and environmental impacts that resulted. On the employment front, it is interesting to note that the American military and their contractors did not react well to the level of wages demanded by First Nation workers. They were used to the American laws of the time that enforced far lower wages for blacks and other minorities doing the same jobs as whites. Coates notes that the president of the White Pass and Yukon Route at the time had little sympathy for the American view that they should be able to pay First Nation workers less:

> "In Whitehorse... the rate is $7.50 minimum for a 10-hour day, with the Indians getting the same rate... the [Indians] are among the best workers we ever had. Immediately there was a holler... that the idea of paying an Indian $7.50 a day was unheard of, immoral, ridiculous, fantastic and all that stuff. Well, we won't have any Jim Crow laws up here. If labour gets $7.50 and labour is Indian, then an Indian gets $7.50."[29]

Instead of the traditional pattern of following resource availability, First Nation people altered their seasonal activities to take on support jobs for the construction of the highways. These jobs included guiding, general highway labour, washing laundry, cleaning camps and selling traditional clothing items such as mukluks, jackets and mitts to outside workers. As the construction boom wound down, so did the opportunities for employment; subsequently, families were further drawn to the larger population centres along the highway, often having to settle for temporary and low-income jobs. Consolidation of government services and registration of First Nation children in schools also increased the populations of these highway villages and further limited the amount of time a family could spend trying to make a living off the land. As new government agencies flourished, the dependence of people on these services instead of a solid economic base began to breakdown the traditional institutions and social structures of many families. The imposition of registered traplines — a system very different from aboriginal land tenure arrangements — by 1950 added to the difficulties of making a living from the land.[30]

The health and social impacts of highway construction on First Nations were large and negative. The influx of tens of thousands of people to the area brought a series of epidemics to local First Nations,

[27]Coates and Morrison. pp.232-236
[28]Coates and Morrison. p. 235
[29]Coates and Morrison. p. 243
[30]Cruikshank, 1985.

epidemics that hit infants and children particularly hard. Diseases such as measles, dysentery, jaundice, whooping cough, mumps, and more, increased dramatically in First Nation people living along the highway. Social disruption, including greatly increased drinking and increased violence, also followed the highway.[31]

It was the Canadian government's response to the short-term negative environmental impact of over-hunting by the Outside workers, however, that led to a long-term negative impact on the traditional economies of the Kluane region's First Nations. The formation of the Kluane Game Sanctuary caused much economic as well as social and cultural disruption in the Kluane region's First Nations

3.2 Game Sanctuary formation

The formation of the Kluane Game Sanctuary was a very strong and unexpected response to the problems of over-hunting during the construction of the Alaska Highway. In December of 1942 — within weeks of the completion of the initial pioneer road — the Canadian government moved to set aside the land west and south of the highway and block any further development in the area. In early 1943 the Territorial Council followed up on the federal government's efforts and banned all hunting and trapping in the 10,000 square mile area. The ban included all First Nation people despite the well-established hunting rights that First Nations had in Canada. Members of the Kluane First Nation, using Eugene Jacquot as a spokesman, objected strongly to the ban on hunting and trapping. Some minor adjustments were made — a small amount of land near the White River was exempted — but otherwise the First Nation protests fell on deaf ears.[32]

In March of 1943 George Black, the Yukon's MP, announced that the area of the Game Sanctuary had been reserved for a future national park. But, in a seemingly contradictory move, the federal government passed an order in council in 1944 allowing prospecting, claim staking, and the granting of other mineral rights in the Sanctuary. The total ban on hunting and trapping remained in place, however.

3.2.1 Impact of sanctuary on First Nation economy

The formation of the Kluane Game Sanctuary with its total ban on all hunting and trapping had a very large impact on the economies of the region's First Nations. The creation of the Kluane Game Sanctuary removed a vast tract of land over which Tutchone had hunted, fished, gathered and trapped. The Tutchone were intimately familiar with the lands now contained within the game sanctuary. Fish were harvested throughout the region. Moose, goat, sheep and caribou — which were more abundant in the area prior to the 20th century — were hunted within the following valleys and adjacent mountains: Slims; Jarvis; Kaskawulsh; Donjek; Kathleen Lake; Mush & Bates; White; Teepee; Table Mt; Dezadeash and Alsek. Bear was hunted along the Alsek Valley to Bear Creek as well as around Klukshu River and Mush & Bates valleys. Gopher, rabbit, beaver, muskrat, wolf, wolverine, fox, lynx and porcupine were all trapped extensively throughout the game sanctuary. The prohibition on traditional activities within the game sanctuary also removed the main reason for people to travel in the area, increasing their alienation from the land.[33]

Territorial ordinances prohibited natives from hunting and trapping within the sanctuary, even though in departmental discussions in the months leading up to the creation of the game reserve, it was acknowledged that:

> "…were a game reserve to be established.....without investigating local conditions, there is likelihood that the Indians and white trappers and miners, in addition to loss of means of livelihood, would also be deprived of a source of food supply."[34]

[31]Cruikshank, 1985.
[32]Coates and Morrison. p. 245
[33]Meek, 1950. Joe and Johnson, 1976,
[34]Gray, 1942.

The supervisor for Indian Affairs in Ottawa also indicated that based on the evidence in front of him, natives had harvested in the area since time immemorial without decimating wildlife populations, yet they would be the ones to suffer in the rehabilitation of the area from the excesses of the highway workers.[35]

Although the First Nation people had objected to the Sanctuary, once it was in place the hunting and trapping ban was largely obeyed. The RCMP made it clear that they would enforce the ban and people were afraid of the possible consequences of defying the police and other government officials. Just how strong that fear of consequences was illustrated by the fact that some never even went back to their trapping cabins to retrieve traps and other supplies. Grace Chambers, in a 1988 interview, recalled that her family still had traps and other gear in cabins on Teepee Lake and Wolverine Creek — they never went back to pick them up.[36]

One effect of the Sanctuary on Kluane First Nation people was to hem them in against the lake and greatly reduce their hunting grounds, especially for sheep. Mary Jacquot has said:

> "Look at all those mountains back there. I climbed every mountain back there. We used to go way up Donjek. There were a lot of good rocks where the sheep go...What's happening now, these white men giving us a hard time. It makes me so mad...We're pushed against the lake. I get so mad sometimes. I feel like I should raise my voice sometimes. We've been up every creek up there. We hunt them, and now they close it off to us."[37]

The Sanctuary — by limiting subsistence hunting — increased people's dependence on government programs and hastened the decline of traditional ways.

When the Sanctuary was created, the primary means Yukon First Nation people used to earn cash was still trapping. Trapping had always been part of the First Nation economy, even before European trade goods arrived as interior First Nations traded furs with coastal people. Trapping's importance increased with the arrival of the European traders, but it had the advantage over other means of earning cash in that it fit perfectly into the existing seasonal round of activities. Much of the area that became the northern part of the Kluane Game Sanctuary was heavily used by members of the Kluane First Nation. Dick Dickson recalled:

> "Me and Buck, we'd go to the Donjek, cross over to the White, up the White, years ago. No tracks, no sign of anybody. Buck would get a lot of fur. He'd get 200 skins, so you'd got to cover a lot of ground to get that much fur... Buck, he travelled every place. Buck had dog teams like a taxi. He trapped every place. But in that whole area, we trapped. Your dad, Moose Johnson, trapped, Sam Johnson, Jimmy Johnson, Jimmy Joe, Johnny Allen. They covered that whole area..."[38]

Hard data on the amount of fur taken from the Kluane region prior to the formation of the Sanctuary is very difficult to find. Registered traplines — with their requirement to report how many and what kind of furs were taken — did not exist until 1950. But it is clear from the recollections of Dick Dickson and many others that trapping was simply a regular winter activity for most First Nation people. It is likely that trapping effort and success varied from year to year depending on the abundance of animals and the price of fur, but it was an ongoing activity.

How much (in dollar terms) was the loss of trapping areas worth to the Kluane regions' First Nations? There was no compensation offered to people at the time, either for their loss of opportunity or even their cabins, but the Kluane First Nation has recently negotiated retroactive compensation as part of the land claims process. That compensation represents at least part of the economic worth of both the hunting and trapping rights lost.

[35]Conn in Cruikshank, 1985.
[36]Grace Chambers. January 30, 1988 NEDDA video.
[37]Mary Jacquot. Interview by Daniel Tlen June 2, 1978.
[38]Dick Dickson. Interview by Joe Johnson, November 1997.

The banning of First Nation trapping in the Kluane Game Sanctuary did not disappear entirely as a political issue in the Yukon following the creation of the sanctuary. In 1965, for example, the Territorial Council voted in favour of opening up all or parts of the Kluane Game Sanctuary to First Nation trapping.[39] The federal government did not agree with the Territorial Council on this issue and it was not followed up.

3.3 1950s and 1960s

3.3.1 Mining activity

The Johobo copper deposit — located west of Kathleen Lake within the Park boundary — was first staked in 1956. Some small-scale underground mining was done in the early 1960s and a total of approximately 2,500 tonnes of high-grade ore (20 to 23% copper with some silver) was shipped to Japan. Further intermittent exploration, both underground drilling and trenching, was conducted on the property through to 1971. The claims were sold to the Crown in 1976.[40]

The Wellgreen copper-nickel deposit near Burwash Landing was discovered in 1952 but there were a number of copper showings around Burwash, Tatamagouche and Quill Creeks that had been staked as early as 1908. There was extensive exploration work conducted on the deposit through the 1950s and 1960s including extensive underground work. A small mill was built on the Alaska Highway and the mine and mill began production in May 1972. There were problems with the underground mining operation and with the low-grade ore, however, and the operation was shut down in July of 1973 after treating less than 175,000 tonnes of ore. The most recent (1989) feasibility study on restarting the mine called for open-pit mining, a conventional mill and an on-site smelter to reduce shipping costs. The study predicts a 12 year mine life and employment for 400 to 500 people.[41]

3.3.2 Haines pipeline

The US military paid for the construction of an 8-inch pipeline from Haines to Fairbanks in the mid-1950s to transport jet fuel, gasoline, and other fuels to the large military bases in Fairbanks. Construction began in 1954 and the line was completed in 1956. The route followed was largely parallel to the Haines Road and Alaska Highway. The construction of the line created some local employment opportunities in the Kluane region, but like all construction projects, the jobs were short-term. The Haines pipeline operated until 1970 and the line and its pumping stations have now been removed.

3.3.3 Tourism

Tourism played a small role in the Yukon's economy in the 1950s and 1960s and an even smaller one in the Kluane region. An examination of the Milepost tourist guides from 1951 on show approximately 15 businesses from Champagne to Beaver Creek catering to tourists and other travellers. That number changed little for two decades.

[39]Whitehorse Star. November 29, 1965.
[40]Yukon MinFile 115A 031
[41]Yukon Mineral Property Update.

4 Park formation (1972-1977)

The conflict over the formation of Kluane National Park was largely one between two competing interests — mining supporters and parks supporters. Although the Kluane regions' First Nations obviously had a strong and separate interest, the Yukon's First Nations did not have the political leverage at the time to strongly influence the decision making process. The Council of Yukon Indians opposed the creation of the park in 1973, taking the position that land claims should be settled before the park could be created.[42]

The political conflict around the creation of the park boiled down to two interrelated issues; where was the Park boundary to be, and how would that boundary affect future economic opportunities?

4.1 Economic issues surrounding park boundary

The issue of just where the park boundary should be drawn was being discussed and debated in the Yukon years before it was announced that there would be a national park in Kluane. In 1969, for example, Monty Alford proposed a compromise boundary that would have run approximately 25 miles west of the Alaska Highway and the Haines Road. Others vehemently opposed such a boundary, arguing that it would largely confine the proposed park to the icefields.[43]

In general, proponents of a national park in Kluane proposed that the park cover the entire Kluane Game Sanctuary, an area of approximately 10,130 square miles. But there was also the proposal by John Theberge and the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada that the park include not only the entire Game Sanctuary, but also that the boundary be moved to the height of land east and north of Kluane Lake to include the entire lake within the park. That would increase the size of the park to approximately 10,700 square miles.[44]

For park proponents, the anticipated economic benefits of a large national park were long-term. The park would "put the Yukon on the map" for those seeking spectacular wilderness scenery. Attracting more tourists would help the Yukon diversify its economy and help lessen the reliance on mining. If the park did not encompass the lakes and river valleys within the sanctuary it would not live up to its economic potential (quite apart from any environmental benefits). For the mining lobby, it was obvious that both the proven and the potential mineral deposits in Kluane were of great economic benefit and far outweighed any potential increase in tourism from a park. There were also those who saw potential for a large hydro-electrical development on the Alsek River.

In 1971, the Yukon Chamber of Mines was opposed to the creation of any national park(s) anywhere in the Yukon — a position it had held for many years. Instead, the Chamber proposed that territorial parks should be created where deemed appropriate but only if they were based on a multiple use policy that did not exclude any group from using the land.[45]

The positions of the parks proponents and the mining lobby were too far apart to hope that they could find a compromise between themselves. It was therefore up to the federal government to either declare the entire sanctuary a park or decide on a compromise boundary. (The Chamber of Mines' position of no national park at all was a non-starter for the federal government and there is no evidence that the proposal to include all of Kluane Lake was ever seriously considered). Not surprisingly, the decision was to find a compromise on the boundary. James Smith, the Commissioner of the Yukon had been asked to mediate between the opposing camps, and he decided that the best compromise was to keep the northern portion of the sanctuary, a small area around the Jarvis River, and the area around Dalton Post out of the park as a

[42]Whitehorse Star, December 12, 1973.
[43]Whitehorse Star, February 17&24, 1969.
[44]Theberge. 1972.
[45]Whitehorse Star. March 6, 1971

concession to mining interests while including the Mush-Bates and Kathleen Lakes areas in as essential to the integrity of the park. His recommended compromise on the boundary was accepted by both the federal government and the Territorial Council and the federal government announced its intention to create the 8,500 square mile Kluane National Park within that boundary in February 1972.[46]

4.2 The Park and First Nation traditional economies

In announcing the establishment of Kluane National Park and Reserve on February 22, 1972, Jean Chrétien, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, confirmed that:

> "...the creation of the park will not be permitted to affect in any way the traditional use of wildlife and fish resources by the native people of the north."

From this it appeared that the creation of the park effectively meant that the territorial game ordinances which had created the Kluane Game Sanctuary would no longer apply, and First Nation people were once again allowed to harvest within the Kluane Park area.

However, despite the words of the Minister, traditional harvesting did not resume in the Park. The federal government interpreted wording in the Parks Act that allows for the *continuation* of traditional harvesting when a new park is formed to mean that — because First Nations had followed the law and not harvested in the area for thirty years — traditional harvesting would still be banned. In addition, the effects of the thirty year existence of the game sanctuary and the alienation of the Tutchone from these lands were not to be easily overcome. A generation had grown up without the use of the areas now contained within Kluane National Park and Reserve, and older people who had been familiar with the region were uncertain of their rights in the new park and were therefore reluctant to resume their previous usage.

The formation of the Park therefore had little impact on First Nation traditional economies. First Nation people had been prohibited from hunting or trapping in the Kluane Game Sanctuary since its formation in 1942/43 and the change to park status of part of the Sanctuary did not alter the effect of that prohibition. The damage to traditional economies had occurred 30 years before.

[46]James Smith. Personal communication, 1986.

5 1977 to Date

5.1 Economic growth in the Kluane region

The Kluane region, and particularly Haines Junction, has overall had strong growth in population, employment and incomes from the early 1970s to the present. Haines Junction presently appears, according to almost every economic indicator, to be more prosperous than comparable Yukon communities. This is not to say that the region or Haines Junction is booming, it is not: unemployment remains high, the real estate market is in a slump and the population dropped between 1996 and 2001.

The following tables summarize the key indicators of economic growth — population, employment, and incomes — for Haines Junction and the Kluane region from 1971 to 2001.

Table 3 below shows the population of the Kluane region and Haines Junction in each of the census years since 1971 and compares the rate of population growth with that of the Yukon as a whole.

Table 3 Haines Junction, the Kluane region, and Yukon population growth, 1971 to 2001

	Kluane region		***Haines Junction***		***Yukon***
	Population	*5-year growth rate*	*Population*	*5-year growth rate*	*5-year growth rate*
1971	765		183		
1976	n/a		268	46%	19%
1981	850	11%	366	37%	6%
1986	830	-2%	340	-7%	1%
1991	955	15%	477	40%	18%
1996	1055	10%	574	20%	11%
2001	950	-10%	531	-7%	-7%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971-2001 Censuses

The population figures show that for most of the past 25 years Haines Junction has grown at a faster rate than the Yukon as a whole. The exception was the 1981 to 1986 period where the community's population fell while the Yukon's rose. Between 1996 and 2001 the Junction's population fell at the same rate as that of the Yukon as a whole. On the other hand, throughout this period, the Kluane region's population rose and fell at approximately the same rate as the rest of the Yukon.

Table 4 below shows data on employment, employment rate, and average employment incomes for both Haines Junction and the Kluane region for most census years from 1971 through 2001. (The relevant data is not available from the 1976 Census). Table 4 shows substantial overall increases in employment for both the Junction and the region over the 30-year period. The employment rate, on the other hand, has been variable for both Haines Junction and the Kluane region.

Table 4 Employment and employment rate, Haines Junction and Kluane region, 1971 to 2001

	Haines Junction		*Kluane region*	
	Employment (number of people employed at the time of the Census)	*Employment rate (% of population aged 15+ employed)*	*Employment (number of people employed at the time of the Census)*	*Employment rate (% of population aged 15+ employed)*
1971	70	66.7%	315	61.2%
1981	190	71.7%	420	66.1%
1986	170	72.3%	405	63.3%
1991	235	67.1%	490	67.1%
1996	285	66.7%	535	67.3%
2001	300	70.6%	560	71.3%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971-2001 Censuses

5.1.1 Changes in industrial structure

Table 5 below shows the changes in industrial structure as reflected in the employment of residents of the Kluane region and Haines Junction.

Table 5 Employment by industry classification, Kluane region & Haines Junction, 1981, 1991, and 2001

	Kluane region, number employed	*Haines Junction, number employed*
1981		
Primary industry employment	25	0
Construction & Manufacturing	45	25
Transport, Communic. & Utilities	55	20
Retail & Wholesale Trade	35	25
Public Administration	145	75
Other Services	110	50
Total Industry Employment	415	195
1991		
Primary industry employment	40	20
Construction & Manufacturing	85	40
Transport, Communic. & Utilities	55	20
Retail & Wholesale Trade	35	25
Public Administration	245	130
Other Services	130	55
Total Industry Employment	590	290
2001		
Primary industry employment	20	10
Construction & Manufacturing	105	40
Transport, Communic. & Utilities	20	10
Retail & Wholesale Trade	40	35
Public Administration	240	135
Other Services	175	95
Total Industry Employment	600	325

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 1981, 1991, 2001

For the Kluane region, the most striking changes over the 20 years between the 1981 and 2001 Censuses is the 65% growth in public administration jobs and the 60% increase in "Other services" (e.g. hotels and restaurants) employment. The growth of government and the growth of tourism are the biggest economic stories of the region from the late 1970s to the present and are discussed in more detail in Sections 5.3 and 5.4 below.

For a more detailed analysis the region's changing industrial structure and a detailed comparison of how Haines Junction's economic development compares with that of other Yukon communities, see this study's *Background Paper #4: Community Comparisons*.

5.1.2 Community infrastructure

The creation of the Park was accompanied by the development of community infrastructure including new subdivisions, a sewer and water system, school construction, and recreational facilities.[47] This infrastructure was built to accommodate Park staffing needs, but was undoubtedly a factor in improving the attractiveness of the community. Note, however, that the portion of the village inhabited by First Nations did not have an underground sewage and water system as late as 1986, and depended on septic tanks, earth privies and sewage holding tanks.[48]

The construction of the main Park Visitor Reception Centre at its present location within the community boundaries rather than at the initially preferred highway location at the old Experimental Farm benefited the community by increasing the property tax base and giving visitors a reason to stop in the community itself.

5.2 Community expectations for economic development and KNPR access

Community expectations for economic development are difficult to measure, often open to interpretation, and subject to change over time. They are also easy to underestimate as a factor that can affect policy decisions at all levels and economic development itself through, e.g. private sector investment.

For KNPR, the issue of access to the park — how much and of what kind — appears to have been a, if not the, central concern of the community in the context of how much economic benefit was expected from the creation of the park.

5.2.1 Development of the Park Management Plan

The development of the initial Kluane National Park Management Plan, issued in 1980, involved a considerable amount of public consultation both in the Kluane region and elsewhere in the Yukon and Canada.

The following is a list of the ideas submitted by the public concerning improved access to KNPR that were evaluated and accepted (although some were accepted with caveats) by Parks Canada in the initial phase of developing the first management plan for the park.[49] There were also a large number of suggested roads and other means of access that were rejected by Parks Canada as incompatible with other park values.

1. One major road with stringent controls over its use into one area of the park.
2. Suggested road location: to Bullion Creek fan.

[47] Personal communication, Eric Stinson, former mayor, 2004.
[48] Yukon Bureau of Statistics, *1986 Community Profiles*, p. H JCT-9.
[49] Indian and Northern Affairs and Parks Canada. April 1978. Information Analysis: Kluane Alternatives. pp. 28-39

3. Suggested road location: Slims River Valley east to Kaskawulsh Glacier.
4. Suggested road location: Haines Road to Alder Creek.
5. Suggested road location: Haines Road to Dalton Creek.
6. Suggested road location: Haines Road to Mush Lake.
7. Suggested road location: Haines Road to St. Elias Lake.
8. Private vehicles can be used on any road into the park.
9. Some sort of bus system can be used on any road into the park.
10. A monorail, train, or tramway on the east side of the Slims River from Alaska Highway to a viewpoint on Vulcan Mountain.
11. A monorail, train, or tramway from Alaska Highway/Vulcan Creek to a viewpoint on Vulcan Mountain.
12. A lift up Vulcan Mountain.

The initial Kluane National Park Management Plan, published in 1980, included some of the 12 ideas listed above either in their original form or in a modified form. The most elaborate proposal involved a low-grade road, open to specialized transit tour vehicles only, up the east side of the Slims River to the base of Vulcan Mountain. This part of the plan followed through on suggestions #1 and #3 above. The low-grade road would be a substitute for the monorail/tramway suggestions in #10 and #11. Instead of a lift up Vulcan Mountain (#13), a high-grade trail from the road's end up to viewpoints on the mountain was proposed.

A public-transit road in the Alder Creek Valley into Mush Lake was included in the plan, along with a shuttle boat system on Mush and Bates Lakes. Neither the proposed road to St. Elias Lake nor the road to the Bullion Creek fan was included in the plan, a trail were substituted for the former and a special purpose road (not accessible by private vehicle) for the latter. The proposal that all roads in the park be open to private vehicles (#8 above) was also considered and rejected.

By 1990, when the second park management plan was issued, the plan to build the low-grade road along the Slims River had been dropped due to cost, lack of private sector interest and environmental concerns. The 1990 plan did include a proposal to upgrade the existing road through the Game Sanctuary to the park boundary in the Alsek Pass area. This proposal was carefully studied and shelved in 1996 when it failed to pass the required environmental screening. Improving the Mush Lake Road remained on the table for discussion though no agreement was reached on what level those improvements would take.

Obviously the above is a very sketchy overview of how proposals for increased land-based access into KNPR have evolved. The focus here has been entirely on road-type access as an illustration of the pattern of what was expected and planned for has not materialized. *It cannot be stressed enough that no criticism is made or implied as to why things happened as they did.* (Some proposals were simply not economic, some failed environmental screening, some fell victim to budget cuts, and some simply did not meet the evolving priorities of the KNPR).

What is very clear, however, is a pattern of ideas and proposals for development (and particularly for increased access to the park) that were initially accepted by most parties, including Parks Canada, as reasonable and even desirable to attract more visitors did not happen. Local residents consistently argued during park establishment and subsequent park management planning processes that improved road access into the park was essential to attracting more visitors and getting them to stay longer. All regional tourism planning initiatives going back to at least 1974 emphasized the need to provide more reasons for visitors to come and stay longer in the region noting the volumes of pass-through travellers and the destination potential of the national park. Since improved road access did not occur, it appears reasonable to say that this important aspect of local expectations has not been met.

5.2.2 The 1987 Haines Junction economic development plan

In 1987 the Village of Haines Junction commissioned an economic development plan for the community. The plan[50], prepared by Leverton and Associates under the direction of a local steering committee, included an extensive and detailed survey of community residents and a separate survey of community businesses. The surveys provide a valuable and detailed snapshot of community wishes for and expectations of economic development, community growth, and access to the park. The resident survey also contained questions concerning local services, employment, work skills, training needs and other topics. For the purpose of this report, however, the focus will be on the background information on the respondents and on the questions concerning economic development, community growth, and access to the park.

Table 6 Background information, 1987 survey of Haines Junction residents

	No. or %
Number of questionnaires returned	98
Number of Households in Haines Junction (1986 Census)	120
Number of residents represented in households returning questionnaires	325
Population of Haines Junction in 1986 Census	340
Percentage of the population covered by survey	96%
Percentage of respondent households who were First Nation	35%
Percentage of respondent households who were non-First Nation	65%
Percentage of families living in HJ less than 10 years	43%
Percentage of families living in HJ more than 10 years	57%

Source: Leverton & Associates 1987 Haines Junction Economic Development Plan
Note: 1986 Census likely substantially undercounted population due to First Nation boycott

Table 6 above shows how impressive the coverage of the resident survey was with 82% of households and 96% of the population represented according to the population figure provided by the 1986 Census. Having 35% of the responding households self-identified as First Nation shows that First Nations were reasonably well represented in the survey (approximately 40% of Haines Junction's population is Aboriginal according to the 2001 Census). Finally, it appears that the majority of residents at the time of the survey were long-term residents of Haines Junction.

Table 7 below shows the responses to the survey questions most relevant to this study and specifically to the community's view of economic development and of access to the Kluane National Park and Reserve.

Table 7 Responses to selected questions, 1987 survey of Haines Junction residents

	%
As a resident of Haines Junction, which of the following outcomes would you prefer:	
To have the community remain as it is today.	5%
To have basic services upgraded to a higher standard but no population growth.	23%
To have Haines Junction grow economically at a slow to moderate rate based on tourism and industrial activities in the region.	65%
To have Haines Junction expand rapidly in the next 10 years to serve as a residential and commercial centre for regional development.	7%
How do you feel about increasing public access to Kluane Park?	

[50] Leverton and Associates, Northern Consulting Ltd. October 1987. *Haines Junction Economic Development Plan.* Prepared for the Village of Haines Junction.

Yes	80%
No	20%
What form should any increased access take?	
Controlled access	13%
More trails	20%
Skidoo trails	5%
Hunting	1%
More roads	28%
Guided tours	19%
Cabins	1%
Boat trips	5%
Horse trails	9%

Source: Leverton & Associates 1987 Haines Junction Economic Development Plan

It is clear from the survey that the substantial majority of residents wished to see Haines Junction grow economically and for its population to increase as well. This is not a surprising result, especially as the large majority wished to see such growth proceed at a slow to moderate rate in order to avoid the problems associated with rapid development and boom and bust cycles.[51]

On the questions related to increased access to Kluane National Park and Reserve, the Economic Development Plan states the following:

> "A substantial majority of those surveyed felt that there should be increased access to Kluane Park. The general feeling is that the Park is the major drawing card for tourists in the area and should be utilized. Most of the respondents suggest that increased access should be controlled and take the form of trails, roads, and guided tours. It is felt now that the average person and especially the average tourist (40-60 years old) cannot enjoy the Park and development should provide access for these individuals."[52]

Along with the survey of residents, the Economic Development Plan also conducted a survey of local businesses. A total of 35 businesses with municipal licences were contacted of which 14 completed the survey. The majority of those responding had been operating for less than five years (five had been in business less than a year) while only two of the fourteen had been in business for more than 15 years. The 14 firms accounted for a total of 89 full-time, part-time, or seasonal employees. Table 8 below shows business survey responses relevant to tourism development and specifically to access to KNPR.

Table 8 Responses to selected questions, 1987 survey of Haines Junction businesses

	%
What do you see as opportunities available to help your business realize these goals?	
Improvement of tourist attractions	20%
Any increase in tourist activity	13%
Better access to Kluane Park	13%
In what areas do you feel there is potential for economic development in the Haines Junction area?	
Tourism	29%
Kluane Park development	29%

[51] Leverton & Associates, 1987. p.6
[52] Leverton & Associates, 1987. p.7

What should be done [locally] to promote economic development in Haines Junction?	
Local business people lobby for park access	13%
Local government lobby for park access	26%
How should the community go about attracting new business or industry to the area?	
More advertising and promotion	20%
Provide better tourist attractions	15%
Open up Kluane Park	15%

Source: Leverton & Associates 1987 Haines Junction Economic Development Plan

Because the business survey — unlike the survey of residents — did not offer a clear-cut question about supporting increased access to KNPR, it is more difficult to gauge what the level of support for more access was in the business community of the time. Leverton and Associates offers the following interpretation of the business survey results on tourism and park access:

> "Tourism is seen as the major, if not the only, area of economic development. This development should take place through the improvement of tourist attractions, any projects which increase tourist activity, and better access to Kluane Park."[53]

The surveys — and especially the survey of Haines Junction residents — done for the 1987 Haines Junction Economic Development Plan clearly and empirically demonstrate that a large majority of the community was in favour of increasing access to KNPR in the late 1980s. In as much as the issue of access is a proxy for general community expectations of the park and its impact on economic development, the surveys provide a clear indication that expectations were not being met.

5.3 Growth of government

Haines Junction evolved as a permanent community following the construction of the original Alaska Highway and Haines Road during World War II. The community owes its existence to its strategic location, first serving as a key construction base for contractors building both roads and the Haines-Fairbanks pipeline. It then became the main regional highway maintenance camp. From 1944 to 1970 Agriculture Canada operated an experimental farm at Mile 1019. These facilities were turned over to Parks Canada upon park establishment and many of the local support employees stayed on with Parks Canada while scientific staff transferred to other research stations. Over the intervening years, the community grew to become the main regional service centre.

Both the federal and territorial governments traditionally maintained a skeletal level of staff support in the community, such as a regional resource management officer, conservation officer, a social worker, along with the usual complement of teachers, RCMP personnel and nursing staff found in similar-size centres. For example, in 1971, the census records 10 public administration positions in Haines Junction. This is notable because the park was not yet established and the agricultural research station was being shut down.

The most convincing evidence of the effect of the park is the growth in public administration employment over the next decade. While public administration employment grew considerably in all Yukon communities during the 1970s, almost tripling, the growth in Haines Junction was seven-fold.

[53] Leverton & Associates, 1987. p.4

Table 9 Employment growth in public administration, Haines Junction, 1971-2001

	Employment	*Per cent growth*
1971	10	
1981	75	650%
1986	80	7%
1991	130	63%
1996	160	23%
2001	135	-16%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971-2001 Censuses

In 1991, Kluane National Park and Reserve employed 26 permanent staff and 28 seasonal staff. The seasonal positions averaged 4.9 months. There were also just over 11 additional person-years of employment identified as directly connected to the park.[54] This would suggest that the park generated the equivalent of at least 31 permanent jobs that were mainly based in Haines Junction. This means approximately 24% of the full-time jobs in Haines Junction were generated by park employment in 1991.

The main changes occurred with the movement of First Nation people from outlying settlements into Haines Junction, park establishment (which also compensated for the closure of the Agricultural Research Station), and a policy decision by the Territorial Government in 1989 to decentralize staff from Whitehorse. For example, this led to the relocation of the Aviation & Marine Branch and several positions in the Department of Renewable Resources. This is reflected in the surge in government sector employment growth seen in 1991 and peaking in 1996. The next notable event occurred in 1994 with the settlement of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations land claim and expansion of First Nation governance, which would partly account for the increase to 160 positions in 1996. Some leakage appears to have occurred between 1996 and 2001.

With devolution in 2003, most of the existing federal government regional resource management positions have transferred directly to the territorial government and have stayed in the community.

As the regional economy has shifted toward an increasing reliance on government and tourism, it is important to note that the Kluane regional population has not changed significantly during the past decade nor has the number and range of other employment opportunities kept pace with the growth of government.

Certain government initiatives, such as the reconstruction of the Alaska Highway and Haines Road, have improved the driving experience and reduced driving travel times but this has not necessarily improved the regional economy. First, it has made it easier to commute out from or into Whitehorse when required. The extent of economic leakage in this manner has not been accurately documented but anecdotal evidence suggests it is significant. Similarly, as the transportation infrastructure has improved, Alaska inbound or outbound "pass-through" traffic has even less reason to stop.

As the 1974 Synergy West study[55] recognized and subsequent studies confirm, government economic policy, or the lack thereof, is playing an increasingly significant role in regional economic development. In the first 1983 Kluane Tourism Plan[56], the authors note that significant infrastructure investment will be needed by both the public and private sector to build on the presence of the national park, if the objective

[54] KPMG Management Consultants. A Marketing Strategy for Yukon National Parks and Nation Historic Sites Volume 2, p45.
[55] Synergy West Ltd. Kluane Region Study, for the Governments of Yukon, Canada, B.C. June 1974
[56] Burton, Paul. Kluane Region Tourism Development Plan, Yukon Department of Tourism & Economic Development, June 1983

is to make the region a more attractive tourist destination. The inability to fully capitalize on the park presence lies at the heart of many of the regional complaints. As the 1983 Plan notes, there must be more to see and do in the region if visitors are to stop and stay longer. The argument is largely based on the argument that Parks Canada could and should have done more to increase access into the park and develop its potential.

Different levels of government continue to invest in the community. For example, development of the St. Elias Tourism & Convention Centre by the Village of Haines Junction and construction of a new administration building by the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations are good examples of infrastructure investment similar to what occurred with the original creation of the KNPR. Major capital expenditures by Parks Canada have steadily declined since the late 1980s with some facilities such as the visitor centre now at the point where major refurbishment is required.

5.3.1 Growth of First Nation governments

A large part of the growth of government — and therefore government jobs — in the Kluane region has been the growth of First Nation governments through the negotiation of land claims and their implementation. The 1970s also saw a large growth of the First Nation population in Haines Junction as people moved away from traditional communities to take advantage of the services available in the village. As Lawrence Joe has related, in the early 1970s, the CAFN had one part-time employee, a garbage collector. Now the First Nation employs over 80 people in Haines Junction and Whitehorse.

Unfortunately, detailed employment data was not provided to us, so an analysis of this growth and its interaction with other factors in the economic development of the region is not possible. Note that we have also been unable to obtain historical employment data from the federal or Yukon governments either.

5.4 Development of tourism

Until the late 1960s there was little concerted strategic action by either government or the private sector to develop the Kluane region's tourism potential. In a 1974 Synergy West study of the Kluane region, the authors note:

> "Tourism to date has been very transient with the major destination being Fairbanks, Alaska…The Kluane region has possibly the greatest overall potential for tourism of any portion of the Yukon primarily because of the fact that natural park values are dominant, historic values are present, and other land uses not as significant as in other places in the Yukon"[57]

This supports a finding in a study[58] commissioned by the Department of Public Works Canada in 1971 that showed that 66% of trips on the Alaska Highway were recreational in nature with up to 78% occurring during the summer months. The study also found that 82.5% of these travellers were Americans headed for or returning from Alaska.

In 1978, the Government of Yukon prepared its first tourism development strategy to provide direction for the growth of the tourism industry[59]. This resulted in Canada and the Yukon signing a tourism sub-agreement to undertake research and planning. While the primary focus was on Whitehorse and Dawson City, the agreement recognized that the establishment of Kluane National Park and Reserve in 1972 and its subsequent nomination as a UNESCO World Heritage Site was attracting a steady increase in international visitor interest making it a potential significant future tourist destination.

[57] Synergy West Ltd. Kluane Region Study, for the Governments of Yukon, Canada, B.C. June 1974
[58] Ibid., p57
[59] Government of Yukon, Yukon Tourism Development Strategy, Department of Tourism & Economic Development, 1978.

The sub-agreement also resulted in a number of tourism infrastructure feasibility studies such as the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Mätatäna resort proposal for Kathleen Lake intended to capitalize on proximity to the national park and its brand recognition.

In 1980 Parks Canada completed a Park Management Plan and developed Facility Appearance Guidelines for Kluane National Park. The management plan focused on improving the highway oriented visitor's view from the road. During the park management planning process there was considerable public debate over improving controlled access into the park highlighted by a proposal to build a tramway up the Slims River valley to view the Kaskawulsh Glacier as discussed in Section 5.2.1 above.

The Facility Appearance Guidelines[60] represented the first attempt to look specifically at how visitors use the park and perceive wilderness with the intent of translating expectations into guidelines to be used in facility infrastructure development. The Guidelines identified a back-country and front-country experience and looked at three main variables in proposing facility development guidelines. These variables were user comfort, ease of construction and site impact. This simple analysis remains relevant today in looking at tourism development needs and opportunities throughout the Kluane region.

Government of Yukon Tourism staff prepared the first comprehensive regional tourism plan in 1983[61]. The author, Paul Burton writes:

> "It became evident very early in the planning process that although Kluane National Park is the most well known and recognizable travel generator for the region there are many opportunities for tourism-related activities located outside the park that have the potential for attracting visitors. In addition, Kluane National Park represents both a constraint and an opportunity for tourism development in the region."[62]

The 1983 Kluane Tourism Plan included 18 recommendations covering product development, regional planning, pull-off site development and campground upgrades to improve the travelling public's experience, and marketing. The report also identified a number of capacity issues including seasonality and low occupancy rates that were limiting the ability of local businesses to expand and upgrade their businesses. The study also acknowledged the regions fundamental problem with "pass through" Alaska-bound visitor traffic and the regions inability to capitalize on the traffic passing by the door.

The first Yukon-wide Visitor Exit Survey (VES) was prepared in 1987 and the data it generated was incorporated into an updated regional tourism plan prepared by the DPA Group Inc. in 1989[63]. The authors note again that the:

> "Kluane region presents an extraordinary opportunity to create a tourism destination area which exemplifies the spirit of the Yukon's outstanding natural features. From a tourism perspective, the resource base of the region is world-class."[64]

The 1987 VES confirmed highway travellers comprised 99% of all regional visitors, and they continue to be Alaska-bound. These visitors are characterized by short stays and relatively low daily expenditures. The 1989 Tourism Plan also points out that while approximately 78,000 visitor parties stopped in the region in 1988 and generated $8.4 million of tourism revenue, the approximately 1,000 visitors who purchased package destination products with the region as its principal destination generated $2.3 million of equivalent revenue. Approximately half of those visitors appear to have visited the national park but they only generated 9% of the revenue. While hunters represented the smallest destination visitor group in 1988, they generated the greatest revenue, 40% of the total. The consultants recommended focusing

[60] Lombard North Group, Facility Appearance Guidelines Kluane National Park, Parks Canada December, 1980
[61] Burton, Paul. Kluane Region Tourism Development Plan, Yukon Department of Tourism & Economic Development, June 1983
[62] Ibid, p.5
[63] DPA Group Inc. Kluane Region Tourism Development Plan, Yukon Department of Tourism 1989
[64] Ibid, Execurive Summary, p.i

efforts on attracting these high-value visitors and that Kluane National Park and Reserve represents the region's centrepiece. They go on to point out that "access and interpretation are the key constraints to a destination focus."[65] The 1989 Plan also proposes the development of activity nodes and a greater collaboration between the Government of Yukon and Parks Canada, particularly in the area of infrastructure development and interpretation.

While the plan recommends a shift to a destination focus, it also recognizes that developing a series of activity nodes that serve as staging areas for both front-country and back-country use would encourage the pass-through travellers to stop and spend more time in the region thereby spending more money. The 1989 Plan cautions that the transition to a destination focus would require a variety of support programs sponsored by both the public and private sector. What makes this tourism plan particularly valuable is that it included a detailed implementation strategy and performance targets. The intent was that at the end of the five-year implementation period the results could be evaluated against the original targets.

Many of the regional cooperation recommendations identified in the 1989 Regional Tourism Plan were incorporated into the 1990 Park Management Plan.

5.4.1 Tourism development: 1989 to the present

Overnight use in Kluane National Park and Reserve can be broken down into three activity groups: mountaineers, Alsek River rafters and general back-country users. Between 1989 and 1996 back-country registration permits ranged from approximately 1,200 in 1989 to a high of 1,700 in 1994 and 1,300 in 1996.

Yukon visitor exit surveys were completed in 1994 and 1999. This information was then examined in detail during the preparation of the most recent regional tourism plan prepared in 2000. The 1999 VES data revealed some troubling features. Between 1994 and 1999 overall visitation levels declined 6% to 128,795 of which 92,516 stopped, a decline of 8%. What is more relevant is that one third of all travellers who passed through the region did not stop. Despite a number of infrastructure improvements throughout the region, per party expenditures declined by 25% and visitors spent about the same amount of time in the region as they did in 1994.

Of the 58,962 travel parties who came to the Kluane region in 1999, 71% stopped. A surprising 30% of those that did stop did not visit any attractions, attend events or participate in any specific activities. Of those who stopped and did nothing, time was a factor for 35% while 14% found nothing of interest. The VES data revealed that $7,348,000 was spent in the region on tourism-related expenditures in 1999, far below the economic potential identified in the previous 1989 Tourism Plan. Front-country versus back-country use also remained unchanged.

What this means is that in a regional context, little real progress in economic terms had occurred over the intervening decade despite significant public infrastructure investment from a tourism perspective. The role of the KNPR in contributing to regional economic growth also underperformed. Back-country usage, determined through back-country permit registration, can be considered a very simple measure of destination usage. It has remained relatively constant in the 1,500-2,000 range. Facility attendance at the Haines Junction and Sheep Mountain visitor reception centres has also declined significantly.

[65] Ibid, Executive Summary p.iii

Table 10 Kluane National Park and Reserve Visitor Reception Centre, number of visitors, 1987-1999

Year	*Sheep Mountain VRC*	*Haines Junction VRC*
1987	42,051	38,039
1988	33,923	41,314
1989	31,052	38,589
1990	33,824	41,689
1991	33,557	36,735
1992	38,735	48,792
1993	34,666	44,446
1994	35,004	42,110
1995	27,433	42,580
1996	34,129	40,265
1997	28,746	40,341
1998	26,358	32,039
1999	22,726	31,747

Source: Kluane National Park and Reserve Visitor Records

The 1999 visitation statistics further confirm what Parks Canada had known for some time and was highlighted in the re-capitalization study of the Haines Junction VRC completed in March 1999.[66] The study, prepared by Inukshuk Planning & Development (which also completed the 2000 Regional Tourism Plan) confirmed that deferred maintenance from numerous budget cuts during the past decade had reached the point where significant capital investment would be required to refurbish and expand the facility to meet existing and future visitor needs.

The 2000 plan established four priorities for regional tourism development. The first priority identified was to get more visitors to stop in the region, stay longer and spend more. It confirmed that markets had changed and would continue to change and the region needed to adapt its tourism development strategy accordingly. It also confirmed that many of the original recommendations going back to the 1982 regional plan were still valid. It also confirmed what local businesses already knew: that visitor expenditures had declined in real terms despite significant investment during the intervening decade. In essence, Kluane had not made the transition from an "enroute to Alaska" to visitor destination in its own right. Of relevance to this economic impact study, it also confirmed that the brand value of the presence of a national park, while the most recognizable feature of the region, had not contributed to the level of regional economic development that it could have, had it been acknowledged as an essential management goal. This is not to say that Parks Canada did not follow the direction contained in previous tourism plans — because it did — but that in the intervening years, the agency did not acquire sufficient resources to properly maintain existing operations.

It should also be acknowledged that in 1996, Parks Canada and the Government of Yukon explored a specific opportunity to improve visitor access into the Alsek River valley in response to repeated requests to improve access into the park. However, the conclusion of the consultant's environmental impact assessment was that the proposed road upgrading and day-use area development should not proceed.

[66] Inukshuk Planning & Development. "Kluane National Park Visitor Centre Re-Capitalisation Report', Parks Canada 1999 pp.3-5,

The most recent Park Management Plan has once again incorporated many of the concerns and recommendations of the 2000 Regional Plan particularly in the areas of interagency collaboration, facility refurbishment, and marketing to encourage visitors to stop and spend more time in the park.

The 2000 Regional Tourism Plan also recommended that the public and private sector work together to identify specific projects that could be carried out each year to build commitment to the plan and demonstrate visible progress. It also established a number of performance targets with the first priority being a reversal of the negative trends between 1994 and 1999.

The Government of Yukon has just commissioned a new 5-year visitor exit survey with results due in early 2005. During the past two years, the Government of Yukon also implemented a "stay another day" marketing campaign and the new survey should be able to confirm how well this has worked in the Kluane region to reverse the negative trends identified in 2000.

Kluane National Park and Reserve remains the region's icon attraction but it is the region as a whole that needs to work together to create a true world-class destination. Parks Canada is only one partner, albeit an essential one. It can be a more effective partner and have a greater economic impact on the regional tourism economy if it establishes clear economic investment targets for capital investment in facility refurbishment and adjusts management expenditure record keeping to more closely track revenues and expenditures to determine expenditure distribution and visitor source revenue generation. Instituting such measures would make it easier to track the park's economic contribution to the regional and Yukon economy and to identify new opportunities to reduce leakage and generate new revenues. For example, the marketing arrangement with Holland America benefits the company, the park and the community of Haines Junction directly and is a good example of a creative partnership consistent with the 2000 Regional Tourism Plan and 2003 Park Management Plan goals.

5.5 First Nations and the KNPR

CYI and the federal government reached an agreement in principle for land claims in 1989, and shortly thereafter, in 1993, Yukon First Nations, CYI, federal and territorial officials signed the Umbrella Final Agreement, laying out the general terms and conditions of Yukon land claims and self-government agreements. At the same time, four First Nations, including Champagne and Aishihik, signed their own Final and self-government agreements. Contained within the CAFN agreement is a specific section that recognizes and protects CAFN's past and future usage of the Kluane Park area, as well as allowing for CAFN participation in park management, operations and economic development. This agreement also created the Kluane National Park Management Board which consists of representatives appointed by CAFN, Kluane First Nation and the federal government.

To date, several CAFN citizens have been employed by Kluane National Park & Reserve in various positions from park wardens to trail crew. There has been First Nation interest in various tour operations and other tourism related economic development within the park, although no substantive operations have yet emerged. CAFN has also worked cooperatively with Parks Canada on several archaeological investigations.

In 1996 CAFN received funding from Park Canada to "assemble human history data and traditional aboriginal sites in the Alsek area of eastern Kluane National Park."[67] The study generated 138 site/information records and identified the following corridors as appearing to have been used the most extensively by CAFN citizens in the study area:

1. Mush-Bates;
2. Jarvis-Dusty-Kaskawulsh;
3. Dezadeash-Bear Creek; and;
4. Kathleen-Louise-Sockeye.

[67]CAFN, 1997.

The study noted that several Elders expressed hesitation in talking about areas in the park they have not seen since they were teenagers and still learning; and they were reluctant to discuss areas they had not seen personally in years.[68]

At the CAFN Annual General Assembly in 2000, a questionnaire for input into the park management plan review was distributed to fifty-six citizens in order to gather information on desired future directions for CAFN and the park. The survey results indicated three major areas of interest to CAFN:

1. protection of the park's environment;
2. protection and reintegration of First Nations traditional ties to the park and;
3. increased participation of First Nations in the delivery of park services.

Some key action items that arose from the survey results are:

1. development of a sustainable wildlife management plan to permit First Nations harvesting;
2. support of cultural programming and;
3. "low impact" economic development.

[68]CAFN 1997.

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