

**Consumerism
and the Creation of the Tourist Industry
in British Columbia, 1900-1965**

by

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**A thesis submitted to the Department of History
in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Canada

“I know just the place that will suit you” said I. “It’s more English than England ... to speak about money-making is considered rotten bad form ... The Victorians ... never lie awake nights fretting about the filthy lucre.”

-E.A. Powell. “Autobirds of Passage: The Island Highway.” *Sunset* magazine 33.3 (September 1914), 519-520. 523.

"God Save the Queen ... 'cause Tourists are moneeeeeeeey."

-The Sex Pistols. c.1977.

Abstract

During the first three decades of the twentieth century in British Columbia, tourism promoters saw tourism as a way to lure settlers and investment to the province. After 1930, however, tourism became increasingly equated with consumption and the industry's success was measured primarily in terms of tourist expenditures. Before the economic dislocation of the Great Depression tourism promotion was viewed by many people, and the provincial government in particular, as an unimportant activity. Moreover, before the government belatedly recognized tourism's possibilities in the late 1930s tourism promotion was generally pursued in an uncoordinated manner in a very limited portion of the province. The advent of state intervention was the crucial development that transformed the tourist trade into a tourist industry.

During the Second World War, the provincial government's newly-created travel bureau embarked upon a campaign to coordinate the province's tourism promotion activities. It also commenced a drive to catalogue both the province's attractions and the characteristics of potential visitors to the province. Throughout the post-war era the elements of the modern tourist industry were put in place: expanded advertising campaigns, intensified consumer marketing research, and the creation of a receptive and hospitable host population. In many ways, state involvement in tourism promotion set the stage for a concerted campaign targeting civil society during the post-war era in which tourism was championed as a public good.

This study examines the transformation of tourism from a utilitarian pursuit to one that is fully enmeshed within a culture of consumption. It documents the manner in which tourism promotion has become a method of making local goods and services desirable to outsiders by endowing them with an aura of unique experience. In doing so it underscores the continuities and connections between the inter-war years and the post-war era in order to chart a more thorough and balanced understanding of the roots of the fully-fledged consumer culture that emerged in Canada after the Second World War.

Acknowledgments

Objectively the low point of this process can be said to have occurred on an otherwise pleasant day in June 1998. While returning to Vancouver from a research trip to Oregon and Washington State, my beloved '88 Chevy Sprint was totaled just south of Bellingham when it was involved in a multiple rear-ender initiated (ironically enough given the topic of my dissertation) by an inattentive cross-border shopper from North Vancouver. Persons less paranoid than myself would likely see no connection between a Canadian tourist in the United States barreling his automobile into the back of a car filled with research notes on the development of consumerism in North America. I know better. This event – coupled with a National Archives employee's attempt to charge me an international postage rate on a shipment of photocopies from Ottawa to Vancouver a year earlier – alerted me early on to the possibility that this project would not be completed quickly or easily.

Completing a project such as this entails persevering through what seems like an endless series of Pyrrhic epiphanies. Many people have helped me negotiate the arduous route to completing this study. I came to Queen's to do my M.A. in 1995 in part because a very wise professor at UBC told me that I could "do a lot worse than work with Ian McKay." I told Ian this the first day I met him. He laughed. I considered that a good sign. It was. I stayed at Queen's for my Ph.D. in order to continue working with him – a very wise decision. My time at Queen's – which, of course, entailed subjecting myself to both unbearable humidity and (until recently) very limited access to Vancouver Canucks broadcasts – was also made immeasurably more enjoyable by Karen Dubinsky, who has provided sage advice and constant encouragement throughout this process. Thanks are also due to Todd McCallum

and Jim Kenny who commented on early versions of some of the chapters and to Yvonne Place who now rightly occupies an almost mythic place among History graduate students at Queen's for her ability to negotiate the administrative maze that is the School of Graduate Studies. My thanks also to Alan MacEachern, Linda Sproule-Jones, and Scrap and Carol Hawtin for on-the-road accommodation arrangements. The exceptional service from the staff at the City of Vancouver Archives (especially Donna MacKinnon) as well as archival depositories at the University of Washington, the Washington State Archives, the University of Oregon, the British Columbia Archives and Records Service (especially David Lemieux) and the University of Victoria was most appreciated. Also appreciated is the financial assistance which came by way of Ontario Graduate Scholarships, Donald S. Rickerd Fellowships, a Joseph Engler Dissertation Fellowship, the School of Graduate Studies at Queen's, as well as professional development funds at the University of Northern British Columbia.

A number of friends and colleagues have provided valuable support over the past few years. In particular, Ross Cameron, Russ Johnston, Helen Harrison, and Todd McCallum provided ideas and encouragement – while both Helen and Todd graciously vacated our shared office for long periods of time in order to let me “organize” my material on their desks. I would also like to acknowledge my parents who have offered nothing less than unflinching support and encouragement for my university endeavours. And finally, my thanks to Catherine Gidney for her love, support, and encouragement. This dissertation is for her. (Of course, I expect to get one in return.)

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List of Abbreviations

ACRA	Auto Courts and Resorts Association of British Columbia
BCGTB	British Columbia Government Travel Bureau
BITD	Bureau of Industrial and Tourist Development
CTB	Canadian Travel Bureau
CGTB	Canadian Government Travel Bureau
EPA	Evergreen Playground Association
GVPB	Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau
GVTA	Greater Vancouver Tourist Association
GVVCB	Greater Vancouver Visitors and Convention Bureau
PNTA	Pacific Northwest Tourist Association
TAV	Tourist Association of Victoria
TTDA	Tourist Trade Development Association of Victoria and Vancouver Island
VDTA	Victoria Development and Tourist Association
VIDA	Victoria and Island Development Association
V&IPB	Victoria and Island Publicity Bureau
VTA	Vancouver Tourist Association

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Introduction: Tourism and Consumer Culture

Amusing, and perhaps apocryphal, anecdotes circulated throughout British Columbia during the summer of 1986. Vancouver was hosting a World's Fair, Expo 86, which meant that it was also hosting a great many American tourists. Television interviews with Expo information bureau staff produced a litany of humorous responses to a query seemingly on everyone's mind: what's the strangest question American tourists have asked you so far? Typical examples, eagerly offered up by amused Expo staffers, included American tourists' queries as to where they might be able to exchange their Alberta currency for British Columbia's legal tender, whether or not souvenir Canadian flags were available in any other colours besides the seemingly ubiquitous and prosaic red and white, and what time the Canadian pavilion, bedecked with decorative sails, departed for Vancouver Island.

Our attitudes toward tourists reveal our often hypocritical evaluation of the consumer culture in which we live. We have all come into contact with tourists – either on the street or behind service counters. And most of us have been tourists ourselves. Yet tourism is popularly understood as inducing a precipitous decline in human behaviour – one very much in keeping with the most damning criticisms of consumers as unthinking and simpleminded.¹ Tourists are frequently parodied and held up as the epitome of ignorance. Rarely, however,

¹For classic critiques of consumers from both a liberal and a Marxist perspective, see Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," and John Kenneth Galbraith, "The Dependence Effect," in *The Consumer Society Reader*, ed. Juliet B. Schor and Douglas B. Holt (New York: The New Press, 2000): 3-25. For a more recent and self-deprecating critique, see Steven Waldman, "The Tyranny of Choice," in *Consumer Society in American History: A Reader*, ed. Lawrence B. Glickman (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999): 359-366.

do we detect such failings in ourselves. As Patricia Jasen perceptively reminds us, we prefer to think of ourselves as "travellers" rather than "tourists." Tourists, we tell ourselves, are content to accept inauthentic experiences; we, however, insist on authenticity.²

Yet if tourists are consistent objects of ridicule, the tourist industry itself is recognized as a powerful and important economic player. The World Travel and Tourism Council reports that the travel and tourism industry accounted for just over 8% of the world's gross domestic product in 1998. It generated roughly US\$3.6 trillion in economic activity and was responsible (both directly and indirectly) for 231 million jobs, or just less than one job in every ten. In 1998 Canada ranked ninth internationally both in terms of its popularity as a tourist destination (18.7 million international visits) and as a tourism earner (US\$9.13 billion). In 1997 the tourism industry employed just over 500,000 Canadians.³

But just what is tourism and how does one distinguish, if at all, between tourism and the regular movement of human beings? According to geographer and noted tourism scholar, Peter E. Murphy, the most widely accepted definition of a tourist is one adopted at a 1963 United Nations Conference on Travel and Tourism which was subsequently endorsed by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations. According to this definition a tourist is "any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence.

²Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 5. Jasen was directing this observation towards the distinction made between tourists and travellers by Paul Fussell and Daniel Boorstin.

³Charles R. Goeldner, J.R. Brent Ritchie, and Robert W. McIntosh, *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, Eighth Edition (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2000), 7-12.

for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited." This definition includes all travellers visiting foreign destinations "whether it be for pleasure, business or a combination of the two." Tourists, by this definition, are visitors. Excluded from their ranks are people arriving at foreign destinations with permanent relocation in mind. For Murphy, the international language of this definition is not restrictive and can be employed for tourists traveling domestically simply by substituting the word "region" for "country." To be recognized as a tourist, however, one must also meet a minimum requirement in terms of length of stay at a given destination. The accepted minimum length of stay is twenty four hours (or overnight) – less than that and one is deemed merely an excursionist, rather than a tourist. Settling upon an accepted requirement concerning the necessary distance one must travel to be considered a tourist has also proven a difficult task. In the early 1980s Statistics Canada employed a distance of 80 kilometres to distinguish between local and tourist travel. The government of British Columbia, conversely, settled on a distance of 40 kilometres.⁴

Another key question focuses on whether or not tourism is really an industry. Some observers argue that tourism is not an industry because it "does not produce a distinctive product." Indeed, many industries including transportation, accommodation and entertainment, sell their products both to tourists and non-tourists alike. In contrast, Murphy argues convincingly that tourism is a resource industry like "agriculture and mining which are dependent on the continued availability of local resources." Rather than raw materials

⁴Peter E. Murphy, "Tourism: Canada's Other Resource Industry," in *Tourism in Canada: Selected Issues and Options*, ed. P. Murphy (Victoria: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, 1983), 7-8.

like pulp and coal, the tourist industry “sells the experience of these resources to local and export markets.”⁵

Assessing the economic impact of tourism is no less difficult. To estimate the scope of the tourist industry in Canada and elsewhere, tourism authorities have relied primarily upon the use of income multipliers in order to determine both the direct and indirect impact of tourist expenditures. This approach acknowledges the fact that money introduced into a local economy by an outside visitor changes hands several times and thus has a greater effect than would be recognized if only the initial expenditure were counted. Similarly, an employment multiplier is utilized to estimate the number of related jobs tourism produces in a given location.⁶ While tourist authorities differ in the manner in which they design the complicated calculations for measuring tourism’s economic impact, the key element in these approaches remains constant: the focus on tourist expenditures.

Like tourism elsewhere in the western world, tourism in British Columbia has grown steadily throughout the twentieth century. International tourist arrivals at the twenty most popular tourist destinations in the world increased dramatically during the post-war era, from 25 million in 1950 to 457 million in 1990 (see table 0.1). Similarly, table 0.2 illustrates the steady increase in annual US visitors to British Columbia during the middle of the twentieth

⁵Murphy, “Tourism: Canada’s Other Resource Industry,” 10-11. The primacy of this definition is confirmed in the recently released *Encyclopedia of Tourism*. See the entries “definition” and “tourist” in *Encyclopedia of Tourism*, ed. Jafar Jafari (New York: Routledge, 2000), 135, 589-591.

⁶Goeldner, *et al.*, *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 426-430; Douglas Pearce, *Tourist Development*, Second Edition (Harlow, Essex, England: Longman Scientific & Technical; New York: Wiley, 1989), 205-211.

century from under 300,000 in the 1926 to over 3 million in 1971. In the decades after 1971 this number continued to increase. In 1998 4.7 million American tourists visited British Columbia.⁷

Table 0.1 International Tourist Arrivals, 1950-1990.

Year	Arrivals
1950	25 million
1960	69 million
1970	166 million
1980	288 million
1990	457 million

Source: World Tourism Organization. Table adapted from Goeldner, *et al.*, *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 9 (Table 1.2 International Tourist Arrivals: 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980-1998).

Table 0.2. Estimated Total Number of US Automobile Passengers Entering British Columbia From the United States, 1926-1971.

1926	272,303
1931	339,016
1936	260,454
1941	451,038
1946	535,785
1951	1,016,000
1956	1,300,000
1961	1,763,000
1966	2,307,617
1971	3,071,600

Source: Greater Vancouver Tourist Association [GVTA] Annual Reports (1926-1936); British Columbia Government Travel Bureau [BCGTB] Annual Reports (1941-1971). Unless otherwise stated figures are taken directly from estimates in these reports. Figures for 1941 and 1946 are based on the number of vehicles crossing the border and multiplied by 3 (the average number of passengers tourist authorities estimated travelled in each car).

The increase in tourist accommodation similarly suggests the growth of tourism in British Columbia. On the eve of the Second World War British Columbia boasted just three

⁷Tourism British Columbia. *The Value of Tourism* (Victoria, 1999), 3.

hundred auto camps within its borders.⁸ By 1954 this number had more than quadrupled to 1300.⁹ In their examination of accommodation on Vancouver Island, Ross Nelson and Geoffrey Wall demonstrate that this dramatic growth continued throughout the post-war era. Between 1945 and 1965, in fact, the number of accommodation establishments on Vancouver Island increased three-fold.¹⁰ By 1988, British Columbia boasted 650 hotels, roughly 750 motels, and a variety of smaller forms of accommodation that offered a combined 74,000 rooms for visitors.¹¹

The growth of tourism in British Columbia during the twentieth century depended upon several factors including the increased spending power and available leisure time of potential visitors and dramatic improvements in the province's transportation infrastructure. The 1930s and 1940s witnessed a substantial increase in paid vacations for workers in North America and this combined with the sustained period of post-war prosperity to make vacations an increasingly central component of modern life for many North American families.¹² In 1900, for instance, expenditures on recreation accounted for just 3% of

⁸Vancouver *News Herald*, 8 August 1938, 9.

⁹Vancouver *Sun*, 10 June 1954, 8.

¹⁰Ross Nelson and Geoffrey Wall, "Transportation and Accommodation: Changing Interrelationships on Vancouver Island," *Annals of Tourism Research* 13, (1986), 254.

¹¹British Columbia Ministry of Tourism, *The Economic Impact of Tourism Industries in British Columbia* (Victoria, 1992), 28-32.

¹²Gary Cross, *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993), 95-96; Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 1999) 118-119.

American consumption; by 1990 that figure had increased to 6%.¹³

During the second half of the twentieth century the ability of visitors to travel throughout British Columbia was improved dramatically by an extensive road-building program. In the late 1930s one participant in a "See B.C. First" promotional caravan from Vancouver to the Kootenays decried the province's rudimentary road system as "a system of building roads for political reasons, beginning everywhere and ending nowhere..." which "discourage[d] all but the seasoned traveller."¹⁴ The lack of navigable roads in British Columbia was due primarily to the difficulties involved in imposing an efficient road network on the province's mountainous physical geography.¹⁵ Moreover, during the early part of the twentieth century, British Columbia followed a pattern familiar in other Canadian provinces when it directed its road-building energies to ensure that the best roads connected the province with the United States.¹⁶ As figure 0.1 illustrates, visitors' access to the interior of the province in 1930 was greatly restricted. A sustained highway-building program spearheaded by the W.A.C. Bennett Social Credit governments in the 1950s and 1960s

¹³Stanley Lebergott, *Pursuing Happiness: Americans Consumers in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 136.

¹⁴City of Vancouver Archives [CVA], Add. Mss. 426, Harold Merilees fonds, Vol. 3, File 1, Don Finlayson, "The Impressions of a Caravanner", *Forward, Official Publication of the Vancouver Junior Board of Trade* (September 1937), 3.

¹⁵On the underdeveloped nature of the province's road system at this time, see Cole Harris, "Moving Amid the Mountains, 1870-1930," *BC Studies* 58 (Summer 1983), 27-30 and "The Struggle With Distance," in *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change*, ed. Cole Harris (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 172-174.

¹⁶On this phenomenon, see Donald F. Davis, "Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile to the 1930s," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 21,3 (1986), 125.

opened up vast areas of the province that had hitherto been considered impenetrable by most travellers and, of course, increased tourists' access by automobile to the scenery of the province's northern and interior regions. By the 1990s paved highways allowed easy access into these areas of the province (see figure 0.2).

Most histories of tourism have focused primarily upon the changing circumstances that allowed the industry to grow.¹⁷ Those observing the growth of tourism in British Columbia and elsewhere have frequently noted the importance of such key developments as increased leisure time, greater disposable income, and technological advancements in transportation. These are important observations, for they clearly reveal the changing, and growing, realm of leisure in the lives of North Americans. But these observations also blind us to other equally important lessons that the history of tourism can provide. In particular, such observations overlook a dramatic transformation in tourism during the twentieth century: its incorporation into a burgeoning culture of consumption.

Consumerism can best be understood as a lifestyle associated with the frequent consumption of mass-produced goods and services. A consumer society or a consumer culture, then, is one in which the purchasing, accumulation, and consuming of goods and services is a chief priority for many individuals. Consuming these goods and services is certainly given greater value in a consumer society than, say, leisure time. Proponents of

¹⁷See, for instance, John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997 [1979]); Clark Davis, "From Oasis to Metropolis: Southern California and the Changing Context of American Leisure," *Pacific Historical Review*, 61, 3 (1992): 357-386.

consumerism point to its ability to provide reasonably secure access to a variety of desirable products and services. They also champion the liberating possibilities associated with the availability of these goods and services. Critics of consumerism, on the other hand, decry the waste and extravagance that results from what they term a "disposable" culture and suggest that the availability of such a wide range of products leads to passivity among the public, not just in the shopping mall, but in the polling booth as well.¹⁸

Only in the past decade or so have historians directed their efforts to writing about the making of our "consumer culture" and the arrival of a "consumer society" in Canada. For the most part these studies demonstrate that consumerism began to take hold in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century and was visibly altering the cultural landscape by the 1920s. Several studies have examined this first wave of consumerism, noting both its emancipating and destabilizing effects. The pleasures and opportunities of shopping at Toronto's Industrial Exhibition, for example, were for many rural Canadians balanced by the possibility of falling victim to confidence men as well as a profound sense of concern over what impact this new atomistic existence might have on themselves and their communities. The impact of commercialized forms of leisure on women and the working class, we have learned, was similarly dramatic. For women commercial amusements and department stores provided a degree of liberation – although for single women in Toronto during this era such opportunities came hand in hand with rigorous scrutiny by moral reformers concerned that

¹⁸Michael Schudson, "Delectable Materialism: Second Thoughts on Consumer Culture," in *Consumer Society in American History*: 342-358.

such activities would have adverse effects upon their morality.¹⁹ The deleterious effects of "mass culture" on the working class have similarly been explored as have workers' tendencies to adopt the tenets of consumerism for their own purposes either to maintain older notions of "respectability" or to finance necessary purchases.²⁰

The other period that has received increasing attention is the era of economic expansion that followed the Second World War. In his examination of the baby boom generation, for instance, Doug Owsram has demonstrated the extent to which the consumer culture of the 1950s and early 1960s served to reinforce a sense of generational unity among Canadian teenagers that not only lured them away from institutional religion and adult-monitored activities such as scouting, but also helped to inculcate in them the sense of entitlement that inspired the radical protests of the late 1960s.²¹ In her analysis of consumers'

¹⁹Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 195-199. The "moral panic" surrounding single women is discussed in Carolyn Strange, "From Modern Babylon to a City Upon Hill: The Toronto Social Survey Commission of 1915 and the Search for Sexual Order in the City," *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, ed. Roger Hall, William Westfall and Laurel Sefton MacDowell (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988): 255-277. The liberating opportunities of Eaton's department store is outlined in Cynthia Wright, "Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance: Writing Gender into the History of Consumption," *Gender Conflicts: New Essays In Women's History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992): 229-260.

²⁰On the former, see Bryan Palmer, "The Theatre of Mass Culture: The First Act" in B.D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991*, 2nd Ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992): 229-236. The latter is explored briefly in Suzanne Morton, *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995): 44-49.

²¹Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

motivations concerning the purchasing of furniture and household appliances in the post-war era. Joy Parr has revealed the extent to which many Canadian families "made do" with older technologies while exhibiting a decidedly rational form of decision-making when it came to purchasing new items. This important study clearly illustrates the limitations inherent in simplistic models of consumer behaviour. Yet Parr's impressive and nuanced discussion is focused solely on consumer durables used in the home. We still await a similar analysis of consumers' motivations concerning goods and services that might be termed "luxuries" rather than "necessities" by their owners (e.g. toys, entertainment, and travel).²²

Less analyzed in Canada is the development of the culture of consumption during the intervening period between the economic boom of the 1920s and the end of the Second World War. For the most part, the years 1930 to 1945 are portrayed primarily as a period in which consumers went without. At most these years of economic depression and war are portrayed as a period of "conspicuous underconsumption" that contributed to a pent-up urge to purchase consumer goods and experiences after 1945. One aim of this present study is to underscore the continuities and connections between the interwar years and the post-war era in order to chart a more thorough and balanced understanding of the roots of the fully-fledged consumer culture that emerged in Canada after the Second World War. If, as Bryan Palmer has suggested, the 1920s served as the First Act of the "Theatre of Mass Culture" before a curtain descended signaling a 15-year intermission that would end with post-war prosperity, this study endeavours to pull back the curtain and investigate what was taking place on stage

²²Joy Parr, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999)

during the intermission.²³ Rather than seeing the period between 1930 and 1945 as a hiatus in the development of our consumer culture, this study makes room at the front of the stage for the developments of the Great Depression and the Second World War in order to draw out the significance of this era in the development of tourism promotion and consumerism in general.

Recent historical work on the United States and Europe points to the 1930 - 1945 period as an important turning point in the emergence of consumerism. In her examination of the American New Deal, for example, historian Lizabeth Cohen highlights the centrality of the Great Depression in the emergence of “a mass consumer economy and society” in the United States. While historians examining the expansion of consumerism “inevitably focus on eras of economic prosperity, such as the 1920s and the 1950s,” she explains, such an approach “misses the crucial role that state policy-making played in creating a postwar world where mass consumption not only shaped the economy, but also altered the political realm, becoming a new vehicle for delivering the traditional American promises of democracy and egalitarianism.” The Great Depression, she argues, was “a crucial period of modern American state building...” that “established the groundwork for the centrality of consumption and consumers in the postwar era.”²⁴ Similarly, in his survey of the rise of consumerism in the United States, Gary Cross devotes a refreshingly unorthodox amount of

²³Palmer, “The Theatre of Mass Culture.”

²⁴Lizabeth Cohen, “The New Deal State and the Making of Citizen Consumers.” *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 111.

energy to examining both the Great Depression and the Second World War. His findings are illuminating. While millions of Americans cut back expenditures in light of the economic downturn of the 1930s, an equally common response was “a refusal to retrench” as many Americans proved “unwilling to abandon the ‘luxuries’ of the 1920s.” Moreover, he reminds us, “manufacturers did not simply wait for the recovery.” They employed new sales techniques and creative advertising campaigns throughout the 1930s and embarked upon a concerted effort during the Second World War to prepare Americans “for an era of private consumption after the war.”²⁵ In an earlier study of European and North American attitudes towards leisure time and money, Cross similarly took issue with existing interpretations “biased by the victory of consumerism after 1945” and therefore of limited use in examining “the historical origins of mass-consumer society.” Instead he pointed to the 1930s as the key period in which workers, traumatized by the social stigma attached to idleness, were now willing to abandon their claims to shorter work days and increased leisure time in favour of increased pay and the promise of increased access to consumer goods.²⁶ Interestingly, Cross noted that the holiday served as an important arena in which the desires for leisure time and money could be reconciled as vacations came to be seen increasingly as opportunities to participate in “the magic of uninhibited spending.”²⁷

While historians have been relatively slow to embrace the possibilities of the history

²⁵Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 69, 75, 79, 86.

²⁶Cross, *Time and Money*, 128-153; quotations at 128.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 164, 176.

of consumerism, the academic study of tourism has flourished in the past few decades, especially among sociologists. Firmly rooted in a sociological approach, many scholars examined tourism in an attempt to decipher our motivations and experiences under the conditions of modernity. These studies focus primarily on the human desire for unique and fulfilling experiences. In his path-breaking 1976 study of tourism, for example, Dean MacCannell offered tourist travel as the epitome of the modern experience by drawing a parallel between sightseeing and the desire to transcend the fragmented and discontinuous experience of post-industrial society.²⁸ More recently John Urry has offered a more historically-informed examination of this phenomenon which documents the extent to which tourists' experiences are constructed by tourism professionals eager to produce new and more alluring attractions.²⁹ While this emphasis on the tourists' pursuit of experiences is on one level very revealing, it is also very restricting. Sociologist Colin Campbell's claim that tourism "does not involve the purchase of products, but of experiences..." illustrates the limitation of this approach.³⁰ Given the emphasis the tourist industry itself places on the importance of tourist expenditures on goods and services ranging from meals and transportation costs to souvenirs, it is clear that tourism is as much about purchasing goods

²⁸Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 13.

²⁹John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990). More satisfying is Urry's more recent study which acknowledges the role of tourist sites as "centres for consumption" in which "goods and services are compared, evaluated, purchased and used." John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.

³⁰Colin Campbell, "Consuming Goods and the Good of Consuming," in *Consumer Society in American History*, 29.

and services as it is about obtaining "authentic" experiences. A 1979 questionnaire circulated to package tour participants in Vancouver, for example, found that the "largest proportion of respondents used their free time for dining and shopping."³¹

To reconcile the sociological emphasis on experience with the tourist industry's own emphasis on expenditures, it is useful to turn to the work of the late cultural critic Raymond Williams on advertising. For Williams, advertising was a "magic system." The purpose of advertising, he argued, was to instill even the most mundane of products with a sense of desirability by associating them with a particularly rewarding experience.³² Since the onset of the Great Depression, tourism in British Columbia and elsewhere has been expected to perform that same function. Tourism promotion has become a method of making local goods and services desirable to outsiders by endowing them with an aura of unique experience. The purpose of this present study, then, is to examine and explain the transformation of tourism from a utilitarian pursuit to one that is geared to the provision of mass-produced goods and services that are fully enmeshed within a culture of consumption.

Chapter One examines early tourism promotion efforts in Vancouver and Victoria. It begins by examining the motivations of tourists visiting British Columbia during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century and then explores the manner in which civic tourist organizations were created in order to capitalize upon tourists' conflicting responses to the experience of modernity. It also examines the promotional material produced to lure tourists

³¹Ellen Janet Nightingale Berry, "The Tourist's Image of a City: Vancouver, B.C." M.A. Thesis (University of British Columbia, 1979), 243.

³²Raymond Williams, "Advertising: the magic system," *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 1993): 320-336.

to British Columbia when tourism was still understood as a utilitarian activity and had not yet been enmeshed in North America's emerging consumer culture.

Chapter Two examines the activities of tourism promoters in the 1920s and early 1930s. It illustrates the extent to which promotional organizations in Victoria and Vancouver joined with similar organizations in the Pacific Northwest in an attempt to woo automobile tourists to the region. Most importantly, it demonstrates the ways in which British Columbia's tourism promoters sought to incorporate the latest lessons of modern advertising into their arsenal of promotional techniques. These new approaches combined with the dislocation of the Great Depression to reorient their conception of tourism promotion away from its original incarnation as a method of luring settlement and investment and toward a new rationale: maximizing tourist expenditures.

Chapter Three focuses on the efforts of tourism promoters to obtain government recognition of their efforts. Focusing on the establishment of the provincial government travel bureau in 1937, this chapter demonstrates the extent to which the new consumerist conception of tourism was embraced as a free-enterprise solution to the Great Depression. The demand for the provincial government to take tourism seriously was imbued with both a rhetoric of entitlement and a sense of idealism – a combination that represented not just the desperation of the times, but also the extent to which tourism represented an alluring vision of the future that promised economic and cultural renewal while leaving the economic system intact.

Chapter Four examines the consolidation of the tourist industry in British Columbia during the Second World War and challenges earlier assumptions about tourism in North

America which have suggested that tourist travel all but ceased during the war itself. Now able to enlist the support of the state in their cause, tourism promoters in British Columbia embarked upon a determined effort to employ the powers of the state both to increase the scale and scope of their advertising campaigns and to regulate the activities of private tourist resort operators. Their endeavours were designed to maximize tourist travel to the province both during and after the war.

Chapter Five documents the manner in which tourism promoters in British Columbia responded to the challenges of an increasingly competitive marketplace during the 1950s and 1960s. It analyzes newspaper and magazine campaigns as well as promotional films and the creation of local tourist attractions in order to demonstrate how both government and civic organizations selectively drew upon the colonial history of British Columbia in order to differentiate the province from other popular tourist destinations during the post-war period.

Finally, Chapter Six examines the extent to which tourism promotion in the post-war era had become an institutionalized government policy to alleviate regional economic underdevelopment during an era of dramatic province-building. It also documents the extent to which the government and local tourist organizations attempted to sell tourism as a public good to residents of British Columbia. Having gained the support of the state, tourism's advocates now turned their attention to civil society and undertook a sustained campaign to inculcate the values of hospitality in the general public by utilizing conduits such as the public school system and the province's university.

A few words about the scope of this study. I do not pretend here to offer a comprehensive history of tourism in British Columbia. I am, instead, focused on tracing the

transformation of tourist travel from a utilitarian activity to one that is now fully enmeshed within consumer culture. To maintain this tight focus, many important aspects of the history of twentieth-century tourism, such as its environmental impact, the role of tourist trade entrepreneurs and the increasing power of large corporations, as well as the experience of tourist workers and host indigenous populations remain beyond the scope of this particular study.³³ Moreover, as with all historical study, historians of tourism in British Columbia must acknowledge the limitations of their sources. The internal records of the provincial government's tourist bureau, I was informed early on, no longer exist; the records of the leading publicity bureau in Victoria are sparse. Fortunately, a significant collection of tourism records remains intact for the Vancouver Tourist Association, but only for the post-1926 period.

Always on the lookout for publicity and public relations advantages, British Columbia's tourism promoters frequently resorted to changing the names of their organizations. Sometimes this was done to indicate a change in membership while on other occasions it was a ploy to elicit greater public support for their activities. In order to avoid confusion and to prevent an unworkable proliferation of acronyms throughout the thesis, I

³³On the interaction between tourism and the environment, see Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 1991). The role of tourist entrepreneurs and, increasingly, corporations in the tourist industry is explored in Belasco, *Americans on the Road* and Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1998). The experience of tourist industry workers is an important theme in Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment* and Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*. For an insightful examination of the interaction between host indigenous peoples and European tourists in nineteenth-century Canada, see Jasen, *Wild Things*.

have generally used only one name for each of these organizations in any given chapter. Where necessary, of course, I have explained why the names of these promotional organizations were changed and when I do introduce a new name for an organization I have indicated its earlier title. Readers may, however, find it useful to familiarize themselves with table 0.3. Similarly, readers unfamiliar with British Columbia's geography may wish to consult the map provided in figure 0.3.

Table 0.3. Key Tourism Promotion Organizations in British Columbia, 1901-1972.

Vancouver:

Vancouver Tourist Association, 1902-

Vancouver Information and Tourist Association, 1909-1922

Publicity Bureau of Vancouver, 1922-1935

Greater Vancouver Tourist Association, 1936-1951

Vancouver Tourist Association, 1952-1956

Greater Vancouver Tourist Association, 1957-1961

Greater Vancouver Visitors and Convention Bureau, 1962-1972

Victoria:

Tourist Association of Victoria, 1902-

Victoria and Island Development Association, 1918-1922

Victoria and Island Publicity Bureau, 1922-1963

Victoria Tourists, Convention and Publicity Bureau, 1963-

Tourist Trade Development Association of Victoria, 1935-[1939?]

Government of British Columbia:

Bureau of Provincial Information, 1901-1937

Bureau of Industrial and Tourist Development, 1937-1938

British Columbia Government Travel Bureau, 1938-

International Organizations:

Pacific Northwest Tourist Association, 1916-1922

Puget Sounders and British Columbians Associated, 1923-1935

Evergreen Playground Association, 1935 - [?]

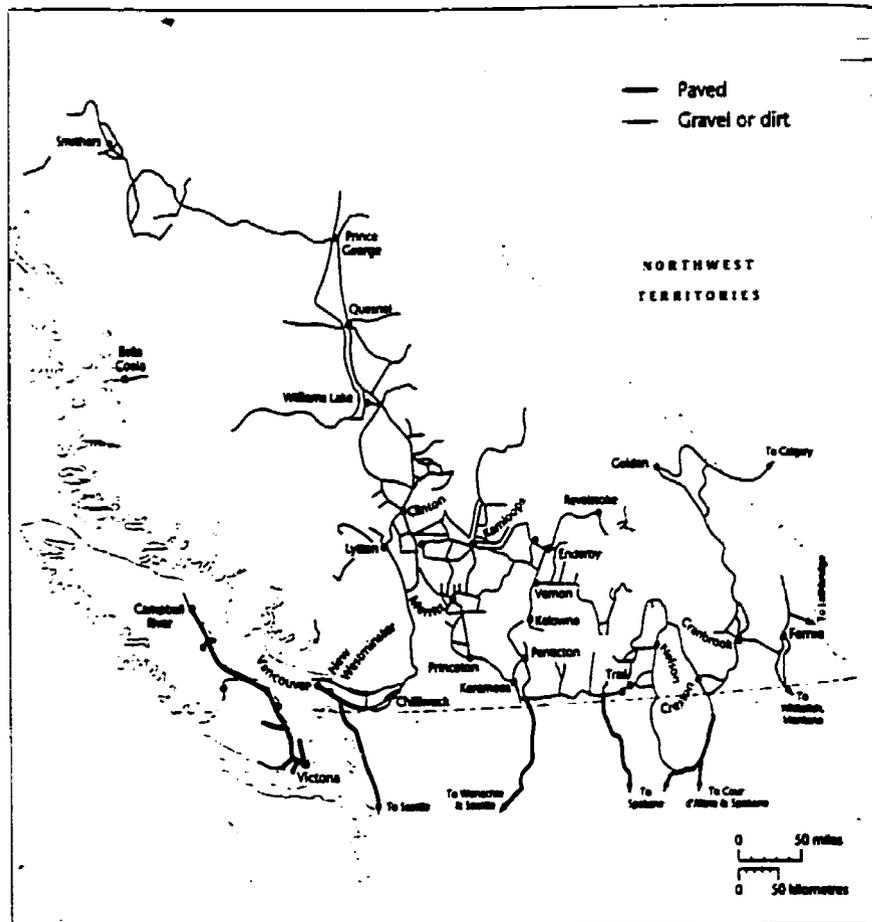
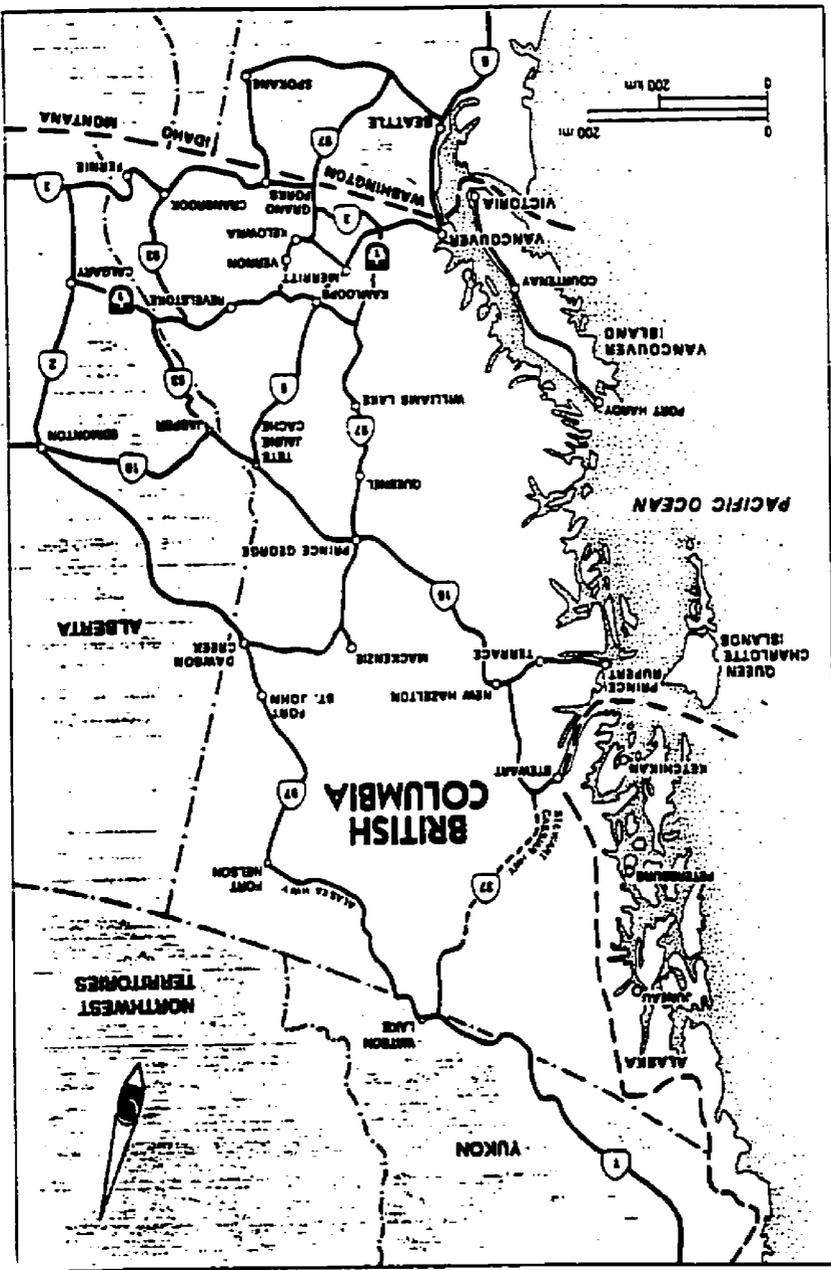


Figure 0.1. Principle Roads of British Columbia, 1930. Source: Cole Harris, "The Struggle with Distance," *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver; UBC Press, 1997), 174.

Figure 0.2. British Columbia's highway system in the 1990s. Source: Jane King and Andrew Hampstead, *British Columbia Handbook*, 4th Edition (Chico Calif.: Moon Publications, 1998).



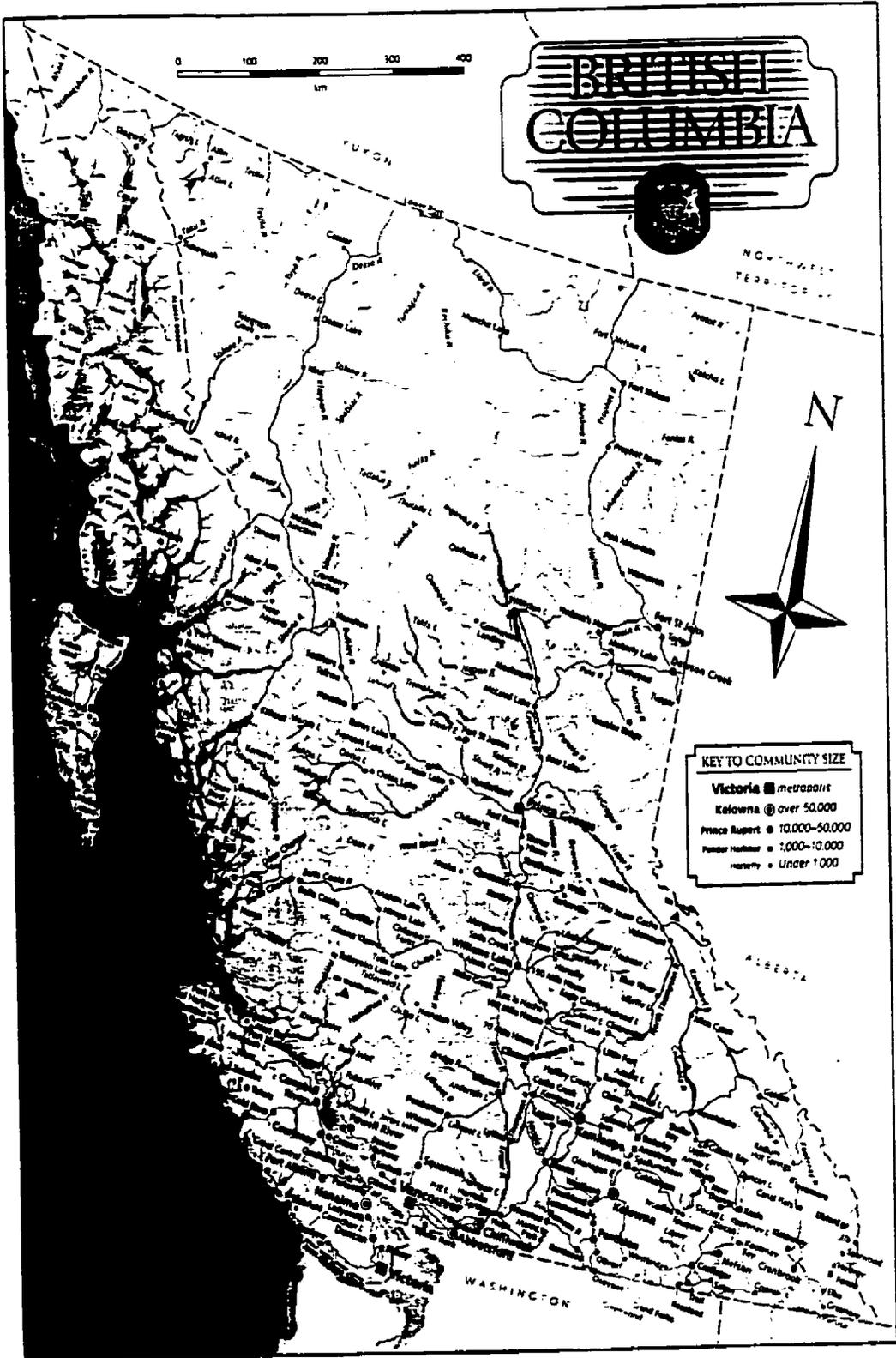


Figure 0.3. Map of British Columbia. Source: *Encyclopedia of British Columbia*, ed. Daniel Francis (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2000), xvii.

Chapter One

Boosterism and Early Tourism Promotion in British Columbia

"It is the common remark of visitors from the United States that Victorians have mastered the art of combining business with pleasure."

-*Victoria, British Columbia: Past and Present*,
British Columbia Board of Trade c.1900.

1. Introduction: Order and Opportunity

In a 1921 article for the "Women's Section" of *Saturday Night* magazine, Irene Todd recounted her journey along the BC coast from Prince Rupert to Vancouver.¹ The attractions and events Todd chose to highlight for the magazine's readers were in some ways quite predictable. Near Prince Rupert, for example, Todd drew her readers' attention to the "softly breathing sea" and the "shaggy islands over which a few stars kept watch." Farther south she enthusiastically paid tribute to the way in which a sunrise "broke over the snowy summits of the mountains of British Columbia tinging them with crimson and gold." Nor could she forget "the beauty of those early morning hours as we glided over the pearly waters down that winding passage between two quivering walls of vivid green formed by the steep spruce clad banks."² British Columbia's natural beauties were clearly a significant part of her travel experience.

¹Todd, who is better known to many people by her married name, Irene Baird, would go on to write several novels, including *Waste Heritage* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1939).

²Irene Todd, "A Cruise Down the North Pacific Coast," *Saturday Night* (6 August 1921): 17.

More surprising, perhaps, was Todd's emphasis on more utilitarian attractions. As prominent as the anecdotes about natural attractions in her article were descriptions of industrial and technological achievements. The Grand Trunk Pacific steamer that transported Todd and the other passengers was, in her recollection, "shining and trim, glistening with light from stem to stern. her engines throbbing in eagerness to be off on her 800 mile journey through the fiords and inlets of the North Pacific coast." Prince Rupert harbour, itself, was also worthy of sustained comment: "The longshoremen hurried to and fro, stowing away great loads of freight... There was the whine of block and tackle, the clanking of chains, the splash of water against the wharves, and the chug-chug of the gasoline engines of the halibut fishing boats, and the Indian Salmon fishing boats, that lay out in the path of the moon." A stop to take on passengers at Swanson Bay was also worthy of a detailed retelling. Swanson Bay, after all, boasted "one of the largest industries on the Pacific Coast" -- Whalen Pulp and Paper Mills -- and employed seven hundred people. On this trip, then, industry also sparked Todd's interest.³

Most interesting here is the manner in which Todd intertwined observations about nature and industry. For Todd, the steamer, no less than the snow-capped mountains was, in her account, deserving of attention and her focus seems to have been as much on the industrial possibilities of her travel destination as on its natural setting. In her article, both aspects of modernity are given voice: an angst-ridden search for escape into nature, and a celebration and fascination with the twin driving forces of the modern world, technology and

³*Ibid.*

capitalism.⁴

Irene Todd was not alone. Her motivations for travelling and recording her experiences were shared by many other travellers in British Columbia between 1890 and 1930. Some were local residents and journalists anxious to publicize the province; many more were visitors from afar keen to detail their experiences for the magazine-buying public. By examining what they chose to highlight and how they responded to the natural and man-made attractions they visited, it is possible to get a sense of why people toured British Columbia in the early part of the twentieth century. Such accounts are particularly important because during this era there was, for the most part, no accurate way of measuring tourist demand or even the number of tourists visiting the province. Tourism promoters anxious to expand the tourist trade would likely have consulted, as we are about to do, the pages of major periodicals such as *Sunset*, *Maclean's* and *Saturday Night* to glean an understanding of why tourists travelled and what might be done to encourage more of them to visit the province.⁵

This chapter focuses on both tourists and tourism promoters in order to illustrate an important but overlooked aspect of the history of tourism. While contemporary tourism

⁴On the "experience" of modernity, see Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1988 [1982]) and David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), Chapter 2. The dramatic transformation of daily life and the arrival of modernity in late-nineteenth-century Toronto is detailed in Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*.

⁵*Sunset* magazine was founded in 1898 by the Southern Pacific Railway to boost investment and settlement along the Pacific Coast. By the 1920s *Sunset* had emerged as the pre-eminent leisure and recreation magazine in the Western U.S.

promotion efforts are measured primarily by the amount of money visitors are convinced to spend at a given destination. early tourism promotion in British Columbia had a different rationale – one closely related to boosterism. Many travellers sought to evade the debilitating effects of modern life by retreating to the province’s wilderness. But, like Irene Todd, they were also intrigued by the economic opportunities and the wonders of industrial production they saw in British Columbia. Analyzing the activities of tourists and tourism promoters during this era allows us a window into the nature of tourism before it was incorporated into a burgeoning culture of consumption.

To date, research on tourism and tourism promotion in Canada during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries has emphasized the extent to which tourism promoters recognized tourists’ desire to escape the modern world in favour of wilderness adventures. In Atlantic Canada, for instance, the tourist trade was seen as an alternative to the fishery and a means of diversifying local economies. Local clubs and government regulators endeavoured to set aside a significant portion of the region’s fish and game for visiting American tourists who were willing to pay handsomely for the privilege of gaining access to the region’s wildlife resources. These promotional efforts focused on the benefits of obtaining a direct but temporary infusion of cash from visiting American hunters and fishers.⁶ Nascent tourism promotion bodies in British Columbia, however, saw tourism as

⁶Bill Parenteau, “Angling, hunting and the development of tourism in late nineteenth century Canada: A glimpse at the documentary record,” *The Archivist* 117 (1998): 10-19; Darrin M. McGrath, “Salted Caribou and Sportsmen-Tourists: Conflicts over Wildlife Resources in Newfoundland at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Newfoundland Studies* 10,2 (1994): 208-225; Gerald L. Pocius, “Tourists, Health Seekers and Sportsmen: Luring Americans to Newfoundland in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Twentieth-Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary (St.

an investment strategy that would lure settlement and agricultural and industrial development to the province. They shared this approach with booster organizations throughout western Canada that advertised their towns and cities as wilderness preserves in the hope that deep-pocketed Eastern investors would be convinced to settle in the West on a permanent basis.⁷ To this end, organizations in Victoria and Vancouver sought to capitalize upon tourists' ambiguous reaction to the modern world. Indeed, while much of the historical literature examining public reaction to the onset of modernity in North America focuses primarily on the search for *order* amidst this period of dramatic change brought about by industrial capitalism,⁸ the evidence from British Columbia suggests that North Americans were equally as determined in their search for something else: *opportunity*.

2. Evading Modernity

Many tourists travelled to escape the hectic pace of modern life -- at least temporarily. In a 1908 article appearing in *Saturday Night* magazine, for example, P.A. O'Farrell of New York City saw in British Columbia's Arrow Lake country the opportunity to temporarily

John's: Breakwater, 1994): 47-77.

⁷See George Colpitts, "Wildlife Promotions, Western Canadian Boosterism, and the Conservation Movement, 1890-1914," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 28.1-2 (Spring/Summer 1998): 103-30.

⁸See, for example, Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1994 [1981]); George Cotkin, *Reluctant Modernism: American Thought and Culture, 1880-1900* (New York: Twayne, 1992). The determination of some Torontonians to produce and maintain an orderly community is documented in Strange, "From Modern Babylon to City Upon A Hill."

trade the hustle and bustle of the "Big Apple" for the relaxing sight of orchards, gardens and lawns. In contemplating the building of a chalet near the mountains, O'Farrell hoped to "escape from that species of tiger hunt that prevails in Wall Street."⁹ Poet and travel writer Ernest McGaffey was more ambiguous in his evaluation of the modern world. In a 1913 article for *Sunset* magazine, McGaffey hailed Vancouver Island as a place where "a Modern Metropolis Touches the Margin of a Pristine Wilderness." Victoria, he trumpeted, was a place where "Scenery and Commerce Meet." The Island's properties, McGaffey explained, made it an ideal destination for world-weary citizens of North America -- albeit one in which they could maintain contact with the world of commerce.¹⁰ Both O'Farrell and McGaffey celebrated British Columbia's restorative powers and their observations were echoed many times over by other travellers.

Recording her 1915 trip to the Kootenays for *Maclean's* magazine, for example, Mrs. Arthur Spragge, the author of an earlier book describing her 1887 trip from Ontario to the Pacific Coast via the CPR, praised the region's dry air and sporting opportunities, but paid particular tribute to Sinclair Hot Springs which possessed radium for fighting disease.¹¹ This concern for the health-giving properties of vacation destinations was widely shared.¹² "If the

⁹"The Beauties of Halcyon, B.C.," *Saturday Night* (18 April 1908): 4.

¹⁰Ernest McGaffey, "The Island of Discovery," *Sunset* 30,5 (May 1913): 405.

¹¹Mrs. Arthur Spragge, "The Last Great Valley," *Maclean's* (June 1915): 22.

¹²Indeed, Canada boasted many different tourist destinations noted for their health-giving properties. See, for example, Andrew Sackett, "Inhaling the Salubrious Air: Health and Development In St. Andrews, N.B., 1880-1910," *Acadiensis* 25,1(1995): 54-81; on the popularity of health-cure vacations in Ontario, see Jasen, *Wild Things*, 107-112. On the emergence of such "health-giving" vacations in the United States, see Cindy Aron,

open road fever seizes you," E.A. Vandeventer encouraged readers of *Sunset* magazine in 1925, "do not resist it, for nothing links health building with pleasure more surely than does change of scenery and climate in the fresh air."¹³ In a 1928 report on ski-jumping in Revelstoke for *Maclean's*, J.E. March noted the growing popularity of skiing as an antidote to the drudgery of an increasingly bureaucratized world. In earlier times, March noted, the actual skiing had been left "to the stark enthusiasts; now everybody does it." "Important and portly men who seriously and solemnly manage every kind of business," March reported, "now spend a week or two each winter attempting feats which almost appal[1] their children."¹⁴

That same year *Saturday Night* offered a lengthy list of the health advantages that could be secured by visiting British Columbia. Its coastal mountain range, for example, offered a bevy of winter sports including skiing, tobogganing and snowshoeing. In reminding its readers of the important role of play in daily life, the magazine pointed to the many opportunities that existed in the province for big game hunting, sailing, fishing, and golf. Less active readers could make use of Vancouver's many beaches. Vancouver was, after all, "one of the healthiest cities on the North American Continent. Its climate, the geographical situation, its modernity all help to make it so, but there is added to those factors the

Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), Chapter 1. Similar concerns motivated travellers to the American far west. See, Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920* (New York: NYU Press, 1990), 149-50.

¹³E.A. Vandeventer, "The West Makes the Open Road Alluring," *Sunset* 54,5 (May 1925): 5.

¹⁴J.E. March, "Ski-Riders of Revelstoke," *Maclean's* (1 February 1928): 42.

magnificent sea bathing which every citizen and visitor alike enjoy." The properties of the Pacific Ocean, according to the author, not only improved one's health, but also encouraged one to relax and have fun: "The waters of the mid-North Pacific Ocean have a refreshing buoyancy, an invigorating tang which assist the thousands of visitors to enjoy the many beaches." Victoria also boasted many beaches. In fact the two cities in combination supplied such a generous choice of beaches for visitors that, in the eyes of *Saturday Night*, the visitor to British Columbia could not fail "to enjoy the sparkling waters with their health-giving and refreshing properties."¹⁵

According to some observers a vacation's health-giving properties also played a key role in maintaining an *orderly* and productive society.¹⁶ In a 1904 article for *Sunset* magazine, for example, George Eldredge underscored the importance of vacations, not just for the vacationer, but for society in general. In his view, vacations contributed to self-improvement and efficiency -- two key attributes for the modern man. According to Eldredge a man was either a productive citizen striving for self-improvement or a "shirk" who held back society by "taking out of the common fund all he can and paying back less than he can." The deliberately lazy were "vagrants -- no matter whether he [*sic*] be clothed in rags or in broadcloth -- a foe to mankind" and as such deserved -- and received -- little sympathy or support from the state. Eldredge had little time for this group. His attention was directed

¹⁵"Travel," *Saturday Night* (7 July 1928): 10-11.

¹⁶Similar concerns about maintaining the appropriate balance between physical and intellectual pursuits motivated social reformers to champion baseball as an antidote to the enervating effects of modern life. See Colin D. Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 15-16, 20, 26.

instead to another less-recognized type of "shirk". Many men remained unproductive, he explained. not through laziness, but through ignorance. "There is one false idea which prevails among this unfortunate class of men which is very largely responsible for the smallness of result in their lives." Eldredge explained. "the idea that a man can work 365 days in a year and accomplish good results." Rest and relaxation were a necessary ingredient in production. Quite aside from religious considerations, he suggested, productive citizens required "one day of rest in every seven" and should "spend that day in the way best calculated to refresh his whole nature." "The man who is ambitious to do the most and best work will," he argued. "if he be wise, take a month out of his summer each year and invest it in pure air and sunshine." Like a well-harvested field, the productive citizen then should "let himself lie fallow for four weeks: and then go back to his business with zest and earnestness, to accomplish more in the next eleven months than he could possibly have done in all the twelve otherwise."¹⁷

A quarter of a century later, in 1929, *Sunset's* advice for readers remained largely unchanged. To alleviate the high number of suicides and mental health problems among business men and women, household science expert Gladys Denny Shultz urged the magazine's readers to divert themselves from "this strange devotion to coins and bits of paper." Business people, Shultz advised, should concentrate more on the challenge of competing in business, than on the monetary aspects of their occupation. Moreover, Shultz echoed George Eldredge's call for more emphasis on rest and enjoyment away from the workplace. In her discussion of a dedicated yet unproductive female worker, Shultz

¹⁷George G. Eldredge, "On Vacation Values," *Sunset*, 13,3 (July 1904): 254-255.

explained that the woman worked "like a slave, getting through mountains of detail, staying overtime, working herself into a state of nervous irritability, working gray hair into her head and worried lines into her forehead. Working so hard, all the time, in fact, that she loses her perspective entirely and has nothing fresh to contribute to anything." Rest, relaxation and play provided the necessary antidote to this condition, she argued, by improving one's mental health and workplace productivity.¹⁸

It would, of course, be overly simplistic to assume that visits to British Columbia were undertaken purely in pursuit of a calculated period of rest. Focusing again on travellers' experiences as they were recorded in magazines provides insight into how these visitors themselves represented their experience and their relationship to the natural and technological wonders they were viewing. Travellers to British Columbia shared a pursuit common to many other travellers of the era: a desire for sublime experience.¹⁹

A 1913 trip to Capilano Canyon just north of Vancouver, for example, allowed

¹⁸Gladys Denny Shultz, "Mental Health Problems *in the Business World*," *Sunset* 62.4 (April 1929): 38.44. On US employers' increasing emphasis on the important role that vacations played in increasing productivity during the 1920s, see Aron, *Working at Play*, 197-205.

¹⁹On travellers' quests for sublime experiences in Ontario, see Jasen, *Wild Things*. Visitors to the Yosemite Valley in California were also enchanted by its awe-inspiring natural wonders. See Peter J. Blodgett, "Visiting 'The Realm of Wonder': Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855-1916," *California History* 69,2 (1990), 120,127 and Anne F. Hyde, "From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six: Yosemite and the Changing Face of Tourism, 1880-1930," *California History* 69,2 (1990), 156. Both the landscape of the American far west and the American reliance on European rhetorical conventions and conceptions of beauty, Anne Hyde argues, combined to make the sublime a staple of travellers' recollections and railway guidebooks. See Hyde, *An American Vision*, 17-20, 109. The European fascination with (and aversion to) dangerous mountains is evocatively detailed by Simon Schama. See his *Landscape and Memory* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 1996 [1995]), 447-513.

Toronto journalist Mary Adelaide Snider to immerse herself in nature and escape from the pressing concerns of daily life. Peering in awe at the gigantic skunk cabbage and dandelions, Snider reported, "You feel like Alice in Wonderland, you are so small by comparison with familiar things." When she crossed the bridge into the centre of the canyon, her removal from modern life was complete: "Forgotten are your perplexities -- forgotten everything -- there is *nobody* in the universe." A venture across a gorge on a narrow plank produced just the sensation she sought: "You do not care. You are uplifted above fear by the wonder of the woods."²⁰

Kitty Hardcastle's 1913 trip to the Rockies produced similar results. "Amidst the impressive grandeur of that mountain scenery how finite mere humans seemed!" she mused. Hardcastle experienced the "ecstasy of inhaling the pure mountain air" and embraced the opportunity "to sense the solitude and listen to the mountain sounds all indescribably sweet."²¹ Ernest McGaffey also found it difficult to find the words to describe the scenery on Vancouver Island. He was awed by the island's "rivers and canyons savage in their grandeur and beauty, and forests gray with the rime of ages."²²

For many travellers the natural surroundings provided a religious allure. E.A. Powell found the scenery along the Island Highway so impressive, "that we felt a trifle awed and spoke in whispers when we spoke at all, as though we were in the nave of a great

²⁰Mary Adelaide Snider, "Walking the Flume," *Saturday Night* (16 August 1913): 29-35.

²¹Kitty Hardcastle, "Drinking From Mountain Streams," *Saturday Night* (27 September 1913): 29.

²²McGaffey, "The Island of Discovery."

cathedral."²³ When the journalist and future wheat financier Norman Lambert visited the Rockies in 1915 words failed him in his attempt to record the scene: "Description is futile," he wrote, "because the experience is not one of the eye and the sense: it is spiritual."²⁴ Face to face with the mountains and gigantic trees of Bella Coola, Guy Rhoades was awed into silence. He described himself as "helpless" and at first unable to describe the beauty of the area. Having recovered enough to write down his thoughts he announced that "here one can feel the presence of the spirits of the upper world, and one begins to realise how logical the religious beliefs of the Indians really are."²⁵ Nature, however, was not the only antidote to the enervating side-effects of modernity. Old abandoned towns could offer reassurance as well. In 1922, Charles Lugin Shaw found serenity in the most peaceful of places: the Barkerville graveyard. For Shaw the graveyard "seemed to fit in as one of the obvious features, because here was the place where people lived in the past, where the slightest suggestion of the modern seemed like an intrusion."²⁶

Clearly then, one overwhelming motivating factor for tourists in British Columbia before 1930 was the desire to escape from the hustle and bustle of the modern world. Many early travellers to British Columbia shared a desire to escape the repetitiveness and dreariness of daily life. This yearning for causal potency and authentic experience has been

²³E. Alexander Powell, "Autobirds of Passage The Island Highway," *Sunset* 33.3 (September 1914):529.

²⁴Norman Lambert, "The New British Columbia," *Macleans* (October 1915): 21.

²⁵Guy E. Rhoades. "Bella Coola -- The Norway of Canada," *Saturday Night* (23 May 1925): 25.

²⁶Charles Lugin Shaw, "The Valley of the Past," *Macleans* (15 March 1922): 27.

noted by other scholars focusing on other contexts and activities ranging from the private correspondence and published writings of English-Canadian imperialists living in Montreal to art aficionados in Toronto eager to celebrate Tom Thomson's manly virtues.²⁷ Similarly, in the American context, Anne Hyde has argued that between 1885 and 1915, "many people began to question assumptions about the gifts of modernity and technology."²⁸ The travellers' accounts of British Columbia detailed here emphasize, in many ways, the breadth of this antimodern yearning in Canada between 1880 and 1930.

3. Embracing Modernity

And yet there are elements in these travellers' tales that jar with their antimodern rhetoric. To be sure, these writers advocated vacations to promote physical recovery, and offered their readers detailed retellings of their spiritual communions with the province's sublime mountain scenery. Yet their feelings of awe towards the sublimity of nature also engendered a desire to conquer the very topography that produced these feelings. For example, when fish and game enthusiast Edward Sandys visited the Great Asulkan Glacier near Rogers Pass in 1890 he not only recorded his own tribute to the sublime health-restoring scenery, but that of his American travelling partner as well. In doing so, he also alluded to an "indescribable sense of awe" in peering up at the glacier. When Sandys suggested

²⁷Donald A. Wright, "W.D. Lighthall and David Ross McCord: Antimodernism and English-Canadian Imperialism, 1880s-1918," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32,2 (Summer 1997): 134-153; Ross D. Cameron, "Tom Thomson, Antimodern Nationalism and the Ideal of Manhood," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association New Series*, 10 (1999): 185-208.

²⁸Hyde, *An American Vision*, 216.

climbing the glacier itself, his "little" American companion bowed out. Sandys proceeded to climb part way up the side of the glacier and then slid down "toboggan style." There coexisted within Sandys and many other travellers both an admiration for nature and a desire to conquer the landscape to which they had retreated.²⁹ W.E. Raney's 1899 trip along the Old Cariboo Road was also punctuated by a dangerous encounter with nature and he too employed the trope of American inferiority in recounting his tale. Informed that two Americans from New York had proclaimed themselves scared of the dangerous road from Lillooet to the Golden Cache, Raney felt obliged to tackle the route and boasted of his accomplishment.³⁰ The sense of superiority and causal potency that came with conquering one's fear was not solely the domain of male travellers. On her 1913 trip to the Rockies Kitty Hardcastle savoured the opportunity to demonstrate her bravery. When several other female travelers panicked the night before a scheduled trip to see the Takakkaw Falls, Hardcastle and her companion relished the opportunity to reassure them of their safety.³¹

Waterfalls and glaciers were not the only natural wonders that intimidated and provoked travellers in British Columbia: less remarkable sections of the landscape evoked

²⁹Edward W. Sandys, "A Gleam From a Glacier." *Saturday Night* (8 February 1890): 7.

³⁰W.E. Raney, "On the Old Cariboo Road," *Saturday Night*, (25 February 1899): 4. This trope of the traveller as "hero" is explored in Susan L. Blake, "A Woman's Trek: What Difference Does Gender Make?" *Women's Studies International Forum* 13,4 (1990): 347-355.

³¹Hardcastle, "Drinking From Mountain Streams." On the tendency of female explorers to celebrate their successful triumphs over dangers and the sense of empowerment that resulted from such achievements, see Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

similar feelings. In his retelling of the Vancouver Automobile Club's 1922 trip through Southern British Columbia, Percy Gomery offered readers a rugged tale of individual achievement: "Travelling by motor-boat, row-boat, dugout canoe, wagon, pack-horse and for two score miles struggling unaided through deserted and overgrown trails," he explained, his party triumphed over the province's mountainous geography.³²

Travel writer E.A. Powell was convinced that conquest over nature could come in more portable and tasty forms. In response to his colleague's complaint that they had done little hunting or fishing during their journey up the Pacific Coast from Mexico, Powell challenged his travelling companion (and *Sunset's* readers) to just wait "until we get over to Vancouver island. You won't need to unstrap your fishing rods or your gun either. A man I know told me that up in the unfrequented interior of the island you can spear salmon with a pitchfork and kill all the pheasants you want with a club."³³

Another method of conquering nature was through the collection of knowledge. In a manner reminiscent of eighteenth-century European travel writers who diligently recorded the characteristics of their colonial possessions, visitors to British Columbia detailed the province's natural properties for their readership.³⁴ Bird enthusiast Hamilton M. Laing, for instance, dedicated his entire 1920 tour between Hope and Princeton to a detailed

³²Percy Gomery, "Looking for a Road Across British Columbia," *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association* (July 1922): 441.

³³Powell, "Autobirds of Passage The Island Highway," 530.

³⁴The emerging role of science and its centrality in travellers' quests to "systematize" nature during the latter half of the eighteenth-century is detailed in Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 29-34.

examination and recording of the wide variety of flowers found in the region.³⁵ Interest in science, of course, was not restricted to botany. A reporter visiting the Cariboo Road for *Saturday Night* found equally fascinating the ways in which science was employed to find gold and other minerals.³⁶ Mary Adelaide Snider's 1913 trip to Capilano Canyon was incomplete, her guide insisted, without a detailed explanation and exploration of the nearby timber flume.³⁷

Often an interest in conquering or controlling nature combined with a fascination with scientific achievements to produce, in many travellers' accounts, a list of entrepreneurial opportunities in agriculture and industry for readers to contemplate. During his journey along the Cariboo Trail, for example, E.A. Powell, took time out to explain to his readers the immense impact the Grand Trunk Pacific was bound to have on the province. When completed, he explained, it "will open up to civilization and exploitation the rich mines and vast forests of northern British Columbia and the limitless prairies of the Peace river country."³⁸ Mrs. Arthur Spragge's 1915 journey to Golden allowed her the opportunity to document the region's improving irrigation system and declare that small fortunes were to be made growing fruits and vegetables.³⁹ Norman Lambert drew his readers' attention to the

³⁵Hamilton M. Laing, "Gardens of the Desert." *The Canadian Magazine* (May 1920): 21-32.

³⁶"Sport on the Cariboo Road," *Saturday Night*, (11 March 1899): 7.

³⁷Snider, "Walking the Flume."

³⁸E. Alexander Powell, "Autobirds of Passage The Cariboo Trail," *Sunset* 33,4 (October 1914):742.

³⁹Spragge, "The Last Great Valley."

various canneries and copper deposits near Hazelton.⁴⁰ Frequently a tribute to the province's climate was combined with an example of a success story to emphasize the economic opportunities present. P.A. O'Farrell found the climate and soil of the Arrow Lake Country to be "all that are desirable for men or women who love open air life and bracing mountain air, and an occasional hunt for cariboo and elk." "One rancher told me," he continued, "that he realized 800 dollars off one acre of fruit."⁴¹

These visitors to British Columbia were not simply rebelling against the enervating effects of modern life; they were, in fact, fascinated by the possibilities of modern technology and they certainly were not averse to contemplating ways to capitalize and profit from the natural world that they were temporarily retreating to. As such, these travellers took a utilitarian approach to tourism – one that had been popular throughout the eighteenth century. As Ian Ousby explains, eighteenth-century travellers were motivated not by nostalgia, but by a desire to investigate and experience the scientific advancements of the modern world. Motivated as they were by this spirit of enquiry, such travellers placed a great deal of importance on first-hand, empirical knowledge.⁴² Early travellers to British Columbia thus combined their desire to temporarily evade the debilitating effects of modern life with a keen

⁴⁰Lambert, "The New British Columbia."

⁴¹"The Beauties of Halcyon, B.C."

⁴²Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). On the scientific and collecting activities undertaken by female travellers, see Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad*.

interest in locating and embracing industrial and agricultural opportunities.⁴³ During the first two decades of the twentieth century, civic leaders in Victoria and Vancouver worked diligently to attract as many visitors as possible. They did so with the hope that even a brief visit to the province would convince these travellers to invest and settle in British Columbia. As the articles appearing in magazines such as *Macleans*, *Saturday Night*, and *Sunset* magazine suggest, many nineteenth-century visitors to British Columbia were drawn to a great extent to the province's hinterland. Communication requirements combined with more tangible advantages such as roads to ensure that British Columbia's two largest centres, Victoria and Vancouver, led the way in tourism promotion and that these two cities reaped most of the benefits that such promotional efforts produced.

4. Victoria, Vancouver and the Establishment of Civic Tourist Associations

While British Columbia's entry into Confederation in 1871 alleviated several financial problems plaguing the former Crown Colony, it left Canada's newest province in a precarious position. The Confederation agreement relieved the province of its mounting debt, but it did not immediately solve British Columbia's most pressing requirement: economic development. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, governing coalitions in the province's Legislative Assembly focused their efforts on securing population and investment capital for the province. The chief means of obtaining these ingredients for economic development was a permanent transportation link with Eastern

⁴³Anne Hyde has noted a similar tendency to combine utilitarian observations with romantic conventions among travellers to the American far west. See Hyde, *An American Vision*, 65-67.

North America – a link finally provided by the eventual completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway [CPR] in 1885.

Between the founding of Vancouver in 1886 as the CPR's western terminus and the outbreak of the Great War, R.A.J. McDonald has argued, British Columbia "was transformed economically from an outward-looking maritime society connected by the Pacific Ocean to California, Great Britain, and various points on the Pacific Rim, into an inward-looking continental community." The catalysts for this reorientation were the railways. The completion of the Central Pacific Railway at San Francisco in 1869 was supplemented, between 1883 and 1893 by the completion of three other transcontinental railways farther north in the Pacific Northwest.⁴⁴ The completion of transcontinental railway lines to the US Pacific Northwest in the early 1880s meant that it was now practical for local boosters "to lure tourists along with home seekers and investors" to Idaho, Washington State, and Oregon.⁴⁵ Similarly, the completion of the CPR provided civic leaders in Victoria and the newly formed town Vancouver with a much more efficient means of luring potential settlers to their settlements.

The CPR, like other North American railways, had identified tourism as an important source of supplementary income to help alleviate the company's mounting debt. Throughout the late-nineteenth century railway companies throughout the western United States built

⁴⁴Robert A.J. McDonald, "Victoria, Vancouver, and the Economic Development of British Columbia, 1886-1914," in *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981), 31-6; quotation at 31.

⁴⁵Carlos A. Schwantes, "Tourists in Wonderland: Early Railroad Tourism in the Pacific Northwest," *Columbia* (Winter 1993/94), 22-23.

hotels along their lines to capitalize upon the American public's growing interest in transcontinental travel.⁴⁶ The Southern Pacific Railway's Hotel Del Monte in Monterey (opened in 1880), the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad's Antlers Hotel in Colorado Springs (opened in 1881) and the Northern Pacific's Canyon Hotel (built in 1913) which overlooked the Grand Canyon all offered well-to-do tourists stately and comfortable accommodation for their travel adventures. Between 1896 and 1920, in fact, the Santa Fe Railway built no less than seventeen large hotels.⁴⁷ Similarly, the CPR commenced construction on three restaurant stops in British Columbia in 1886 (Mount Stephen House at Field, Glacier House near Rogers Pass and Fraser Canyon House at North Bend) each of which contained six or seven bedrooms. Construction on a much larger hotel in Vancouver began in July 1886 and the Hotel Vancouver opened its doors to visitors in May 1888. A few months later work was completed on the Banff Springs Hotel in Alberta.⁴⁸ By the first decade of the twentieth century, these hotels would combine with others, such as the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec (completed in 1893) and the Algonquin Hotel in St. Andrew's, NB (brought under CPR management in 1905), to give the company a network of hotels across the country.

The CPR, of course, had another effect on the provincial economy. Bolstered by its position as the CPR's western terminus, Vancouver supplanted the provincial capital of Victoria as the province's leading port and throughout the 1890s Victoria's economy was

⁴⁶E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983), 7, 8, 16.

⁴⁷Hyde, *An American Vision*, 108, 149, 161, 165, 175, 240, 266.

⁴⁸Hart, *The Selling of Canada*, 14-19.

outpaced by Vancouver's. In 1890 Victoria's exports were six times greater than Vancouver's. By 1903, these positions were dramatically reversed and Vancouver's exports exceeded Victoria's by a ratio of three to one.⁴⁹ It was in this context that the province's capital city embraced the possibilities of civic boosterism.

In the competition to lure industrial development and settlers at the turn of the century, cities throughout North America conducted publicity campaigns championing their local amenities and promising tax concessions and monetary grants to companies willing to set up shop within their boundaries. Between 1907 and 1915, for example, the town of Maisonneuve, Quebec, undertook a systematic newspaper advertising campaign supplemented with several promotional pamphlets in an attempt to lure industry to what city officials claimed was "Le Pittsburg Du Canada."⁵⁰ Coexisting with this desire to promote urban growth, however, was a concern about the dangers of urbanization. Disease, crime, prostitution, and "rampant materialism" were all seen as evil by-products of city life. In response urban reformers launched "collectivist" campaigns to clean up urban centres in an attempt "to impose order on the chaos of city life." By 1900, the beautification of the city, through the creation of parks and wide boulevards, had emerged as a popular solution to the problems and perils of city life.⁵¹

⁴⁹Charles N. Forward, "The Evolution of Victoria's Functional Character," in *Town and City*, 359.

⁵⁰Paul-Andre Linteau, *The Promoters' City: Building the Industrial Town of Maisonneuve, 1883-1918* trans. Robert Chodos (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1985), 64-73.

⁵¹Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1971): 203-

While civic leaders in Eastern urban centres embarked upon urban reform campaigns, many civic leaders in the nascent communities of the West engaged in beautification programmes in order to attract investment and settlement. Between 1890 and 1910, civic leaders in Seattle were motivated to construct “an attractive system of parks and boulevards” and to advertise these amenities “not ... so much from a spirit of reform as from a desire for commercial growth, civic pride, and a spirit of rivalry with other Northwest cities.”⁵² Similar motivations among civic leaders on the Canadian Prairies during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries resulted in a sustained period of boosterism in which community leaders embarked upon vigorous campaigns to improve local infrastructure and lure investment in an attempt to foster economic growth.⁵³ Frequently, such campaigns emphasized the city’s favourable living conditions. Civic leaders in Saskatoon, for example, attempted to offer prospective residents an inviting and reassuring image of the city by promoting its local parks, hotels and bridges. Such symbols, David Neufeld explains, offered potential newcomers a vision of Saskatoon that emphasized opportunities for financial gain in an attractive but secure setting.⁵⁴

224; quotation at 211.

⁵²Janet Northam Russell and Jack W. Berryman, “Parks, Boulevards, and Outdoor Recreation: The Promotion of Seattle as an Ideal Residential City and Summer Resort,” *Journal of the West* 26,1 (1987), 15.

⁵³On the “booster” mentality of the period, see Alan F.J. Artibise, “Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913,” in *Town and City*, 211-216.

⁵⁴David Neufeld, “Security, Approval and Mastery – Symbols of Saskatoon: The Cultural Baggage of Some Settlers in Western Canada,” *Prairie Forum* 13,2 (Fall 1998): 159-172.

British Columbia's capital city was not immune to this spirit of boosterism. Among the earliest attempts to publicize Victoria was the 1891 booklet, *Victoria Illustrated* published by the *Colonist* newspaper. This booklet was dedicated to selling the city's industrial, agricultural and settlement opportunities to outsiders. Focusing chiefly on the city's "natural advantages" *Victoria Illustrated* reflected the booster spirit of the time. Along with lengthy profiles of economic opportunities ranging from mining and fishing to agriculture and wholesale trade, its authors did their best to underscore the advantageous living conditions the city offered. They highlighted both the "salubrity" of the city's climate as well as its "pastoral" yet "majestic" setting in an attempt to lure investors to Victoria. Detailed monthly rainfall and temperature charts were included as statistical proof of the city's climatic health-giving advantages.⁵⁵

Early city boosters elsewhere along the Pacific Coast produced similar promotional material. A January 1893 issue of *Facts Seattle* produced by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce highlighted for potential settlers evidence of the city's population growth, its superior climate and listed among its amenities a plethora of schools, churches, and banks. The potential investor was informed that the "principal resources within a radius of 120 miles of Seattle, and tributary thereto, are the immense growth of superior timber, vast deposits of iron and coal... precious metals, stone and lime," and emphasized that opportunities also existed in "agriculture, fishing, manufacturing and shipping." The pamphlet also highlighted

⁵⁵City of Victoria, *Victoria Illustrated* (Victoria: Ellis & Co./ The *Colonist*, 1891).

the city's two transcontinental railroad connections to the Eastern US.⁵⁶ *Facts Seattle* was part of a sustained campaign undertaken by civic leaders in Seattle between 1890 and 1910 in which organizations such as the Seattle Chamber of Commerce distributed promotional literature aimed at luring settlers and investors to the city.⁵⁷ The most successful promotional campaign of the era, however, belonged to the city of Los Angeles. Between the 1860s and the 1930s, Los Angeles was transformed from a small town with dirt streets to the fourth largest urban centre in the United States and a city that led that nation "in agriculture, motion pictures, and aircraft production." The chief catalyst of this growth was the city's Chamber of Commerce which concentrated its efforts on luring investors and settlers from the American mid-West to the city in order to take advantage of its warm and dry climate.⁵⁸ Anxious to withstand the economic challenge posed by its rapidly developing mainland neighbour and intrigued by the ongoing success of Los Angeles, Victoria's business community turned to tourism promotion at the turn of the century.

The Tourist Association of Victoria

Tourism has had neither a timeless nor intrinsic association with British Columbia's provincial capital. While visitors included the city on their cruise itineraries along the Pacific Coast as early as the 1870s, the number of visitors remained low until the city undertook a

⁵⁶University of Washington Archives [UWA], Daniel Hunt Gilman papers, Box 4, File 24, Seattle Chamber of Commerce, *Facts Seattle* (January 1893).

⁵⁷Russell and Berryman, "Parks, Boulevards, and Outdoor Recreation."

⁵⁸Tom Zimmerman, "Paradise Promoted: Boosterism and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce," *California History* 64,1 (1985): 22-33; quotation at 22.

sustained campaign to promote tourism at the turn of the century.⁵⁹ Victoria's first steps towards tourism promotion were, in fact, tentative. This is not surprising since the city retained its central role in the province's commercial development into the 1890s.⁶⁰ In the fall of 1890, however, with Vancouver's economy quickly developing, the city's Board of Trade turned its attention for the first time in a concentrated manner to the question of publicizing the city of Victoria. In October of that year the Board created an Advertising Committee to explore the possibility of publicizing the city's investment opportunities as well as its "equable climate and fine scenery."⁶¹ By April 1891, having impressed upon the provincial government the importance of publishing a pamphlet to benefit the province, the Board undertook its first direct step in the direction of promotional activity by offering its services in gathering statistics for a book soon to be published under the auspices of the *Colonist* newspaper – very likely *Victoria Illustrated*.⁶²

In the late 1890s, the Board loaned the use of its name to efforts aimed at advertising the city as a Klondike outfitting centre and was becoming more involved in supplying and

⁵⁹Forward, "The Evolution of Victoria's Functional Character," 356-7.

⁶⁰McDonald, "Victoria, Vancouver, and the Economic Development of British Columbia, 1886-1914," 36-39.

⁶¹Victoria City Archives [VCA], Victoria Chamber of Commerce [VCC] fonds, 32 B 1, Minute Book, Volume 1, Regular Quarterly Meeting, 6 October 1890. The Victoria Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1863. In 1878 its name was changed to the British Columbia Board of Trade. In 1921, the organization reverted back to its original name, the Victoria Chamber of Commerce.

⁶²VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 1, Minute Book, Volume 1, 8th Meeting of Council, 2 December 1890; 12th Meeting of Council, 7 April 1891.

publishing information designed to attract travellers to the city.⁶³ By October 1899 the Board concluded that a concerted effort should be made to advertise the city and that "annual subscriptions" should be solicited in order to publicize "the trading advantages of Victoria and its attractions to tourists."⁶⁴ With this decision the Board immersed itself in the Pacific Northwest's fledgling network of tourism promoters. One member was sent to a convention in Kamloops aimed at organizing a Provincial Good Roads Association. Three more were invited to embark upon a publicity excursion organized by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce.⁶⁵

In 1900 and 1901 the Board helped design and devise a booklet to help advertise the city entitled *Victoria, Past and Present*.⁶⁶ This publication offered a portrait of Victoria as a city that provided visitors the chance to immerse themselves in local natural attractions, and to observe first hand the city's industrial development possibilities. Under the heading "Panoramic and Picturesque," for example, it called readers' attention to both the attractive smaller islands nearby, but also "[s]hips being towed to the lumber mills, steamers speeding

⁶³VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 1, Minute Book, Volume 2, Quarterly General Meeting, 15 October 1897; 11th Meeting of Council, 20 December 1898.

⁶⁴VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 1, Minute Book, Volume 2, Quarterly General Meeting, 13 October 1899.

⁶⁵VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 1, Minute Book, Volume 2, 4th Meeting of Council, 1 September 1900; 5th Meeting of Council, 2 October 1900.

⁶⁶VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 5, Clipping Album, *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 7 September 1901, "Meeting of B. of T. Council."

to all points of the coast and to the Orient and Australia..."⁶⁷ And in late December 1901, as a sign that the Board was now convinced more than ever of the importance of tourists to the city's welfare, it began proceedings to approach the Canadian Pacific Railway with the idea of having the company construct a tourist hotel in Victoria.⁶⁸ While the push for a tourist hotel was a clear sign that tourism was gaining more attention from the Board, it would not accomplish this task alone. The key player in the negotiations with the CPR was the city's newly formed Tourist Association.

Organized tourism promotion in Victoria was the product of a cooperative effort among the city's business and community leaders, but one figure played a leading role: the indefatigable Herbert Cuthbert. Cuthbert was born in Wakefield, England in 1865 and had taken up a career in Victoria at the turn of the century as both a real estate agent and part-owner of an auction house.⁶⁹ The energetic Cuthbert arrived in Victoria in October 1891 and, quickly struck by the possibilities of the city's new market building, became the market's largest tenant by obtaining consignments of various types of produce and beef cattle. When this undertaking was halted by the outbreak of a smallpox epidemic, Cuthbert persevered to organize a new market, and became a director of the local Agricultural Association. He also took a leading role in city improvements by spearheading a campaign to have the city

⁶⁷British Columbia Board of Trade, *Victoria, British Columbia: Past and Present* (Victoria: Colonist Presses, c.1900)

⁶⁸VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 1, Minute Book, Volume 2, 6th Meeting of Council, 3 December 1901.

⁶⁹Kenneth Lines, "A Bit Of Old England: The Selling of Tourist Victoria," MA Thesis (University of Victoria, 1972), 26.

build a stone embankment to replace the old wooden bridge across Government Street.⁷⁰ Cuthbert's desire to develop the city's market and improve local pedestrian walkways reflected the wider agenda of the contemporary urban reform movement.⁷¹

Cuthbert outlined his support for tourism promotion in a July 1900 letter published in the *Victoria Daily Colonist*. Victoria's image as a "pleasure and health resort," he explained, must be spread throughout North America and Britain. But he was equally anxious to ensure that the flattering depictions of the city in guidebooks could be backed up by developments in the city itself. Civic improvements, including permanent roadways, pleasure grounds, and a revitalized inner harbour. Cuthbert argued, were necessary to maximize the city's allure as a tourist destination. To justify his recipe for success, Cuthbert drew a comparison between Victoria's potential as a sea-side resort, and previous success stories in Britain.⁷² "I know of several cities in England that could not compare with Victoria, and that fifty years ago had not over 1,000 inhabitants which have now from 20,000 to 75,000 people," he explained, primarily because of their civic leaders' far-sighted decision to provide "attractions and entertainment for the visitors." The result, he argued, was prosperity. Both Blackpool and Southport, he maintained, owed their "popularity and their largely increased population to the establishment of winter gardens and such places of

⁷⁰*Daily Colonist*, 27 May 1917, 15.

⁷¹See, for example, Linteau, *The Promoters' City*, 145-162.

⁷²On local initiatives to develop British seaside resorts, see Richard Roberts, "The Corporation as impresario: the municipal provision of entertainment in Victorian and Edwardian Bournemouth," and John K. Walton, "Municipal government and the holiday industry in Blackpool, 1876-1914," *Leisure in Britain, 1780-1939*, ed. John K. Walton and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983): 137-57; 159-185.

entertainment.” Visitors lured to Victoria by such entertainments might stay “for a day...a week, a month or more, and many of them would become permanent residents.” The resulting word-of-mouth publicity would also ensure that “Victoria’s importance as a commercial and mining centre would be advertised more by these visitors coming amongst us than by anything else.” As a local entrepreneur, Cuthbert also recognized the immediate benefits of such visits: “Our hotels would be filled,” he noted, before drawing upon his experience as co-owner of a local auction house to predict that “the auctioneers would have a larger and more profitable business.”⁷³

Less than a year later, Cuthbert again publicly admonished his fellow Victorians to take the possibilities of tourism promotion seriously, this time in an interview with a *Daily Colonist* reporter. On this occasion he was armed with evidence detailing the development of a tourist resort closer to home: Seattle. In Seattle, Cuthbert explained, the value of business and residential properties was increasing dramatically. The impetus behind this development was the willingness of Seattle business people to combine their efforts and transcend their individual self-interest. This willingness had allowed the city to prosper despite the fact that Seattle’s cost of living was higher, and its quality of life was lower, than Victoria’s. Victoria business people could remedy this situation, Cuthbert claimed, only by following the lead of their southern counterparts. Victoria would attract a large number of residents if only its “citizens would lay themselves out to attract visitors and home seekers” by “providing amusements and entertainment for residents and visitors.”⁷⁴

⁷³*Daily Colonist*, 7 July 1900, 7.

⁷⁴*Daily Colonist*, 3 March 1901, 5.

As Cuthbert championed tourism's possibilities in print, the local business community took tentative steps towards the creation of a tourist association. A preliminary meeting in November 1901 suggested a good deal of interest in such an organization on the part of Victoria's business leaders and prompted the *Victoria Daily Colonist* to suggest that "the organization in Victoria of an efficient Tourists' Association [is] a certainty." The tourist movement, the newspaper explained to its readers, was "one that ought to appeal to every business man. for the expenditure by tourists is large." Saint John, New Brunswick, it reported, had obtained \$2.5 million from tourist revenue in 1900. Confident that Victoria possessed both "the attractions that will bring tourists" and "the territory to draw from," the *Daily Colonist* restlessly awaited the day when information about the city reached potential tourists and a "golden harvest" resulted. Subscriptions totalling \$5000, the newspaper suggested, would get a tourist association up and running.⁷⁵

With the necessary funding secured, the Tourist Association of Victoria [TAV] was formed in February 1902. In giving its final report the Association's provisional committee, headed by Mayor Charles Hayward, echoed the rhetoric of boosterism that Alan Artibise has identified with community leaders on the prairies and proclaimed that its very great success in canvassing funds for the new organization was evidence that the Association had "secured the sympathy of all classes of the community."⁷⁶ Besides Mayor Hayward, the Provisional

⁷⁵*Daily Colonist*, 23 November 1901, "A Tourist Association."

⁷⁶By 19 February 1902 the committee had obtained subscriptions totaling over \$3700 and the provisional committee was confident (a confidence that was understandable given the mayor's position as president of the association) that the City would make available an annual grant from funds that had been directed in previous years to private advertising schemes. *Daily Colonist*, 20 February 1902, 6. On civic boosters's claims that they were

Committee was comprised of prominent business and civic leaders including hotel proprietors Stephen Jones and G.A. Hartnagle, industrialists D.R. Ker, and A.B. Fraser Sr., clothing store proprietor and Alderman W.G. Cameron, and journalists Frank I. Clarke, and Charles H. Lugin.⁷⁷ While these men came from a variety of different political and religious backgrounds⁷⁸, and indeed pursued quite different occupations, they all shared two key characteristics. They were heavily involved in voluntary community activities and their financial security depended upon the overall prosperity of the city itself.⁷⁹ These men shared

acting in the interests of the entire community, see Artibise. "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913." 214-5.

⁷⁷*Daily Colonist*, 20 February 1902, "The Tourist Association."

⁷⁸Cameron and Jones, for example, were both Liberals. In 1903, Cameron secured the Victoria City seat in the provincial legislature as a member of British Columbia's newly-formed Liberal party while Jones was an original member, and later president, of the city's Sir Wilfrid Laurier Club. D.R. Ker, like Herbert Cuthbert was a Conservative. In fact, Cuthbert was a supporter of Conservative Premier Richard McBride and vociferously endorsed the premier's campaign to obtain "better terms" from the federal government. *Daily Colonist*, 30 October 1930, 5; *Daily Colonist*, 3 October 1933, 1-2; *Daily Colonist*, 14 July 1923, 1, 8; *Daily Colonist*, 26 November 1909, 3; *Daily Colonist*, 21 October 1908, 3. The members of the Provisional Committee were drawn from of at least two different mainstream Protestant denominations. Cameron and Fraser were both Presbyterian while Ker and Lugin were Anglican. *Daily Colonist*, 30 October 1930, 5; *Daily Colonist*, 31 January 1911, 3; *Daily Colonist*, 14 July 1923, 1, 8; *Daily Colonist*, 15 June 1917, 1, 4.

⁷⁹Fraser and Mayor Hayward, for example, served as manager and President, respectively of the B.C. Protestant Orphans' Home. *Daily Colonist*, 31 January 1911, 3; *Daily Colonist*, 9 July 1919, 1. On the philanthropic efforts of contemporary business people see Linteau, *The Promoters' City*, 36 and Diana Pederson, "'Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow': Businessmen, Boosters, and the YWCA, 1890-1930," *Urban History Review* 15,3 (February 1987): 225-242. Their concern for the overall economic welfare of the city is indicated by the fact that virtually all of Provisional Committee members were associated with the city's Board of Trade.

a sense of civic duty and were imbued with a dedication to philanthropy common among business people of the time.

Aims and Activities of the TAV

While the *Daily Colonist* tempted local businesses with visions of a “golden harvest” of free spending visitors, the leaders of the TAV remained focused on promoting tourism in order to attract settlement and investment. Cuthbert had little time for observers who suggested that Victoria would not benefit from industrial development. In fact, he maintained that the tourist association should be dedicated to luring new factories to the city and that commercial interests must not be neglected in the city’s efforts to become both a tourist resort and a leading centre of economic development in the Pacific Northwest. Cuthbert also emphasized the important role the association played in encouraging agricultural development. Concerted campaigns to lure prospective farmers to southern Vancouver Island, he explained, were necessary not only to build-up these rural communities, but also to stimulate industrial activity in Victoria itself.⁸⁰

Cuthbert’s position was publicly endorsed by other prominent men. Charles H. Lugin stressed the connection between tourists and the region’s fisheries. Drawing upon his earlier experience as a lawyer and journalist in the Maritimes, Lugin pointed to the example of New Brunswick where the provincial government had taken a leading role in encouraging

⁸⁰*Daily Colonist*, 6 March 1907, 3.

visitors to make use of the province's fishing opportunities.⁸¹ As a less flattering example, Lugrin pointed to the State of Maine where he noted that "the most barren, worthless portions" of that state "had been made valuable through advertising their attractions as hunting and fishing resorts." Lugrin urged the Association to focus first on potential U.S. customers west of the Mississippi before turning gradually to include the Eastern coast of the United States and Canada. He also stressed the lucrative British market where "there were many people of wealth who counted distance as an obstacle easily overcome when there was something worth seeing and good sport at the other end."⁸²

A Mr. Mackenzie was among the eager supporters of the Association and drew his inspiration from a recent report in the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* – a report which he suggested "was in itself ... a sufficient reason for the formation of a tourist association in Victoria." The report documented the large numbers of tourists visiting California who would be returning to the East by way of the Northwest (many by way of Portland). What irked the Seattle newspaper was the city's lack of promotional literature in California that might woo these travellers further north.⁸³ Mackenzie considered this a valuable lesson for Victoria. So too did the *Daily Colonist*. Under the heading "Advertise Victoria" the newspaper published an interview with M.P. Benton, general agent for the Burlington

⁸¹Lugrin arrived in Victoria in 1897 after a successful career in law and journalism in his home province of New Brunswick. During the 1880s he authored several works documenting the natural resources and vacation opportunities of New Brunswick. *Daily Colonist*, 15 June 1917, 1. 4.

⁸²*Daily Colonist*, 20 February 1902, 6.

⁸³*Ibid.*

Railway in Seattle detailing the vast number of potential visitors to the city who had traveled from the East to vacation in California and were contemplating a northern route home. If Seattle "can attract any number of tourists from Southern California," the *Daily Colonist* reasoned, "surely if Victoria's thousand and one beauty spots were adequately advertised in the southern land, any who came as far north as Seattle would be morally sure to pay Victoria a visit."⁸⁴ Such reasoning would lead, in the near future, to a great deal of cooperation between Seattle, Victoria, and Vancouver.

With agreement upon the aims of the association, TAV members embarked upon a number of different activities, all of which were designed to develop the city's economy. Their efforts included a sustained local drive to beautify the city and modernize its infrastructure, a vigorous campaign to improve transportation routes to Victoria and expand the city's available accommodation, a concerted effort to advertise the city's attractions through promotional trips and the distribution of tourist literature, and, of course, a constant campaign to raise funds to support these various initiatives.

By July 1902, the *Daily Colonist* reported, great strides had been taken in improving the city's appearance. Many transportation companies, it noted, were "becoming alive" to the city's attractions "and have commenced to profit by the increase of travel." The involvement of the town's citizenry could be seen "in the permanent character of the public works" now under way. The city's main streets "are being paved with wooden blocks" it reported. The beautification campaign was substantial: "Concrete sidewalks are being laid. Some acres of the harbor are in the course of reclamation. The handsome stone embankment is almost

⁸⁴*Daily Colonist*, 20 February 1902, "Advertise Victoria."

completed and the low lands behind are being filled in."⁸⁵ The Association concentrated its early efforts on upgrading the city's attractions. The association's Standing Committee on Hotels and Sea Bathing quickly embarked upon a plan to establish a sea bathing resort by the summer of 1903. Transportation itself, it was hoped, would also become an attraction. The association introduced the Tally Ho Coach, a horse-drawn carriage that would enliven the city's streets while providing visitors with a guided tour of selected attractions six months of the year.⁸⁶ Three years later, in 1906, the TAV continued to devote a good deal of energy toward improving the city's boulevards and bathing facilities.⁸⁷

The drawing power of civic improvements remained dependent upon Victoria's ability to overcome one of its chief limitations: its distance from major population centres. One way in which the Association sought to overcome its geographical isolation from the rest of North America was by appealing to the CPR. In August 1903, Cuthbert appealed to the CPR's Passenger Agent in Vancouver for assistance in fostering travel through the mountains from Alberta and by December 1903, the Association had succeeded in convincing the CPR to reduce its winter rates from Manitoba and the Northwest Territories to allow the prairie population "the opportunity of taking a vacation in the enjoyment of our

⁸⁵VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 5, Clippings Album, *Daily Colonist*, 19 July 1902. "Progress of the Province."

⁸⁶VCA, "Tourism" Clipping File, [*Times, Daily Colonist?*], 4 February 1903. "The Tourist Association."

⁸⁷*Victoria Daily Times*, 27 April 1906, 1.

mild climate."⁸⁸ Cuthbert also supplied the CPR's Vancouver office with promotional literature bound for Japan and China.⁸⁹ Accommodation, however, remained a chief concern – one that required a combined effort on the part of the newly formed Tourist Association and the Board of Trade.

The Board of Trade had approached the CPR about the possibility of a tourist hotel in December 1901, but the company was at first lukewarm to the Board's suggestion. Sir Thomas Shaughnessy initially refused the request because of his railway's many other commitments and because of the existence of a good quality hotel, the Driard, in the city already. Continued pressure on the part of the Board and the newly formed Tourist Association throughout 1902, however, softened the CPR's position.⁹⁰ By May 1903, Shaughnessy had agreed to recommend to his company that a tourist hotel be built on the city's inner harbour. The hotel would cost not less than \$300,000 and was dependent upon the citizens of the city transferring to the CPR the necessary land free of cost, furnishing free water, and exempting the company from taxation for fifteen years.⁹¹

The establishment of the Empress Hotel, Cuthbert would later recall, provided the

⁸⁸VCA, CRS 97, Tourist Association of Victoria [TAV] papers, 3 A 4, Secretary's Letterbooks, Cuthbert to E.J. Coyle, Asst. General Passenger Agent, CPR, Vancouver, 8 August 1903; Cuthbert to [no addressee], 9 December 1903; Cuthbert to Mayor, Victoria, 10 December 1903.

⁸⁹VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks, Cuthbert to Coyle, 14 August 1903.

⁹⁰VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 1, Minute Book, Volume 2, 8th Meeting of Council, 14 November 1902.

⁹¹VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 1, Minute Book, Volume 2, 20th Meeting of Council, 22 May 1903.

city with more than just additional accommodation. It also convinced the CPR to develop the E&N Railway and to make Victoria the home port for its Pacific fleet.⁹² The TAV's efforts to beautify the city, improve its transportation links with the surrounding area, and expand the city's accommodation were clearly designed to enhance the experience of tourists once they had decided to visit Victoria. But city beautification and improved transportation links would only prove beneficial if outsiders could be convinced to take advantage of these developments. The association's major undertaking, then, was a campaign to convince travellers to visit the city in the first place.

The TAV was determined to alert business people in eastern North America to the economic opportunities in Victoria and it frequently sent Herbert Cuthbert to deliver the message in person. A 1903 tour of large population centres in the East afforded Cuthbert the opportunity to inform Easterners of the city's possibilities. In Toronto, Cuthbert employed lectures to bring Victoria's temperate climate to the attention of the Canadian Club, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Toronto Board of Trade and the Business Men's League.⁹³ The association's conception of tourism's function as a means to furthering Victoria's industrial development was underscored when members of the Canadian Manufacturers Association arrived in town that year. Cuthbert wrote to both Mayor Alexander G. McCandless and Premier Richard McBride explaining that "of all [the] visitors we have had in the city during the last two years," the members of the CMA "are the most important." It was crucial, Cuthbert explained, that the CMA members be encouraged to see

⁹²*Daily Colonist*, 15 June 1917, 10.

⁹³*Daily Colonist*, 29 April 1903, 5.

British Columbia "both as a market for Canadian goods and as an outlet for the investment of Canadian capital."⁹⁴

Cuthbert's duties also included frequent trips throughout the Pacific Northwest to distribute promotional literature. In June, 1904 Cuthbert toured Washington State and Idaho in an effort to promote fruit-growing opportunities near Victoria. On such trips Cuthbert distributed circulars and copies of the association's promotional pamphlets. His intended audience was clear: potential investors and settlers. In North Yakima, for instance, he enthusiastically reported that the "people here are all very well-to-do, and we are getting a good deal of business from here."⁹⁵

Cuthbert's travels also allowed him to investigate the success of other tourist centres. A 1904 trip to Southern California provided Cuthbert with the opportunity to lecture his fellow Victorians on developments in California. He was particularly impressed by Pasadena and encouraged Victorians to replicate Pasadena's successes locally "by boulevarding" Victoria's streets "throwing down its fences, and laying broad cement sidewalks, bordered with velvety emerald greensward." Such tours also allowed Cuthbert to emphasize the economic impact of tourist travel and he did so on this occasion by reporting that Santa Barbara was bringing in \$5 million per year from tourists.⁹⁶ Primarily, however, such tours were designed to disseminate promotional material about Victoria.

⁹⁴VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks, Cuthbert to Mayor, 2 September 1903; Cuthbert to Premier Richard McBride, 2 September 1903.

⁹⁵*Daily Colonist*, 6 July 1904, 3.

⁹⁶*Daily Colonist*, 7 May 1904, 3.

Early tourist booklets focused directly on commercial development. For example, the TAV's 1905 publication *An Outpost of Empire* championed Victoria as "The Tourist and Commercial City of the Canadian Far West" and printed endorsements from a British Editors' Delegation paying homage to both the city's beauty and the province's agricultural and industrial opportunities.⁹⁷ The centrality of commercial concerns is apparent as well in promotional literature distributed on behalf of individual hotels. The Hotel Dallas's guide to Victoria began by boasting of the hotel's close proximity to the city's "commercial centre." Both the city's steady increase in population and the continual expansion of the city limits figure prominently in the hotel's description of Victoria. Here too the city's favourable climate was highlighted as were a variety of burgeoning industries including iron and boiler works, saw mills, chemical works and ship-building. In fact, according to the Dallas, "every industry is well represented by many flourishing firms of old standing and respectability." Recreational pursuits including hunting, fishing, boating and cycling were also highlighted. The booklet offered not simply a list of things to see and do, but a list of commercial opportunities to pursue and a variety of reasons to relocate one's family and business in Victoria.⁹⁸

Not surprisingly, tourism promotion literature also addressed readers' concerns with modernity. A 1902 Tourist Association of Victoria publication explained that Victoria boasted "every pastime to give the health-seeker and tourist more buoyant strength to equip

⁹⁷Tourist Association of Victoria. *An Outpost of Empire*. (Victoria: Colonist Printing and Publishing Co, 1905), 1.

⁹⁸*The Hotel Dallas* (Victoria: Province Print, c.1895)

him for this 'strenuous' modern life." The pamphlet enthused that the "wealth of picturesque islands" in the Gulf of Georgia "out-rivals the more widely known Thousand Isles." and reported that "the combination of bold and picturesque country with old-fashioned English homes, their beautiful gardens and air of comfort and contentment makes Victoria a delightful residential city." The city also boasted "a veritable feast of pastimes" including boating, driving, mountain climbing, bathing, hunting and fishing. The city's climate, moreover, was "devoid of extremes of heat or cold" and "sunstrokes and prostrations from the heat are afflictions only known to Victorians through newspaper reports from other parts of the world." Thus Victoria was the ideal destination for "those who desire to escape from the enervating heat of the middle and eastern states." Victoria, readers were informed, "has not the hustling business methods of Chicago, nor the nerve-destroying habits of New York." Instead, "[c]onservative business methods, health, happiness and contentment are the features identified with Victoria."⁹⁹

A 1903 TAV publication acknowledged Victoria's place as "the leading Tourist and

⁹⁹Tourist Association of Victoria. *Victoria, British Columbia, Canada: Tourist Resort of the Pacific Northwest* (Victoria: Colonist Presses, c.1902.) According to a 1903 TAV pamphlet, "Victoria's pleasant summer days, of sunshine, and bracing breezes offer health to the body and repose to the mind." TAV, *Picturesque Victoria, British Columbia, Canada: The Tourist Resort of the Pacific Northwest* (Victoria: Colonist Printing, 1903). The 1905 TAV publication, *An Outpost of Empire*, expanded upon this characteristic explaining that "the city has earned for itself a very enviable reputation" as a health resort. For people feeling "run down through over work, or suffering from nervous prostration on account of mental worry, or because of living in high altitudes, there is no city in which such speedy and effectual relief will be found as in Victoria." A later edition of *An Outpost of Empire* explained that Victoria's "combination of magnificent scenery and almost perfect climate is going to be instrumental in making Victoria one of the largest and richest residential cities on the continent." TAV, *An Outpost of Empire: Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, 'The Evergreen City of Canada'* (Victoria: Colonist Presses, 1907).

health resort of the Pacific North West" but also highlighted the city's "varied commercial and industrial enterprises." These included farming, lumber mills, copper and gold mining, salmon canneries and ship-building.¹⁰⁰ The 1907 edition of the TAV's *An Outpost of Empire* described Victoria as "a hive of industry" that "offers many excellent business and manufacturing opportunities." These included agriculture, poultry and dairy farming, and fishing. Victoria's position as a "manufacturing centre." ensured that it could draw upon Vancouver Island's "immense iron and coal deposits." Eschewing the more reserved approach of earlier tourist literature, this publication included a list of "Opportunities" for entrepreneurs on its back page.¹⁰¹

Tourist literature was careful, of course, to avoid painting a portrait of Victoria as an underdeveloped community desperate for investment. A 1915 pamphlet, for example, attempted to strike the right balance by listing new industries that Victoria required, which included woollen mills and a steel industry, alongside a discussion of the city's existing and prosperous industries.¹⁰² To entice visitors to entertain the thought of settling permanently in Victoria, promotional literature also highlighted the city's social life, its low level of taxation, and emphasized its abundant supply of high quality hospitals and schools.¹⁰³ These

¹⁰⁰TAV, *Picturesque Victoria* (1903).

¹⁰¹TAV, *An Outpost of Empire* (1907).

¹⁰²Vancouver Island Development Association, *Victoria British Columbia: A Most Attractive City on the Pacific Coast* (Victoria: 1915)

¹⁰³See, for example, British Columbia Board of Trade, *Victoria, British Columbia: Past and Present* (c.1900); TAV, *An Outpost of Empire* (1905); TAV, *Picturesque Victoria* (1903).

pamphlets also encouraged settlement by directing potential settlers to information resources. The 1905 edition of the TAV's *Outpost of Empire* informed readers that the provincial government "through its Horticultural department, will assist intending settlers with practical information upon all matters pertaining to fruit culture."¹⁰⁴

This promotional literature also emphasized that the city attracted the right sort of visitors and settlers. A 1903 TAV publication, for example, outlined a direct causal link between local agricultural successes and the racial makeup of the population. Farming near Duncan and Cowichan, it explained, was pursued on "some most excellent farms and ranches, in the hands of a very desirable class of English settlers."¹⁰⁵ Another booklet describing Victoria's rapid economic expansion ascribed these results to both its climate and the makeup of its population. The fact that Victoria was one of the wealthiest cities in Canada was "greatly owing to the fact that on account of the salubrity of its climate and other attractions it offers to people of wealth and refinement a delightful place of residence. It is a peculiarly British town and the citizens are proud of the fact." The racial makeup of the city also offered optimism for the future. Vancouver Island's "immense and practically inexhaustible natural resources" were now free to be capitalized upon by this population. Moreover, the sheer volume of resources remaining was due, in part, to the previous economic inactivity of the region's aboriginal population: "Where, but a few years ago, the

¹⁰⁴TAV, *An Outpost of Empire* (1905).

¹⁰⁵TAV, *Picturesque Victoria* (1903). The British character of Kelowna was similarly publicized and celebrated in promotional material regarding orchards. Jason Patrick Bennett, "Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* New Series 9 (1998): 63-92.

native races held undisputed sway and waged their tribal wars," the pamphlet explained, "the strong arm of the settlers has hewn a home and the long neglected land returns an hundred fold."¹⁰⁶

The 1907 pamphlet, *Impressions of Victoria*, also highlighted the city's English characteristics. Trumpeting the city as "A Bit of England on the Shores of the Pacific," it promised readers English plants, shrubs and flowers peculiar to England as well as popular sports from the "Old Land." Along with championing the city's healthy climate and housing opportunities, *Impressions of Victoria* also attempted to make a tangible link between the city's Englishness and England's own industrial achievements. "The Island of Vancouver is larger than the kingdom of Ireland and almost as large as England," it explained, and added that its "almost limitless undeveloped riches in iron, coal, copper, timber and fisheries" meant that it had "all the potential wealth that made England 'the workshop of the world.'"¹⁰⁷

Similar messages graced the TAV's promotional posters. Posters distributed to the Southern Pacific Railway Company lauded Victoria as "A Bit of England on the Shores of the Pacific."¹⁰⁸ A coloured poster produced in March 1906 championed the city's temperate climate and described Victoria as "The Finest Residential City in America." The poster's central images, the James Bay embankment, the post office block, the Empress Hotel and the provincial legislature buildings, were surrounded by half-tone images of "sheep, orchard,

¹⁰⁶*Victoria.... The Capital City of the West* (BC Print & Engraving Company, c.1900)

¹⁰⁷TAV, *Impressions of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada: The 'Empress' City of the Golden West* (Victoria:1907).

¹⁰⁸*Daily Colonist*, 3 April 1906, 6.

farming and industrial scenes in and near to Victoria, the idea being to portray the commercial and shipping industries, together with the special opportunities the environs offer to settlers desirous of engaging in orcharding, mixed farming and dairying.”¹⁰⁹

That same year a *Victoria Daily Times* editorial underscored and endorsed the motivation behind these promotional campaigns. In praising the TAV’s efforts, the editorial maintained that the key measure of the association’s success is “not to be found in the presence of transient wayfarers who have come to spend a portion of their holidays here, but in the sales of property made to well-to-do farmers and business men who, having acquired competencies, are in quest of the most congenial possible places of residence in which to take the rest they have earned by years of devotion to duty.”¹¹⁰ TAV activities were centrally focused on developing the city’s industrial and agricultural infrastructure by encouraging outsiders to invest and settle in and around Victoria.

Civic beautification and promotional campaigns required money, and the campaigns to raise funds to support these endeavours revealed that TAV members considered these projects and promotional campaigns to be in the interests of all Victorians. During the TAV’s first years of operation, its operating expenses ranged between \$8000 and \$10,000 a year. Grants from the City of Victoria usually accounted for between sixty and eighty per cent of the association’s revenue.¹¹¹ To raise additional funds, the Association solicited firms

¹⁰⁹*Daily Colonist*, 7 March 1906, 7.

¹¹⁰*Times*, 9 February 1906, 4.

¹¹¹*Daily Colonist*, 13 July 1904, 5; *Daily Colonist*, 9 February 1906, 2; *Daily Colonist*, 10 January 1907, 3.

throughout the city attempting to convince them of the importance of tourism promotion and often stressing the ways in which these businesses benefitted from the Association's efforts. Cuthbert informed the Permanent Home Building Society of Victoria, for instance, that a crucial part of the Association's work was "to increase the number of permanent residents here," work that must certainly "have a considerable influence on the business of your company."¹¹² Even individual citizens, Cuthbert hoped, could be swayed to contribute to the Association through self-interest. Writing to Joan Dunsmuir, widow of coal magnate Robert Dunsmuir, he described his association's efforts as "devoted to the advertising of the city generally as a place of residence and as a resort for tourists." He emphasized the benefits local businesses had derived from such efforts, but made special mention of the tendency of his association's work "to increase the price of real estate throughout the city."¹¹³ Similarly, he told James Thompson of the Hudson's Bay Company in Victoria that the TAV's successful campaign to have the CPR build the Empress Hotel had ensured that "in some portions of the city real estate has increased in value over 100 per cent." The CPR's upcoming publicity campaigns would undoubtedly increase the city's population. Cuthbert explained, and further increase the value of the HBC's land holdings.¹¹⁴

The Association also solicited funds from the City itself. Writing to the Mayor in

¹¹²VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks, Cuthbert to H.H. Jones, Permanent Home Building Society, Victoria, 17 August 1903.

¹¹³VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks, Cuthbert to Mrs. Joan Dunsmuir, Victoria, 22 September 1903.

¹¹⁴VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks, Cuthbert to James Thompson, HBC, Victoria, 18 February 1904.

1903 to seek a substantial improvement to the city's grant of \$2000, Cuthbert did his best to champion the Association's cause. "Above everything else," Cuthbert reminded the Mayor, "this tourist movement in the City was made possible by the contributions of the City Council and the business men." It had already "resulted in the awakening of the C.P.R. to the advantages of the City from a tourist standpoint." To add a competitive edge to his promotion, Cuthbert informed the Mayor that even after adding in the voluntary subscriptions from individuals and businesses the Victoria Association found itself with "\$2,000 per year less" than its rivals in Vancouver. A contribution to tourism, Cuthbert reminded the Mayor, also had a direct bearing on his government through increased taxes. "Two years ago Victoria, as a resort and residential city was almost unknown in the ticket offices of the large Railway Co's or to those in search of such a resort," Cuthbert explained. "To-day it is the best advertised individual city on the continent. This is how your money is used, and the city is not expending in this way as much as in former years."¹¹⁵

Keen to expand their city's population base and to ward off the mounting economic challenge posed by Vancouver, Victoria's community leaders turned to tourism promotion. In doing so they focused not only on beautifying their city and improving its transportation links to the larger population centres in North America, but also embarked upon publicity campaigns that featured promotional booklets and speaking tours. To underwrite these initiatives they drew upon civic grants as well as individual subscriptions. These same tactics were employed by Victoria's chief civic rival.

¹¹⁵VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks, Cuthbert to Mayor and Board of Aldermen, Victoria, 6 November 1903.

The Vancouver Tourist Association

"The Tourist Association of the city of Vancouver has more than twice the revenue enjoyed by our association. Flippant persons might retort that it needs it, as it has less than half the attractions of this city from a tourist's point of view."

-editorial, *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 28 January 1903¹¹⁶

Only months after the founding of Victoria's Tourist Association, Vancouver's business community created one of its own. In late June 1902 local business people circulated a petition calling upon the city's mayor, Thomas F. Neelands, to hold a meeting on the subject. According to the *Vancouver Province* "nearly all the prominent professional and business men of the city" signed the petition.¹¹⁷ Attendance at the meeting itself, held on 26 June, was sparse, but among those present support for a Tourist Association was unanimous and it was agreed that such an association was necessary "to advertise the city as a pleasure resort, and in every way possible to bring Vancouver to the attention of outsiders."¹¹⁸

By early July 1902 the Vancouver Tourists' Association (VTA) was up and running. Fred Buscombe, a prominent china and glass merchant and a future mayor of Vancouver, served as its first president. As with the TAV in Victoria, the VTA's executive committee was comprised of local business leaders. The VTA's executive committee for 1909, for

¹¹⁶VCA, "Tourism" Clipping File, *Daily Colonist*, 28 January 1903, "The Tourist Association."

¹¹⁷*Vancouver Province*, 24 June 1902, "Petition Was Largely Signed."

¹¹⁸*Province*, 26 June 1902, "Will Form An Association."

example, included significant representation from the real estate, insurance and legal professions as well as two representatives from the CPR (see Table 1.1) Of the three leading VTA figures during the association's early years of operations two men, F.J. Proctor and J.R. Seymour, were in the real estate business and were likely to benefit directly from VTA activities luring settlers and investment into the city. The other leading figure was J.J. Banfield, a Notary Public and Insurance agent.

Table 1.1 Vancouver Tourist Association 1909 Executive Committee.

Member	Occupation
Frederick J. Proctor	Real Estate and Insurance
Charles David Rand	Real Estate and Stock Broker
Joseph R. Seymour	Real Estate and Insurance
John J. Banfield	Notary Public and Insurance Agent
Robert Cassidy	Barrister and Solicitor
Charles B. Foster	Assistant General Passenger Agent, CPR
Richard Marpole	General Executive Assistant, CPR
William Godfrey	Manager, Bank of British North America
John P. McConnell	Publisher, Ford-McConnell Ltd.
Rochford H. Sperling	General Manager, BC Electric Railway Co and Vancouver Gas
George E. Trorey	Managing Director, Henry Birks and Sons Jewellers
John Williams	Unknown
W.H. Hargrave	Unknown

Sources: *Henderson's City of Vancouver and North Vancouver Directory, 1909*; 21 January 1909, *Vancouver Province*, 10.

To raise money for the new association subscription lists were posted in business centres, banks and larger stores throughout the city and by 11 July over \$5000 in

subscriptions had been secured.¹¹⁹ VTA members quickly formed committees focusing on Reception, Entertainment, and Literature.¹²⁰ By mid-July the association had established its headquarters in the Fairfield building on Granville Street and within a week a steady stream of visitors were dropping into the headquarters in search of tourist information. The newly organized "Tally-ho" trips around Stanley Park were also proving popular.¹²¹

The VTA also played a leading role in the city's beautification movement. According to R.A.J. McDonald, the leaders of Vancouver's City Beautiful movement were motivated by a number of different concerns including a desire to impose social order on the city's population, public-spirited philanthropy, and boosterism. The VTA took the lead in advancing the "commerical thrust for beautification."¹²² For example, at its first meeting the association's secretary, H.W. Findlay, was instructed to draft communication to the City Council emphasizing "the immediate necessity of certain improvements at English Bay," namely benches, seats and "proper sanitary arrangements."¹²³

Like Victoria, tourism promoters in Vancouver hoped to benefit from a close relationship with the CPR and the Association planned to quickly approach the company in the hope of securing "special transportation rates, and the arrangement of special summer

¹¹⁹*Province*, 11 July 1902, "Tourist Trip To Mount Crown."

¹²⁰*Province*, 5 July 1902, "The Tourists' Association Now Ready For Business."

¹²¹*Province*, 12 July 1902, "Headquarters Established;" *Province*, 21 July 1902 "Information For Tourists."

¹²²Robert A.J. McDonald, *Making Vancouver: Class, Status and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), 169.

¹²³*Province*, 5 July 1902, "The Tourists' Association Now Ready For Business."

excursions from points in the interior to Vancouver."¹²⁴ But what most interested Vancouverites were material advantages the CPR could bring their way. When the company offered the city land for the purpose of building a golf course, the *Province* enthusiastically supported the proposed facility. Such an endeavor would "aid this city in coming to the front as a golf centre," the *Province* explained, and enthusiastically relayed the position of CPR general superintendent, and VTA member, Richard Marpole who "cited the fact that at all the winter resorts to the south of this city golf links are to be found, and they are looked upon as one of the strong points in drawing that class of people which this city is now so anxious to secure."¹²⁵ Marpole, like early tourism promoters in Victoria, saw tourism promotion as a strategy that would attract rich visitors, not simply for their spending power, but also for their investment potential.

Of course, Vancouverites did not expect the CPR to supply all of their city's attractions and the VTA embarked upon its own campaign to make the city more attractive to potential visitors. The local business community was not short on ideas to improve Vancouver's fortunes. In championing the inauguration of train service to the fishing centre of Steveston, the *Province* suggested that tourists would be among those drawn to this "quick and efficient medium of transportation." Closely related to this endeavor was the possibility of a market site being constructed in the city, "whereat the produce of the Delta country may be disposed of by the farmers."¹²⁶ Local fishers and farmers, Vancouverites had accepted,

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵*Province*, 28 June 1902, "Golf Links At Vancouver."

¹²⁶*Province*, 14 July 1902, "First Train To Steveston To-day."

would benefit greatly from an increase in visitors. The Association's first Secretary, H.W. Findlay, the advertising manager for the *Vancouver Province*, also wasted little time in bringing attractions to the city. Findlay wrote letters to interests across the province soliciting collections and items from mineral and agricultural industries so that they might be exhibited for visitors at the Association's headquarters. Along with various fruits, vegetables and grains, Findlay was sent a sampling of "Indian and other curios" – an indication, perhaps, that Native culture could eventually be appropriated as a natural resource and tourist attraction.¹²⁷

Vancouver's tourism promoters were, of course, aware of the activities of their Victoria counterparts. William Godfrey, manager of a local branch of the Bank of British North America, and a VTA member, had returned from a trip to the provincial capital in 1902 overwhelmed by the success of that city's Tourist Association. "Every citizen seems to be directly interested" he explained, "...for it appeals to him as something that is bringing immediate results." Godfrey was also impressed with the "detailed management" of the TAV office and championed the city's advertising efforts.¹²⁸ That the two cities were in direct competition with one another, was not lost on the *Vancouver Province*. That same year the newspaper printed a statement by a local resident explaining how in at least one instance Victoria had trumped Vancouver's efforts to attract wealthy visitors. "Two of the wealthiest men of Penang, China arrived in Vancouver by the last Empress," he explained. "They both had an unlimited amount of money and were willing to spend it." Both were "charmed" by

¹²⁷*Province*, 21 July 1902, "Exhibits For Tourists."

¹²⁸*Province*, 7 July 1902, "Double Funds For Tourists."

Vancouver, but "had heard so much of the attractions of Victoria," as advertised by the TAV "that they were impatient to spend the rest of their stay ... in that city." The moral of the story, of course, was that Vancouver lacked Victoria's profile. "The only literature showing Vancouver's points of interest that the travelers could obtain," the *Province* reported "was what was supplied by the C.P.R. Co. on the steamers crossing the Pacific."¹²⁹

To overcome this publicity deficit, the VTA embarked upon a sustained promotional campaign. During 1907, for example, the association distributed 60,000 illustrated books, 70,000 folders and guides, 2000 Government bulletins, and hundreds of maps not only to the CPR and other railways, but to the office of High Commissioner in London, as well as to leading hotels, libraries, and information bureaux throughout the world. In addition, a VTA representative travelled to Winnipeg and other population centres on the Prairies to deliver lectures accompanied by stereoscopic slides. The results of similar past endeavours, VTA President F.J. Proctor announced, were clearly paying dividends. In the past year VTA headquarters had responded to approximately 2000 letters of inquiry about the city while roughly 5,000 visitors had dropped in on the headquarters itself – a decision that allowed them the opportunity to view the VTA's display of fruit and minerals from throughout British Columbia.¹³⁰ Two years later the association spearheaded a vigorous publicity campaign to coincide with the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle (see figure 1.1).¹³¹

¹²⁹*Province*, 9 July 1902, "Induced To See Victoria."

¹³⁰*Province*, 21 February 1908, 2.

¹³¹Robert A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders in Early Vancouver, 1886-1914," Ph.D. Dissertation (UBC 1977), 320-1; McDonald, *Making Vancouver*, 123-4.

Overall, the VTA inherited the mantle of the city's leading public relations body from the Vancouver Board of Trade and took a more aggressive position in advertising the city to outsiders in order to promote the city's commercial and industrial development. The association's leading members were drawn primarily from the real estate sector, but as Fred Buscombe's tenure as president suggests, merchants also held prominent positions. Like their counterparts in Victoria, tourism promoters in Vancouver endeavoured to convince potential investors to visit their city with the hope that such a visit would convince them to return as permanent contributors to sustained economic development. And like tourism promoters in Victoria, VTA members recognized the important role that the CPR and railway travel played in the tourist business.

5. Conclusion

Like visitors in search of Nova Scotia folklore, admirers of Tom Thomson paintings, and readers of the romantic stories of Mounted Police heroism, travellers to British Columbia between 1880 and 1930 welcomed the opportunity to escape the pressures and concerns of modern life.¹³² But while they journeyed to British Columbia to escape the enervating effects of modernity, they were also determined to embrace the economic opportunities that modern life made possible. The province's vast forests, for example, were not simply awe-inspiring

¹³²On these antimodern activities see Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Cameron, "Tom Thomson, Antimodern Nationalism and the Ideal of Manhood;" Michael Dawson, "'That Nice Red Coat Goes to My Head Like Champagne': Gender, Antimodernism and the Mountie Image: 1880-1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32,3 (Fall 1997): 119-139.

natural cathedrals; they were also raw materials awaiting industrial production. Similarly, British Columbia's interior offered tourists not only the sublime spectacle of mountain scenery, but also industrial opportunities ranging from canneries to copper mining. Tourists visiting British Columbia embraced the promise of modernity as much as they attempted to evade its unsettling side-effects.

Anxious to develop the province, and aware of visitors' motivations, civic organizations in Victoria and Vancouver turned to tourism promotion in an attempt to attract potential investors. Early efforts at tourism promotion were thus very local in nature and relied to a great extent on the cooperation of large railway companies such as the CPR. The involvement of both local businesspeople and city governments was representative of the intensely competitive boosterism that has been associated with the establishment of communities on the Prairies. In the 1910s and 1920s, however, new tourist organizations would emerge to consolidate a more cooperative approach to tourism promotion. The most important of these organizations, the Pacific Northwest Tourist Association, would be led by Victoria tourism promoter Herbert Cuthbert.



Figure 1.1. Vancouver Tourist Association poster, 1909. One of a thousand VTA posters printed to champion Vancouver as an attractive city for investors at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle in 1909. CVA #677-565. Photographer Philip T. Timms.

Chapter Two

From the Investment to the Expenditure Imperative: Regional Cooperation and the Lessons of Modern Advertising, 1916-1935

1. Introduction

The interwar years ushered in a new era of tourist travel in North America as railway transportation and hotel accommodation yielded pride of place to the automobile and the auto camp. In 1910 just 500,000 Americans owned cars. By 1920 over eight million cars were registered in the United States. Even before automobile travel became widespread during the 1920s, middle-class tourists were abandoning the regimentation of railway travel and hotel accommodation for the freedom and flexibility of auto travel.¹ The 1920s confirmed the arrival of this new era of tourist travel. Between 1921 and 1929 automobile traffic passing between British Columbia and Washington State at the Blaine border crossing increased five-fold while the number of train passengers passing through this same port of entry in 1929 had dropped to a fifth of the total number recorded in 1919.²

The dramatic expansion – some would say democratization – of tourist travel in North America during the 1920s has been noted and examined by a wide variety of scholars.³

¹Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 7.

²Norman Hayner, "Auto Camps in the Evergreen Playground," *Social Forces* 9 (December 1930), 256-7.

³Along with Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, see, for example, James H. Morrison, "American Tourism in Nova Scotia, 1871-1940," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 2, 2 (1982), 41; Schwantes, "Tourists in Wonderland," 30; Gerald D. Nash, "Stages of

Relatively unexamined, however, is the changing nature of tourism promotion that accompanied this transition. The late 1920s and early 1930s witnessed a transformation not just in the scope of tourist travel in North America, but in the rationale behind tourism promotion itself. As the travelling public grew in number the investment imperative that had dominated the promotional campaigns of civic tourist associations gave way to a new emphasis on tourist expenditures. One was no longer as focused on the tourists as a potential investor in British Columbia *production*, but in his or her economic impact as a consumer. This chapter examines the activities of tourism promoters in Victoria and Vancouver during this era in which a more cooperative inter-urban approach to advertising coincided with tourism promoters' adoption of modern advertising techniques.

2. Regional Cooperation and the Investment Imperative

In their determination to elicit greater community support and to succeed in the increasingly competitive business of attracting tourists, promoters in both Victoria and Vancouver frequently reinvented and renamed their tourist associations. In April 1906, for instance, Tourist Association of Victoria members chose to rename the association the Victoria Development and Tourist Association [VDTA] in recognition of the association's determination to foster economic development and to acknowledge its merger with another local booster organization, the 100,000 Club which was determined to see the city's

California's Economic Growth, 1870-1970," *California Historical Quarterly* 51, 4 (1972), 323; Hyde, "From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six," 160-162.

population reach 100,000 people by 1910.⁴ Less than three years later, in December 1908, VDTA directors agreed to transform their organization into a branch of a new Island-wide coalition that would allow Island communities to form a “systematic system of advancing the interests of the Island.”⁵ Originally termed the Vancouver Island Development League this organization was later renamed the Vancouver Island Development Association [VIDA]. In January 1909 Vancouver Tourist Association directors agreed to change their association’s name to the Vancouver Information and Tourist Association in part to emphasize the fact that the organization performed the function of an information bureau and did not restrict its activities solely to civic beautification.⁶ Such manoeuvres reflected tourism promoters’ desire to consolidate local support for their initiatives; and, as is clear in the case of the VIDA, they also constituted a recognition that local interests should at times yield to regional ones.

Anxious to compete directly with California for tourists, but unable to accomplish this task with the limited funding they could muster from private subscriptions and civic grants, tourism promoters in Victoria and Vancouver increasingly opted to pool their resources with other communities throughout the Pacific Northwest. In an attempt to overcome local rivalries between publicity bureaux throughout the region, for example, representatives from civic tourist associations in British Columbia, Washington State, and Oregon gathered together in Tacoma in October 1916 to plot strategy and organize a new umbrella organization for promoting tourism in the Pacific Northwest. Originally termed the

⁴*Daily Colonist*, 24 April 1906, 6.

⁵*Times*, 8 December 1908, 4; *Times*, 30 January 1909, 5.

⁶*Province*, 20 January 1909, 13; *Province*, 21 January 1909, 10.

North Pacific Coast Tourist Association, the organization was barely a month old before it was renamed the Pacific Northwest Tourist Association [PNTA] in deference to non-coastal communities in the region.⁷ To organize the association, fifty-four delegates from Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia met on 11 October at Tacoma's Commercial Club. British Columbia's delegates included representatives of the Vancouver and Victoria Boards of Trade, civic politicians, as well as several representatives of the cities' manufacturing and industrial interests. The Victoria Chamber of Commerce was represented at the October 1916 meeting by coal mining agent Joshua Kingham, whose colleagues greeted his glowing report on the international meeting with enthusiasm.⁸ No representatives from the province outside of Vancouver and Victoria were present – a deficiency that likely contributed to the association's untimely termination in 1923.⁹ The PNTA was funded by government grants from the Oregon, Washington State and British Columbia legislatures. Washington and Oregon contributed an appropriation of \$25,000 annually, while British Columbia was expected to contribute half that amount.¹⁰

⁷*Times*, 13 October 1916, 1; *Times*, 27 October 1916, 13; *Times*, 27 November 1916, 15; VCA, VCC fonds, 31 F 7, Minute Book, 15th Meeting of Council, 6 October 1916; 17th Meeting of Council, 27 October 1916.

⁸VCA, VCC fonds, 31 F 7, Minute Book, 25th Meeting of Council, 2 March 1917.

⁹In November 1921, for example, Premier John Oliver made it known that rural districts in the province had expressed their frustration concerning the government's funding of the PNTA because it was perceived to be advertising only Vancouver and Victoria. VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 3, Minute Book, Report of Joshua Kingham to President and Council, 27 October 1916; *Times*, 27 October 1916, 13; *Times*, 25 November 1921, 1.

¹⁰VCA, VCC fonds, 31 F 7, Minute Book, 25th Meeting of Council, 2 March 1917.

Regional cooperation was not an entirely new approach in 1916. In 1904 Victoria's Herbert Cuthbert told the *Nelson News* that the Tourist Association of Victoria [TAV] always encouraged Eastern visitors to visit the Kootenays either on the way to Victoria or on their way back home – though Cuthbert quickly turned this particular interview into an opportunity to sell Kootenay residents on the benefits of visiting Victoria themselves.¹¹ Seemingly more genuine were his connections with American publicity organizations. In early 1906, for example, Cuthbert attended a meeting of the "See America" League in Tacoma and was the only official Canadian delegate to the "See America First" congress in Salt Lake City. This association was dedicated to encouraging travel in North America rather than Europe.¹² In February 1906 the Vancouver Tourist Association and the TAV cooperated in promoting travel to Victoria and Vancouver while participating at a fair in Portland, Oregon.¹³ Later that year Cuthbert joined leading business people from Washington State on a three-week publicity tour of major centres in California.¹⁴ But the formation of the PNTA signaled an advancement in cooperative publicity initiatives, both in terms of the number of communities involved as well as the scale and scope of their promotional campaigns.

Victoria, itself, was well represented on the PNTA executive. Alderman A.E. Todd was named president while Herbert Cuthbert was elected to the powerful post of Executive Secretary. Three vice-presidents were elected, one each from Oregon, Washington and

¹¹*Daily Colonist*, 13 July 1904, 5.

¹²*Daily Colonist*, 31 January 1906, 8; *Daily Colonist*, 25 February 1906, 5.

¹³*Daily Colonist*, 3 February 1906, 6.

¹⁴*Daily Colonist*, 6 April 1906, 12.

British Columbia.¹⁵ From his position as Executive Secretary, Herbert Cuthbert would emerge as perhaps the most powerful figure in Pacific Northwest tourism promotion. His decision to leave Victoria for Seattle and his new position with the PNTA stemmed, in part, from a dispute over civic funding for the TAV and, more specifically, the funding of his salary. The hesitancy on the part of Victoria City Council and the larger business community to contribute generously to TAV activities reflected the extent to which many in the community believed that the costs of tourism promotion should be borne by those few business people, such as hotel owners, who seemed to benefit most directly from tourism.¹⁶ As PNTA Executive Secretary, however, Cuthbert railed against such short-sighted appraisals of tourism's economic benefits.

Cuthbert's new position allotted him an unprecedented opportunity to promote tourism. For Cuthbert and the PNTA, tourism was not an industry unto itself; it was a means to agricultural and industrial development. Tourists, for Cuthbert, were a particular type of people. A tourist, he explained, was a "self made man." He was someone with money "and nine times out of ten he has his eyes open for new opportunities and investments -- he is a keen businessman and can see these opportunities without their being advertised; he can find them for himself once you have got him here." What was important was to get these potential investors to visit Victoria in the first place. "First let us get the population, get the tourist here and let him see what we have got," Cuthbert argued, "Industries will follow as night follows

¹⁵VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 3, Minute Book, Report of Joshua Kingham to President and Council, 27 October 1916.

¹⁶Lines, "A Bit of Old England," 47-49.

day."¹⁷ The same was true of agricultural development, Cuthbert maintained. "Tourist travel is the modern colonizer," he explained. "You do not see any campaigns for settlers to take up homesteads on free government lands as there used to be," he reasoned. Instead, the Pacific Northwest had embarked upon a new phase of development. "The new people who are coming to us now are those who are able to purchase improved or partially improved properties and have some money to get along with until their properties are in the producing stage, if they are not already self sustaining, and these people come to us." Cuthbert emphasized, "chiefly as tourists, either by rail, by automobile or by sea." To support his analysis, Cuthbert pointed to statistics illustrating that "60 per cent of the Southern California population originally went there as visitors."¹⁸ As Secretary of the PNTA, Cuthbert now broadened his rhetoric to include all of British Columbia, Washington State, and Oregon.

PNTA campaigns reflected Cuthbert's continued confidence in tourism's ability to lure industrial and agricultural development to the region and the association's promotional undertakings were substantial. In 1922 Cuthbert boasted that the organization had issued six tons of booklets. This massive campaign included the distribution of 85,000 maps, 50,000 pamphlets, 25,000 general booklets, as well as five additional runs of 10,000 booklets focusing on automobiling, fishing, golfing, mountaineering and yachting. These booklets were supplemented by Cuthbert's co-ordinating meetings with chambers of commerce and

¹⁷VCA, VCC fonds, 32 B 7. Scrapbook, [Colonist, Times?], 13 May 1921, "Declares Victoria Has Basis For Largest Industry."

¹⁸University of Oregon Archives [UOA], Ax 27, Lee D. Drake papers, Box 3, File 2, Herbert Cuthbert, "Tourist Travel How It Is Aiding In Rural Upbuilding" Address Before the Washington State Chamber of Commerce, 6 December 1922.

commercial clubs in California, his addresses to twenty-three conventions in the Pacific Northwest, as well as newspaper and magazine advertisements.¹⁹

In one pamphlet entitled *The Pacific Northwest: The World's Greatest Out of Doors*, British Columbia was termed "The Switzerland of America." The booklet contained pictures of Capilano Canyon, picturesque islands, and the bathing beach at English Bay. The pamphlet's text, however, contained not romantic words offering moving commentary on the sights, but raw economic data for the potential investor. "British Columbia is 700 miles long by 400 miles wide, with an area of 395,000 square miles," the text began. "It is equal to 24 Switzerlands." The pamphlet then detailed production statistics for the province's fisheries, mining, lumber, agriculture and stock-raising industries. Once the potential investor's appetite had been whetted with these statistics, the province's recreational opportunities were efficiently documented. Fishing, hunting, golf, yachting, sea bathing and automobiling were all possibilities amidst the province's pastoral scenery.²⁰

The PNTA's newspaper and magazine advertisements carried similar messages. PNTA advertisements generally portrayed families enjoying outdoor activities. Men could be seen golfing, fishing and hunting, while women swam or joined the men hiking. Family

¹⁹UOA, Drake papers, Box 3, File 2, Herbert Cuthbert, Secretary's Report to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the PNTA, 24 November 1922. Unlike many publicity organizations, the PNTA's advertising copy was not contracted out to an advertising agency, but was instead devised by the PNTA itself under the watchful eye of Herbert Cuthbert. This mode of operation was favoured not only as a cost-saving device, but also because the organization considered tourist advertising "different from the ordinary run of business that went to advertising agencies." UOA, Drake papers, Box 3, File 2, Minutes of 6th Annual Meeting of the PNTA, 24 November 1922.

²⁰Pacific Northwest Tourist Association, *The Pacific Northwest: The World's Greatest Out of Doors* (c.1917).

camping trips were also depicted. The text accompanying these scenes, however, reflected the investment imperative that guided PNTA activities. In one advertisement featuring men, women and children partaking in outdoor activities under the heading "The Lure of the Great Pacific Northwest," readers were provided with a list of the region's attractions. Trout streams, golf courses, sea beaches, national parks and forest reserves combined with the region's climate to offer visitors "Bright, cool days with sound, restful sleep every night." But such attractions were not meant to provide a complete break from the modern world. This was certainly a "land of enchantment ... of family happiness and contentment," but it was also a land of "opportunity" (see figure 2.1).

Another advertisement featuring a giant apple urged visitors to "Come to the Land Where the Apples Grow." British Columbia, Oregon, and Washington, the ad maintained, offered visitors the opportunity to "enjoy the temperate climate where the evergreen grow, where Nature has been most lavish in her gifts, not only of wonderful scenery, but of great latent wealth." Here again the rhetoric of economic opportunity emerged side by side with the promise of rest and relaxation. Moreover, the ad continued, "If you are contemplating a change of residence because you desire a different climate, or are in ill health, or from any other cause, you will find the Pacific Northwest the one land on earth in which life is worth living" (see figure 2.2).

In its attempt to attract investors and settlers from further east, the PNTA directed some advertisements towards people visiting California. The PNTA invited visitors to return home via the Pacific Northwest and explained that "the knowledge acquired of the whole Coast, the people you will meet, the business opportunities which may be taken advantage

of, together with the wonderful scenery and facilities for every kind of recreation will more than justify you in adopting this northern route" (see figure 2.3). A similar advertisement employing the heading "Climate, Scenery, Sport and Comfort," described the region's natural attractions not simply in romantic terms, but employed business calculations as well. Thus the Pacific Northwest's "magnificent forests" contained "twelve hundred billion feet of merchantable timber." And along with its lakes and "rugged sea coast" readers were called upon to visit the region's "fertile valleys with undulating meadows, orchards either in blossom or laden with their golden fruit, or the waving grain fields..." (see figure 2.4).

PNTA advertising campaigns offered potential visitors the promise of spectacular scenery and a wide variety of outdoor activities. But these campaigns also directed the reader's attention to investment opportunities throughout the Pacific Northwest. The association's promotional activities thus reflected the determination of British Columbia's tourism promoters to attract what they deemed to be the necessary ingredients for economic development: population, capital, and entrepreneurial know-how.

By 1923 the PNTA faced a battle for its survival. The association depended upon annual appropriations from the British Columbia, Washington State, and Oregon governments and when the 1923 Washington and Oregon appropriations were cancelled the association's tenure as the leading tourism promotion body in the region was over. British Columbia's Finance Minister, John Hart, followed the lead of his American counterparts.²¹ Aware of the organization's impending demise, but stubbornly hoping it might

²¹UOA, Drake papers, Box 3, File 2, PNTA Minutes of Directors' Meeting, 7 March 1923; John Hart to Cuthbert, 24 April 1923.

continue, the PNTA's directors recounted their accomplishments over the previous six years. While the San Francisco *Chronicle* had earlier praised the PNTA for its role in increasing tourist spending in the Pacific Northwest from \$7 million a year under what it termed the "old competitive plan" to \$35 million a year, the PNTA Executive focused on a broader realm of achievements.²² The PNTA, they suggested, was chiefly responsible "for having the Pacific Northwest become a recognized summer resort region, and in being appreciated as the summer playground of America." "The tide of summer tourist travel," they suggested, had been turned to the region "at a time when there was little, if any organized travel to this section." Tourist agencies and railway companies had been convinced to design new itineraries that included the Pacific Northwest and "to prolong the stay of visitors who were passing through" the region. Before the PNTA had arrived on the scene, they estimated, 70,000 tourists had visited the region annually. By 1923 that figure had reached 700,000. Before the association had begun its activities there were no auto camps to speak of; now there were 250. Hundreds of tourists had elected to stay and settle in the region. After just six years of operation, the directors triumphantly announced, "the Pacific Northwest has become a trademark ... in resorts" and "every city, town and village has benefitted from this travel."²³

Like the San Francisco *Chronicle*, Herbert Cuthbert was certainly aware of the monetary infusion visitors to the Pacific Northwest were providing to cities such as Victoria

²²*Daily Colonist*, 20 August 1920, 14.

²³UOA, Drake papers, Box 3, File 2, PNTA Minutes of Directors' Meeting, 7 March 1923.

and Vancouver and in his public pronouncements he explained that tourist expenditures benefitted not just hotel owners, but farmers, local business people and governments.²⁴ Indeed, by 1920 Cuthbert was anticipating the rhetoric of the next generation of tourism promoters. "Every mountain top, every fishing stream, every lake, every highway through our primeval forest, every sea beach, has a monetary value that can be sold, and yet they are never delivered," he explained. "We receive money for no other natural resource in the same way."²⁵ But for Cuthbert the money tourists left behind on their visits was of secondary concern. Foremost in his mind throughout his tenure in Victoria and then with the PNTA in Seattle, was the desire to employ tourism as a strategy to encourage investment and settlement. His aim was to populate the Pacific Northwest with "the right kind of people, who have money, and who are not brought here to take the places of people who are already employed." It was only "[i]n passing," he explained, that tourists left behind "immense sums of ready cash with us."²⁶ With the demise of the PNTA, Cuthbert moved to Portland to become manager of the Portland Visitors Bureau. He died in Portland in 1931. His passing was marked by the *Victoria Daily Colonist* which lauded him for his contributions to the Victoria's tourist trade.²⁷ As the rest of this chapter demonstrates, his passing marked the end of an era in which tourism promotion was understood by its chief supporters a strategy for soliciting settlers and investors, and signified the arrival of a new "consumerist" era in which

²⁴*Times*, 26 December 1916, 16.

²⁵*Times*, 5 October 1920, 5.

²⁶*Daily Colonist*, 28 August 1921, 13.

²⁷Lines, "A Bit of Old England," 47.

tourist expenditures became the tourist trade's primary rationale.

3. Victoria, Vancouver, and the Lessons of Modern Advertising

By the 1920s an advertising industry, anxious to promote the consumption of everything from automobiles to zinnias, had taken shape in North America. The amount of money spent on advertising in the United States is estimated to have climbed from \$682 million in 1914 to just under \$3 billion in 1929 as large corporate advertising firms now concentrated in New York City battled one another for the chance to sell goods and services to North Americans.²⁸ Indeed, by 1917, 97% of all national advertising in the United States was placed through advertising agencies.²⁹ As Russell Johnston has demonstrated in his analysis of the emergence of professional advertising in Canada, such modern advertising was based on a scientific and systematic approach that drew upon applied psychology and market research to design and place advertising copy in mass circulation magazines and newspapers.³⁰ Throughout the 1920s and 1930s North American advertising agencies and their customers embraced a variety of innovations ranging from radio advertising to an increased emphasis on visual imagery in advertising copy. In their determination to promote tourist travel to British Columbia, tourism promoters in Victoria and Vancouver increasingly

²⁸Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 6-7.

²⁹Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 246.

³⁰Russell Johnston, *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

embraced the possibilities of these innovations and came to echo Madison Avenue's claims that consistent advertising could usher in an era of unending economic growth.

With Herbert Cuthbert's departure to the PNTA, a new force emerged in Victoria tourism circles. His name was George Warren. Warren was born in San Francisco in 1887. A former clerk and stenographer for Western Union, he also worked for the Bank of California before visiting Victoria in 1912 and deciding to stay. As a young man in San Francisco, Warren developed two attributes that would serve him well in his future endeavours: enterprise and community spirit. At the age of fourteen Warren learned that the nearby town of Point Richmond would be provided with postal delivery service on the condition that the citizens provide their own mailboxes. The enterprising Warren wasted little time in ordering over 400 mailboxes from Buffalo and sold them for a dollar a piece. Seven years later, Warren spearheaded a campaign to acquire "a much-needed main sewer for a San Francisco suburb by raising a public subscription to pay interest on bonds and [by] acting as a liaison man between the city and the banks."³¹

After moving to Victoria, Warren quickly built up what the *Daily Colonist* would later term "the largest sickness, accident and casualty insurance business on the Island." Buoyed by his success in the insurance business in his new hometown, Warren joined the VIDA in 1918 and served as Chairman of the association's finance committee. In the early 1920s Warren assumed important leadership positions in the city's two key business organizations. In 1921 Warren became the managing secretary of the Chamber of Commerce,

³¹*Daily Colonist*, 23 September 1951, 4 (magazine section); *Daily Colonist*, 8 July 1964, 1-2.

a post he would hold until 1954 when he resigned for health reasons. In January 1922, Warren relinquished managerial control over several insurance companies to become the Commissioner of the VIDA which was now renamed the Victoria & Island Publicity Bureau [V&IPB], a position he would retain until 1960. He secured this position, in part, because his earlier business interests had allowed him a significant degree of contact with up-Island communities – an important attribute at a time when Victoria’s tourism promoters were embracing the possibilities of regional cooperation. Throughout his career in the provincial capital he belonged to a wide variety of community organizations including the Victoria and Island Athletic Association, Victoria Rotary Club, the Tyee Club, the Gizeh Temple for all B.C., and the Victoria Jitney Association.³²

Under Warren’s leadership the V&IPB worked successfully to expand auto camp accommodation and improve ferry service to Vancouver Island from Washington State. In fact, Warren played a leading role in securing both a good quality road from Victoria to Sidney and in establishing the Mill Bay ferry which transported vehicles across Vancouver Island’s Saanich Inlet.³³ In 1921 Warren spearheaded a campaign to inaugurate ferry service between the mainland and Vancouver Island. Until then the only method of transporting automobiles to the Island involved removing windshields and deflating tires in order to ship the vehicles by steamer. In 1921 the ferry service, which operated between Sidney and Anacortes, Washington consisted of two boats, “a former kelp-harvesting barge and a

³²Lines, “A Bit of Old England.” 57-8; *Daily Colonist*, 16 January 1954, 13; *Daily Colonist*, 31 December 1921, 1; *Daily Colonist*, 8 July 1964, 1-2.

³³*Daily Colonist*, 8 July 1964, 1-2.

temperamental paddlewheel steamer," which between them brought roughly 400 vehicles to the Island. By 1960, when Warren stepped down as Commissioner, ferries were bringing 234,000 cars to the Island annually.³⁴

The V&IPB also expanded its promotional activities, in part, by employing a new slogan, "Follow The Birds To Victoria." The slogan itself was created in 1918 for a pamphlet co-authored by Warren entitled *The Call of Victoria*. To maximize the effect of its promotional literature the V&IPB erected signs and billboards throughout the Pacific Northwest ostensibly indicating the route one should take to follow the birds to the provincial capital. These signs went unchallenged in Oregon and Washington but when a V&IPB sign reading "Follow The Birds To Victoria -- More Sunshine. Less Rain." was erected in Vancouver in 1922. Vancouver's tourism promoters, angered by this public reminder that their city endured more annual precipitation than did Victoria, voiced their displeasure.³⁵ Not even this brazen publicity stunt, however, could prevent sustained cooperation between tourism promoters in Victoria and Vancouver throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

While Warren would remain the dominant figure in Victoria tourism promotion circles, the promotional work of the Vancouver Information and Tourist Association, renamed the Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau [GVPB] in 1922, was performed more by committee than by a single individual. As Table 2.1 indicates, the GVPB drew its leaders primarily from the city's burgeoning service sector. Between 1925 and 1936 the day-to-day operations of the GVPB were under the direction of its Commissioner, Charles H. Webster,

³⁴*Daily Colonist*, 11 March 1960, 14.

³⁵Lines. "A Bit of Old England," 55-59.

a former member of the advertising department of the *Vancouver World*, and a man quick to praise the virtues of modern advertising.³⁶ The GVPB itself expanded dramatically during the 1920s. Between 1923 and 1926 its membership more than doubled to 1,309 members.³⁷ In addition to its members' private subscriptions, the GVPB relied upon municipal grants. In 1926, for example, it received \$20,000 from the City of Vancouver. Smaller sums of \$1000 and \$500 were received from the municipality of Point Grey and the New Westminster Board of Trade respectively.³⁸

Table 2.1 Vancouver Tourist Association Presidents 1928-1939

Brenton S. Brown	1928, 1929	Insurance Agent
O.B. Allan	1931	Jeweller and Optician
J.C. McPherson	1932	Real Estate Agent
Harold Darling	1933	Insurance Agent
Ernest H. Adams	1934, 1935	Vice-President, BC Electric Railway Co.
Dr G.H. Worthington	1936-1938	Medical Doctor
Elmer Johnston	1939	President, Johnston National Storage Co.

Sources: *Who's Who in British Columbia* (1931, 1941, 1944-46);
Henderson's Greater Vancouver Directory, 1923.

³⁶*Vancouver Sun*, 1 March 1939, 26.

³⁷The association's Board of Directors sought a membership of 2500 members and fully expected to reach that number in the coming years. After all, the board, explained, "this Association is the only one in the city whose membership is open to any citizen. The class of business or profession has no effect on the qualification for membership." Nor was there a membership fee. CVA, Add. Mss. 633, Greater Vancouver Visitors and Convention Bureau [GVVCB] papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 20, Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1926*, 20.

³⁸*Ibid.*

By the mid-1920s, the majority of V&IPB and GVPB publicity campaigns were carried out cooperatively. In addition to its own publicity endeavours, the V&IPB was involved in five cooperative campaigns while the GVPB contributed to three cooperative campaigns to supplement its own efforts. The earliest of these joint advertising initiatives involved cooperation not just between Victoria and Vancouver, but with cities in Washington State as well. In 1923 the GVPB joined with the V&IPB and tourism promotion bodies in Seattle, Tacoma and Bellingham as charter members of a group rather awkwardly termed the Puget Sounders and British Columbians Associated. Their promotional campaigns focused chiefly on bringing investment to the Pacific Northwest. Membership fees for the new association totaled \$33,000 and were set proportionally according to the population of each member city. The GVPB invested \$8,800 in the advertising scheme while the V&IPB contributed \$2,200. Both organizations drew their contributions from their own advertising budgets which, in turn, were comprised of civic grants and private subscriptions. The US cities of Seattle, Tacoma and Bellingham, contributed \$15,400, \$4,400, and \$2,200 respectively.³⁹ Puget Sounders' campaigns relied upon large daily newspapers as well as "prominent motor and outing magazines" to reach roughly six million readers.⁴⁰ As figures 2.5 and 2.6 suggest, the organization's advertisements, focused as they were on attracting investment and settlement, retained a good deal in common with PNTA campaigns.

In 1926, the GVPB and the V&IPB joined forces again to lure winter tourist traffic

³⁹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 20. Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1928*, 19; *Times*, 13 February 1924, 8, 13.

⁴⁰GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1926*, 9.

to the Pacific Coast through what was termed the "Prairie Winter Campaign." The GVPB contributed \$6,000 and the V&IPB contributed \$2,000 to conduct a campaign that featured 109 ads in major daily newspapers and farm journals in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta – publications boasting a total circulation of 525,000, or as the GVPB triumphantly reported in its 1926 annual report, "practically every English-speaking home" in the region.⁴¹ That same year the GVPB and the V&IPB joined forces to convince the provincial government to grant them an appropriation of \$25,000 to advertise the province in Eastern Canada. Advertising copy in this campaign focused on "the general advantages of all sections of the Province dealing with the natural resources, industries and general subjects," as well as tourist activities including hunting, fishing, golf, and motoring. These advertisements appeared primarily in major metropolitan newspapers such as the *Toronto Globe*, the *Toronto Mail*, the *Montreal Star*, and the *Montreal Gazette*. Advertisements were also placed in the *Ontario Teachers'* magazine. Each advertisement, the GVPB estimated, reached 1,390,768 readers. By 1929, when provincial funding for the Eastern publicity campaign was cut to \$15,000, the two associations still succeeded in placing 264 advertisements in 39 daily papers with an estimated weekly circulation of 3,093,300 readers.⁴²

In addition to these three joint advertising endeavours with the GVPB, the V&IPB contributed to at least two other cooperative publicity campaigns. One was run by a group of Washington State hotel owners known as the Southwestern Washington Hotel Mens'

⁴¹GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1926*, 10; *Times*, 25 February 1927, 11.

⁴²*Times*, 25 February 1927, 11; 5, GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1926*, 9-10; *Daily Colonist*, 21 February 1929, 22.

Association. In 1926 this campaign succeeded in placing ten bill boards in California and distributing 100,000 posters in its attempt to lure Californians to the Pacific Northwest.⁴³ The other initiative was more limited in scope: a 1924 cooperative agreement with the Seattle Chamber of Commerce establishing a joint information bureau at Yellowstone National Park.⁴⁴

In addition to its involvement in cooperative advertising campaigns, the GVPB's publicity department distributed pamphlets as well as photographs and stories for newspapers and magazines to transportation companies, automobile clubs, and information bureaux. The GVPB's editorial department also contributed to the publicity campaign by sending out well over forty newspaper stories. These "editorials," according to the Board of Directors, "were special stories dealing with either automobile trips, yachting trips, fishing, big game hunting, hiking, and some stories dealing with climate, living conditions, and ... industrial development." This department was also responsible for distributing a "clip sheet" of human interest stories to newspapers "written strictly according to newspaper style" and bearing eye-catching headlines. The "clip sheet" thus allowed news editors at newspapers across the continent to draw upon the GVPB's collection of suggestive articles on Vancouver to fill in gaps in their daily publications. The GVPB was confident that news editors were "gradually learning to depend on this sheet as a source of information." A survey of Eastern Canadian newspapers suggested that "approximately forty per cent. of the papers use the stories, and that nearly sixty per cent. of the stories used are featured." The editorial department also

⁴³*Times*, 25 February 1927, 11.

⁴⁴*Times*, 13 February 1924, 8,13.

assisted moving picture companies in the filming of three films about British Columbia, including one on the province's industrial life and another focused on "parks and scenic drives." And finally, the editorial department provided slides for exhibits at exhibitions such as the Toronto Fair where visitors were shown "two dozen slides showing parks, residential, commercial and industrial scenes."⁴⁵

Similarly, during the 1920s the V&IPB promoters, confident in the assumption that once these visitors saw the economic opportunities available in manufacturing, mining or farming, they would settle in the province and bring with them their investment capital and know-how, continued the campaign to convince entrepreneurs to visit British Columbia. Like Cuthbert before him, George Warren pointed to Los Angeles as an example of a settlement that had "nothing but climate, miles from the seashore" but that had secured prosperity through publicity.⁴⁶ Agricultural and industrial opportunities, for example, were highlighted in the 1922 edition of the V&IPB pamphlet, *'Follow the birds' to Victoria B.C.* The 1928 version of this same pamphlet trumpeted the fact that "Victoria Welcomes New Industries" while noting that Victoria city council was willing to offer industrial sites, taxation inducements and cheap water in an effort to lure new industries.⁴⁷

The "Follow the Birds" campaign was part of George Warren's determined effort to develop a "personality" for Victoria. "Communities must have personality and must have

⁴⁵GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1926*, 12-13.

⁴⁶*Daily Colonist*, 5 October 1927, 4.

⁴⁷Victoria & Island Publicity Bureau, *"Follow the birds" to Victoria B.C.* (Victoria, 1922); V&IPB, *"Follow the birds" to Victoria B.C.* (Victoria, 1928).

advertising if they are to forge ahead.” he maintained. The key to this strategy was his important insight that “a community can be trade marked like a product.”⁴⁸ Trademarks began to be widely employed by manufacturers in the 1870s as companies made a concerted attempt to differentiate their products from those of their competitors. But as Pamela Walker Laird explains, trademarks also served as “memory hooks for advertising appeals, acting as symbols with which promoters link[ed] their advertising messages to their products in the minds of consumers and middlemen.” Trademarks were employed in an effort to “replace the traditional push of sales forces and middlemen with the modern pull of specific demand from consumers.” A successful trademark, advertising agents and manufacturers recognized, could “help make demand relatively inelastic and minimize the impact of the business cycle by generating a constant level of specific demand.”⁴⁹ Warren’s eagerness to create a trademark for Victoria was but one of many instances in which tourism promoters adopted the techniques of modern advertising.

The fact that Warren sought to trademark Victoria by using a pictorial image was indicative of another development in modern advertising – an increasing emphasis on visual display. By the early 1930s, in fact, art had triumphed over written copy in national advertising campaigns in the United States. According to Roland Marchand, “the success of the tabloids, the movies, and the rotogravure sections pointed to the public’s desire to absorb new ideas and information in visual form.” Increased competition for consumers’ attention combined with the belief that pictorial images aroused less psychological resistance than did

⁴⁸*Daily Colonist*, 5 October 1927, 4.

⁴⁹Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 185-186.

written statements to ensure that advertising copy came to be seen as a necessary but secondary component of advertisements.⁵⁰ The V&IPB was not alone among tourism organizations in capitalizing upon this insight. Tourism promoters in Vancouver embraced this technique as well. By 1928, in fact, the GVPB had embarked upon a new strategy in the production of its pamphlets. That year the GVPB's Editorial and Publicity Committee reported that its latest scenic booklet "deviates from the old time custom of story and illustrations and follows the more modern, and probably exceptional, plan of complete illustrations by full-page cuts, the letterpress being confined to fifty-word captions, written in a style interesting and at the same time descriptive of the scenic attractions of our great Province."⁵¹

Another key development in modern advertising was the use of radio broadcasts. The number of American families owning a radio increased dramatically from 20% in 1926 to 30% just two years later.⁵² After 1925, Jackson Lears argues, "national advertising invaded the airwaves with stunning speed" as advertisers embraced radio advertising as an opportunity to introduce products to consumers in "a 'natural,' uncommercial atmosphere."⁵³ They were also eager to capitalize upon the promise of intimacy that radio offered. Radio

⁵⁰Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 153-154.

⁵¹GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1928*, 10.

⁵²Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 92. According to Mary Vipond, 30% of Canadians owned radios by 1931. Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, Revised Edition (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1992), 39.

⁵³Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 334-335

advertising, as they understood it, enhanced the listener's sense that the advertiser's message was aimed solely at him or her.⁵⁴ By February 1924, George Warren had secured the use of the Centennial Church's radio to broadcast the V&IPB's message. His radio addresses were aimed at potential visitors in both the United States and Canada and emphasized Vancouver Island's temperate climate along with its industrial and agricultural opportunities.⁵⁵ In 1928, tourism promoters in Vancouver made their first foray into radio publicity. From January until April the GVPB embarked upon publicity work under the auspices of the "Vancouver Lumberjacks Radio Night Club" broadcast each Wednesday night from 10:30 until 11:30 pm. "In addition to a scintillating programme of variety, dialogue, music, instrumental and vocal, built around the theme of a logging camp with the many characters attached to such an institution." GVPB Commissioner Charles Webster embraced this opportunity to meditate "on the tourist, industrial and general attractions of this City and district," and to extend "an invitation to write for literature." During his 10-15 minute talks, Webster "interwove ... many interesting and fascinating legends of early day history, and what might be termed pre-historical Indian lore attached to this Province." The program elicited requests for information on the city from across the Prairies and throughout the United States.⁵⁶

During 1928 the GVPB experienced its most "active" and "successful" season to date. That year its President, Brenton S. Brown, reported on an important development in the organization's activities. The bureau's activities were "broadening from year to year." he

⁵⁴Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 93.

⁵⁵*Times*, 13 February 1924, 11.

⁵⁶GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1928*, 11.

explained, "and the field of advertising activities has doubled and trebled during the past three years." Besides increasing in quantity, the organization's activities had undergone a qualitative change as well. "The work has been departmentalized," Brown wrote, "and carried on under the direction of committees..."⁵⁷ The Advertising Committee, Brown reported, "would probably be considered the major committee" and as such it was responsible for the largest percentage of GVPB expenditures. In the first eleven months of 1928 the Advertising Committee had spent just under \$40,000 on 651 newspaper and magazine advertisements reaching an estimated weekly circulation of 16,000,000 readers.⁵⁸ By 1928 the Board of Directors was keen to expand the campaign in Washington State to cover 11 months of the year while the Eastern Canada campaign had been extended from May until August and now included the Maritime provinces.⁵⁹ The departmentalization of the GVPB mirrored a trend occurring among advertising agencies in first decade of the twentieth century.⁶⁰ The move towards internal specialization and departmentalization was further evidence that organizations such as the GVPB were adopting a systematic approach to publicity that had been originated by advertising agencies.

Directors of both the GVPB and the V&IPB acknowledged the extent to which their promotional campaigns had adopted modern advertising techniques and they were quick to attribute the increasing number of tourists arriving in Vancouver and Victoria in the late

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁰Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 239.

1920s to the miracle of modern advertising. Before 1926 GVPB directors had believed that the city's tourist business was necessarily confined to two brief seasons: July and August in the summer and January and February in the winter. A determined foray into the world of advertising, GVPB members were now convinced, had produced what the association's directors had sought: a lengthening of these two separate seasons. As a result of the new emphasis on advertising, the GVPB proclaimed, the number of passengers arriving by automobile increased by fifteen per cent in 1926 over the previous year. Areas which had been the target of advertising campaigns paid particular dividends. The increase in automobiles from California was fifty per cent while automobile traffic from elsewhere in Canada increased by thirty-five per cent.⁶¹ Similarly V&IPB directors estimated that the number of tourists visiting Victoria had increased from 250,000 in 1923 to 335,000 in 1926 and boasted that the promotional efforts which they believed had produced this increase had created a financial windfall for the city in the form of tourist expenditures.⁶²

While earlier evaluations of tourism's economic contributions had emphasized visitors' investment potential, by the mid-1920s tourism promoters were beginning to employ a new method for calculating a tourist's economic value. Using the Dominion government's estimate that each tourist spent \$10 per day while visiting Canada and stayed on average for three days, the GVPB estimated the total tourist expenditure in British Columbia for 1926

⁶¹These calculations are based on the GVPB's raw data. See GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1926*, 14.

⁶²*Times*, 25 February 1927, 11.

to be \$32,676,260.⁶³ GVPB officials, however, were unwilling to fully embrace the Dominion government's methods for measuring tourist expenditure. Their own observations convinced them that "a greater number of the tourists on vacation spent at least a month in British Columbia."⁶⁴ Similarly, the V&IPB concluded that the 370,000 tourists visiting Victoria in 1928 spent roughly \$3.5 million in the city during their stay.⁶⁵

The sustained increase in tourism during the late 1920s allowed those involved in tourism promotion, such as GVPB Commissioner Webster, to champion tourism's economic power more forcefully. In November 1928, for example, Webster announced that "the tourist industry of Canada now ranks amongst the Dominion's chief business interests." Citing a report from the federal Department of Railways and Canals, Webster explained that in 1927 over \$276 million was spent by foreign tourists in Canada. Such a contribution to the Canadian economy placed tourism behind wheat exports but ahead of building permits, pulp and paper, and mineral production. Webster also drew on a recent editorial appearing in the *Monetary Times* championing the value of tourism to the Canadian economy "as an element in international trade..." Tourism, the *Monetary Times* explained to its readers, was an "invisible export."⁶⁶

Similarly, the V&IPB rejoiced in announcing annual increases in tourists to its members and the public at large. Such reports also emphasized that the bureau had been very

⁶³ GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1926*, 14.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Daily Colonist*, 21 February 1929, 15.

⁶⁶ GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1928*, 6.

active in the past year responding to inquiries from potential settlers. But whereas earlier public pronouncements on tourism had focused primarily on the tourist trade's ability to lure such settlers to Vancouver Island, pronouncements during the 1920s focused increasingly upon the immediate infusions of cash that tourists injected into the local economy. In 1927, for example, the V&IPB reported that the number of tourists visiting Victoria had increased markedly from 250,000 in 1923 to 335,000 in 1926. The fact that approximately 1.24 million people had visited the city in the past four years meant that these visitors had contributed roughly \$12.4 million to the local economy. Moreover, this sizeable sum of money had been obtained with a minimal outlay by the city itself – the V&IPB had spent just \$100,000 over the past four years on publicity. The fact that the V&IPB's efforts to distribute informative articles about the Island's lumber trade had led to "a large number of big deals hav[ing] been consumated," was welcome news – but it was no longer the stuff of headlines.⁶⁷ Headlines in the *Times* and the *Daily Colonist* increasingly trumpeted tourism's cash-producing achievements. In February 1929, for example, headlines in the *Daily Colonist* told readers that the 370,000 people who had visited Victoria in 1928 had spent over \$3.5 million dollars.⁶⁸

According to GVPB Commissioner Webster, tourism was an economic windfall. "Money placed in circulation in the Province of British Columbia by tourists is new money," he explained. "that has become available to the people of our Province and it undoubtedly

⁶⁷*Times*, 25 February 1927, 11.

⁶⁸*Daily Colonist*, 21 February 1929, 15.

increases our general prosperity."⁶⁹ In the heady 1920s Webster remained confident in tourism and the economy in general. He was pleased with his organization's activities and confident in his understanding of the role of tourism in the civic, provincial and national economy. For a quarter of a century the GVPB and other tourism promotion bodies in British Columbia had seen tourism primarily as a means to an end -- a method for luring industrial and agricultural investment to the province. In the late 1920s, however, a growing awareness of the important impact of tourist expenditures was setting the stage for a new vision for tourism -- one that saw tourism as an important economic endeavour in its own right. It was a transition from a tourism geared to enhancing industrial production to one embedded in a new culture and political economy of consumption. The onset of the Great Depression would highlight both the difficulties in attracting further investment and the newly appreciated significance of tourist expenditures for the provincial economy.

4. 100 for 1: Advertising and Tourist Expenditures in the Great Depression

For tourism promoters, like many other people, the Great Depression arrived as a great surprise. In November 1929, for example, GVPB President Brenton S. Brown announced that he was delivering the most "progressive" report in the history of the association. Each and every department, he explained, had demonstrated "increased results."⁷⁰ The association's Membership Committee echoed Brown's optimism suggesting

⁶⁹GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1928*, 6-7.

⁷⁰CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 20, Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1929*, 1.

that its recent slowdown in subscriptions would "entirely disappear after the new year." Vancouver, after all, was "showing ...continued progress and development on a solid basis."⁷¹ The economic dislocation of the 1930s would eventually challenge this complacency -- and encourage a new approach to tourism. But before turning to this development it is important to note two important continuities in tourism promotion: a sustained faith in the power of advertising and a continuing pattern of regional cooperation.

During the Depression advertising agencies and national magazines in the United States preached the virtues of advertising despite the economic slowdown. In fact, they argued that "advertising appropriations should actually *increase* in times of economic depression" because sustained advertising campaigns would foster an economic recovery by increasing consumer demand.⁷² Tourism promoters in Victoria and Vancouver shared this commitment to advertising. By 1931, for example, GVPB president O.B. Allan was reporting a "falling off in tourist traffic throughout the United States and Canada," but the resulting reduction in revenue did not produce a concomitant reduction in GVPB advertising. Indeed, Allan reported that "the apparent falling off in business is by no means a reason to curtail advertising." Sustained advertising, along with improving the province's transportation and communication infrastructure, Allan and others reasoned, were the two key factors that would lead to a healthy tourist trade. With little ability to improve the latter, particularly during the Depression, the GVPB worked diligently to augment the former. "We have been advertising consistently in the states to the south," Allan reported, "and are

⁷¹GVPB, *Report of the Board of Directors for the Year 1928*, 12.

⁷²Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 237.

gratified to know that there has been a yearly increase in traffic from these sources. To cut down on our advertising there during the next year or two would mean the loss of the benefits accruing from years of steadily building up a 'Vancouver consciousness' in those states."⁷³

Tourism promoters in British Columbia remained optimistic that a return to the heady days of the late 1920s was not far off. Faced with the economic dislocation of the early 1930s, for example, GVPB Commissioner Charles Webster outlined for GVPB members a decidedly rosy view of the past decade and concluded his brief history of the rise of tourism with encouraging words about the future. The rise of mass tourism, he explained, had been inaugurated during the years immediately following the Great War. "Fortunes, resulting from high prices of post-war years, came into existence," he reported, "causing an increased consumption of higher-priced commodities." One result of this pattern was a rise in trans-Oceanic travel and world travel more generally. Moreover, "continued prosperity up to 1929 placed people on a travel-conscious plane that had never before been achieved. The financial situation of 1930, fore-runner of the so-called 'depression' of 1931, brought a new situation." A sudden decrease in travel was the result, although "[a]utomobile travel held up fairly well during that period." Yet Webster remained certain that the Depression had "not changed the desire for travel that has become inculcated in the hearts of the people and the trend to former conditions is noticeable this year. People are travelling again." What had decreased were tourist expenditures. The "general tendency to reduce salaries and other overhead, has shown

⁷³CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 20, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1931*. "President's Message." 1-2.

decidedly in a reduced purchasing power." Webster explained. "thus decreasing the expenditures of travellers."⁷⁴

Advertising executives had long championed their industry's ability to minimize and even eliminate business cycles by encouraging consumption and in the 1920s and 1930s they continued to champion their industry as the most efficient method of counteracting overproduction. Like advertising executives who championed advertising's role as the enemy of disease and poverty in the 1920s, tourism promoters like Webster remained surprisingly self-assured in the face of the Depression.⁷⁵ Confident in tourism's recovery, Webster envisioned both a higher calling and new responsibilities for the GVPB and other publicity organizations. Tourism, he suggested, offered what other economic pursuits could not: a way out of the Depression. "Vancouver and British Columbia are subject to the same World conditions that effect the trade and development of all other countries," Webster explained. Unfortunately, British Columbians could do nothing to boost world markets and increase the demand for staples such as lumber, fish and agriculture. Tourism, he suggested, was different. "The tourist industry is the only one we have whose development lies in the hands of our people." Vancouver, and the province more generally, he suggested, were in a position to benefit from the sustained advertising effort of previous years.⁷⁶

According to Webster, tourism had already done much to ease the strain of the

⁷⁴GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1931*, 1.

⁷⁵Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 184; Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 161, 197; Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 2, 7.

⁷⁶GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1931*, 1

Depression. He suggested that business conditions would have been far worse without the "loose" money brought in by tourists. Tourism expenditures were especially valuable, he reasoned, because they were spent directly with merchants, retailers and service providers such as hotels and restaurants. This money then "gravitate[d] from these starting points to all sections of the community and the benefit from this new wealth is felt by all throughout the Province, because it increases the purchasing power of the people and also creates employment."⁷⁷

This focus on tourist expenditures was not entirely new. Indeed, earlier tourism promoters such as Herbert Cuthbert had noted this aspect of tourism's economic contribution. What was new, however, was the degree of emphasis now placed on tourists' purchasing power which had long been regarded as a welcome but secondary by-product of tourism promotion's primary objective: attracting investors and securing settlers. This new emphasis on tourism as an important economic activity in its own right, was also illustrated in GVPB membership drives. The continuing economic dislocation of the Depression had convinced the GVPB's Executive Committee that a more determined approach to fund-raising would be necessary in the coming years -- one that included returning to an earlier policy of soliciting subscriptions from service clubs. Potential subscribers were contacted by mail. The package they received included a newly created booklet entitled *100 for 1* which outlined the emerging philosophy of the GVPB. The booklet championed the role of advertising and "pointed out the direct effect of advertising in building up this great cash industry." To supplement this campaign, advertisements were placed in local newspapers

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

"showing in graphic style the relationship of the tourist industry to the prosperity of the City."⁷⁸

According to the GVPB's booklet, every dollar Vancouver invested in advertising resulted in 100 new dollars in tourist expenditure. This increased emphasis on advertising was deemed necessary because of increased competition from vacation resorts around the world. Moreover, many countries and regions were setting aside ever larger amounts of money to invest in tourism advertising programmes of their own. The tourist industry, the GVPB pamphlet argued, was responsible for roughly 13 1/2 per cent of the province's total income for 1930. It was, in fact, the province's fourth largest industry – behind lumber, agriculture, and mining, but ahead of fishing. Moreover, the tourist industry had shown greater growth in the past decade than any of the other main industries and, the GVPB reasoned, "there is no reason why it should not show the same rate of increase during the next ten years." The key to ensuring such growth was advertising and the appeal to businesspeople was direct: "More Advertising Means More Tourist Money Means More Business for All of Us." What was required, the GVPB pamphlet explained, was more financial support from the business community to guarantee these results.⁷⁹

Advertising, then, continued to occupy a central place in GVPB activities. In 1931 the GVPB contributed approximated \$27,000 toward regional campaigns. The association

⁷⁸GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1931*, "Ways and Means", 1.

⁷⁹British Columbia Archives and Records Service [BCARS], GR 709, Department of Highways, Highways Records 1926-1971, Box 2, File 3, C15, GVPB tourism promotion booklet, *100 for 1*, c.1931.

conducted campaigns focusing on Washington State, the Canadian Prairies, as well as the Puget Sounders campaign directed at California. The Eastern Canada campaign, however, was suspended. In March 1931 the Puget Sounders teamed with tourism bodies in Oregon and California to advertise nationally in the United States for the first time: a four-page advertisement in the *Saturday Evening Post*.⁸⁰ By the autumn of 1931 the GVPB had also seen fit to suspend its advertising campaign for the Prairies, relying instead on just the Washington State campaign and the Puget Sounders' national campaign in the United States.⁸¹

By November 1933, faced with declining automobile travel to the city and the lack of national conventions to buttress the tourist numbers, the GVPB had settled upon a new advertising strategy. Henceforth the Bureau would concentrate its advertising expenditure in "particular districts" even though a concerted effort would be made to maintain continuity in as many districts as possible. Like preceding presidents, GVPB President Harold Darling underscored tourism's unique ability to increase British Columbians' "purchasing power" because of its freedom from "tariff walls and conditions in the trade-markets in the world."⁸² The Bureau itself, Commissioner Webster reported, was "becoming more and more

⁸⁰GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1931*, 3-4.

⁸¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 20, GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1932*, "Advertising."

⁸²CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 21, GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1933*, "President's Address."

recognized from day to day as a civic service institution."⁸³ In fact, in light of the Depression, GVPB members' sense of responsibility and duty towards the community was growing. For the GVPB's Membership Committee, the time had clearly come for tourism promoters to take a leading role in civic affairs. "Never before in the history of the Bureau," the committee announced, "has its importance to the prosperity of the community, through the scientific and consistent development of the tourist trade been brought so forcibly to the attention of our people."⁸⁴ By December 1934, a renewed sense of optimism emerged at the GVPB. Growing interest in tourism combined with "the recovery in business which is taking place" to bring a smile to the face of GVPB president, E.H. Adams.⁸⁵ Drawing upon "the consensus of opinion that we have at last passed the 'travel depression' years," GVPB Commissioner Charles Webster reported, "... [r]enewed and increased activity" in the form of co-operative advertising was sure to follow.⁸⁶

A consistent advertising programme had been a key element in the GVPB efforts to weather the adverse effects of the Depression and tourism promoters on Vancouver Island similarly championed the power of continuous advertising. In February 1931, despite facing a decline in revenues, the V&IPB expanded its advertising program. In November 1931, an

⁸³GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1933*, "Commissioner's Report."

⁸⁴GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1931*, "Membership", 1.

⁸⁵CVA, GVVCB, Series B, Vol. 4, File 21, GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1934*, "President's Message."

⁸⁶GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1933*, "Commissioner's Report."

editorial in the *Victoria Daily Times* emphasized the importance of continuous advertising. The editorial supported Victoria Mayor Herbert Anscomb's suggestion that the V&IPB continue to increase its publicity efforts and issued a dire warning to businesses throughout the city. Only those establishments who continued to advertise their goods and services would be in a position to prosper once the Depression ended. Businesses that suspended advertising now, it suggested, would face dire consequences later on.⁸⁷ The V&IPB's annual report, released in February 1932, suggested that the city's tourist trade was weathering the Depression better than other commercial pursuits in Victoria. Continuous advertising, bureau directors maintained, was necessary to increase both the number of tourists visiting the Island and to increase the amount of money they spent.⁸⁸

In February 1933, the *Victoria Daily Colonist* stressed the temporary nature of the present decline of the local tourist industry. The tourist industry, it argued, made a tremendous contribution to the welfare of the country, particularly in terms of "new money left in the country." While the Depression meant that tourists were holidaying less and confining their travels closer to home, this was only a "passing phase." When the economy recovered, tourism would again "rise to the heights of past years and no doubt continue to expand." The key for Victoria and other tourism-dependent communities was to "continue to concentrate its efforts on attracting attention in bad years as well as in good." The *Colonist* praised the Victoria & Island Publicity Bureau for its efforts, particularly in attracting conventions to Victoria. These conventions, it suggested, resulted in "the expenditure of

⁸⁷*Daily Colonist*, 10 February 1931, 5; *Times*, 18 November 1931, 4.

⁸⁸*Times*, 12 February 1932, 1,5.

considerable sums of money, in addition to what is distributed in circulation by the regular stream of tourists."⁸⁹

As the Depression worsened after 1933, the pressure to decrease the V&IPB's activities increased. Like the GVPB the V&IPB responded to these pressures by cutting back on its expenses while continuing to promote Vancouver Island as a tourist destination as best it could. By February 1933, the V&IPB reduced both salaries and operating expenses and moved to more affordable headquarters. It discontinued its Prairie and Eastern Canada advertising campaigns and opted to halt the erection and improvement of billboards in favour of spending its publicity money on initiatives that utilized Seattle radio stations.⁹⁰

The year 1935 marked the beginning of sustained improvement in the tourist business. In November, GVPB President E.H. Adams announced that the GVPB was now in a financial position to significantly increase its promotional activities. This enhanced ability to pursue potential tourists came at a time when more and more communities were entering the already stiff competition for tourists.⁹¹ The Puget Sounders (now renamed the Evergreen Playground Association to mark the inclusion of members from Portland, Oregon) remained, according to Adams, the GVPB's "leading and most effective medium." Increased financial support from GVPB subscribers as well as from City Council allowed the GVPB to renew advertising campaigns in the Prairies and Eastern Canada while doubling the size

⁸⁹University of British Columbia Archives [UBCA], S. F. Tolmie papers, Box 19, File 19-4, *Daily Colonist*, 10 February 1933. "The Tourist Industry."

⁹⁰*Times*, 8 February 1933, 1, 18.

⁹¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 21, GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1935*, "President's Report."

of the programme in Washington and Oregon.⁹²

With the number of potential tourists increasing, road conditions emerged as an increasingly important issue in 1935. GVPB Commissioner Charles Webster paid tribute to the provincial government's efforts to improve road access to the province's Kootenay region. The provincial government's road surfacing program. Webster predicted, would increase the tendency of BC residents to travel to the region along BC roads rather than "making the journey over the highways of the State of Washington, which it must be admitted has been practically compulsory during recent years."⁹³ The GVPB continued to receive an increasing number of requests for travel information as well as for "data on practically all of British Columbia's basic industries."⁹⁴ The standing committees of the GVPB all produced reports documenting the "growing return to the tourist travel records of a few years ago..."⁹⁵ The return of a significant number of annual conventions also signaled a return to "normal times" for the GVPB.⁹⁶ In 1936 GVPB President G.H. Worthington announced that the association's advertising appropriations had been increased across the board and the number

⁹²*Ibid.*

⁹³GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1935*, "Commissioner's Report."

⁹⁴*Ibid.*

⁹⁵GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1935*, "Advertising Committee Report."

⁹⁶GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1935* "Convention & Entertainment Committee Report."

of tourists visiting the City continued to rise.⁹⁷

The GVPB was convinced that its determination to continue advertising even during the worst years of the Depression was apparently now paying dividends. But the scale of advertising does not tell the entire story. Equally as important is the changing content of the advertising. As the GVPB and the V&IPB increasingly came to see tourism promotion as an important economic pursuit in its own right, rather than a means to industrial and agricultural expansion, the content of the advertisements changed accordingly. The didactic tone of earlier copy was replaced by content that emphasized expenditure rather than investment opportunities. To maximize expenditure required both increasing the number of tourists and the duration of their visits. The best way to do this, many observers argued, was to offer Americans something exotic and foreign. In British Columbia that meant capitalizing on both the province's Imperial grandeur and the mystique surrounding its Aboriginal population.

5. Ethnicity as Spectacle: The Expenditure Imperative In Print

During the 1920s the V&IPB designed and distributed a series of questionnaires not only to provide the city's tourism promoters with valuable information concerning the number of people visiting the city, but also to obtain insights into why tourists were choosing Victoria as a tourist destination. Here again was an example of British Columbia tourism promoters adopting the techniques of modern advertising -- this time by initiating

⁹⁷CVA, GVVCB papers. Series B, Vol. 4, File 21, GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1936*, "Commissioner's Report."

rudimentary market research studies.⁹⁸ By 1928 these questionnaires had convinced George Warren and other local tourism promoters that the city's English atmosphere was an important drawing card. In response, the V&IPB publicly urged the city's residents to promote the city's Englishness, even going so far as to request that oil companies on Vancouver Island join in by displaying Elizabethan architecture and Union Jacks at gas stations and by ordering their employees to refer to gasoline as "petrol."⁹⁹ This particular initiative was unsuccessful but the onset of the Depression further convinced British Columbia's tourism promoters of the importance of capitalizing upon what made the province unique in the eyes of its visitors.

In a letter to Premier S.F. Tolmie in September 1930, for example, H.B. Thomson, Chairman of the British Columbia Liquor Control Board, lamented his province's failure to capitalize on what he termed its "greatest selling point" -- its Britishness. "We are ear-marked as British," Thomson claimed, "and visitors, particularly from the United States, expect to see something different." Unfortunately, he explained, this was rarely the case: "A man leaving Tia Juana [sic], Mexico, and motoring through to Vancouver, passes the usual series of gas stations, as hideous in their colourings as they are grotesque in their design. From observation he cannot tell when he crosses the Border." According to Thomson, British Columbia's small hotels and restaurants were too committed to an American design. These establishments, he argued, should emulate Victoria and introduce "wherever possible, a black

⁹⁸On the development of market research in Canada, see Johnston, *Selling Themselves*, Chapter 6.

⁹⁹*Times*, 14 February 1938, 14.

and white Tudor and Elizabethan style of architecture and design."¹⁰⁰

Thomson was not alone in his views. In April 1932, he called Premier Tolmie's attention to an opinion piece written by former Victoria Mayor Herbert Anscomb that had appeared in the March issue of *Island Motorist* magazine. Anscomb, then President of the V&IPB, offered readers his opinion on the best ways to keep visitors returning to the Island. Besides supplying fresh foods and maintaining an overall attractive appearance, Anscomb encouraged hotels and restaurants to enter into a more challenging cooperative venture: they must "Make British Columbia Different." American tourists, Anscomb warned, arrived in the province anxious to see something that provided a contrast with home-town sights and sounds. To provide American tourists with what they wanted, Anscomb and others suggested dramatically increasing the profile of the province's British component. "Let them see the Union Jack flying," Anscomb suggested. "English inns" would both "enhance the pleasure of their trip" and provide American tourists with "something to talk about." "Bowling greens, tennis lawns, quoit and archery grounds" would all increase the marketability of local restaurants and hotels as would two rather prosaic symbols of English imperialism, "flowers and shrubbery." Two other English pastimes, fishing and shooting, were supported by Victoria's Chamber of Commerce which had established a Fish and Game Conservation Committee to ensure a sustainable supply of fauna for visiting sportsmen.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰UBCA, Tolmie Papers, Box 3, File 3-29, H.B. Thomson to Tolmie, 26 September 1930.

¹⁰¹UBCA, Tolmie Papers, Box 3, File 3-29, Henry B. Thomson, Chairman, Liquor Control Board to Tolmie, 26 April 1932. On the English use of the garden to mark the conquest of new territory, see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995),

When the V&IPB issued its 1932 questionnaire the results created something of a stir in newspapers across the country. Suggestions by U.S. tourists that Victoria was becoming increasingly "Americanized" produced an alarmed response from the *Ottawa Evening Journal* which decried Canada's architecture, city planning, and countryside as increasingly a "carbon copy" of that found in the United States. To buttress its case, the *Evening Journal* drew upon results from the Bureau's survey which implored Victoria not to "go modern." The *Evening Journal's* view, however, was not shared by the *Winnipeg Tribune* which suggested instead that Canadians cultivate rather than prune their continentalist roots. Canada, it reminded its audience, "is a part of America, and its people are, in the main, sprung from the same racial stocks as those of the United States." "If we have some American faults," it reasoned, "it does not follow that we have copied them from the Yankees." Moreover, a concerted plan to differentiate Canada from the U.S. signified both an uncouth desperation and a lack of foresight: "If the United States tourist desires something quaint and foreign adjacent to the borders of his own country, let Mexico supply it. Canada has other fish to fry, and it will be a dark day indeed when we forget that we are North Americans or 'go native' in order to entertain the light-minded." The *Victoria Daily Times* assured both major dailies and its own readership that the entire debate was much ado about nothing. Victoria's penchant for attracting tourists was neither at risk nor apparently in need of much attention. Victoria's attractions were, it explained, entirely natural. American

visitors simply "take us as they find us," it suggested.¹⁰²

In 1937, E.H. Adams, now President of the Evergreen Playground Association, entered the debate by urging tourism promoters to concentrate not only on attracting American tourists to Canada, but also on "maintaining tourist interest" once they had arrived. To this end he reminded his audience that to American tourists "Canada is a foreign land in which they may have expected to find something that is romantic or different to anything they have seen at home." In particular, he argued, these tourists sought attractions that were "a part of the British Empire, something that is traditionally British." Adams's tangible suggestion was a proliferation of scarlet-clad Mounted Policemen stationed in front of federal buildings across the country. The Mountie, Adams reasoned, fulfilled several key requirements as a tourist attraction. He was symbolic of Britain and therefore a foreign attraction. He was easily involved in ceremonies that could be converted into tourist attractions. And since "people are travelling in greater numbers with moving picture cameras these days" his colourful attire and glamorous and romantic reputation would induce them to record his image and then "go home and show their friends and help indirectly to advertise Canada." "People are apt to get tired looking at buildings and scenery and as evening time comes on they want to rest," Adams advised. Ceremonies, pageants, music and military displays should all play a role in maintaining visitor interest and ideally prolong visits to Canada (see figure 2.7). "Too often," Adams lamented, "we Americanize our attractions under the mistaken idea that the tourist from across the line will feel more at home." This

¹⁰²UBCA, Tolmie papers, Box 22, File 22-9, *Victoria Daily Times*, 12 January 1933, "Victoria and the Tourist Business"; *Ottawa Evening Journal*, 22 December 1932, "Don't Americanize."

was not what tourists wanted, he explained. Instead, tourists wanted to feel as if they were in a foreign country. Adams paid homage to the cities of Quebec and Victoria, both of which had maintained their "quaint atmosphere" and historic background. "We should be what we are -- Canadian and not a mixture of all the nationalities who come to us," he announced.¹⁰³

Another group that tourism promoters increasingly inclined to emphasize in their promotional campaigns did not fit easily into either of Adams's two categories. Along with the province's British heritage, BC tourism promoters also sought to capitalize upon the lore surrounding the province's Aboriginal population. Earlier promotional literature, focused as it was on industrial and agricultural production, devoted very little copy space to the province's Aboriginal peoples. Tourist pamphlets frequently highlighted only the opportunity to visit museum collections of rare Native relics and curios.¹⁰⁴ The continuing resonance of scientific racism into the twentieth century meant that Native peoples continued to be viewed as unproductive and backward – hardly people who would leave a first impression tourism

¹⁰³BCARS. Add. Mss. 9. G.G. McGeer papers, Box 14. File 6, E.H. Adams. "Tourist Trade". Address to Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Vancouver. 9 September 1937.

¹⁰⁴See, for example, TAV, *Victoria, British Columbia, Canada: Tourist Resort of the Pacific Northwest* (c.1902.); TAV, *Picturesque Victoria, British Columbia, Canada: The Tourist Resort of the Pacific Northwest* (1903); TAV, *An Outpost of Empire: Victoria, British Columbia, Canada* (1905). A noteworthy exception is the Vancouver Tourist Association publication, *The Sunset Doorway of the Dominion: Vancouver B.C.* (Vancouver, c.1905) which encouraged visitors to visit an Indian Village near North Vancouver. Its description of the Aboriginal population, however, revealed the extent to which the authors felt it necessary to overcome the reader's conceptions of Native people. "These people are industrious, frugal, devout," the pamphlet explained, "and entitled to the sympathy felt the world over for the noble red men of the forest."

promoters wanted potential settlers and investors to carry with them.¹⁰⁵

While advertisements for consumer products employed images of Aboriginal people to sell goods, their roles were tightly constrained. Advertisements in the United States focused on the savagery of Indians in order to construct an "other" against which the virtues of a modern consumer product could be contrasted. In 1900, for example, Ivory Soap launched an advertising series that ostensibly demonstrated the uplifting impact of its soap on the old unhygienic ways of Native Indians.¹⁰⁶ As Jeffrey Steele notes, such advertisements assured audiences that these Indians either belonged to a bygone time or were geographically isolated far away from the middle class homes of the buying public.¹⁰⁷ Tourism promoters in Victoria and Vancouver, determined as they were to lure readers to visit British Columbia where an Aboriginal population continued to live, obviously could not offer similarly reassuring gestures.

¹⁰⁵Robert F. Burkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1979 [1978]), 61; Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 52. The desire to retain a "progressive" reputation in the hope of obtaining statehood meant that city boosters in Santa Fe, New Mexico played down indigenous cultures before 1912. Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1997). A similar desire to sell Canada as a "progressive society" to prospective settlers and investors meant that the federal government's Department of Indian Affairs attempted to tightly constrain and script aboriginal performances. Paige Raibmon, "Theatres of Contact: The Kwakwaka'wakw Meet Colonialism in British Columbia and at the Chicago World's Fair," *Canadian Historical Review* 81.2 (June 2000), 179-180, 184.

¹⁰⁶Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 163

¹⁰⁷Jeffrey Steele, "Reduced to Images: American Indians in Nineteenth-Century Advertising," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1996), 45-7

With the growing emphasis on tourist expenditures, however, the mystical aura surrounding the province's Aboriginal population was apparently deemed more acceptable and, therefore, more useful. In 1935, for example, when W.T. Straith, chairman of a local beautification committee, took a leading role in updating and expanding Victoria's attractions by proposing a "sightseeing drive" to better capitalize upon Victoria's historical involvement in the Fur Trade he lamented that "Not enough attention has been paid in the past to the Hudson Bay tradition nor the Indian lore of Victoria." He hoped a sightseeing drive might be developed "which would include these two factors as well as a view of the old Military and Naval Barracks and fortifications, the drydocks," and the "village of Esquimalt."

Particular attention could be paid, he explained, to the Indian Reserve along Admirals Road. Here, Straith enthused, were "old unpainted houses with moss covered roofs" that were "typical of the Indians of the Coast." Visitors could partake of the "three common houses with the mud floors and holes in the roof for chimneys, and all the features of the large Indian common Houses." As authentic as this scene might seem to some, Straith was not willing to leave it in its natural state. "The Indian Reserve could be improved," he explained, "by having totem poles removed from other sites and war canoes could be arranged so as to be attractive to sightseers." There was even a place for the aboriginal population itself in Straith's plan -- albeit a restricted and secondary one: "The Indians themselves would no doubt visit this place in the summer and sell their Indian baskets, totem poles and other trinkets."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸BCARS, Add. Mss. 522, C.C. Pemberton papers, Vol. 1, "Tourist Trade Development Association" File, Submission by W.T. Straith, Chairman, Beautification Committee, TTDA. Contained in T.H. Eslick to Pemberton, n.d. c. November 1935.

Throughout the 1930s the province's two largest cities continued to rely upon cooperative advertising campaigns. One of most successful belonged to the Evergreen Playground Association (EPA). In 1936 the combined circulation of advertisements produced by the EPA was, according to V&IPB Commissioner George Warren, over one and a half million readers. Some of the advertisements featured Victoria alone while others featured it alongside other tourist destinations in the Pacific Northwest. The advertisements included enquiry coupons with which potential travellers could request information. The V&IPB would then respond with "personal letters and descriptive folders" to those inquiring.¹⁰⁹ As figures 2.8 through 2.10 indicate, EPA advertisements reinforced many of the key lessons and themes that the province's tourism promoters had been championing on their home turf.

The new emphasis on British and Aboriginal imagery in tourism promotion campaigns was part of a broad trend in advertising during the 1930s. Adworkers employed the simplistic image of a variety of "folk" peoples in their advertisements in order to associate modern goods and services with the reassuring image of a pre-industrial organic society – one that spoke of a more secure era far removed from the modern world.¹¹⁰ The increasing acceptance of Aboriginal imagery in such advertisements undoubtedly owed something to the ascendance of cultural pluralism in scientific and scholarly studies of

¹⁰⁹BCARS, GR 1222, Premiers' Papers, Box 137, File 10, George I. Warren to Premier, 11 May 1936.

¹¹⁰Jackson Lears, "Packaging the Folk: Tradition and Amnesia in American Advertising, 1880-1940," in *Folk Roots, New Roots: Folklore in American Life*, ed. Jane S. Becker and Barbara Franco (Lexington, Mass: Museum of Our National Heritage, 1988), 122-125, 131-132; see also Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 383-4. On the antimodernist interest in Nova Scotia folk imagery, see McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*.

Aboriginal peoples during the 1920s.¹¹¹ In advertisements promoting tourism in British Columbia, however, images of Aboriginal culture likely owed their presence just as much to the expenditure imperative that increasingly shaped tourism promotion efforts.

6. Conclusion

In many historical accounts of leisure and tourism, the 1930s represent an era of economic restraint and sacrifice (a decade of "conspicuous under-consumption," one might say) that ushered in an era of conspicuous consumption in the post-war years.¹¹² Recent North American scholarship, however, has begun to chip away at the assumption that the 1930s were primarily an era of abstinence that contributed to a post-war tourist boom. In her study of vacations in the Northeastern United States, for example, Cindy Aron reveals that vacations "remained a prevalent and popular American institution throughout the 1930s." In fact, while vacationing declined briefly in the early part of the decade it expanded rapidly after 1935 when paid vacations were extended to a majority of industrial workers in the United States.¹¹³ Recent studies of Niagara Falls, Ontario and the province of Prince Edward

¹¹¹Burkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 61, 176.

¹¹²According to John A. Jakle, for instance, "Pent-up buying power and increased leisure time after World War II served to flood North American highways with vacationers." Jakle, *The Tourist*, 185. On the pent-up demand for tourism in British Columbia, see John Douglas Belshaw and David J. Mitchell. "The Economy Since the Great War." in *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia*, ed. Hugh Johnston (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1996), 330.

¹¹³Aron, *Working at Play*, 238.

Island both suggest that tourism outperformed other industries during the Depression.¹¹⁴ While the Great Depression meant poverty and homelessness for many North Americans, those with disposable income continued to enjoy the pleasures of recreation and travel.¹¹⁵

In addition to acknowledging the fact that tourist travel did not grind to a halt during the Depression, it is also important to recognize that the late 1920s and early 1930s witnessed a dramatic transformation in the rationale behind tourism promotion. Whereas earlier publicity campaigns had focused a good deal of energy on advertising the industrial opportunities of the province, by 1938 the GVPB was actively boosting its own industry: tourism. Its Publications and Editorial Committee now vaguely considered tourism a "stimulant to every industry" in the province and expended a good deal of energy publicizing the importance of the tourist industry itself.¹¹⁶ As the following chapter reveals, the advent of large-scale government intervention in the tourist industry would confirm a transformation in the nature of tourism promotion, from a variant of boosterism to a more direct crusade in pursuit of a direct cash infusion on the part of consumers.

¹¹⁴Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment*, 140; Alan A. MacEachern, "No Island is an Island: A History of Tourism on Prince Edward Island," 1870-1939, M.A. Thesis (Queen's University, 1991), 119-120.

¹¹⁵In the United States, for example, the percentage of disposable personal income spent on recreation pursuits between 1930 and 1939 averaged 4.88% while between 1921 and 1929 it averaged 4.06%. Those with money, it seems, increasingly chose to spend it on recreation activities. Marion Clawson and Jack L. Knetsch, *Economics of Outdoor Recreation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), 318-319.

¹¹⁶CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 21, GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1938*. "Publications and Editorial Committee."

Figure 2.1 Pacific Northwest Tourist Association advertisement. U.O.A. Drake Papers, Box 1. File 1. n.d. c. 1922.

THE LIFE OF THE GREAT NORTHWEST
Pacific Northwest
Oregon Washington & British Columbia

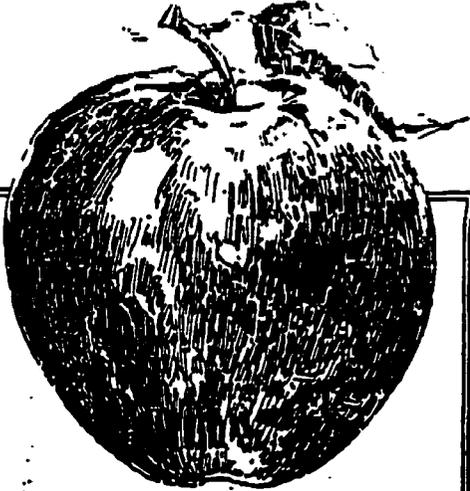
The open road calls you! The majestic mountains along the road; the thirty-eight golf courses; sea beaches; national parks and forest reserves have you to you; its trout streams to be found every foot mile along the road; the thirty-eight golf courses; sea beaches; national parks and forest reserves have you to

Enjoy your Northwest sport in the **Finest Summer Climate on the Continent**
 Bright, cool days with sun, misty sleep every night in the **Great International Pacific Northwest Oregon, Washington and British Columbia**

The advantage of good natural law in the Northwest of America — a land of abundance, of opportunity, of family happiness and enjoyment. There are no ends to your possible sport, the same in the United States as in any other time, and among friends everywhere.

When for a general booklet on the Pacific Northwest or a booklet on any of the many interesting and important features of the Northwest, write to the International Tourist Association, 1000 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

THE INTERNATIONAL FLAGSHIP



**Come to the Land
Where the Apples Grow**

THE apple to British Columbia, Washington and Oregon is what the orange is to California. The finest in the world are grown in the Pacific Northwest amidst the most glorious scenery on the continent.

**Spend Your Winter Vacation
in the Pacific Northwest**
British Columbia, Washington and Oregon

And enjoy the temperate climate where the evergreens grow, where Nature has been most lavish in her gifts, not only of wondrous scenery, but of great latent wealth.

The trip to the Coast is worth all the vacation will cost you and it will not cost much more than to remain at home. If you are contemplating a change of residence because you desire a different climate, or are in ill health, or from any other cause, you will find the Pacific Northwest the one land on earth in which life is worth living.

Write for a free illustrated booklet to any commercial organization in British Columbia, Washington or Oregon, or to the Pacific Northwest Tourist Association, Western Club, Executive Secretary, 41 Berry L.C. Smith Building, Seattle, Washington.



Climate Recreation
Scenery Sports

Figure 2.2. Pacific Northwest Tourist Association advertisement. UOA. Drake Papers. Box 1. File 1. n.d. c. 1922.

Visitors to California are Invited



By the Governments and people of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia to return to their homes via the Pacific Northwest, the most scenic route on the continent. If your ticket does not read that way, change it and you will find that the knowledge acquired of the whole Coast, the people you will meet, the business opportunities which may be taken advantage of, together with the wonderful scenery and facilities for every kind of recreation, will more than justify you in adopting this northern route.

Allow as much time as possible for your return trip. The Pacific Northwest comprises nearly six hundred thousand square miles, and it is all scenery, the greatest that is outdoors.

Stop off anywhere.

This scenery is everywhere and around all the cities and towns you will find every facility for sport and recreation:

Go on evergreen fairways, salmon and trout fishing, fifteen thousand miles of scenic highways, yachting and motor boat cruising, boating, hiking and mountain climbing in an area thirty times the size of Switzerland. Excellent hotels everywhere.

Write to the Pacific Northwest Tourist Association, maintained by Government funds to give free information. Herbert Callhart, Executive Secretary, L. C. Smith Building, Seattle, Washington.



Figure 2.3. Pacific Northwest Tourist Association advertisement. UOA. Drake Papers. Box 1. File 1. n.d. c. 1922.

**Climate, Scenery, Sport
and Comfort**

You will enjoy all of these on your return trip from
California if you will only route your ticket so that you
will be able to spend the rest of your vacation in

**The Great International
Pacific Northwest
OREGON, WASHINGTON AND
BRITISH COLUMBIA.**

The natural scenery of the Pacific Northwest is on a bigger
and grander scale than is to be found in any other part of
America. Its enormous area of snow-capped mountains, thirty
times that of Switzerland, its magnificent forests, the extent of
which can hardly be realized, even when it is stated that they
contain twelve hundred billion feet of merchantable timber, its
extensive lakes scattered all over the six hundred thousand
square miles of territory, many of them a hundred miles long,
its rugged sea coast, including all the Pacific coastward of the
Province of Canada, and nearly half that of the United
States, more majestic than the fjords of Norway, its inland seas,
extending two thousand miles, more beautiful than the Mediter-
ranean, its fertile valleys with unending meadows, orchards,
either in blossom or laden with their golden fruit, or the waving
grain fields with the purple and blue hills beyond, impress and
enthrall all who are privileged to see this wonderful part of
our own home land.

Climate is the most important factor which enters into the
enjoyment of a vacation. It is cool in the summer time in the
Pacific Northwest. When the thermometer registers from one
hundred to one hundred and ten in other sections of North
America, it is usually from seventy to eighty, at the maximum,
in Oregon, Washington and British Columbia.

Cool, bright sunny days and a restful sleep every night.

Write today for a handsome illustrated booklet on the Pacific
Northwest, or on Fishing, Automobileing, Golfing, Honeymooning or
Yachting, at the Pacific Northwest Tourist Association, connected by
Government routes to give free information, Harbor Chambers,
Executive Secretary, L. C. Smith Building,
Seattle, Washington.

**OUR
INTERNATIONAL
PLAYGROUND**
THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Figure 2.4. Pacific Northwest Tourist Association advertisement. UOA. Drake Papers. Box 1. File 1. n.d. c. 1922.

THE EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND



Modern Cities in Marvelous Scenic Settings!

NATURE has built a wondrous "sky-line" for the metropolitan cities of the Evergreen Playground. She has lavished her loveliness in their surroundings.

There's Tacoma, for instance! The greatest scenic attraction of the West, Rainier National Park, is less than three hours distant. Ice caves, vast snow fields, 28 glaciers! In Seattle! Two hours takes you into the heart of the Cascades. Snoqualmie Pass, Green River Gorge, Hood's Canal, Lakes like Crescent and Quamant.

And Bellingham—gateway to Mt. Baker National Forest, destined to be one of the foremost spots of tourist interest in the West. Famous Chuckanut Drive only a few moments away with its constellation of San Juan Islands below.

Or Vancouver! Here again scenic attractions are at your door, the wonderful Marine Drive, Stanley Park with its marvelous natural beauty, Capilano Canyon, Victoria, too! The grandeur of the Malahat Drive, the magnificent peaks of Strathcona National Park! The famous Butchart Gardens.

The Evergreen Playground is a vacation paradise. Every summer sport is at its best in this cool green summerland. There's fishing in lake, stream and salt water; mountain climbing, skiing, tobogganing, sailing, canoeing, fresh and salt water bathing, golf on evergreen courses—an endless number of summer joys in ideal summer weather.

Write for booklet, "The Evergreen Playground." It tells in picture and story the wonders of this great Vacation Land. It will help you plan your trip more easily. Address 212 Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Seattle.

Puget Sounders & British Columbians - Associated
A Non-Profit Organization, representing the citizens of
TACOMA · SEATTLE · BELLINGHAM · VICTORIA · VANCOUVER
NO RED TAPE AT THE INTERNATIONAL BORDER



Figure 2.5. Puget Sounders and British Columbians Associated advertisement, 1926. This 1926 advertisement by the Puget Sounders championed both the region's "modern cities" as well as its scenery in an attempt to lure visitors to the Pacific Northwest. *Sunset* magazine 36.5 (May 1926), 99.

THE EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND



Ideal Summer Climate!
No packed and blistering summers here. An average rainfall of only one inch per month in the summer. Average summer temperature 65°—a maximum of 80° is unusual. Eyes to sleep under blanket every night.

**It's easy to reach
the mountain meadows...**

THERE'S a wonderland at your door when you vacation in the Evergreen Playground of Puget Sound and British Columbia. You may stop in any of the cities—Tacoma, Seattle, Everett, Bellingham, Victoria and Vancouver, B. C.—and spend your days in the mountains, or in the forests, or on an island sea.

Two to three hours from your hotel and you are deep in mountain meadows, in great fields of heather and Alpine flowers. You may snowball, ski or toboggan in vast playfields of snow and be back in splendid hotel surroundings at night.

There are so many enjoyable things to do—so many places of scenic charm in the Evergreen Playground, it is never a question of "What shall I do," but rather "Where shall I go today?"

You'll want to visit—
Rainier National Park, Snoqualmie Pass, Hoopi Canal, Olympic National Forest, Monte Cristo, Chocoma Drive, Mt. Baker National Forest, Strathcona Park, the Butchers Gardens, Malahat Drive, Granite Mountain, Harrison Hot Springs, Stanley Park, Capilano Canyon—and these are only a part of the major attractions.

Mail coupon today for illustrated booklet, "THE EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND." It will help you plan your trip more easily.

Puget Sounders & British Columbians Associated
TACOMA · SEATTLE · BELLINGHAM
EVERETT · VANCOUVER · VICTORIA
NO RED TAPE AT THE INTERNATIONAL BORDER

THESE SERVICES ARE PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA. THROUGH ITS DEPARTMENT OF TOURISM AND RECREATION, 3611 STEEL ST. VANCOUVER. PLEASE PRINT AND RETURN TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.

Name _____
Address _____



Figure 2.6. Puget Sounders and British Columbians Associated advertisement, 1927. This 1927 advertisement by the Puget Sounders championed both the region's temperate climate as well as its recreation possibilities. *Sunset* magazine 58.6 (June 1927). 61.



PLEGGED....
TO HELP MAKE YOUR VACATION
A **HAPPY ONE**

To act as your guide-philosopher-friend — this will be the role of the state and city police of Oregon and Washington; the "bobbies," provincial police and Royal Canadian Mounted Police of British Columbia. Individually, they have appointed themselves committees of one — ambassadors of good will — to see that nothing mars the pleasure and tranquillity of your sojourn. Rest assured that on our quest this year, you can depend on their vigilance, intelligence and courtesy.

Rest assured also that here amongst the tall evergreen trees ... the lakes, rivers, streams, steam-heated pools, soft-water beaches and wooded bluffs — you will find peace and silence, as well as a thousand holiday thrills.

A cool summer climate — excellent highways, speedy transportation schedules, numerous fine hotels, inns, camps and resorts and law suits throughout the territory make it possible and pleasant to see ALL of the Evergreen Playground in a short time. Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Bellingham, Vancouver, Victoria — each part has special vacation treats to offer!

EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND
of OREGON & WASHINGTON & BRITISH COLUMBIA.
MAKES LUXURY FOR NEW PINE SOCIETY

THE EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND ASSOCIATION, Dept. 14, 217 Columbia St., Seattle, Wn.
© Please write for more free material.

Figure 2.7. Imperial Authority as Tourist Attraction. E.H. Adams was not alone in advocating the use of the Imperial grandeur of Mounties and Bobbies to lure American tourists northward. Both the Evergreen Playground Association and the Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau incorporated law and order images into their promotional campaigns. CVA. GVVCB papers. Series B, File 21. GVPB *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1937*; *Sunset* magazine 76.5 (May 1936), 13.

Holiday this year in the Evergreen Playground

Mount Rainier
from historic
Cannon Pass



—and now for a COOL Summer Vacation!...

...where you can spend the best holiday you have ever dreamed about. The Evergreen Playground of Washington and British Columbia is becoming the mecca of Pacific Coast holiday makers—largely because there's so much to see and do and each of the five cities is within comfortable distance of all points in the Playground.

It's an easy trip to make. At most, this great vacation land is only a one-to-three-days' journey from California cities. It offers you such a complete change of climate, of scenery, of sports and pastimes that even a few days here will invigorate you. (You can easily make the Circle Tour of all cities in two weeks.)

It's a sort of pot-pourri of every kind of vacation delight you have ever imagined! Evergreen forests, snow-capped mountains, fishing streams, waterfalls, acres of brilliant flower-gardens, velvety lawns, verdant valleys... snow sports, riding, bunsong, bathing, golf... a trip to a "foreign" country, unusual shops and strange merchandise. You can breakfast in Tacoma and lunch on Mt. Rainier's snowy slopes! You can start your day in Bellingham and in two or three hours be at the top of Mt. Baker! You can sleep in Vancouver and before nightfall visit several gold mines in the now famous Bridge River district. You can lunch in Victoria and be in the Olympic Forest by tea time! Within half a day from Seattle, you can reach almost any point in the whole Evergreen Playground.

You will get more value and more variety out of your holiday budget if you come to the Evergreen Playground. Mail the coupon below for picture post—where to go and what to see while here.

FIVE PLAYGROUND CITIES

TACOMA. Rainier National Park and Mount Rainier's snow-capped peaks.

SEATTLE. Hub of Evergreen Playground, as Puget Sound gateway to Alaska and the Orient.

BELLINGHAM. Mt. Baker National Forest, and historic San Juan Islands.

VANCOUVER. Greatly wooded country, fine scenic spots, world-famous Stanley Park and the Aquarium.

VICTORIA. Capital of B. C., a gem of Old Empire. Famous Parliament Buildings, and superb great island resorts.

While up here enjoy the Olympic National Park and the great Mt. Rainier National Park.

THE EVERGREEN PLAYGROUND

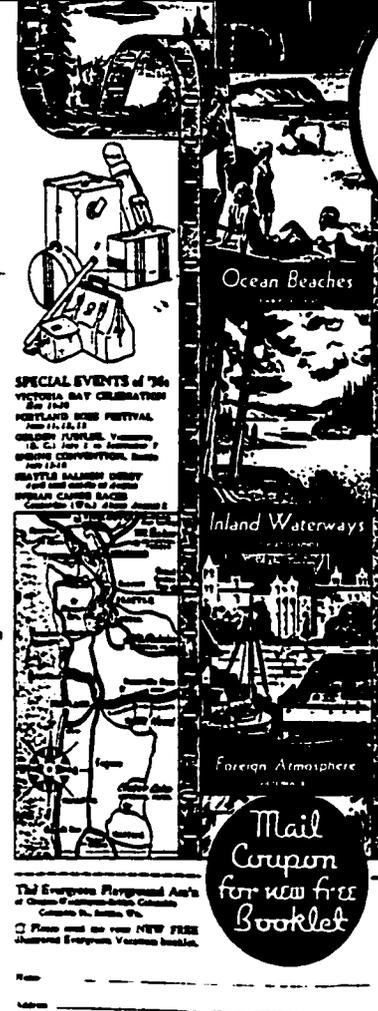
PUGET SOUNDERS & BRITISH COLUMBIANS ASSOCIATED

Postal Headquarters of British Columbians Associated,
214 Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
Please send me your FREE illustrated booklet.

Name _____

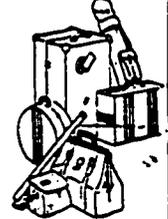
Address _____

Figure 2.8. Puget Sounders and British Columbians Associated advertisement. 1934. As competition for tourists increased, promoters in the Pacific Northwest emphasized the variety of attractions in the region. This 1934 advertisement offered a "pot-pourri" of delights that included "unusual shops and strange merchandise" from a "'foreign' country" -- a telling message during the decade in which tourism promoters shifted their focus from attracting industry to maximizing tourist expenditures. *Sunset* magazine 72.6 (June 1934). 43.



*Make Yours
an Evergreen
Vacation!*

How they see the Pacific
from their vacation life
—The Family-Next-Door—
brought for you and relaxation
in the Evergreen Play-
ground.



SPECIAL EVENTS of '36
VICTORIA DAY CELEBRATIONS
 JUN 1-14
PORTLAND BOAT FESTIVAL
 JUN 14-15-16
GRAND FURFURLE
 JUL 1-2
SEASIDE CONVENTION
 JULY 1-14
SEATTLE SALMON Derby
 First and second prizes
WYOMING CAMEL RACES
 Columbia (T.P.) at 10:00 August 2



The Evergreen Playground Ass'n
 of Oregon, Washington, Columbia
 Canada, B.C., British W.P.
 Please send me your NEW FREE
 Illustrated Evergreen Vacation booklet.

Ocean Beaches

Inland Waterways

Foreign Atmosphere

Mail
 Coupon
 for new free
 Booklet

FOLLOW THEIR ADVENTURES! *Delightful Holiday
 at small expense described by "The Family-Next-Door"*

Your neighbors, *The Family-Next-Door*, are making a tour of the Evergreen Playground. And here is the first of a photographic series, highlighting their journey. Read in their own language the account of their Adventure. Better still, follow them in fact through cool green Oregon with its miles of wide ocean beaches, big timber—its snowy peaks, mountain streams, lakes and picturesque river valleys. Such as the Willamette and the Columbia—the latter with its giant Bonneville Dam project. Then to Washington's Puget Sound country where wooded islands and romantic harbors dot salmon-inhabited waters. Find yourself admiring alpine flowers growing next to summer glaciers—another mighty dam project at Grand Coulee on the Columbia River. Enjoy winter sports in summer. Cross the International Border clumsy (there's no red tape), to an atmosphere quiz British. A city noted for its scenic beauty and its resorts. An island empire to play on, another city "more English than England" to explore. Discover delightful opportunities for sport and relaxation for every member of your family. Enjoy the many state and national parks in the territory . . . an average cool summer temperature of 62 degrees.

Due to modern highways and speedy transportation schedules, the unwatched virgin beauty of the Evergreen Playground is virtually at your front door. Because of the short distances of its main overroads from Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Bellingham, Vancouver, Victoria—you can see all this in a few days. While low summer fares and low cost of living throughout the territory make it possible to enjoy an Evergreen Playground Holiday for little more than it costs to stay at home. Come by train, auto, bus, boat or plane (it's only a few hours). And see ALL of the Evergreen Playground—in each part where you spend vacation time! And members of household run summer the fact that you're an Evergreen Playground visitor—and the key to the territory is yours!

**EVERGREEN
 PLAYGROUND**
 of OREGON - WASHINGTON - BRITISH COLUMBIA

Figure 2.9. "The Family-Next-Door" visits the Evergreen Playground. Offering a "British Holiday" in a "Foreign Atmosphere" this 1936 EPA advertisement also emphasized the region's low summer fares and cost of living. Mention is made here as well of the Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams. By 1936, however, tourism was increasingly understood as a method of obtaining currency rather than investment. BCARS. Premiers' Papers. Box 137. File 10. George I. Warren to Premier, 11 May 1936.

Chapter Three

Entitlement, Idealism, and the Establishment of the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau, 1935-1939

1. Introduction

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, local tourism promotion organizations in Victoria and Vancouver took the lead in fashioning an international tourism promotion network. Their first large-scale initiative, the Pacific Northwest Tourist Association, had benefitted from a substantial but short-lived grant from the provincial government. A second major endeavour, the Puget Sounders (later the Evergreen Playground Association), conversely, received no such assistance from the BC government. The provincial government's overall attitude to tourism promotion can be described as ambiguous at best.

The workings of the government's own Bureau of Information tell a similar story. British Columbia's Bureau of Provincial Information was created when the Bureau of Statistics and the Bureau of Immigration were combined in 1900. Established during a period of large-scale immigration into the province, the Bureau was charged with compiling economic and demographic statistics, indexing the province's newspapers, and promoting immigration. Originally housed within the Department of the Provincial Secretary, authority over the Bureau was transferred to the Minister of Finance in 1907. Despite the publication and widespread distribution of a wide variety of bulletins on subjects as varied as industrial opportunities and fishing and hunting possibilities, the Bureau's promotional undertakings

were essentially conservative and passive; for the most part the Bureau contented itself with responding to inquiries from potential settlers and directed a disproportionate amount of publicity material to Britain rather than American or continental European centres. The scope of the Bureau's activities also paled in comparison to the much larger immigration campaigns conducted by the CPR and the federal government.¹

A series of disputes between the Bureau's Secretary, H.W. Hart, and John Oliver's Liberal government in the early 1920s combined with funding cuts to terminate the Bureau's operations in 1924. Almost immediately, however, the Bureau of Information was reborn with a larger budget and a broader mandate: to promote tourism and immigration. Between 1923 and 1930 the Bureau's annual budget increased from just under \$9,000 to over \$62,000. Like the advertising campaigns of the Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau [GVPB] and the Victoria & Island Publicity Bureau [V&IPB], the Bureau of Information's promotional material also underwent an important transformation that recognized the changing nature of tourist travel: the statistic-laden bulletin series was abandoned in favour of a series of illustrated booklets aimed at motorists.² While the provincial government did not entirely abstain from tourism promotion during the first three decades of the twentieth century, its involvement was clearly sporadic. In light of the Depression, inducing the government to recognize tourism as an important economic activity worthy of direct and sustained government involvement became the primary concern of the province's local tourism

¹R. Ross Nelson, "The Presentation of Landscape: Rhetorical Conventions and the Promotion of Tourism in British Columbia, 1900-1990," Ph.D. Dissertation (UBC, 1994), 202-211.

²*Ibid.*, 211-213, 218.

organizations.

The existing literature on business activities and motivations during the Depression is sparse. Alvin Finkel, in what remains the most in-depth study of Canadian business during the Depression, has convincingly demonstrated that business people successfully argued for state intervention in the economy in the hope of saving capitalism from itself and a growing socialist threat.³ Michael Bliss, supporting a very different understanding of the causes of the Depression, also emphasizes the willingness of businesses to encourage government intervention in the form of price controls and increased government spending.⁴ Coexisting with this call for government intervention, however, was another increasingly popular business strategy: cooperation. According to Bliss, collectivism among businesses was "endorsed in one form or another by almost all boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and trade associations in the country."⁵ Indeed, the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, supermarket chains and the Canadian securities industry among others all sought government regulation in the hope of limiting harmful competition and halting declining prices. Their demands were supported by both the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Retail Merchants Association.⁶

³Alvin Finkel, *Business and Social Reform in the Thirties* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co, 1979).

⁴Bliss suggests that the roots of the Depression can be found both in the dislocation caused by the First World War and by the protectionist policies pursued by various governments. Michael Bliss, *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987), 412.

⁵Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 425.

⁶Finkel, *Business and Social Reform*, 31-35.

Yet cooperation and the demand for government intervention in the economy do not tell the whole story. In particular, these strategies do not tell us much about the motivations behind tourism promotion or the ideological outlook of British Columbia's tourism promoters. Unlike either the heads of large corporations or small shopkeepers, tourism promoters did not necessarily stand to benefit directly from their endeavors. The promoters under examination here were not hotel owners, campground operators, or tour guides who profited directly from tourist expenditures. They were primarily civic-minded politicians and business leaders imbued with a more organic conception of their place in society.

This organic or "new liberal" conception of the relationship between the state and its citizens was also voiced in the demands made by ordinary citizens of their governments during the Depression. As Lara Campbell has demonstrated in her study of Ontario families and Great War veterans, ordinary citizens employed a rights-based discourse in arguing for a reciprocal relationship between themselves and the government in which the state was expected to assist them in finding employment or providing greater access to relief payments. This sense of entitlement, which expressed a desire for government action but did not call for a fundamental reshaping of the economic system, permeated their letters to Premiers George Henry and Mitch Hepburn.⁷ Tourism promoters in British Columbia harboured a similar sense of entitlement, imbued on occasion with a profound sense of regional

⁷Lara Campbell, "'A Barren Cupboard at Home': Ontario Families Confront the Premiers during the Great Depression," in *Ontario Since Confederation: A Reader*, ed. E.-A. Montigny and L. Chambers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Lara Campbell, "'We who have wallowed in the mud of Flanders': First World War Veterans, Unemployment, and the Great Depression in Ontario, 1929-1939," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* (forthcoming).

alienation.

While tourism promoters sought government assistance in developing the tourist trade, their demands were limited to increased monetary grants and the formation of a government tourist bureau, rather than widespread state intervention in the economy. Tourism itself, they proposed, rather than government monetary policy or social programs, would provide a lasting solution to the economic, social, and cultural problems of the 1930s. British Columbia's tourism promoters advocated, in many ways, a free-enterprise solution to the Depression. In adopting this stance they were echoing the sentiments of New Dealers in the United States who had come to see consumer buying power as the key element in ending the Depression. As Lizabeth Cohen explains, "Empowering the consumer seemed to many New Dealers a way of enhancing the public's stake in society and the economy while still preserving the free enterprise system." "With the Keynesian revolution," Cohen points out, "...consumers became responsible for high productivity and full employment whereas a decade earlier that role had belonged to producers."⁸ A similar "optimistic" version of Keynesianism in Canada, Robert M. Campbell argues, resulted in a response to the Depression on the part of the federal government that left the "basic allocation and distribution of resources" in the hands of the free market.⁹ Tourism promoters in British Columbia championed tourist expenditures as a substitute for Canada's lagging domestic consumer demand and in doing so offered tourism promotion as an early tangible vision of

⁸Cohen, "The New Deal State and the Making of Citizen Consumers," 115, 123.

⁹Robert M. Campbell, *Grand Illusions: The Politics of the Keynesian Experience in Canada, 1945-1975* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1987), 36.

a free-enterprise solution to the Great Depression.

2. "On to Nanaimo" and a "New Deal" for Vancouver Island: David Leeming and the Tourist Trade Development Association of Victoria and Vancouver Island

The GVPB had entered the 1930s in a strong position and weathered the early years of the Depression remarkably well. With Vancouver's reasonably diversified economy, the pressure to maximize tourist expenditures was growing but not intense. The city of Victoria was not so fortunate. Faced with a worldwide depression and intense competition from Vancouver, Victoria's civic officials and business leaders turned to tourism as an answer to their plight. In doing so they embraced more fully a new understanding of tourism's purpose and possibilities. In many ways it was Victoria's plight and the response of its tourism promoters that most clearly highlights the transformation of the tourist industry in the 1930s.

During the late 1920s the Victoria Chamber of Commerce maintained its preferred position as the city's economic watchdog. On issues regarding tourism, for example, it restricted itself for the most part to offering public endorsements of organizations such as the V&IPB and limiting what it viewed as unnecessary government regulations that hindered the tourist business.¹⁰ More pressing, of course, was the dramatic impact of the economic depression. Chamber discussions of the Depression generally focused on the need for increased business efficiency along with government restraint in the face of increasing

¹⁰For example on 27 January 1928 the Chamber went on record opposing recently imposed custom regulations which called upon tourists to furnish a bond on items such as sporting and camera equipment. That same day a motion was passed requesting that Victoria City Council reconsider its decision not to renew the license of the Victoria Auto Camp. VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Regular Meeting of the Board of Directors, 27 January 1928.

demands for a loosening of the public purse. In November 1931, for instance, C.P.W. Schwengers, a past-president of the Chamber, returned from a fact-finding mission in New York and Eastern Canada to remind his colleagues that "rigid economy was essential if prosperity was to be regained."¹¹ In March 1932 Chamber President R. W. Mayhew reported on an unofficial Chamber delegation that had teamed with a similar group from Vancouver to impress upon the provincial government the importance of "endeavor[ing] to balance the Provincial budget without increased taxation."¹²

Yet Chamber discussions were not monopolized entirely by talk of provincial budgets. In its search for more direct and local answers to the Depression, tourism took on a greater importance than ever before. While Chamber manager George Warren (still Commissioner of the Victoria & Island Publicity Bureau) continued his contact work in the United States, Victoria's newly-elected mayor, David Leeming, toured Washington, Oregon and California in 1932 in order to address both the Chamber and the V&IPB on the subject.¹³ As the economic situation worsened, Leeming stepped forward with a forceful suggestion: the time had arrived, he suggested, for tourism to take its place as the city's leading economic concern.

Leeming was born in suburban Manchester, England in 1876. He arrived in Victoria with his family in 1893 and during his first five years in the city Leeming had worked for a

¹¹VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Quarterly Luncheon Meeting, 9 November 1931.

¹²VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Board of Directors Meeting, 7 March 1932.

¹³VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Regular Meeting Board of Directors, 18 September 1933; Joint Meeting Victoria Chamber of Commerce and V&IPB, 15 June 1932.

local real estate firm before starting up a family customs brokerage with his brothers. This operation grew into a shipping business and Leeming Brothers Limited eventually operated five freighters along the coast. In 1909 the family firm abandoned both the shipping and customs business in favour of real estate. During the 1920s he served as a director of the V&IPB, and for the four years leading up to his election as mayor in 1932, he served as the bureau's President. He served as mayor of Victoria until 1936 and remained very active on the city's Real Estate Board until he passed away in January 1939.¹⁴

As president of the V&IPB Leeming emphasized the unlimited possibilities of the tourist trade. But where earlier tourism boosters emphasized the connection between visitors and industrial and agricultural development, Leeming saw tourism's contributions differently. In an August 1929 speech to the local Gyro Club, Leeming drew his audience's attention to the amount of money the tourist trade produced. He emphasized the importance of good quality roads on the Island and affordable ferry transportation to and from the mainland. Residents of Vancouver Island, he maintained, could "easily increase" their revenue from tourism by overcoming civic rivalries. Islanders, he explained, needed to "get together and co-operate in making [their] natural beauties more widely known." They could further increase their income by establishing more accommodation, more amusements, and a greater variety of entertainment facilities.¹⁵ For Leeming tourism promotion was primarily about maximizing tourist expenditures.

¹⁴*Times*, 11 December 1931, 1-2; *Times*, 3 January 1939, 1; *Times*, 3 January 1939, 4; *Daily Colonist*, 4 January 1939, 2.

¹⁵*Daily Colonist*, 27 August 1929, 3.

Over the next few years Leeming formulated his plan and, in November 1934, he shared his ideas and concerns with his fellow Chamber members. After reviewing "the economic losses suffered by the City in the last forty years." Leeming argued that "the only hope of the City was to extend its tourist trade." While reiterating the need for "sound common sense business principles" and acknowledging the city's ballooning relief rolls, Leeming pointed to tourism as the only viable answer to the Depression. Tourism, he explained, was the "one live endeavor that the City has been successful in during the past few years." The only way out of the Depression for the city of Victoria, he argued, was closer cooperation between the Chamber of Commerce, the V&IPB, and a new association created under his guidance, the Tourist Trade Development Association of Victoria and Vancouver Island [TTDA]. At their wits' end, the Chamber's Board of Directors concurred: for the city of Victoria, tourism "seemed the last hope."¹⁶

Leeming reiterated his arguments a few weeks later when he informed the Rotary Club that tourism was the "only industry that cannot be taken away" from Victoria. To buttress his argument, Leeming reminded his audience of past developments. The city's sealing industry had been destroyed through an adverse treaty agreement with the United States. The British naval base had been closed in 1905. And the CPR decision to establish its western terminus at Vancouver had cost Victoria its shipping businesses. What remained was the tourist trade – a pursuit that could not be taken away from the city. What was required, he maintained, was a concerted effort to build up this trade.¹⁷

¹⁶VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Board of Directors Meeting, 6 November 1934.

¹⁷*Times*, 22 November 1934, 13.

Leeming's understanding of tourism's possibilities was very different from Herbert Cuthbert's. While Cuthbert had seen tourism as a means to further industrial growth, Leeming was convinced that Victoria's industrial era was over. Instead, he suggested, a tourist industry would emerge in place of traditional industries that had been lured away to Vancouver. "Tourists bring in a literal rain of gold," he explained to a Rotary Club audience in November 1934. "No tourist moves without paying spot cash for everything he receives." The need for this cash infusion was particularly pressing given the city's present financial predicament. Victoria's spiraling relief costs had left the city near bankruptcy and appeals to the provincial government to alleviate the city's problems had been unsuccessful. With the city's social service costs increasing by 240% between 1930 and 1934, Victoria's only hope, Leeming maintained, was a well-formulated plan to increase the city's income from tourism.¹⁸

A sustained campaign publicizing Victoria to potential tourists, Leeming maintained, would result in unlimited wealth for businesses located on the southern part of Vancouver Island. "Publicity that is spasmodic is not worth much," he insisted, echoing earlier statements by tourism promoters in Victoria and Vancouver. What was required was a concerted effort. "When a public holiday comes along," he explained to a gathering of the Credit Granters' Association in November 1934, "you must forget it is your holiday and you must sell that holiday to visitors." Leeming reminded his audience that 12 million people lived along the Pacific Coast and characterized them as "the highest powered buyers and money spenders you will find everywhere in the world." To lure them to Victoria, he

¹⁸*Times*, 22 November 1934, 13; *Daily Colonist*, 23 November 1934, 3.

emphasized, required “the entire support of the citizens.”¹⁹

The core of Leeming’s plan was the TTDA. To launch this association, Leeming enlisted the help of T.H. Eslick, a “publicity expert” with international experience. He also established several working committees chaired by prominent city business people. R.H.B. Ker, President of the Brackman-Ker Milling company and President of the V&IPB from 1925 and 1927, for example, chaired the finance committee while Harold Husband, the manager of Vancouver Island Coach Lines and current V&IPB President, chaired the entertainment committee. By the time the TTDA was up and running, twelve committees had been formed with 220 members.²⁰

With the preliminary work out of the way, the first full-year TTDA campaign was launched in January 1935. An overflow crowd gathered in a local banquet hall and responded enthusiastically to the assembled speakers who “emphasized the growth of holiday travel into one of the largest businesses of the nation, and stressed the importance of business-like handling of that trade.” Here again Leeming spoke of the need for cooperation and the importance of unifying “the whole of Vancouver Island.” Earlier civic battles and ill-feelings between Victoria and communities on the northern part of the Island had hindered the Island’s success in obtaining valuable road improvements. Leeming was determined to prevent his tourist trade initiative from falling victim to the same fate.²¹

Among the most vocal supporters of the new association was Victoria MPP, and

¹⁹*Times*, 23 November 1934, 15; *Daily Colonist*, 24 November 1934, 2..

²⁰*Times*, 22 November 1934, 13; *Daily Colonist*, 19 January 1935, 1-2.

²¹*Daily Colonist*, 19 January 1935, 1-2.

former Victoria Mayor, Herbert Anscomb. Anscomb emphasized the overwhelming support that Leeming's plan had received from business people throughout Vancouver Island. He also shared Leeming's optimism concerning the possibilities of the tourist trade: "It means a new lease of life for our hotels, rooming-houses, cafes, etc. All our merchants will benefit. Our transportation companies will benefit. In fact, practically all lines of business in the community get direct benefit from the tourist, and the longer the tourist stays with you the greater the benefits derived." Anscomb's endorsement of the TTDA was absolute; it was a solution whose time had come. "It seems that for the last year or two the people of every country have been waiting for somebody to lead them out of their troubles, and the citizens of Victoria are no exception." Anscomb concluded. "Our Mayor is leading a movement which, if supported in the right way, will bring prosperity to this city... ." ²²

Two months later, in March 1935, an overflow crowd at the city's Royal Victoria Theatre gathered for what the *Daily Colonist* termed a "tourist mass meeting." So well-attended was the meeting, the newspaper reported, that "several thousand persons were unable to gain admittance."²³ "The development of the tourist business means work and wages," Leeming told the audience. He estimated that a sustained effort at tourism promotion would produce \$10 million a year for Island communities.²⁴ At this meeting representatives from throughout Vancouver Island were in attendance. According to Comox MPP L.A. Hanna, Vancouver Island had overcome its earlier divisions and "the Island, as a whole, was

²²*Daily Colonist*, 19 January 1935, 1-2.

²³*Daily Colonist*, 16 March 1935, 1,3.

²⁴*Times*, 16 March 1935, 1.

definitely behind the Tourist Trade Development Association." On this night TTDA Secretary Eslick was the main speaker and he reiterated tourism's potential economic contribution while reinforcing the points that traditional industries had not served the Island well and that tourism offered Islanders an opportunity to help themselves out of their current situation. During his address, Eslick outlined the TTDA's five year plan that would depend upon "co-ordinated and co-operative community energy." The TTDA, he explained, would complement the work of the V&IPB. While the V&IPB continued to publicize Vancouver Island through advertising campaigns, the TTDA would focus on improving the island's entertainment facilities. For the year 1935, for example, the TTDA would focus its efforts on improving road signs, working towards the creation of a personal guide service, and co-ordinating entertainment programmes throughout the Island to avoid the prospect of local initiatives conflicting with one another. A similar meeting was to be held in Nanaimo in April.²⁵

Leeming's TTDA aimed at both improving the city's own financial position as well as the "actual financial betterment of every individual in the community." To promote these aims, Leeming and his followers embraced "co-operation" as their watchword.²⁶ The TTDA was to provide an "Island-wide, non-political, non-sectarian, non-profit organisation" to lead Victoria out of the Depression. Leeming, as President, headed the organisation's executive council. While the Victoria section boasted a membership of roughly 250 "influential

²⁵*Daily Colonist*, 16 March 1935, 1.3.

²⁶BCARS, Pemberton papers, Vol. 1, "Tourist Trade Development Association" File, Mayor Leeming to Pemberton, 26 November 1934.

citizens" including representatives from more than 80 local organisations, branches of the Association were also formed in 22 cities throughout the Island usually headed by a local Mayor or Reeve.

Drawing on the cooperative effort of communities throughout the Island, TTDA members sought to "capitalise Vancouver Island's unique advantages as a pleasure resort and to create a permanent profitable Tourist Industry." (The very prominence of the phrase "Tourist Industry" was a telling indication of the new outlook). To bring these plans to fruition the Association embarked upon a "carefully prepared five year, step-by-step plan to encourage and develop the Island's tourist trade possibilities." It would do so by encouraging "better transportation, suitable entertainment," and "wider publicity." The Association was to become self-supporting through fund-raising efforts. Its efforts, moreover, were to remain firmly embedded in a self-help ethos and aimed to "foster a spirit of helpful comradeship between all Island communities, linking them up in one big co-operative effort... ." The Association would complement, rather than compete with, the already established V&IPB. The V&IPB would continue to focus on publicizing the Island and luring the visitor to its shores, while the TTDA would focus on "the internal work necessary to interest him, prolong his visit, and induce him to return."²⁷

The entire *raison d'être* of the new association suggested a new attitude towards the Island's economic prospects and the possibilities of tourism. The "present commercial and financial conditions of Vancouver Island generally make the creation of new wealth from an

²⁷BCARS, Pemberton papers, Vol. 1, "Tourist Trade Development Association" File, "The TTDA of Victoria and Vancouver Island, A Brief Description of its Form, Purposes and Possibilities," n.d.

undeveloped industry immediately and urgently necessary," a TTDA tract explained. The Island's present "[g]eographical, social and industrial conditions have retarded commercial development" and "[o]nce thriving industries have been taken away" while "[n]ew enterprises to fill their place have not been found." Tourism had long been a means to such ends -- a strategy for enticing industries to the Island. In the context of the Depression, a new strategy was needed.

According to a published synopsis of the TTDA's mandate, its members were confident that tourism would bring them "an annual Island income greater than any to be derived from [their other] commercial possibilities." Tourism, the TTDA suggested, was a welcome panacea for all that ailed the Island. It would, TTDA members hoped, "create a permanent industry, for which our Island is peculiarly fitted, and which cannot be taken away from us." It would also help Islanders "secure new and better roads, to improve, extend and beautify our cities, to conserve and protect our natural assets, to provide modern recreational facilities, to enrich the cultural opportunities of our Island public, and to extend our municipal services."

Tourism's possibilities were seemingly endless. Tourism would not only "eventually reduce Island taxation below its present incidence," but also "increase business in all the wholesale and retail trades, and professions, create a new demand in the building and allied trades, benefit the farmer and all producers of raw materials, raise the value of real estate, increase permanent employment, make better wages possible, and build up our residential population."²⁸ While such pronouncements resembled an optimism epitomized by earlier

²⁸ *Ibid.*

promoters such as Herbert Cuthbert, there were important differences here as well. Tourism emerged here not as a strategy to draw industrial development to the Island, but as an alternative to such industries. Faced with decreasing success in attracting new industries and wary of Vancouver's penchant for poaching industries that did develop, Leeming and his supporters sought a more permanent basis for sustained economic development. They would seek this economic development, they explained, on their own terms. "We believe the time has come for the people of Vancouver Island to help themselves out of the depression," the TTDA explained. Convinced that "the tourist dollar is the surest, safest and quickest way out, and that by real teamwork we can achieve a newer greater and more permanent prosperity," the TTDA adhered closely to the tenets of liberalism and called upon the Island's citizenry to join together in a communal effort to better the Island's welfare. In doing so, it explained, individuals would also be serving their own self-interest.²⁹

The campaign to garner support for the new association included, fittingly, an automobile tour. In February 1935 supporters of the TTDA travelled along the Island highway to explain the association's aims to potential supporters in up-Island communities. Press reports suggest that their message was heartily supported and the association endorsed by all of the communities visited. Support was forthcoming primarily because the smaller Island communities saw this as the most acceptable plan for economic development because it was "a plan for the co-ordinated effort of the smaller communities in co-operation with Victoria to achieve benefits FOR THE ISLAND AS A WHOLE."

What resistance TTDA organizers confronted was based not on opposition to the plan

²⁹ *Ibid.*

itself, but on the unease felt by the smaller Island communities in dealings with the provincial capital. Doubts were expressed by some "that Victoria would initiate anything for the general good of the whole Island," while others reminded TTDA organizers that they did not wish to relive earlier experiences in which Victoria had "sought to dominate the Island, and had adopted a 'high-hat' attitude... ." Such concerns were assuaged by TTDA organizers who assured potential supporters that "VICTORIA WAS EARNEST IN ITS EFFORTS TODAY to study and assist in the broader policy of Island development."³⁰

TTDA organizers explained to potential member communities the workings of the organization. Each community would be responsible for raising its own funds for the entertainment of tourists. There would, however, be a co-ordinated effort to ensure that entertainment events did not overlap and compete directly with one another. Island communities would also cooperate to speak in a united voice in favour of tourist trade infrastructure such as highway improvements.³¹ By April 1935, Mayor Leeming could proudly proclaim that the TTDA had "succeeded in arousing the enthusiasm of every community on the Island for Island-wide co-operation on Tourist Development." With twenty-two TTDA branches either formed or underway, the Mayor announced, the stage was set for an "All-Island Rally" at Nanaimo at the end of April.³² The "On to Nanaimo" rally,

³⁰BCARS, Pemberton papers, Vol. 1, "Tourist Trade Development Association" File, B.A. McKelvie, "Observations As A Result Of Island Tour By Delegation From The Tourist Trade Development Association Of Victoria And Vancouver Island." n.d. Emphasis in original.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²BCARS, Pemberton papers, Vol.1, "Tourist Trade Development Association" File, Leeming to Pemberton, 13 April 1935.

as it was labelled, garnered significant support and coverage from the media.

This new route to prosperity received particularly warm support from B.A. McKelvie, the managing editor of the *Victoria Daily Colonist* who had briefly served as director of the Provincial Bureau of Information from 1929 to 1930. McKelvie took up the TTDA's cause in his newspaper and his support for a "New Deal" came entwined with a pronounced sense of regional alienation.³³ Amidst the now heightened calls for a "new and more generous interpretation of the relations between the Province and the Dominion" – a veiled reference to British Columbia's demand for better terms in Confederation – McKelvie explained that there was a necessity also for a "readjustment of treatment between the Province of British Columbia and Vancouver Island." The annexation of the Island in 1866 to the Crown Colony of British Columbia, McKelvie explained, was the cause of many of the Island's present problems. Prior to annexation, he argued, "the Island was the most popular colony and was the commercial and industrial centre of the North Pacific." Union with British Columbia, he railed, had been "disastrous." "The Island's interests were sacrificed to those of the Mainland," he explained, "and with the passing years this system of preference has been developed to an alarming extent." McKelvie went on to detail the ways in which the Mainland had won out in terms of revenue and expenditure, highway construction and public works. As a keen supporter of the tourist trade, McKelvie noted the particular importance of highway development in the Island's future. After all, "[t]he future of Vancouver Island," he explained, "is largely associated with the tourist industry." Vancouver Island required "a

³³BCARS, Pemberton papers, Vol. 1, "TTDA Historic Objects and Natural Features Preservation Committee" File, Minutes of the TTDA Historic Landmarks and Natural Features Preservation Committee, 31 January 1935.

better measure of consideration in the future than in the past" or else "progress will be slower than before."³⁴

McKelvie suggested that what was at stake here was "an opportunity existing today for A REAL CONSOLIDATION OF ISLAND THOUGHT AND ACTION that is of the utmost importance, not only to Victoria, but to every part of the Island." "Such an opportunity," he suggested, "has not yet been offered since Colonial days." Victoria, he implored, must recognize that its own welfare was directly linked to that of other Island communities. In exhorting potential supporters to gather for the mass meeting in Nanaimo, McKelvie sounded a clarion call for a new era of tourist promotion: "SUCH A GATHERING WOULD CRYSTALLIZE ENTHUSIASM. LAY SOLIDLY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A 'NEW DEAL' FOR VANCOUVER ISLAND. AND ESTABLISH A NEW ERA OF INTRA-ISLAND CO-OPERATION."³⁵

David Leeming's death in 1939 appears to have cut short the life of the TTDA. The rhetoric surrounding its formation, however, is revealing. No longer considered simply a strategy employed to lure settlers and investment, by the mid-1930s tourism was clearly gaining acceptance as a viable economic industry in its own right. Soon an increasing number of civic leaders and businessmen would lend their voices to the chorus calling for cooperation and sustained government involvement in tourism. Towards the end of the

³⁴BCARS, Pemberton papers, Vol. 1. "Tourist Trade Development Association" File, *Excerpts from articles appearing in the Victoria Daily Colonist written by B.A. McKelvie on Vancouver Island's Urgent Need for a New Deal. Endorsed and Distributed by the Island Council of the Tourist Trade Development Association of Victoria and Vancouver Island, n.d*

³⁵McKelvie, "Observations." Emphasis in original.

decade, moreover, these men would ascribe to tourism the ability to save the province and western society from not only its economic predicament but its cultural malaise as well.

3. The Promise of Tourism and the Call for Government Intervention

Statistical evidence of tourism's contribution to the Canadian economy was becoming increasingly prominent during the Depression. In its *100 for 1* pamphlet, for example, the GVPB quoted Dominion Bureau of Statistics [DBS] reports at length to demonstrate both the diversity of tourist expenditures and their importance for Canada's international balance of payments. According to Dominion Statistician, R.H. Coats. "Retail business, gas and oil stations, garages, hotels, restaurants, amusement places, sporting goods and clothing shops." and other businesses all benefitted from tourism. DBS statistics also indicated that the tourist trade enjoyed a favourable international balance during 1930 of over \$165 million, second only to wheat.³⁶

The provincial government was not blind to the prospects of tourism. In November 1931, in fact, Premier S.F. Tolmie positively salivated at the thought of a road connecting Washington State with Alaska. "If there is one line of activity which promises results with the least possible outlay to British Columbia," he surmised, "it is the tourist traffic." Tolmie looked forward with great anticipation to the day when the American press would report one morning that such a road had been completed.³⁷ Just who would pay for such a road, of

³⁶BCARS, Highways Records, Box 2, File 3, C15, GVPB booklet, *100 for 1*, c.1931.

³⁷UBCA, Tolmie Papers, Box 3, File 3-28, Tolmie to A.J.T. Taylor, Ottawa, 13 November 1931.

course, was an entirely different matter.

As Tolmie contemplated such developments, support for tourism initiatives increased throughout the business community. An April 1932 public pronouncement by the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce championed the cause of the tourist industry. "Tourism is of ancient origin," it reminded Canadians, "but it has recently developed such great growth and financial importance as to command the active encouragement of the governments of at least fifty countries." The CIBC pronounced tourism Canada's most important contributor on the credit side of its balance of payments and warned of an impending reduction of ocean travel rates to Europe – a development that could threaten Canada's tourist industry "at a time when she is in the greatest need of it." The answer was government intervention. While "government economy" was a necessary and righteous concern amidst the Depression, the CIBC strongly encouraged the Dominion and provincial governments to take a "more progressive stand" in order to maintain Canada's share of the international tourist trade.³⁸

In the media, as well, support was growing for the tourist industry. In May 1932, the *Point Grey News* endorsed a call for hotel operators to take greater notice of the tourist industry. While it was easy to see the impact of other industries such as lumber, mining, and fishing, the *News* suggested, it was difficult to distinguish tourists from other pedestrians as they walked along city streets. The key to obtaining the province's share of this boundless industry, it agreed, was advertising. British Columbians must sell their scenery in the same

³⁸"Canada's Tourist Trade -- \$250,000,000.00 A Year," *CIBC Monthly Commercial Letter*, April 1932, in UBCA, Tolmie Papers, Box 3, File 3-29, Henry B. Thomson, Chairman, Liquor Control Board to Tolmie, 26 April 1932.

way they had been selling other commodities.³⁹

In September 1933, the *Victoria Times* lamented the fact that too many British Columbians viewed the tourist business as "something of a fad and not worthy of serious consideration." Tourism, it argued, was Canada's "largest dividend payer" and, in fact, could be increased significantly if the various tourism promotion bodies across the country were more closely coordinated. The *Times* encouraged the Dominion government to take the lead in two ways. First, it wanted the federal government to organize a general tourism promotion campaign to advertise Canada in the United States -- "where seventy-five per cent of our guests come from each year." Second, it suggested the federal government find ways to induce the many communities, provinces and organizations to co-operate and coordinate their promotional efforts.⁴⁰

The hopes and frustrations of British Columbia's more peripheral communities were also voiced in the media. In April 1932, the *Ashcroft Journal* drew upon and endorsed the CIBC's commercial letter and encouraged governments to become more involved in the tourist trade.⁴¹ The following month, the *Prince Rupert News* found fault with industry figures that stressed the wide distribution of the tourist dollar. These figures, it argued, were tied inextricably to the circulation of automobile traffic throughout the province -- traffic that

³⁹UBCA, Tolmie papers, Box 22, File 22-9, *Point Grey News*, 19 May 1932, "The Tourist Trade."

⁴⁰UBCA, Tolmie papers, Box 19, File 19-4, *Times*, 23 September 1933, "The Tourist Business."

⁴¹UBCA, Tolmie papers, Box 19, File 19-4, *Ashcroft Journal*, 30 April 1932, "Canada's Tourist Trade."

could not reach Prince Rupert, it lamented, because of the provincial government's unwillingness to sponsor a highway connecting this coastal community with the province's interior.⁴²

The early 1930s thus saw a dramatic interest in increasing the role of governments in developing the tourist trade. The spring of 1934 witnessed the inauguration of the Senate's Special Committee on Tourist Traffic – a committee that would give birth to the Canadian Travel Bureau (CTB).⁴³ The drive for the CTB was initiated by Senator W.H. Dennis of Halifax who served as Chairman of the Senate Committee. In his final report, Dennis outlined the committee's recommendations. The tourist trade, he explained, was a matter of national concern. Alarmed by the dramatic drop in tourist expenditures in Canada (from over \$300 million in 1929 to less than \$118 million in 1933) the committee recommended the creation of a federal government travel bureau to coordinate the country's promotional campaigns.⁴⁴

The CTB was established under the direction of R.J. Manion, Minister of Railways

⁴²UBCA, Tolmie papers, Box 22, File 22-9, *Prince Rupert News*, 21 May 1932, "Who Gets Tourist Dollar?" The only present alternative, the *News* suggested, was securing a reasonable rate from a railway company that would allow tourists to transport their vehicles by rail into the city.

⁴³See Senate of Canada, *Report and Proceedings of the Special Committee on Tourist Traffic* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934). For a detailed examination of the Special Committee as well as a discussion of the prominent role tourism came to play in the Maritimes in the 1920s and 1930s, see Shelley Kyte, "'V-8 or Make and Break' – An Investigation of the Development of Tourism in Canada: A Case Study of Nova Scotia", M.A. Thesis, (Queen's University, 1997).

⁴⁴Senate of Canada, *Report and Proceedings of the Special Committee on Tourist Traffic*, viii-ix.

and Canals, and was headed by Leo Dolan, a former newspaper reporter and journalist from New Brunswick, who had served as the director of the New Brunswick Bureau of Information and Publicity since 1931. Once Dolan was appointed CTB director on 24 July 1934 the organization wasted little time taking up an active role in tourism promotion: it began functioning in the first week of August and launched its first advertising campaign a month later. The CTB's mandate was "to co-ordinate and co-operate with existing tourist and travel organizations." Its advertising campaigns were thus general in scope, leaving to the individual provinces "the particular work of making better known the peculiar attractions in the respective provinces."⁴⁵ Dolan maintained that the CTB's task was one of attracting tourists to Canada. It was left to provincial and municipal organizations to provide accommodation and hospitality.⁴⁶ The CTB's understanding of its contribution to the organic community of Canada echoed the optimism of media pronouncements in British Columbia. According to Dolan, the "new dollar of wealth" brought in by American tourists was widely distributed. "His dollar not only benefits the merchant and the industrialist but also the agriculturalist." In fact, Dolan supported the conclusion of one Ontario newspaper editor who claimed that selling a 20¢ ham sandwich to a visitor brought more money into the Canadian economy than an entire pound of bacon shipped to Britain.⁴⁷

⁴⁵National Archives of Canada [NAC], D. Leo Dolan papers, MG 30, E 259, Vol.1, "Minister 1" File, Memorandum, Dolan to Minister, 8 January 1935.

⁴⁶NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Minister 2" File, Memorandum, Dolan to W.J. Bennett, Private Secretary, Department of Transport, 8 April 1937.

⁴⁷NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Minister 1" File, Memorandum, Dolan to Minister, 8 November 1934.

British Columbia, of course, was not without influence in the federal government's tourist trade efforts. In November 1934 British Columbia's tourism promoters flexed enough muscle to convince Dolan to visit Western Canada. GVPB Commissioner Charles Webster invited Dolan to attend the GVPB's annual meeting – a meeting that would consist of almost 1000 people and include representatives from Vancouver Island. Webster and George Warren were, Dolan explained to his minister, R.J. Manion, "perhaps the most enthusiastic in urging me to tour the west," and the two had had until the recent conference "a feeling that we were not giving British Columbia much recognition in our plans." Dolan ascribed these concerns to "merely one of those sectional suspicions which arise from time to time, throughout Canada" and cheerfully reported to the Minister that Webster and Warren had left a recent conference "perhaps the two most enthusiastic delegates." To "capitalize that enthusiasm and to keep them strongly behind our plans." Dolan suggested, a trip out West was advisable.⁴⁸

One of British Columbia's most vociferous supporters of government intervention in the tourist trade was Robert Cromie, an ardent Liberal who welcomed the opportunity to speak his mind publicly, even at the expense of incumbent Liberals in Victoria and Ottawa.⁴⁹ Cromie took time out from his duties as owner and publisher of the *Vancouver Sun* to telegram Dolan in December 1935 with his suggestion that he approach the premiers to urge the dominion government to spend at least \$1 million and preferably \$2 million on tourism

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹*Daily Colonist*, 12 May 1936, 1,5; Robin Fisher, *Duff Pattullo of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 208.

that year. Cromie pointed to California as a state with half of Canada's population that was spending \$3 million to attract tourists and concluded his message to Dolan with an appeal to Eastern Canadian businesspeople: "Eastern Canadians No Longer Have [the] Railroading Romancing and Financing Of A Growing West To Make Money Out Of So [the] Only Alternative Is Tourists."⁵⁰ Dolan responded enthusiastically to Cromie's suggestion, forwarding it both to premiers attending a nearby conference and to his new minister C.D. Howe. Cromie, Dolan informed Howe, "has been one of the most aggressive supporters of the tourist industry, and the Canadian Travel Bureau, in the entire country."⁵¹

Many influential citizens and groups in British Columbia were thus lending their voices to the increasingly loud calls for government intervention in the tourist trade. Unresolved, however, was the question of how to finance this more coordinated and more forceful approach to tourism promotion in British Columbia. For even after Duff Pattullo's Liberals replaced Tolmie's Conservatives in 1933, advances towards the provincial government continued to meet with little tangible success. Pattullo was elected on a reform platform that promised to pull British Columbia out of the Depression through a public works program, one that required the financial support of the federal government. Indeed, much of the premier's energies were devoted to his battles with Ottawa and his attempts to

⁵⁰NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Minister 2 " File, telegram, Cromie to Dolan, 5 December 1935.

⁵¹NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Minister 2 " File, telegram, Dolan to Cromie, 6 December 1935; Memorandum, Dolan to Minister C.D. Howe, 7 December 1935.

renegotiate British Columbia's place in Confederation.⁵² As the efforts of Vancouver *Sun* publisher R.J. Cromie reveal, even personal appeals could not spark an enthusiasm for tourism in the breast of Premier Pattullo.

In February 1935, Cromie wrote directly to Pattullo to make his case. He advocated a tourist drive similar to one taking place in Quebec. Such an effort, he suggested, was a "sure way to bring several millions of new money into the Province this Summer."⁵³ Cromie's personal letter to the premier was reinforced by a heavy-handed editorial in the Vancouver *Sun*. Stung by Cromie's public criticism of the government on this issue, Pattullo agreed that encouraging tourism was an admirable goal but cautioned that a large expenditure of money would not guarantee immediate results. The poor condition of the province's roads, he maintained, greatly limited the effectiveness of such an effort. Besides, he reminded Cromie, the province's financial situation made such a suggestion impossible. Pattullo's lukewarm response to Cromie's suggestion was also coloured by his focus on federal-provincial relations and he took this opportunity to chastise Cromie for placing the province's welfare at risk by publicly "sniping away at small stuff at a time when you should be rendering every possible assistance and sympathy." Cromie's tourism plan was, for Pattullo, little more than a distraction. "It would have been easy to go off on a tangent and accomplish nothing except a little notoriety," he argued, "It is much more difficult to have to sit tight under conditions

⁵²On Pattullo's campaign promises and his ongoing battle with the federal government, see Fisher, *Duff Pattullo*, Chapters Seven and Eight.

⁵³BCARS, Add. MSS. 3, T.D. Pattullo papers, Microfilm A-1807, Vol.62. File 3a, R.J. Cromie, Publisher, Vancouver *Sun* to Pattullo, 21 February 1935.

which preclude making public all that takes place."⁵⁴

Restless for action on his proposal, Cromie berated the Premier for his "B.N.A. obsession." Pattullo's approach was, he suggested, too "vague" and "distant" to produce results. Better, he suggested, to direct one's energy to something tangible, like tourism. Road conditions were a problem, Cromie conceded, but they were less of a problem in the Lower Mainland and on the Island than throughout the rest of the province. Like a military general caught behind enemy lines, the Premier should focus upon saving the largest battalions rather than losing the entire army. "Government Ministers and employees are like General Headquarters Staff in war; they are back behind," he argued. "Businessmen," however, "are out in the front lines, and the business stores and hotels and garages throughout this province must have some more revenue." The tourist business, he glibly informed the Premier, was "a setup." He suggested investing at least \$100,000 in tourism promotion "because it is the one sure thing that we can get a return on this year." A tourism campaign would "carry itself," Cromie argued, if only the Premier would "give it the push and get the people throughout the Province rallying behind you on it." A large-scale tourism campaign, Cromie argued, was "urgent and immediate and profitable, both in money and in public psychology."⁵⁵ Pattullo wouldn't bite. Focused as he was on Dominion-Provincial relations and what he saw as the "biggest fight since Confederation," Pattullo refused to turn his attention to "lesser issues" such as tourism. What was needed, he maintained, was a

⁵⁴BCARS, Pattullo papers, Microfilm A-1807, Vol.62, File 3a, Pattullo to Cromie, 22 February 1935.

⁵⁵BCARS, Pattullo papers, Microfilm A-1807, Vol.62, File 3a, Cromie to Pattullo, 23 February 1935.

significant "realignment" of federal-provincial powers; "anything else is just playing with the issue."⁵⁶

This pointed exchange between the Premier and the publisher of the *Sun* was but a private dress rehearsal for a very public fight Pattullo would find himself embroiled in just a few weeks later. On 6 March 1935, a delegation of twenty business leaders from Vancouver and Victoria, including Cromie himself, descended on the provincial legislature to demand that the Liberal government include a \$50,000 grant for tourism promotion in the upcoming budget. Their arguments were familiar ones. David Leeming, a key spokesperson for the Victoria contingent emphasized the important role that tourist expenditures played in the provincial economy and reported that having reached a high of \$29 million in 1929, tourist expenditures in the province had dropped to \$14 million in 1934. Vancouver Board of Trade President T.S. Dixon drew the government's attention to the increased competition that the province faced from tourism promoters in the United States. Such competition, he explained, had increased markedly in the past decade. In 1934, he reported, 21,000 automobiles from California entered Washington State's Ranier Park, but only 4,000 entered British Columbia. Dixon was adamant that a sustained advertising drive by the provincial government would convince these tourists to travel further north – and in doing so fill the government's coffers. The tourists who did enter the province, Dixon reminded the government, were responsible

⁵⁶BCARS, Pattullo papers, Microfilm A-1807, Vol.62, File 3a, Pattullo to Cromie, 25 February 1935. Pattullo's reticence to embrace the possibilities of the tourist industry, for example, differs markedly from the enthusiasm shown towards the tourist trade by Nova Scotia's Premier Angus L. Macdonald. On Macdonald see Ian McKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954," *Acadiensis*, 21,2 (Spring 1992): 5-47.

for roughly 13% of the revenue it earned through gasoline taxes. Moreover, the delegation pointed to the promotional activities already undertaken by other governments. The province of Quebec, the delegation explained, had spent \$200,000 on tourist advertising in 1934 while the BC government had seen fit to offer just \$2,000 in grants to civic publicity bureaux in Victoria and Vancouver. Liberal MLA S.S. McKeen endorsed the delegation's proposals and reminded the government that businesses in Victoria and Vancouver were responsible for 75% of the province's tax revenue. The delegation, T.S. Dixon argued, simply wanted a say in how these tax dollars were being spent.⁵⁷

Pattullo rejected the proposal. The delegation's message, however, was publicly endorsed by at least five Liberal members of the legislature.⁵⁸ Indeed, many legislators expressed their concern about returning to their constituencies in light of the defeat of this popular proposal. Tourism promotion, they explained, was a pursuit that many people connected with road development – an extremely popular and volatile issue throughout the province.⁵⁹ Pattullo initially explained that while the entire legislature was sympathetic to the delegation's plan, the Bureau of Information's publicity grant had already been doubled from \$15,000 to \$30,000 in the budget. Two days later he took a harder line explaining that the budget had already been finalized and that British Columbians from outlying areas were unlikely to look kindly upon a government that acceded to a last minute funding request from

⁵⁷*Province*, 6 March 1935, 1; *Sun*, 6 March 1935, 1; *Sun*, 7 March 1935, 1, 10; *Sun*, 8 March 1935, 1, 4.

⁵⁸*Sun*, 6 March 1935, 1. The five Liberal MLAs were S.S. McKeen, Robert Wilkinson, Gordon Wismer, Helen Smith, and Vancouver Mayor G.G. McGeer.

⁵⁹*Sun*, 11 March 1935, 1.

the business leaders of the province's two largest cities.⁶⁰

Reaction in the media to Pattullo's position was swift and pointed. A Vancouver *News Herald* editorial blasted the Premier for turning down the proposal and berated his government for decreasing past advertising expenditures. "Criminal folly is not too strong a term to use," the *News Herald* explained, "in designating the past policy of government which has led to the gradual curtailment of grants for tourist advertising purposes." A \$50,000 grant, the editorial maintained, was a small expenditure that would have produced both a substantial financial return in the form of tourist expenditures and a decrease in unemployment.⁶¹ Cromie's Vancouver *Sun* similarly attacked the premier and charged that Pattullo was missing an opportunity to allow British Columbians to help themselves out the Depression with a strategy that did not require help from Ottawa.⁶²

On 12 March 1935, an entire page of the *Sun* was dedicated to the reprinting of letters supporting the newspaper's editorial stance endorsing the delegation's proposal. These letters emphasized the extent to which British Columbia's more isolated communities connected the issue of road building with tourism advertising as letter after letter spelled out their frustration with the uneven development of tourism in the province. The Vernon Board of Trade, for example, endorsed the delegation's proposal but lamented that tourism advertising would be meaningless unless tourists could gain easy access to the Okanagan: "... to spend

⁶⁰*Sun*, 6 March 1935, 1; *Times*, 6 March 1935, 1; *Sun*, 8 March 1935, 1, 4; *Times*, 8 March 1935, 1.

⁶¹*News Herald*, 7 March 1935, 4.

⁶²*Sun*, 8 March 1935, 1.

large sums of money on advertising our undeniable attractions with our roads in their present deplorable condition is analogous to a tradesman advertising his wares and then pulling down the blinds.” The Kelowna Board of Trade offered a similar observation while letters supporting the delegation’s initiative were sent by boards of trade and local newspapers in Delta, Powell River, Penticton, Revelstoke, Nelson, Cowichan, Mission City, and Nanaimo. The *Sun* also delighted in reprinting letters from twelve MLAs each of which went on record acknowledging the economic importance of tourism.⁶³

A week after the delegation first presented its proposal, the *Vancouver Sun* reported that MLAs were being inundated with requests from retail merchants to save the proposal and “had also been hearing by letters, and in vigorous terms, from hotel men, garage and service station proprietors, even beauty parlor operators, demanding reconsideration of what all consider a moderate request.”⁶⁴ Behind the scenes Liberal caucus members continued a vain attempt to get the government to reconsider the proposal.⁶⁵ As the summer tourist season came to a close in August, the *Sun* bitterly chastised the premier for his intransigence. The business community in Vancouver and throughout the province, an editorial lamented, had missed out on a golden opportunity. “Our own Premier Pattullo must feel proud to have

⁶³*Sun*, 12 March 1935, 8. The twelve included nine Liberals (N.W. Whittaker, Saanich; L.A. Hanna, Comox; R. Wilkinson, Vancouver - Point Grey; George M. Murray, Lillooet; Dr. J. Allen Harris, South Okanagan; S.S. McKeen, Vancouver - Point Grey; George S. Pearson, Alberni-Nanaimo; Byron Johnson, Victoria; and J.D. Gillis, Yale), one Labour MLA (Tom Uphill, Fernie), and two former Conservatives (R.W. Bruhn, Salmon Arm, of the Non Partisan Independent Group, Salmon Arm and R.H. Pooley, Esquimalt of the Unionist Party of BC).

⁶⁴*Sun*, 13 March 1935, 1.

⁶⁵*Sun*, 15 March 1935, 1.

turned down a nice, fat slice of this tourist business by refusing to join businessmen with fifty or even one hundred thousand dollars for tourist advertising and thereby give a boost to this profitable industry."⁶⁶

Throughout 1935 support continued to build for government to play a larger role in the tourist industry. In mid-March, Dr. W.A. Carrothers, chairman of BC's Economic Council, an advisory body appointed by Pattullo in 1934 to gather information on the province's economy and offer policy recommendations, added his name to the growing list of public figures who were recognizing tourism as an important economic pursuit.⁶⁷ "Every tourist meal is an export," he explained, "and every article or service we can sell to our visitors will help to overcome the unbalanced condition of the British Columbia's trade." For Carrothers, tourism promotion was part of a broad strategy to help the economy which included the building up of small industries and a determined effort to purchase products manufactured in British Columbia.⁶⁸

In July 1935 V&IPB Commissioner George Warren drew British Columbians' attention to the promotional efforts undertaken by governments in other jurisdictions. Switzerland, New Zealand, Mexico and Japan had all recently embarked upon aggressive advertising campaigns. Closer to home, the province of Quebec was now spending almost \$250,000 promoting tourism while Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had all established provincial tourist bureaux. In view of this increased competition, he argued,

⁶⁶*Sun*, 27 August 1935, 4.

⁶⁷On the creation of the Economic Council, see Fisher, *Duff Pattullo*, 260.

⁶⁸*Sun*, 15 March 1935, 20.

British Columbia required a government department devoted to increasing the province's share of tourist traffic. Despite the best efforts of the V&IPB and the government's Bureau of Information, he maintained, more government money was required to compete both with international tourist destinations and with other provinces in Canada.⁶⁹

Throughout 1936 the continued economic dislocation of the Depression drove home the need, in many British Columbia communities, for increased investment. Often the perceived prerequisite for such investment was publicity. In March, 1936, for example, G.E. Curtis, Secretary of the New Westminster Board of Trade, wrote to Finance Minister John Hart to point out the "urgent need of up-to-date publicity enterprise on the part of New Westminster and the Fraser Valley." Tourist enquiries were increasing, he noted, and the opportunity to advertise the region's commercial opportunities must be capitalized upon. Publicity expenses, Curtis explained, would "return real dividends by bringing in new land owners, home owners and new industry to our City and the Fraser Valley areas." In doing so, he reminded Hart, it would benefit the province as a whole.⁷⁰

While communities such as New Westminster advocated a traditional use of tourism publicity, others embarked upon a new direction – one more closely aligned with David Leeming's plans for Victoria. While Curtis sought exposure for New Westminster's industrial opportunities, M.C. Ironside, Secretary of the Nanaimo Board of Trade saw a very different purpose for tourism publicity. In January 1936, Ironside wrote to Premier Pattullo in favour

⁶⁹*Daily Colonist*, 24 July 1935, 6.

⁷⁰BCARS, Premiers' Papers, Box 129, File 11, G.E. Curtis, Secretary, Board of Trade of the City of New Westminster to Hon. John Hart, Minister of Finance, 18 March 1936.

of a Convention of Provincial Governments designed to create a policy to preserve resources serving as tourist attractions. Alive to the possibilities of tourism for his own city, Ironside petitioned Pattullo for direct government intervention to protect a number of rivers, lakes and streams from pollution and the conservation of game and fish. Ironside also advocated "the saving of belts of timber along our highways." presumably to foster a more enjoyable vacation experience for visitors to the province.⁷¹ Absent from Ironside's appeal was any direct connection between tourism and industrial development.

By March 1936 the provincial government had been won over and Finance Minister John Hart announced that the government was now prepared to devote more attention than in past years to tourism advertising. To facilitate a more extensive advertising campaign the government announced that it would be doubling the Bureau of Information's publicity expenditures from \$30,000 to \$60,000. The Bureau of Information's Commissioner, Major J. Gordon Smith was reportedly hard at work designing a publicity program for the coming year.⁷² In November 1937 the provincial government introduced legislation creating a Bureau of Industrial and Tourist Development [BITD]. The BITD absorbed the old Bureau of Provincial Information and would be housed in the newly created Department of Trade and Industry. Its mandate was to stimulate tourist traffic and to secure information and offer advice concerning the establishment of new industries in the province.⁷³

⁷¹BCARS, Premiers' Papers, Box 129. File 11, M.C. Ironside, Secretary Nanaimo Board of Trade to Pattullo, 15 January 1936.

⁷²*Times*, 25 March 1936, 11; *News Herald*, 25 March 1936, 8.

⁷³*Times*, 4 November 1937, 1-2; *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry 1939*, FF13; Meg Stanley, "Creating Beautiful British Columbia: Pattullo's Promotion of

In February 1938, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry E.G. Rowebottom announced the formation of a seven-person provincial Tourist Council to be composed of four government members and three non-government members -- one each from Vancouver, Victoria and interior. The government was now willing to spend \$50,000 on tourist advertising during the coming year and Rowebottom's announcement echoed the rhetoric of the civic leaders and business people that had been lobbying his government so determinedly. Tourism, he explained, "is one of our fundamental industries and the government has determined to promote it with all its energy. I look on the tourist business as an export business -- an invisible export. The tourists come here and spend their money and take nothing away except delightful memories and a determination to return." Rowebottom also endorsed recent pronouncements concerning the scope of the tourist industry, saying that a conservative estimate placed tourist expenditures in BC at \$30 million in 1937. Anxious to increase this amount, the government now recognized the importance of coordinating the activities of tourism promotion organizations.⁷⁴

In November 1938, legislation was introduced expanding the Tourist Council from seven to thirteen members in an effort to obtain wider representation from communities throughout the province. This amendment also changed the name of the Bureau of Industrial and Tourist Development to the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau [BCGTB], giving the tourist trade an even more prominent place within the government bureaucracy. The new bureau's budget for tourist literature and advertising was increased to \$105,000.

Tourism," Paper Presented to the B.C. Studies Conference (October 1994), 13-14.

⁷⁴*Times*, 15 February 1938, 5.

more than double the \$50,000 that it had been provided the year before.⁷⁵

On 10 January 1939 the expanded British Columbia Tourist Council officially came into being. E.G. Rowebottom, the deputy minister of Trade and Industry was appointed the body's permanent chair person. The organization's twelve councillors included E.H. Adams of the GVPB and George Warren of the V&IPB, an indication that tourism promoters in Vancouver and Victoria would be afforded the opportunity to influence government tourism policy. They were joined by J. Gordon Smith, the commissioner of the BCGTB, several powerful government bureaucrats including J.V. Fisher, the assistant deputy minister of finance, and representatives from a number of smaller communities including Nelson, Kamloops, and Prince Rupert.⁷⁶

Pattullo was not wholly opposed to government intervention in the tourist trade, but as the events of 1935 and 1936 reveal, it is clear that his government did not take the lead on this initiative.⁷⁷ Instead a broad consensus was formed among interests likely to reap immediate gains from an increase in tourist traffic – the business leaders and local politicians of Victoria and Vancouver, and those who anticipated an economic windfall in the future, such as the business spokespersons from outside the Lower Mainland. In their demands they voiced a sense of entitlement to direct government expenditures as well as an optimistic

⁷⁵*Sun*, 25 November 1938, 2; *Times*, 25 November 1938, 15; *Province*, 25 November 1938, 16.

⁷⁶*Daily Colonist*, 11 January 1939, 2.

⁷⁷For example, the Liberal party publicly recognized the importance of the tourist industry at its 1932 convention and in June 1934 Pattullo, himself, speculated about the possibility of creating a provincial Ministry of Tourist Traffic. Stanley, "Creating Beautiful British Columbia," 11; Fisher, *Duff Pattullo*, 215-216.

idealism about the possibilities of the tourist trade. Tourism promotion was now accepted as a recognized duty of the state, but the push for tourism to be taken seriously as an industry came primarily from business leaders and civic politicians, not from the provincial government. Given its genesis, it is not surprising that the new government travel bureau focused its duties on two key initiatives that had been championed by local tourism promoters in Vancouver and Victoria for the better part of a decade: advertising and coordination.

4. Advertising and Coordination: The Aims of the BCGTB

By 1936, then, the provincial government had been swayed by the increasing resonance of voices throughout the province advocating an expanded role for the government in tourism promotion and in July of that year, J. Gordon Smith, Director of the Bureau of Provincial Information and Publicity outlined his suggestions for the form such government intervention should take⁷⁸ Smith, an experienced newspaper reporter and civil servant, focused his suggestions primarily upon the government's coordinating activities, but his tenure as director of the BCGTB also marked a more direct foray for the government into tourism promotion and publicity.

Smith was born in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1874. He moved to Montreal while still a child and after briefly attending McGill University, he joined the Montreal *Herald* where he worked first in the art department before joining the editorial staff. After two years in the

⁷⁸BCARS, Premiers' papers, Box 35, File 2, J. Gordon Smith, "Summary of Suggestions for improved promotion of the Tourist Industry," 17 July 1936.

newspaper business (in Montreal and New York City), Smith moved to Victoria. There he was eventually successful in landing a position first with the *Daily Times* and then with the *Daily Colonist*. After serving as a correspondent first for the London *Daily Mail* and then the London *Morning Post* during the Russo-Japanese War. Smith returned to Victoria and became the *Daily Colonist*'s magazine editor. In 1912 he abandoned the newspaper business in favour of a new pursuit: tourism promotion.⁷⁹ Smith's determination to develop the province's tourist trade led him to join the provincial civil service. He was motivated to do so by his belief that "as the tourist industry was valuable and benefited [*sic*] everyone directly or indirectly, it should be considered the duty of the Government to promote it" – just as it was the government's duty to promote other basic industries "for the common welfare." After a five year break in which Smith served in the Great War, he returned to the government's Bureau of Information where he served throughout the 1920s eventually becoming the Bureau's director in 1930.⁸⁰ It was during the 1930s, however, that Smith would get an opportunity to play a leading role in the development of the tourist industry.

Advertising was to become a central component of BCGTB duties and as early as 1931 Smith made his faith in advertising known. "Advertising is a necessity," he explained. "When it is considered that one motor manufacturing firm appropriates \$6,000,000 a year for advertising" and "a chewing gum manufacturer spends \$3,500,000," he reasoned, "the value in results must well be proportionate to the expenditure." He also pointed to a recent

⁷⁹*Daily Colonist magazine*, 11 June 1950, 3; *Daily Colonist*, 29 September 1951, 16.

⁸⁰*Daily Colonist*, 28 June 1942, 5; Government of British Columbia, *Public Accounts* (1930-31), N 98.

publication that demonstrated a "decline in business and profits of those firms which decided to retrench advertising expenditures in the period from 1921 to 1926."⁸¹

From within the provincial civil service, Smith championed the role of advertising for he saw a direct cause-and-effect relationship between advertising and increased tourism revenues. In a 1938 address to Victoria's Real Estate Board, for example, Smith offered a revised version of Herbert Cuthbert's favourite topic, the California success story. In 1921, Smith explained, a small number of Los Angeles business people had put together an advertising fund totalling \$46,000 with the hope of extending the state's tourist season beyond the summer months. Within a few short years the fund had increased to over \$500,000. The results were dramatic. By 1937 tourism was California's second largest industry (behind petroleum) and tourists had spent roughly \$280 million there.⁸² Like Cuthbert before him, Smith was determined to model his efforts on the successful accomplishments of the city of Los Angeles. But while earlier endeavours to repeat the California success story had focused primarily on tourism's role in attracting settlers and investment, Smith focused his efforts on emulating Los Angeles's ability to maximize tourist expenditures.

Cognizant of the success enjoyed by California, New Mexico and Quebec in marketing their ethnic heritage, Smith suggested that British Columbia's "historic background and native characteristics ... be utilized more." Under the suggestive heading

⁸¹University of Victoria Archives [UVA], 86-30, Caravan Across British Columbia 1930 fonds, Scrapbook, Vancouver *Province*, 6 May 1931, "Auto Caravan Justified by Results."

⁸²*Daily Colonist*, 28 May 1938, 2.

"Artificial Stimulation." Smith urged that local promoters be encouraged to stimulate travel through local anniversaries and other celebrations. Aware of the increasing importance of shopping to the tourist experience, tourist expenditures could also be increased through a concerted attempt by manufacturers, importers and retailers "to display and specially price lines which U.S. tourists can purchase to better advantage than at home." Smith also drew the government's attention to the success of excursion tours in New Zealand and suggested that transportation companies should be encouraged to conduct similar all-expense tours in British Columbia. Centralization could also play an important role in these more direct promotional suggestions and Smith proposed augmenting the lure of the province's "sporting and recreational attractions" by creating a central agency dedicated to connecting travellers with "bona fide guides and outfitters."⁸³ Similar themes emerged in the earliest BCGTB advertisements (see figures 3.2 to 3.4). In preparing these expanded advertising campaigns the bureau enlisted the help of two advertising firms, Stewart-McIntosh Ltd. of Vancouver and Clarke Advertising Service of Victoria.⁸⁴

An increased advertising budget, however, was not enough. Smith was equally determined that promotional efforts be coordinated and complement each other. Acknowledging the difficulty presented in measuring tourist behaviour and the scope of the tourist industry, Smith emphasized the need to bring about a greater co-ordination of activities among the various local tourist organizations.⁸⁵ British Columbia's tourism

⁸³Smith, "Summary of Suggestions."

⁸⁴Government of British Columbia, *Public Accounts* (1937-1939).

⁸⁵*Province*, 11 May 1936, 20.

promoters, he explained, needed to eliminate both duplication of effort and competition between tourist bureaux in order to carry out the important work that needed to be done to maximize tourist expenditures in the province. This important work included determined efforts to preserve the local character of popular tourist destinations, to improve access to popular attractions, to develop local handicrafts, and to encourage tourists to purchase products in local stores.⁸⁶

Smith's plan would first see the coordination of all of the province's local tourist bureaux under the supervision of a provincial Minister and delineated through a Tourist Act. The Minister would be aided in this and other endeavours by an unpaid advisory body (the Tourist Council). Whereas local tourist bureaux would retain a focus on their community's immediate interests, the provincial government's actions would be based upon the principle that all British Columbians should share in the benefits of tourism and thus the government's activities would be defined and carried out broadly, on a province-wide basis. The provincial travel bureau would aid in the centralization of tourism promotion activities by acting as a "clearing house" to collect and relay enquiries to districts throughout the province. The bureau would also be responsible for an official British Columbia tourism promotion campaign and would produce "an advertising, publicity, and promotional plan" approved by the Minister and supported by a specific vote in the legislature. Another key responsibility of this provincial tourist bureau would be ensuring cooperation with both Canadian and U.S. government travel bureaux as well as the transportation, hotel, and automobile organizations. These then were to be the broad characteristics of the proposed provincial body.

⁸⁶*Times*, 17 September 1937, 13.

Coordination and centralization were clearly dominant concerns for Smith and other British Columbia tourism promoters.⁸⁷

Smith's approach was influenced by government activities in two very different regions of North America. Not surprisingly, his attention was focused directly on the experience of US states in the Pacific Northwest. The "general trend," Smith explained, was "to State Bureaus [*sic*] which carry out State advertising and publicity plans, leaving civic and regional efforts exclusively to local enterprise." To date, he reported, twelve U.S. states had established government travel bureaux, mostly in the past two years.⁸⁸ In designing British Columbia's state-sponsored tourist bureau, however, Smith did not restrict himself solely to the experience of governments in the Pacific Northwest. Impressed by the activities of the Quebec government, Smith suggested the establishment of a Tourist Traffic Act aimed largely at improving organization and adding cohesion to existing tourism promotion efforts. The Quebec government, like its BC counterpart, faced the daunting task of governing a large and diverse area and a chief advantage of the "Quebec Plan" was its efficient organizing of different parts of the province into regional tourist bureaux that could focus more directly on their communities' needs.⁸⁹

If the trend of state governments in the Pacific Northwest had opened the British Columbia government's eyes to the need for a state-sponsored tourism bureau, the Quebec government offered the promise of coherence, efficiency and centralization that Smith

⁸⁷Smith, "Summary of Suggestions."

⁸⁸Smith, "Summary of Suggestions," Appendix 'A'.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

desired. Moreover, the “nucleus” for such an organization already existed in British Columbia. The government's own Bureau of Information (now renamed the Bureau of Information and General Publicity) housed bureaucrats “equipped with experience and technical ability” to efficiently gather and relay the necessary information. In addition, Vancouver and Victoria both boasted established tourist bureaux while various other cities throughout the province had chambers of commerce and other organizations that would provide valuable infrastructure. The creation of a Tourist Act would not only provide a way to divide the Province into a number of official districts, but could also provide the authority to “induce local interests to initiate District Tourist Bureaus” – thus providing a workable network that was easily monitored. Like its federal counterpart, the CTB, British Columbia's new government travel bureau was expected to provide a coordinating framework within which local tourist bureaux would operate.

The newly-formed BCGTB enjoyed reasonably cordial relations with the CTB. The two bureaux cooperated in a number of areas, especially in the coordination of advertising campaigns. Advertising schedules were exchanged to avoid duplication of effort and advice exchanged concerning advertising in the United States.⁹⁰ The CTB's most extensive campaign was focused on the United States (from which Canada regularly drew over 90% of its tourist revenue). This interest in the United States was shared by tourism promoters in British Columbia. But the two approaches were not entirely similar. While BC tourism

⁹⁰NAC, RG 20, Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce papers, A9, Vol. 1578, File 3610-B-1. J. Gordon Smith to Dolan, 8 December 1938; Dolan to Smith, 23 December 1938; Smith to Dolan, 16 December 1938; Dolan to Smith, 22 December 1938; Dolan to Smith, 23 December 1938; Dolan to W.Lloyd Craig, 14 November 1938.

promoters focused their efforts almost entirely on the Pacific Coast, the CTB advertising campaign had a very different focus. The CTB's advertising appropriations targeted just 2.6% of its funds for advertising in the Pacific Northwest and 9.5% in the "Southwest" zone that included California. A full 84.9% of its appropriation was targeted at the US Northeast (a group likely to visit Canada but much less likely to traverse the continent to visit British Columbia).⁹¹ In its submission to the 1934 Senate Committee the BCGTB's precursor, the Provincial Bureau of Information and Publicity had raised this issue in an effort to limit the coordinating powers of the proposed federal bureau, noting that "the chief markets of the Maritimes and of British Columbia are some thousands of miles apart."⁹²

Not surprisingly, some tensions did emerge between the two bureaux. These were focused mainly on the methods and content of advertising. In November 1936, Paul B. Thompson, an advertising representative for *Sunset* magazine demanded that the CTB pay more attention to Canada's westernmost province. Thompson informed the CTB that the Vancouver advertising firm of Stewart-McIntosh and Co. was of the opinion that "there should be more advertising space used in *Sunset* by the Canadian Travel Bureau since *Sunset's* circulation of over two hundred thousand is practically all on the Pacific Coast."⁹³

Nor were CTB activities without fault in the eyes of British Columbia's tourism

⁹¹NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Minister 1" File. Memorandum. Dolan to Minister, 8 January 1935. An additional 3% was targeted at the American Southeast.

⁹²Senate of Canada, *Report and Proceedings of the Special Committee on Tourist Traffic*, 260.

⁹³NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Minister 2" File, 20 Paul B. Thompson, Advertising Representative. *Sunset* magazine to CTB, November 1936.

promoters. An April 1938 CTB advertisement, for example, caught the eye of George Warren when it appeared in both *Fortune* and *Sunset* magazines. Frustrated over the previous two years by CTB advertisements that suggested that the country stretched only "from the Atlantic to the Rockies" Warren wrote to CTB chief Leo Dolan chastising the federal bureau for the present advertisement promoting the nation's National Parks. The advertisement announced that "From the snow-capped Rockies to the shores of Nova Scotia, great National Parks dot Canada" (see Figure 3.1). In response, Warren offered the CTB copy-writers a geography lesson. Both Glacier National Park and Mount Revelstoke National Park were west of the Rockies, he reminded them. The danger in such advertising, Warren explained, was particularly virulent with a regional magazine such as *Sunset* that had a large circulation in California. "A Californian who is not conversant with the geography of this part of the Coast," he explained, "would conclude that there was nothing to see, nothing worth while west of the Rockies."⁹⁴ An annoyed W. Lloyd Craig, Director of the province's Bureau of Industrial and Tourist Development, joined Warren in chastising Dolan for the content of the recently circulated CTB magazine advertisements for the National Parks.⁹⁵ Dolan's response suggested he was unconvinced by the BC tourism promoters' reasoning, but willing to address their concerns for the sake of continued cooperation. The "Rockies," Dolan,

⁹⁴BCARS, Premiers' papers, Box 148, File 6, Warren to Dolan, 31 March 1938.

⁹⁵NAC, Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce papers, A9, Vol. 1578, File 3610-B-1, W. Lloyd Craig, Bureau of Industrial and Tourist Development to Dolan, 4 April 1938.

maintained, meant all of British Columbia for "the vast majority of people."⁹⁶

Increased BCGTB advertising in the future might soon alleviate such concerns, but during its early years, concerns that British Columbia was being ill-served by the CTB remained. In November 1938, for example, J. Gordon Smith made a point of writing to Dolan directly to express his concerns about the conduits for CTB advertising. Smith sought more attention in the CTB's newspaper schedule for newspapers in the western United States – the lifeblood of the BC tourist trade.⁹⁷ Smith also encouraged the CTB to decentralize its promotional activities. British Columbia, Smith suggested, was hampered by the CTB's very "general" approach to advertising and suggested that the "zoning of at least part of the work" of the CTB "would be advantageous." While the CTB advertised Canada very generally, Smith sought recognition of the country's "five distinct zones" in the form of direct appropriations from the CTB to the provincial bureaux. Decentralizing the national tourist campaign, he suggested, would produce better results.⁹⁸

Dismissed as "small stuff" by Premier Pattullo in February 1935, by 1938 the tourist trade now boasted its very own government bureau firmly ensconced within the provincial bureaucracy. The advent of the BCGTB provided the BC tourist trade with not only a more powerful voice in national advertising campaigns, but a degree of government recognition

⁹⁶NAC, Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce papers, A9, Vol. 1578, File 3610-B-1, Dolan to Craig, 9 April 1938..

⁹⁷NAC, Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce papers, A9, Vol. 1578, File 3610-B-1, Smith, Commissioner, Bureau of Tourist Development, Department of Trade and Industry to Dolan, 23 November 1938.

⁹⁸Smith, "Summary of Suggestions."

previously unknown in the province. The BCGTB's own promotional initiatives would expand greatly in the coming years thus augmenting the efforts of the Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau, Victoria & Island Publicity Bureau, and cooperative organizations such as the Evergreen Playground Association.

5. Progress, Peace and Democracy: Tourism as Panacea

While business people and politicians were intrigued by the economic possibilities of tourism promotion, the promise of tourism in British Columbia during the late 1930s had both an economic and a cultural dimension. Several supporters of tourism promotion championed tourism's potential to revive human progress, restore international peace, and defend democracy. As the many public pronouncements at public meetings and newspapers suggest, support for the development of the tourist industry in British Columbia was not limited to those involved in the tourist trade itself. It was also capturing the imagination of those not directly connected to the industry and, in the case of Gerry McGeer, those who had already gained a reputation for radical and idealistic solutions to the Depression.

Nowhere was the idealism of tourism promotion given more force or colour in British Columbia in the late 1930s than in the speeches of the former Vancouver Mayor. By the mid-1930s, McGeer had gained a reputation as both an ardent defender of British Columbia's interests within Confederation and, with the onset of the Depression, had embarked upon a sustained campaign for monetary reform. His interest in promoting the virtues of the tourist industry, which left economic recovery very much in the hands of consumers, reflected a far less dramatic rethinking of the state's role in the economy than that proposed in his earlier

speeches and published works.⁹⁹

McGeer, like many others, sought increased government recognition for tourism and he outlined what he considered to be the main purposes behind the tourist trade in a January 1937 memorandum to his successor as Mayor, George Miller. While earlier explanations of tourism's importance often emphasized the close relationship between tourist travel, settlement and industrial and agricultural development, McGeer's rationale was very different: he focused chiefly on tourist expenditures.¹⁰⁰

Yet Government support for tourism promotion would not simply alleviate the current economic dislocation. McGeer argued, it would also help to put Canada back on the road to progress. Tourism, McGeer suggested, possessed both "moral as well as economic virtues." To buttress his argument, McGeer drew upon the observation of the great early nineteenth-century Whig historian T.B. Macaulay. For McGeer, Lord Macaulay had foreseen what governments were only too slow in discovering: that improvements in transportation produced both material and intellectual benefits. Such improvements, as Macaulay had announced in the second volume of his *History of England* held the possibility of removing "national and provincial antipathies and to join together all branches of the great human family." When Gerry McGeer surveyed the Canadian landscape in 1937, he saw a good

⁹⁹On McGeer's proposals for monetary reform see David Ricardo Williams, *Mayor Gerry: The Remarkable Gerald Grattan McGeer* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1986), especially Chapter 7. McGeer's own lengthy tome on the subject was published in 1935. See G.G. McGeer, *The Conquest of Poverty or Money, Humanity and Christianity* (Hawthorne, Calif: Omni, 1967 [1935]).

¹⁰⁰BCARS, McGeer papers, Box 14, File 6, "Memorandum Re Development of Tourist Trade." McGeer to Mayor George Miller. 8 January 1937.

degree of evidence to support Macaulay's supposition. "Our greatest cultural joy is found in travel," he announced, "and there is every indication that during the next 100 years travel will become the common privilege of every citizen in the land."¹⁰¹

According to the former Mayor, a sustained effort by governments to develop the tourist trade would allow Canadians to continue on their appointed path to progress and harmony. It was a path, according to McGeer, that had been initiated in 1534 -- by Canada's first tourist: Jacques Cartier. And the country's history had since unfolded "as the brilliant record of romantic and venturesome tourists."¹⁰² Along with the economic benefits that tourism promotion offered, came the promise of a return to a linear route to progress and moral development from which Canadians had been diverted in recent years.

In the minds of tourism's champions there were, in fact, two key elements of Western civilization that required protection in order to ensure the progress that McGeer envisioned: peace and democracy. Tourism, they suggested, would play a fundamental role in protecting both elements from looming ideological threats. If the Depression arrived as something of a surprise to Canadians, the Second World War did not. It is clear from the writings and musings of the country's tourist promoters that from the mid-1930s onward, the possibility of war was a pressing concern.

As the decade progressed, tourism promoters became increasingly occupied with the possibility of war. In fact, the martial language of war pervaded some enthusiastic

¹⁰¹BCARS, McGeer papers, Box 14, File 5, CBO radio broadcast, Ottawa, n.d. [c.1937].

¹⁰²*Ibid.*

endorsements of the tourist trade itself, particularly those of Toronto publisher, Wilber Philpott. Each year, Philpott wrote in a 1938 editorial for his *Liberty* magazine, the invading army of tourists returned to the United States "with an increasing share of Canada's thinking and good will transplanted in its native soil." Given the rising international tensions of the late 1930s, Philpott explained, tourism had an important peacekeeping role to play. "Wars spring from hatred, and hatred springs from misunderstanding," he argued. Misunderstanding, in turn, was caused by thinking of other nations "in the abstract." The abstraction of ideologies, Philpott proposed, could be circumvented by tourism: "The peace of this continent has been attained, and will be sustained, because the tourist invasion forbids thinking in the abstract." When "John Smith, Chicago, thinks of Bill Jones, Calgary, as friend and neighbor," Philpott concluded, "the term 'foreigner' is as ill-timed as illogical." Tourists for Philpott were Canada's "biggest export customer[s]," but they also served a more philanthropic function. Tourists were ambassadors who were helping to cement "the logical alliance of the Anglo-American democracies which girdle the globe."¹⁰³

Closely related to the issue of peaceful international relations was a defence of democracy. On this topic, Leo Dolan, perhaps the most influential Canadian tourism promoter in the eyes of those supporting British Columbia's tourist trade, offered the most eloquent championing of tourism's contributions to democratic government. While McGeer had reached back to the nineteenth century writings of Macaulay for inspiration, Leo Dolan, in an address to British Hotelmen in New York City, cast his line back even further in time.

¹⁰³BCARS, McGeer papers, Box 14, File 5, *Liberty* Vol.15, No.22 (28 May 1938), editorial by Associate Publisher Wilber M. Philpott.

He paid tribute to the "inspiration of the light of freedom" that flowed from the Magna Carta, as well as the heritage of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and the American Declaration of Independence. A successful effort to increase tourism, he suggested, would help spread the virtues of Western thought and protect the world from lesser philosophies which, he explained, were "largely responsible for international discord and discontent." The close and friendly relations between Canada and the United States were, of course, an example to the world and it was thus the responsibility of the citizens of North America to keep the idea of peace alive -- through tourism. "There is no agency that has won more for the promotion and development of this amity among peoples of the world than the travel industry," Dolan suggested. "Today we hear of this or that axis being formed," Dolan announced, and he suggested that the existing "travel axis" between Britain, the U.S., France and Canada be expanded to include other nations.

To conclude this particular address, Dolan joined Philpott in turning to metaphors of war. Dolan described previous American visitors to Canada as a friendly invading army that brought "friendliness instead of desolation, leaving a trail of wealth rather than a trail of destruction." Not content with Philpott's metaphor of the invading army, Dolan saw tourism as the basis for an alliance. Casting aside the fourth member of his vaunted "travel axis," he then advocated the forging of "a new weapon for the promotion of peace among the Anglo-Saxon democracies." Tourism would be the catalyst to bring about "an even closer alliance" between the people of Britain, the United States, and Canada.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴BCARS, McGeer papers, Box 14, File 6, Leo Dolan, Chief, CTB, address to British Hotelmen, Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, 10 May 1938.

Once a strategy for luring agriculturalists and industrialists to the Pacific Northwest, by the late 1930s tourism was being recognized as a potent moral force that was expected by some to promote a cultural recovery in the province, the nation and perhaps even the entire Western world. A similar optimism infused tourism promoters' evaluation of the tourism industry's economic performance. The main struggle for tourism promoters throughout the decade, of course, had been for government recognition and involvement. As the decade came to a close, they could look triumphantly upon the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau and, in particular, upon its early foray into the world of tourism advertising. In 1937, the GVPB reported, Canada enjoyed a "record tourist year" and tourist expenditures exceeded 1929 levels for the first time.¹⁰⁵ British Columbia, GVPB Secretary-Manager R.A. Hutchison reported, "has more than kept pace in producing this new all-Canadian Record." In the past three years, he explained, "a steady gain of nearly 30% annually in tourist business has been maintained."¹⁰⁶ In 1938 Vancouver again enjoyed an increase in tourist traffic over 1937, despite a tourist season "replete with widely circulated reports of forest fires and riots, uncertain business conditions, wars and rumours of wars throughout the world."¹⁰⁷ An economic recession did, however, prevent tourist expenditures from reaching predicted record levels.¹⁰⁸ GVPB president G.H. Worthington looked forward to 1939 which would

¹⁰⁵CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 21, GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1937*, "Secretary-Manager's Report."

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1938*, "President's Report."

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

bring the Royal Visit of the King and Queen as well as the opening of the new Hotel Vancouver and the Lions' Gate Bridge -- all of which were expected to have a positive impact upon tourist levels.¹⁰⁹

This optimism was tempered by the realization that much work remained to be done. British Columbia's overall travel picture for 1938 was described by GVPB Secretary-Manager R.A. Hutchison. British Columbia enjoyed a favourable balance of payments in tourism with the United States of over \$4 million. Despite this favourable balance, however, the number of British Columbians travelling to the US was higher per unit of population. According to Hutchison, this resulted from a number of factors: the lack of highways into the interior of the province, the lack of loop highways required for round trip sightseeing, a lack of tourist accommodation and resorts, and a lack of appreciation on the part of British Columbians toward the scenic and recreation attractions of their own province.¹¹⁰ The newly-formed BCGTB would be expected to take the lead in ameliorating these problems. Born amidst the economic dislocation of the 1930s, the BCGTB would emerge as a powerful coordinating body during the 1940s and would play a central role in consolidating the tourist trade as an industry in its own right.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ GVPB, *Publicity Bureau of Greater Vancouver Annual Report 1938*, "Secretary-Manager's Report."

6. Conclusion

"First you must catch your American before you can sell him anything, and that is the idea of a road to Alaska ... The Americans are the richest people in the world. We are not jealous of that, but if there is any legal way in which we can take some of their wealth so long as I am premier we are going to try. We can not [*sic*] play golf and drink afternoon tea, and expect these people to send us their money by registered mail."

-Premier S.F. Tolmie, 21 June 1930¹¹¹

As we have seen, Premier Tolmie was only partially correct in his evaluation of what activities were necessary to lure American tourists north of the border. Americans were indeed unlikely to send their money by registered mail; playing golf and drinking tea, however, had become increasingly prominent images in tourism promotion campaigns by the end of the decade. Towards the end of the 1930s individual and cooperative campaigns by the GVPB and V&IPB were supplemented by an advertising campaign carried out by the newly-formed BCGTB.

The creation of the BCGTB, with its mandate to advertise the province and coordinate tourism promotion initiatives was primarily the result of public demand that reflected both a sense of entitlement and a sense of idealism – albeit demand led by the business communities of Victoria and Vancouver. Business leaders in those two cities gave voice to a sense of entitlement when they urged the government to divert “their” tax dollars to a large-scale tourism promotion campaign. A sense of regional grievance imbued the rhetoric of David Leeming’s TTDA. Of course, entitlement could be voiced by governments

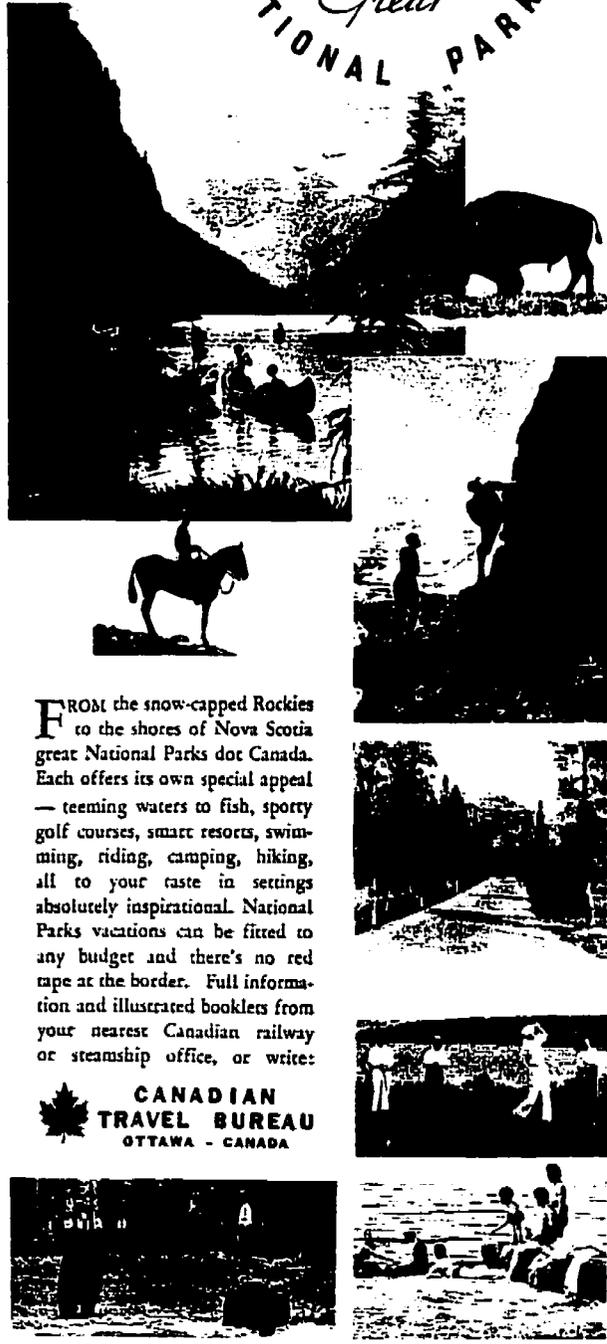
¹¹¹UVA, Caravan Across British Columbia 1930 fonds, Scrapbook, *Province*, n.d. [Burns Lake 21 June 1930], “Northern Poet [s Inspired by Alaska Caravan.”

as well and just as there was no shortage of federal-provincial tension during the Depression as the two levels of government implored one another to take responsibility for the plight of their citizens, similar tensions emerged between the newly-formed BCGTB and its federal precursor, the CTB. And finally, the more idealistic pronouncements of tourism's economic potential were matched by equally hopeful suggestions concerning its cultural influence. Overall, this combination of entitlement and idealism had proven successful in encouraging the provincial government to embrace tourism as a free enterprise solution to the Great Depression.

A 1940 BCGTB tourist brochure celebrating the opening of the Big Bend Highway between Revelstoke and Golden allowed Premier Pattullo to echo earlier tributes regarding the contribution of tourism and travel to the betterment of society. Harkening back to the "earliest days of the Fur Brigades," Pattullo paid tribute to this new section of the Trans-Canada Highway. In completing this section of the highway, Pattullo announced, those involved had removed "another stubborn barrier to uninterrupted travel" and had made "another notable contribution to the cause of progress and human intercourse."¹¹² In the midst of the war that had broken out the year before, British Columbia's tourism promoters would pay surprisingly little adherence to this line of thought. Visions of progress and cultural exchange were pushed to the sidelines as a concern with the immediate condition of the tourist trade itself came increasingly to the fore.

¹¹²CVA, Merilees fonds, Vol. 3, File 5, *British Columbia Presents the Big Bend Highway* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1940), 3.

Soar to New
Vacation Heights
IN
CANADA'S
Great
NATIONAL PARKS



FROM the snow-capped Rockies to the shores of Nova Scotia great National Parks dot Canada. Each offers its own special appeal — teeming waters to fish, sporty golf courses, smart resorts, swimming, riding, camping, hiking, all to your taste in settings absolutely inspirational. National Parks vacations can be fitted to any budget and there's no red tape at the border. Full information and illustrated booklets from your nearest Canadian railway or steamship office, or write:

 **CANADIAN TRAVEL BUREAU**
OTTAWA - CANADA

Figure 3.1. The offending advertisement. BC tourism promoters chastised their federal counterparts for excluding British Columbia from this ad promoting Canada's national parks. *Fortune* magazine 17.4 (April 1938). 42.




The world's finest fishing midst glamorous setting of sky, mountain and jewel-like lake... 20,000 miles of scenic highway from coast cities to historic interior, easy access and invigorating climate make this a perfect vacation land. Write for free illustrated literature.

British Columbia
GOVERNMENT TRAVEL BUREAU
VICTORIA CANADA



The Vacationland that has Everything!

British Columbia's myriad vacation opportunities are magnificently enhanced by her scenic splendours... you'll find limitless variety in whatever holiday mood you favour most. Write for detailed information to the

British Columbia
GOVERNMENT TRAVEL BUREAU
VICTORIA CANADA



Cool Northwest vacation



This year really enjoy your vacation! Discover the thrilling enchantment of our British Columbia. Long hours of sunshine without the parching heat... the sea and mountain air will give a zest to all your fun. Write today for literature.

British Columbia
GOVERNMENT TRAVEL BUREAU
VICTORIA CANADA

Figures 3.2 to 3.4. Fishing, scenery, and the "thrilling enchantment" of the province's Native totem poles. All were featured prominently in the BCGTB's 1939 advertising campaign. *Sunset* magazine 82.4 (April 1939), 10; *Sunset* magazine 82.6 (June 1939), 12; *Sunset* magazine 82.5 (May 1939), 8.

Chapter Four

The Second World War and the Consolidation of the British Columbia Tourist Industry, 1939-1950

“‘Isms’ are under a cloud these days, but one ‘Ism’ continues to be popular, namely Tourism.”

-Tourism: A British Columbia Industry (BCGTB film, 1940)

1. Introduction

Jules Hone welcomed the arrival of the Second World War with open arms. As a travel agent isolated in Montreal where the war seemed distant and exciting, Hone hoped to capitalize upon British Columbia's more precarious position on the Pacific coast. Unable to continue sending customers to tour Europe, Hone first approached British Columbia's Premier Duff Pattullo, in August 1941, with the idea of diverting his regular tourist traffic to Canada's West coast.¹ When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December, however, his plans seemed threatened. Undaunted, Hone wrote to Pattullo's successor, John Hart, to suggest that far from interfering with his plan, the Japanese threat to Canada's Pacific coast actually bolstered his scheme:

Far from curtailing, or giving up Tourist propaganda, a more determined effort should be made. Blackouts and the more than remote possibility of Japanese attacks should not deter people visiting Vancouver, Victoria and other British Columbia centres. On the contrary, those remote threats should prove additional attractions, if presented as out-of-the-programme thrills without extra charge.

¹BCARS, Premiers' papers, Box 35, File 3, Jules Hone, Hone Tours, Montreal, to Premier Pattullo, 18 August 1941.

In explaining how the war itself could be marketed as a tourist attraction, Hone was quick to justify the ethics of his proposal by outlining the contributions that tourism made to the war effort.

Hone suggested that his proposal merited serious consideration because of its potential contribution to national unity. For in addition to providing Canadians with a "rest from war nerves and pressure fatigue," he hoped to convince both English- and French-speakers in Eastern Canada to see the West "as a fundamental condition of enlightened citizenship, social eminence, successful enterprise, [and] nation-wide patriotism."² Hone thus rationalized his pursuit of profit in the midst of the war effort not only by noting its economic benefits but also by underscoring tourism's stabilizing effects upon civilian morale, individual health, and national unity.

Some observers, however, were uneasy with the role of tourism promotion during the war. Writing to the *Vancouver News Herald* in August 1943, a G. Florence complained that government tourism advertising was not simply a waste of money; it was also potentially destructive. Florence argued that advertising was both dangerous and undemocratic because

²In devising his programme, Hone astutely tailored his message differently for Canada's two major linguistic groups (and in doing so undoubtedly undermined his potential contribution to national unity). French Canadians would be encouraged to "visit those parts of Western Canada first discovered by our ancestors under the French Regime," and to witness with their own eyes "their present-day splendor, wonderful material advance, and glorious future." English-Canadian travellers, conversely, were encouraged to visit the Western achievements of "British daring, resourcefulness and faith." BCARS, Premiers' papers, Box 45, File 7, Hone to Premier John Hart, 13 January 1942. Emphasis in original.

it diverted both money and energy away from national concerns.³ In voicing this opinion, Florence was drawing on the negative attitude towards advertising that had existed throughout North America during the Depression.⁴

Hone and Florence represented opposite ends of a continuum of opinion that focused upon the tension between support for the war effort and the pursuit of profit. In many public pronouncements, the Second World War was portrayed as a fight for democracy and freedom. Personal responsibility, "economic stabilization," and "common cause" were buzz words in federal government literature explaining the war effort to Canadians. Moreover, coupon rationing and other regulations including wage and price ceilings were trumpeted in government publications as "democratic" and "fair."⁵ As a result, businesses, like individuals,

³BCARS. Premiers' papers. Box 45. File 7. *News Herald*. G. Florence to Editor. 20 August 1943.

⁴By encouraging unnecessary purchases and interfering with the individual's ability to make "rational" economic decisions, advertising became a scapegoat for the economic malaise of the 1930s. The attack on advertising by both government and consumers during the 1930s is documented in James P. Wood, *The Story of Advertising* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1958), 417-431; Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 235-247; and Frank Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War: The Strange Military Career of American Advertising, 1941-1945* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1975), 17-24. As Fox has suggested, advertising's potential to interfere with the efficient distribution of materials for the war effort meant that the advertising industry in the United States found itself with little public support during the early 1940s. See Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War*, 25-44. Market research and opinion polling would gain a permanent foothold in Canada during the 1930s and 1940s and its success in this regard was, in part, due to the pollsters' claims that their work bolstered "democracy." See Daniel J. Robinson, *The Measure of Democracy: Polling, Market Research, and Public Life, 1930-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

⁵Government of Canada, *Wartime Economic Stabilization To Keep Down the Cost of Living in Canada What it is – How it Works Why it Must Be Supported* (Ottawa: King's Printer, September 1944). Government of Canada Reference Handbook, *Canada's Wartime Measures for Economic Stability to Keep Down the Cost of Living* (Ottawa:

were closely monitored by both government agencies and voluntary consumer groups to ensure they were doing their part for the war effort.⁶ Creating consumer demand was, therefore, a highly contentious pursuit in the midst of a World War. And so it would seem unlikely that tourism should be much of a concern in British Columbia during the early 1940s. But it was. It was a concern for both Hone and Florence. It was a concern for the province's tourism promoters. And it was certainly a concern for the 1.7 million Americans and countless Canadians who visited British Columbia during the war (see table 4.1).

King's Printer, June 1944). Terry Copp has illustrated the important role concepts such as "liberty" and "democracy" played in mobilizing support for the war effort in Ontario. Terry Copp, "Ontario 1939: The Decision for War," *Ontario History*, 86 (3) (September 1994): 269-278. Popular support for these measures – especially in the early months after their implementation – was confirmed by polling results during the war. Robinson, *The Measure of Democracy*, 71-72. These polls carried out by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. Robinson warns us, like many polls of the era, were not entirely representative of the Canadian public. On Canadians' decreasing support for rationing, see Jeff Keshen, "One For All or All for One: Government Controls, Black Marketing and the Limits of Patriotism, 1939-1947," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 29(4) (Winter 1994-95), 111-143. Doug Owrarn has recently argued that the concept of "home" was far more central to Canadians' understanding of the war effort than abstract concepts such as "democracy" and "freedom." It seems likely, however, that such concepts often overlapped and that contributing to the war effort could be experienced and understood as a defence of both "home" and democratic ideals. See Doug Owrarn, "Canadian Domesticity in the Postwar Era," in *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada*, ed. Peter Neary and J.L. Granatstein (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 207.

⁶On the cooperation between female consumers and the federal Wartime Prices and Trade Board, see Joy Parr and Gunilla Ekberg, "Mrs Consumer and Mr Keynes in Postwar Canada and Sweden", *Gender & History* 8(2) (August 1996), 214-215. The enforcement efforts of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board are detailed in Keshen, "One For All or All For One."

Table 4.1.

1939	307,417
1940	298,076
1941	272,758
1942	205,322
1943	183,599
1944	259,226
1945	369,250

US Tourists Arriving at Border Crossings en route to Vancouver, 1939-1945 (January-October). Source: Annual Reports of the Vancouver Tourist Association, 1927-1949.

Tourism during the Second World War has not, however, garnered much interest from historians.⁷ The present consensus among tourism scholars locates the rapid expansion of tourism in the immediate post-war era and suggests that a long period of austerity from 1929 through 1945 created a "pent up" urge for tourist travel that (like the demand for consumer items and procreation) burst forth after the war and resulted in something akin to an orgy of travel. There is little doubt that the post-war era witnessed remarkable growth in tourism both in Canada and throughout the world, but our present understanding of the post-war boom lends itself too much to this "spasmodic" interpretation. Higher incomes, increased leisure time, and improved transportation all contributed to the post-war boom in tourism.⁸

⁷Two exceptions are Bertram M. Gordon, "Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25,3 (1998): 616-638 and Valene L. Smith, "War and Tourism: An American Ethnography," *Annals of Tourism Research* 25,1 (1998): 202-227. Also noteworthy is an earlier study of Florida which highlights the continuity of tourism in that state throughout the war. See Ben F. Rogers, "Florida in World War II: Tourists and Citrus," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 39,1 (1960): 34-41.

⁸On the pent up demand for tourism in British Columbia, see Belshaw and Mitchell, "The Economy Since the Great War," 330. A similar position is held by Hal Rothman concerning the American West. See Hal K. Rothman, "Selling the Meaning of Place:

Yet as we have seen in Chapter Three, tourism rebounded strongly in the latter half of the 1930s. Moreover, as table 4.1 indicates, a significant, albeit diminished, demand for tourist travel persisted throughout the war.

In adhering to this "spasmodic" approach, historians have concluded that the long period of tourism abstinence that preceded the post-war boom included the war itself. In reaching this conclusion, tourism scholars have followed earlier studies of the war that suggested that insufficient disposable incomes combined with government regulations to make leisure and consumption peripheral to the lives of many on the home front.⁹ Adding weight to this interpretation is a body of literature that offers us a reassuring image of wartime business practices. Focusing upon the close relationship between the manufacturing sector and the federal government, much of the historical literature on the Second World War

Entrepreneurship, Tourism, and Community Transformation in the Twentieth-Century American West." *Pacific Historical Review* 65.4 (1996), 544. On the more general "pent up" demand for consumer goods (and babies) in Canada, see Owram, *Born at the Right Time*.

⁹Many scholars maintain that while the civilian experience in Canada during the war was not as bleak as it had been during the First World War, rationing was still a fundamental part of daily life and that even the rapid expansion of industrial employment that accompanied war production failed to provide civilians with an existence, or a disposable income, very different from the suffering of the 1930s. Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 448. On the "collective" experience of rationing and austerity during the war, see the following: Robert Bothwell, "'Who's Paying for Anything These Days?': War Production in Canada 1939-1945," in *Mobilization for Total War: The Canadian, American and British Experience 1914-1918, 1939-1945* ed. N.F. Driesziger (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981), 63; Robert Bothwell, *Years of Victory: 1939-1948* (Toronto: Grolier Limited, 1987), 52; Ted Barris and Alex Barris, *Days of Victory, Canadians Remember: 1939-1945* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1995), 74-5; J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), 186.

trumpets the coinciding aims of business and government.¹⁰ Overlooked, however, are the experiences of businesses not directly involved in armament production.¹¹

Even in the growing international literature focusing on tourism and leisure activities, the war often occupies only a one-dimensional and tightly scripted role as the foil to the great post-war boom in consumption and tourist travel that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s.¹² Canadian historians have reached similar conclusions: a lack of travel and leisure opportunities during the war created the "pent-up" urge to spend and travel that ushered in the post-war boom.¹³ Tourism, they suggest, all but disappeared during the war.

¹⁰Indeed, several historians have commented upon the manner in which business leaders allied themselves with the government (and Canada's soldiers) by taking a leading role in the war effort. The cozy relationship between the manufacturing sector and the government is detailed in Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 450-453; Granatstein, *Canada's War*, 159-200; and Bothwell. "'Who's Paying for Anything These Days?'"

¹¹An important exception is Jeff Keshen's analysis of consumers' frustrations with clothing manufacturers who continued to charge the ceiling rate for clothing that had been simplified and trimmed of its frills. See Keshen, "One For All or All for One," 123.

¹²In his study of tourism in North America, for example, John Jakle maintains that "travel for recreation fell off sharply" during the war. Jakle, *The Tourist*, 185. A similar decrease in Australia is recorded in Richard White, "The Retreat From Adventure: Popular Travel Writing in the 1950s," *Australian Historical Studies*, 109 (October 1997), 101. John Urry has even suggested that the tourist boom that arrived after a long period of austerity resulted in the holiday camp became a "symbol of post-war society" in Britain. See Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 32-33, 36. A more nuanced understanding of tourism in the United States during the war is offered by Warren James Belasco. Belasco suggests that travel expenditures increased in the later years of the Depression and resulted in a tourism boom during 1940-41 when the "war-related boom put more Americans than ever on the road, both for business and for pleasure, and with more to spend" -- a boom that was curtailed by gasoline rationing in 1942. See Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 155, 169-170.

¹³Wilson, *The Culture of Nature*, 27; James Overton, *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland* (St. John's: ISER, 1996), 103. The frustrations involved in securing necessary parts for automobiles during the war

An investigation of tourism promotion in British Columbia during the war disrupts our present understanding of the relationship between leisure, consumption, and the Second World War in three ways. First, rather than confirming the assumption that tourism and leisure disappeared during the war, it reveals instead a significant demand for tourist travel throughout the war. Second, by focusing on the tourist industry as well as the tourists, it highlights the important role that tourism promoters played in promoting opportunities for tourist travel both during and after the war. Third, an analysis of the activities of the provincial travel bureau highlights the extent to which this newly-created government organization stepped forward to coordinate and consolidate British Columbia's tourist industry. Taken together these three factors underline the need to modify our current understanding of both the experience on the Canadian home front during the war and the nature of the post-war tourist boom that followed.

In British Columbia the Second World War served as an opportunity for tourism

and the concomitant reduction in even short automobile excursions are explored in Bothwell, *Years of Victory*, 32-4. Some scholars point to government restrictions on foreign exchange and on travel to the United States as evidence of the curtailment of tourist travel across the country. See, for example, Doug O'ram and Kenneth Norrie, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991), 521 and Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, John English, *Canada since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism* Rev. Ed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 55. In fact, government restrictions did decrease tourist travel by Canadians to the United States, but these restrictions are a poor measure of the scope of American tourism in Canada and of Canadian domestic tourism. Indeed, such conclusions rest uncomfortably with contemporary accounts. See, for example, Lyn Harrington's observation that during the war "Canadians turned for recreation to the resources of their own country" with the result that "[i]n some of our provinces, holidays-with-pay legislation has crowded camps, cabins and hotels to capacity." Lyn Harrington, "The Yankee Dollah!" *Canadian Business* (October 1945): 58-59, 128-132.

promoters to consolidate their industry. In doing so they were preparing to take a leading role in the province's post-war economy. Their task was an awkward one, however, as the war not only disrupted established patterns of consumption and transportation, but also called the ethics of tourism promotion and advertising into question. The first half of this chapter documents the continued demand for tourism throughout the war and examines the actions and rhetoric of the province's tourism promoters as they guided the industry through a period of great upheaval. The second half of this chapter examines the central role that the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau [BCGTB] played during the immediate post-war years as tourism promoters scrambled to prepare for what they predicted would be a dramatic increase in tourist travel.

2. Advertising for Tourists During the Second World War

Housed in the provincial Department of Trade and Industry, the recently-formed BCGTB responded to the war as part of a provincial government campaign to stabilize and expand British Columbia's share of Canadian and international industry. For British Columbia's two largest cities, Vancouver and Victoria, as well as several small communities throughout the province, tourism had long been instrumental in first attracting investment and population, and then tourist expenditures. But these efforts had often been uncoordinated. Local tourism promoters frequently worked at cross purposes in their attempts to lure tourists to the province. During the Second World War tourism promoters would continue to play an important role in the province's development – but in a more coordinated manner.

The chief force behind this new co-ordinated approach to tourism was the BCGTB. The trials and tribulations of the war would test the mettle of BCGTB staff and tourism promoters throughout the province; they would also, however, provide a series of opportunities to consolidate the BCGTB's position and to ensure that the tourist industry had gained a lasting position alongside forestry, fishing and mining among the province's largest industries. "Despite the chaotic state of affairs in Europe," Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry E.G Rowebottom matter-of-factly reported in 1940. "British Columbia was still able to show satisfactory progress in the fields of Trade and Industry." His confidence was bolstered by his observation that "industrial and financial interests" in Eastern Canada as well as Great Britain and the United States were to a previously unparalleled extent, viewing British Columbia "as the logical field for expansion and investment."¹⁴

This expansion was not serendipitous. The provincial government played an important role in securing this prosperity. When hostilities broke out, for example, British Columbia was the first province to send a representative from its Bureau of Industrial and Trade Extension to Ottawa to advance the province's economic interests and ensure its fair share of industrial opportunities.¹⁵ Existing tensions between British Columbia and federal

¹⁴Government of British Columbia, *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1940*, 19.

¹⁵Lloyd Craig, the Director of the Department's Bureau of Industrial and Trade Extension arrived in Ottawa on 22 October 1939, "to ensure British Columbia's proper participation in the business resulting from Canada's war effort." *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1940*, 19. The long-term effects of the federal government's favoritism towards central Canadian industries during the war is detailed in Ernest R. Forbes, "Consolidating Disparity: The Maritimes and the Industrialization of Canada during the Second World War," *Acadiensis* 15,2 (1986): 3-27.

politicians meant that even in a national emergency, the provincial government acted quickly to guard against the inequalities of Canadian federalism and to further the province's economic concerns.¹⁶ Aware of the power of tourism to lure investment as well as tourist expenditures to British Columbia, the government looked upon the newly created BCGTB as one more tool with which to protect and expand the provincial economy.

Tourist travel, according to the BCGTB, was a commodity and one of the bureau's chief tasks involved providing the documentation necessary to classify and catalogue the existing information about the province's attractions so that they could be more readily consumed by visitors.¹⁷ Among its many duties during the war, the BCGTB focused on bringing US tourists' dollars into the province – currency crucial to the purchase of war materials from the United States.¹⁸ The importance of US currency to the Canadian war effort and the crucial role that the tourist industry was expected to play in securing these funds was evident early in 1940, when Leo Dolan, head of the Canadian Travel Bureau contacted the Victoria Chamber of Commerce. Dolan sought the Chamber's assistance in convincing firms

¹⁶On British Columbia's battle with its partners in confederation during the 1930s and early 1940s, see Fisher, *Duff Pattullo*, 242-251.

¹⁷*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1940*, 21.

¹⁸Canadians not directly associated with the tourist industry also championed tourism's possible contributions to the war effort. In a letter to Premier Pattullo, W.S. Beaton, the Mayor of Sudbury, Ontario endorsed the prospect of Canadians writing to friends and relatives to encourage them to visit Canada by emphasizing the fact that because of the exchange rate their money would go farther. While this increase in travel from the United States would undoubtedly make relations between the two countries more cordial, Beaton underscored the most important possible result from such a campaign: "the fact of their spending money in Canada will greatly assist the 'War Effort.'" BCARS, Premiers' papers, Box 158, File 5, W.S. Beaton, Mayor, Sudbury, to Pattullo, 12 February, 1941.

throughout the country to "adopt the uniform practice of allowing visitors a set rate of premium on United States currency." His suggestion was warmly received by the Chamber -- an organization abundantly aware of the importance of tourist dollars (and return visitors).¹⁹ Shortly after the outbreak of the war, in fact, Chamber Manager and V&IPB Commissioner George Warren informed the Gyro Club that tourism promotion could play an important role in furthering the war effort and in supporting the Empire. According to Warren diverting US tourist traffic from Europe to Canada would serve the interests of Canada and the Empire.²⁰

Several months later, Dolan arrived in person as part of his cross-country tour to coordinate the nation's tourism plans for 1940. He attended the Victoria Chamber's annual meeting in April and delivered a speech in which he confidently asserted that 1940 would prove to be "the biggest tourist year ever experienced in the history of Canada." This possibility, he claimed, was due in part to the war itself. Travel dollars previously earmarked for Europe, the West Indies, and South America, he explained, were sure to be directed toward Canada. These travel dollars were, furthermore, crucial to the war effort itself as they provided Canada with much-needed American currency. Dolan concluded his speech by reminding his audience of the importance of good public relations in the tourist industry and urged caution to those who might drive away American tourist dollars by criticizing American neutrality.²¹

Dolan was not alone in his belief that the war itself offered a unique opportunity for

¹⁹VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Board of Directors Minutes, 11 January 1940.

²⁰*Daily Colonist*, 3 October 1939, 4

²¹VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Annual Meeting Minutes, 15 April 1940.

tourism promoters in British Columbia. In 1940, the Vancouver Junior Board of Trade put forward a detailed beautification plan for the city designed to take advantage of the increase in tourism that, the organization understood, had come at the expense of travel to Europe.²² And in March 1940 Sidney Smith, Chairman of the Kamloops Board of Trade, predicted that "British Columbia is going to enjoy a tremendous increase in tourists" in the coming year. This situation arose, he suggested, as a result of "well-known conditions brought about by the war, such as the exchange situation and the fact that American tourists will not be going to many parts of the world that have enjoyed this business up until a few months ago."²³ A BCGTB advertising campaign aimed at Prairie and Ontario residents was based on a similar optimism. It aimed to sell British Columbia as "The Riviera of Canada" in an attempt to attract tourists no longer able to travel to the West Indies, South America and other destinations along the Atlantic because of the war.²⁴

Capitalizing upon this opportunity would not be easy, however. In December 1939, J. Gordon Smith announced that the BCGTB was taking steps designed to combat adverse publicity surrounding tourist experiences in Canada that were apparently being circulated by "foreign agents" determined to limit US tourist traffic in Canada. To alleviate fears that American tourists in Canada could have their vehicles impounded and that American men

²²BCARS, McGeer papers, Box 14, File 5. "Prepare for Tourist" Campaign Bulletin by Vancouver Junior Board of Trade, in H.J. Meriless, National Tourist Traffic Committee, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Montreal, to McGeer, House of Commons, 25 January 1940.

²³BCARS, Add. Mss. 497, Sidney J. Smith papers, Vol. 3, File 4, Smith, Chairman, Kamloops Board of Trade to Mayor and City Council, 7 March 1940.

²⁴*Sun*, 7 October 1939, 1.

would be conscripted into the Canadian armed forces, Smith announced that the BCGTB was designing a pamphlet assuring Americans that border restrictions were minimal and reminding them that they would benefit from a favourable currency exchange rate.²⁵ In January 1940, Smith, himself, took action by attending a convention of the American Roadbuilders Association in Chicago in an attempt to use picture displays and his own powers of persuasion “to offset reported German propaganda designed to discourage travel in Canada.”²⁶

The BCGTB’s 1940 campaign included a cooperative advertising campaign with the Washington State Progress Commission and the Oregon Highway Commission that featured full-page advertisements in leading US magazines such as *Life* and *National Geographic*. These ads also stressed the minimal border restrictions and the favourable exchange rate. This campaign ran into one unanticipated snag – the greed of local merchants. The Greater Vancouver Tourist Association [GVTA], the latest incarnation of the Greater Vancouver Publicity Bureau, received complaints from American tourists who were refused the ten percent premium on their US currency by Vancouver merchants. Convinced that the ten percent premium on US currency was an effective drawing card, the GVTA pleaded with local merchants to “play the game and cooperate.”²⁷

Moreover, during the summer of 1940 a flurry of travel restrictions arose complicating travel between Canada and the United States. Canadians were now required to

²⁵*Times*, 22 December 1939, 1.

²⁶*News Herald*, 27 January 1940, 16.

²⁷*News Herald*, 11 January 1940, 9; *News Herald*, 11 January 1940, 9.

obtain visas and passports before entering the United States and although Americans did not require such documentation to enter Canada, they were required to produce their passports when returning to the U.S.A.²⁸ Fearful of facing difficulty in returning to the United States, many American tourists opted to avoid the complications involved in travelling to Canada. While the BCGTB carried out an energetic publicity campaign to allay what it considered to be misconceptions on the part of American tourists -- misconceptions fostered to a certain extent, it concluded, by enemy propaganda -- it could also take heart from the fact that the record-breaking number of visitors from other Canadian provinces joined with British Columbians vacationing within their own province, to "more than offset the decline in travel from the United States."²⁹

Tourism promoters in Vancouver also moved quickly to combat the adverse publicity surrounding the war. Their chief weapon in this battle was advertising. "With the declaration of war," the GVTA reported in 1940, "rumors spread throughout the United States that military conscription was being enforced in Canada ... [and] that this Dominion was a virtual 'armed camp'." Fortunately, "through the medium of press releases and advertisements in national publications by this Association and other tourist promotion bodies throughout the Dominion, this false impression was gradually overcome." Indeed, a "constant barrage of promotional material" was utilized to sell Americans on the advantages of visiting Canada

²⁸These restrictions were eased later in the year but their immediate impact was to greatly increase travellers' concerns about cross-border travel. *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1941, 22.*

²⁹*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1941, 21-22.*

including the 10 per cent premium on American money.³⁰

Aware of the need to ease the concerns of potential American visitors, the GVTA at first stressed a "business as usual" theme in its advertising during the first year of the war. In 1941, however, it opted for a very different approach. Now convinced that Americans were more curious than nervous about Canada's war effort, the GVTA hoped to build upon potential American pro-Canada sympathies. The war was now "mentioned prominently in all advertising and in many cases the fact stressed that Americans should come and see for themselves how Canada was participating shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the Empire." Tourist groups across the country, the GVTA reported, "were aggressive in arranging military parades and displays" for the dual purpose of attracting both visitors to Canada, and encouraging their sympathy and support for the war effort. Indicative of this approach, and of the new found recognition of the tourist trade within government bureaucracies, was the appearance of Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a 1941 appeal to US tourists (see figure 4.1).³¹

While E.G. Rowebottom lamented the general "marketing problems" caused by the war, his Department of Trade and Industry report for 1941 began on a more upbeat note. "British Columbia's remarkable advantages for tourist travel are being recognized to [an]

³⁰CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report*, 1940, 5. The RCMP were convinced that Communists were responsible for at least some of these rumours. See RCMP security bulletins No.36, 26 August 1940 and No.41, 20 March 1941 in *RCMP Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939-1941*, ed. Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1989): 291, 339-40.

³¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report*, 1941, 10-11.

increasing extent each year," he triumphantly announced. Rowebottom also proclaimed that, despite wartime conditions, the tourist industry could boast "healthy progress" for the year.³² The key to this success was advertising. For the first three years of the war, recreational travel remained, on the whole, relatively undisturbed. "Mild regulatory measures were in force," the BCGTB reported, "but fuel and tires were still freely purchasable." The bureau's publicity campaign had helped maintain a high level of visits from the United States despite the restrictive border regulations. In the early years of the war, then, British Columbia's tourism promoters continued to pursue promotional possibilities. Late in 1939, when representatives from the interior of the province sought immediate action to increase the number of tourists visiting their region, for example, the BCGTB advocated a radio and newspaper campaign urging British Columbians to visit the region. Such campaigns, it was hoped, would supplement the already very favourable tourism conditions brought on by the war.³³ In 1940, Sidney Smith, chairman of the Kamloops Tourist Bureau, went so far as to urge members of his bureau to campaign even harder for financial support from the business community now that the country was at war. Anxious to raise funds for promotional campaigns, Smith was worried by the intense competition the Tourist Bureau would face from both the Red Cross and the Salvation Army.³⁴

In 1942 the situation on the homefront changed abruptly. When rubber and fuel

³²*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1941*, 19.

³³BCARS, Smith papers, Vol.3, File 1, "General Plans for 1940," BCGTB Report Presented to the B.C. Tourist Council November 1939.

³⁴BCARS, Smith papers, Vol.3, File 1, Sidney J. Smith, Chairman, Kamloops Tourist Bureau to Mayor and City Council, 7 March 1940.

rationing caused day-trips to replace extended vacations. American tourists all but disappeared from inland resorts. Victoria and Vancouver still benefitted from their proximity to Washington State, but wartime restrictions in both the United States and Canada now meant a severe drop in tourist travel.³⁵ By May 1942 wartime conditions had produced a noticeable slump in tourism in the southeastern portion of the province. The Associated Boards of Trade of Eastern British Columbia ascribed this slump, in part, to the combination of gas and rubber restrictions.³⁶

In the spring of 1942, Canadian Government Travel Bureau Chief Leo Dolan spelled out the meaning of rubber rationing for visiting American tourists. Regulations governing the sale of automobile tires and tubes, he explained in a 28 May 1942 press release, were essentially the same as those in the United States. "The only tires and tubes which an American motorist can purchase in Canada," he explained, "are used tires or tubes and then only when he has been in Canada for more than 1 week ... and only if a tire or tube is essential to the continued operation of the vehicle."³⁷ Such restrictions led to a rethinking of the BCGTB's advertising strategy.

The BCGTB's advertising and publicity campaign was, from 1942 on, scaled back

³⁵*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1943*, 26-27. Gasoline rationing was implemented on 1 April 1942. Restrictions on tires followed a month later. Keshen, "One For All or All for One," 120-121.

³⁶CVA, Add. Mss. 370, British Columbia Chamber of Commerce [BCCC] papers. Vol.1, File 9, *Proceedings of the 42nd Annual Convention of the Associated Boards of Trade of Eastern British Columbia*, Nelson, 26-27 May 1942.

³⁷NAC, Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce papers. A9, Vol. 1572, File T-3400-9, Press Release, Leo Dolan, Chief, CGTB, "Tire and Tube Situation in Canada," 28 May 1942.

considerably. Demands for industrial products such as gasoline and rubber, as well as for "all forms of transportation" meant that "positively no direct appeal was made for tourist travel."³⁸ Instead, the bureau sought only to keep "the name of British Columbia constantly before the public." The result was a 'token' advertising campaign in which the message was "Not now, but later. Buy War Bonds now, and save for that grand Post-war Vacation."³⁹ This reserved appeal for tourist travel mirrored advertisements for consumer goods in both Britain and the United States.⁴⁰ According to one contemporary observer, Canadian tourism promoters' more reserved approach to advertising was not matched by their counterparts in Latin American countries who had apparently gone "all out in their efforts to win friends and influence people to visit south of the Rio."⁴¹

Yet the motivations behind this more conservative policy are themselves revealing. By November 1942, some prominent tourism promoters viewed continued advertising not as a drain on the war effort, but as a potential public relations disaster. Aware that many Americans were solidly in support of their government's attempts to restrict unnecessary travel, J.V. Fisher, British Columbia's Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance, proclaimed such advertising to be out of step with public opinion. Fisher, a member of the Provincial Tourist

³⁸*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1943, 28.*

³⁹Similar "token" campaigns were being carried out by other prominent travel promotion organizations including the Evergreen Playground Association, the City of San Francisco, and the All-year Club of Southern California." *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1943, 28.*

⁴⁰E.S. Turner, *The Shocking Story of Advertising!* (London: Michael Joseph, 1952), 235, 241-242.

⁴¹Lyn Harrington, "The Yankee Dollah!"

Council, advocated a restriction on travel promotion in the United States, not as a form of patriotism, but as a business strategy. "We must retain the good-will of all Americans," he suggested, and "throw out the suggestion of good travel in the days to come." The BCGTB agreed and the province's direct mail campaign was suspended until the end of the war. Henceforth, British Columbia's tourism promoters would focus on keeping the idea of a visit to the province in the minds of Americans, without pressuring them to travel immediately (see figure 4.2).⁴²

By 1943, the combination of wartime restrictions and the GVTA's enthusiasm for advertising had produced a similar policy that the association termed, "Salesmanship in Reverse." Obligated to restrict spending to essential commodities and to reserve transportation space for military personnel, potential visitors were asked to buy war bonds now and "to prepare themselves for a travel spree when the war is over and the last battle is won."⁴³ While federal tourist traffic reports for 1942 suggested that American visits to Vancouver had decreased by 24 per cent from 1941, the GVTA remained pleased with the overall tourist traffic for the year. While travel restrictions reduced the number of tourists travelling to the city from California, tourists from Washington and Oregon were still able to travel to Vancouver comfortably. The increased wartime payrolls in those two states helped to offset

⁴²BCARS, Smith papers, Vol.3, File 1, British Columbia Tourist Council Minutes, 30 November 1942.

⁴³CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, File 22, Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report* 1943, 3. Such sentiments were expressed rhythmically in "Travel Tomorrow, a poem by Lucretia Penny published in the November 1943 issue of *Sunset* magazine. In a similar vein, *Sunset* offered commentaries on western hemisphere tourist destinations as a form of "armchair" tourism. See, for example, "Pan American Highway", *Sunset*, 91, 4 (October 1943), 6-9.

the decreased tourist expenditures from California.⁴⁴ Along with the increased payrolls, Washington and Oregon also boasted large military camps where American infantrymen trained before serving overseas. The GVTA made sure its promotional literature reached these men so that they might spend their furloughs visiting Vancouver.⁴⁵

In 1944, tourist travel from the United States to Vancouver rebounded considerably and increased by 44 per cent over the previous year. The majority of these tourists were members of the armed forces. Although they spent less money in Vancouver than did non-military visitors before the war, such visitors did – the GVTA consoled itself – travel far and wide passing on word of the city's attractions.⁴⁶ As a result, the GVTA undertook "no direct newspaper, magazine or outdoor advertising" during the year.⁴⁷ Some tourism promoters were unwilling to follow suit. In June 1944 for example, the Victoria Chamber of Commerce was alarmed to learn that some of Vancouver's less tourist-conscious politicians had appealed to the BCGTB to instruct potential visitors not to visit British Columbia during the war. Vancouver's city council was reacting to the city's lack of available accommodation for these

⁴⁴Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report* 1942, 7-8. According to one contemporary observer, Americans living close to the Canadian border continued to visit Canada. Sometimes this necessitated pooling gas tickets, but other forms of transportation were also available. "Steamship lines on the Great Lakes," Harrington reported, "were crowded with American passengers." Lyn Harrington, "The Yankee Dollah!"

⁴⁵CVA, GVVCB, Series B, File 22. Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report* 1942, 12.

⁴⁶CVA, GVVCB, Series B, File 22. Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report* 1944, 5. On the impact of soldiers' travel experiences on the post-war tourist boom see Valene L. Smith, "War and Tourism: An American Ethnography."

⁴⁷Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report*, 1944, 7.

visitors.⁴⁸ Aware that a similar accommodation shortage did not exist on Vancouver Island and that proprietors up-Island required a continuous influx of tourists to stay financially solvent, the Victoria Chamber of Commerce opposed the Vancouver City Council proposal and, in fact, created a special committee to impress E.C. Carson, the provincial Minister of Trade and Industry, with the dangers of such a policy.⁴⁹ Clearly some tourism promoters were anxious to return to a policy of direct promotion.

Further evidence of the returning acceptability of advertising could be found both on Vancouver Island and throughout the Pacific Northwest. In September 1944, George Warren and J.V. Johnson, co-manager of a Victoria supply and contracting firm, reported to the Victoria Chamber on the recent meeting of the Pacific Northwest Tourist Association – a promotional organization representing tourist promoters in British Columbia, Washington and Oregon.⁵⁰ The meeting had been focused primarily on raising a \$1.6 million advertising fund to promote the Pacific Northwest. Much discussion had also been devoted to the Alaska Highway including the resolution sent to Prime Minister King and President Roosevelt

⁴⁸The housing shortage in Vancouver is detailed in Norbert MacDonald, *Distant Neighbors: A Comparative History of Seattle and Vancouver* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 148-149. On the city's post-war accommodation crisis see Patricia Roy, "Behaving as Canadians: British Columbians, 1945-1947," in *Uncertain Horizons: Canadians and Their World in 1945*, ed. Greg Donaghy (Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1997), 217.

⁴⁹VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Board of Directors Minutes, 1 June 1944.

⁵⁰Documentation on this organization is sparse. Unlike the organization of the same name discussed in Chapter Two, this organization did not rely upon government funding, but appears to have been yet another example of regional cooperation. The earliest evidence I have found of its existence is an acknowledgment of the V&IPB's membership in the organization. See *Sun*, 17 February 1936, 8.

"asking for the removal of many restrictions by both the Canadian and American Governments in connection with interchange of travel, trade etc., between the two countries."⁵¹

In 1945, while the Department of Trade and Industry could confidently announce that "the tide of industrial expansion is definitely flowing towards the West" and that as a result, "business is moving to British Columbia," tourism officially retained its "relatively inconspicuous place in the economic scheme."⁵² And yet, the BCGTB remained pleased with tourism development overall. Even reports from the hard-to-reach Interior of the province were upbeat. Interior resort owners reported that visitors were "being turned away from many resorts."⁵³ Moreover, in 1945 the GVTA was still practicing "Salesmanship in Reverse" by discouraging non-essential travel, but it could rejoice in the knowledge that "the 'Essential Travel' was tremendous." After all, "Thousands of people, largely those in uniform, took advantage of our travel service."⁵⁴ After reaching a "low point in 1943" Vancouver's tourist traffic increased steadily until, in 1945, the only "limiting factors" were accommodation and transportation.⁵⁵

⁵¹VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 1, Board of Directors Minutes, 14 September 1944.

⁵²*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1945*, 5; *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1944*, 33.

⁵³Additional reports suggested that not only were more resorts necessary, but also that the quality of the existing resorts needed to be improved. *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1945*, 30-1.

⁵⁴Vancouver Tourist Association. *Annual Report 1945*, 2.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 5.

When the war did finally end, the expected influx of tourists arrived as well. Tourists were arriving in greater and greater numbers and, for 1946 at least, were relatively free-spending.⁵⁶ Soon, the "token" efforts of the later war years were replaced by newspaper and magazine advertising campaigns more expensive than anything seen before. These campaigns, coupled with the industry's more co-ordinated approach to regulation and promotion, paved the way for the tourist invasion that followed. Indeed, in 1946, to take advantage of the immediate post-war travel boom the GVTA resumed direct advertising for the first time since 1942.⁵⁷ Yet this "boom" was far less dramatic and sustained than many scholars have suggested. In fact, by 1947, the GVTA reported that "much of the backlog of travel which existed after the war due to the curtailment during war years has now been used up." Convinced that "travel in the ensuing years will not be so much a pent-up desire of several years to go to a certain place, but will be a matter of planning each year's vacation as it comes up," the GVTA embarked upon a large scale promotional campaign.⁵⁸ Direct advertising's place in Vancouver's tourist industry had been restored and despite the restrictions placed upon promotional activities, the GVTA was pleased with the way in which tourism had remained an important contributor to the city's development during the war.

Tourism promoters' experiences during the war were very different from those of

⁵⁶*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1946-1947*, 45.

⁵⁷CVA, GVVCB, Series B, File 22, Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report* 1946, 8.

⁵⁸CVA, GVVCB, Series B, File 22, Vancouver Tourist Association, *Annual Report* 1947, 16.

their brethren in manufacturing. Tourism promoters' expertise did not result in invitations to join C.D. Howe in Ottawa alongside the "dollar-a-year" men whose feats in co-ordinating armament manufacturing and distribution have earned them pride of place in the historians' accounts. The prominence of C.D. Howe's inner circle derives in part from the fact that Canadian historians have done little to explore the activities of business people outside of the resource extraction and manufacturing industries during the war -- particularly those involved in the tertiary sector of the economy. This "service" sector would grow rapidly in size and importance during the post-war era.⁵⁹

Moreover, much of the historical literature on the war emphasizes the role the conflict played in re-tooling and expanding Canada's industrial capacity. British Columbia's experience during the war reflected these developments. Ship and aircraft construction boomed in British Columbia and unemployment was minimal. In Victoria the war dramatically increased demand for lumber, cement, shipbuilding and housing.⁶⁰ Yet when

⁵⁹On the increasing centrality of the service sector to the Canadian economy during the post-war era, see Owsram and Norrie, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 510. On the service sector's increasing percentage of GNP at the expense of primary industries in Canada, see William L. Marr and Donald G. Paterson, *Canada: An Economic History* (Toronto: Gage, 1980), 21-22. For an international survey of the rise of the service sector, see Scott Lash and John Urry, *The End of Organized Capitalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), especially Chapter 6.

⁶⁰Harry Gregson, *A History of Victoria, 1842-1970* (Victoria: Victoria Observer Publishing, 1970), 220. On the war's impact on industry in Vancouver, see Norbert MacDonald, *Distant Neighbors*, 141 as well as Alan Morley, *Vancouver: From Milltown to Metropolis*, 2nd Ed. (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1969), 190-191. On industrial expansion in British Columbia during the war see Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*, Rev. Ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 262 as well as Belshaw and Mitchell, "The Economy Since the Great War," 320-322 and Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Vancouver: Macmillan, 1958), 481-2.

the war ended, so did the cities' industrial boom. After the war, Vancouver's shipbuilding industry declined significantly and aircraft manufacturing all but disappeared as the city returned to its traditional role as a service centre for the hinterlands of the province and pioneered a less traditional path for itself in a greatly expanded tourism industry.⁶¹

Tourism was also championed as an important element in post-war reconstruction. According to the Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, E.G. Rowebottom, tourism initiatives would very likely "contribute substantially towards the solution of our Post-war Rehabilitation problems." "Experience has," he announced, "shown that the building of roads, trails, cabins, and shelters in surroundings such as are provided by our Provincial Parks appeals immensely to precisely such men as are likely to be involved in those problems." A series of road improvement projects making the province's parks more accessible, Rowebottom explained, would provide "our demobilized men with work well calculated to readjust them easily and agreeably, while at the same time employing them profitably on improvements of a necessary and permanent nature."⁶²

During the war private entrepreneurs, civic tourism promoters, and government officials had consolidated tourism's position as a "senior partner" among British Columbia's major industries. This consolidation was a complicated story. It involved the dilemmas of commercial promotion during a time of official austerity—a dilemma that could be resolved

⁶¹On the decline of Vancouver's wartime industry, see MacDonald, *Distant Neighbours*, 141.

⁶²BCARS, GR 520, British Columbia Commission on Forest Resources papers, Box 9, File 8, No.32, E.G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, "Memorandum on Travel Industry and its bearing on Post-War Rehabilitation," November 1942.

partly by using advertising to bring American tourists and dollars into the country to further the war effort. The behaviour of tourism promoters in British Columbia closely resembled that of American businessmen who, according to Roland Marchand, between 1939 and 1941, "found themselves torn between pressures to convert rapidly to all-out defense production and their eagerness to exploit improving markets for domestic goods."⁶³ As the rest of this chapter suggests, this consolidation also involved both a great deal of regulatory intervention on the part of the provincial government, and the recognition that a significant shift in the tourist market had occurred.

3. A Visible Hand: Expert Advice and the Governing Authority of the BCGTB

The Second World War had brought an industrial and economic boom to Victoria, Vancouver and US cities along the Pacific Coast and the decades that followed the war have been acknowledged as an era of unrivaled economic prosperity throughout North America.⁶⁴ The growth in automobile ownership is particularly revealing. As late as 1941 just one in eight Canadians owned an automobile. By 1965, however, automobile registrations had

⁶³Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 317.

⁶⁴For a contemporary account of the province's economic expansion in the 1940s that stresses not only the impact of the war, but also ascribes the growing popularity of the province to its climate, the high wages obtained through union actions, and the province's higher level of Old-Age Pensions and superior "social legislation" compared to other provinces, see Charles Saxon, "B.C. Rides A Boom," *Canadian Business* (May 1947): 32-33, 107-110.

quadrupled and many families owned more than one vehicle.⁶⁵ Most important for the tourist industry in British Columbia was the fact that this prosperity was particularly evident on the Pacific Coast of the United States. By the end of 1962 California had surpassed New York as the most populous of the United States. Moreover, buoyed by the dramatic expansion of the aerospace industry, Californians saw their total personal income double from approximately \$30 billion in 1955 to \$60 billion in 1965 (for a per capita income of over \$3000). Californians were also more likely than other Americans to own a car and thus to travel.⁶⁶ Indeed, a 1954 study estimated that the population of Washington, Oregon and California combined to spend over \$1.4 billion on recreational travel that year.⁶⁷

Conclusions about tourism's post-war "boom" tend to focus primarily on these increased opportunities for travel. Carlos Schwantes, for instance, describes the tourism "boom" in the Pacific Northwest in terms very much in line with other "spasmodic" models: "When gasoline rationing ended, tourists withdrew money from their bulging savings accounts, cashed in their war bonds and stamps, and took to the road in record numbers."⁶⁸ Hal Rothman, focusing on the American West, similarly explains that "[a]fter the war, more widespread distribution of wealth in American society gave greater numbers of people the

⁶⁵Owram and Norrie, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 421. The proliferation of cars, and their increasing centrality to family life in the post-war era is discussed in Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 69-72.

⁶⁶Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* 2nd Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 524, 533.

⁶⁷*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1955*. W50.

⁶⁸Carlos Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 339.

means to travel, and previously inaccessible places were more easily reached because of new and better roads... ."⁶⁹ Neglected, for the most part, in scholarly examinations of tourism's post-war boom, is the role of the state in managing and expanding the tourist industry.

What now seems clear, in fact, is that the post-war era is most accurately divided into two periods: a short, dramatic rise in consumption through 1946 and then a longer, more stable period of growth shaped and managed by government intervention through the 1950s and 1960s. Doug Owram, for instance, has noted a brief unleashing of "pent-up" demand for consumer goods through 1946 that caused a degree of "economic instability," but also suggests that "[b]y 1947 or so, the postwar rush to buy, the resultant inflation, and then the slump in demand, seemed to have been accommodated without any great difficulty."⁷⁰ Tourist travel in British Columbia certainly followed this pattern.

As the BCGTB had predicted, the end of the war brought a boom to British Columbia's tourist industry. Tourist travel in the province during 1946, for example, set a record for tourist expenditures and also "imposed a heavy strain" on accommodations, particularly in Vancouver.⁷¹ Yet this travel boom was neither unending nor uncomplicated. While an increasing number of travellers arrived in the province in 1947, the BCGTB reported that "individual expenditures were being scaled down." Moreover, the competition for US tourists and US dollars was heating up and was becoming, in the words of a BCGTB

⁶⁹Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 202-3. John Jakle offers a similar interpretation while emphasizing that "workers enjoyed shorter work weeks and longer vacation periods." Jakle, *The Tourist*, 185.

⁷⁰Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 17.

⁷¹*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1946, 1947*: 45.

annual report, "intense" and even "ruthless."⁷² And there were other, less predictable problems to contend with. Rationing remained a concern -- though one that was reportedly understood and tolerated by the tourists themselves. More complicated was the securing of hard-to-obtain unrationed goods. On this matter the BCGTB could offer individual tourist resort and camp operators only its encouragement and the suggestion that they make use of local food supplies.⁷³ In 1948, along with stringent new provincial government regulations concerning auto insurance for out-of-province tourists, tourism promoters in British Columbia had to contend with a major flood and a railway strike.⁷⁴

The BCGTB's answer to the overall situation was effective advertising and sound regulation of tourist accommodation, while generally encouraging proprietors to maintain a strong work ethic. Just like the middle-class managerial intelligentsia in the federal bureaucracy that embraced the promise of rationality and lauded the power of the expert to determine government policy, British Columbia's travel bureau officials stepped forward to provide guidance and advice to tourist resort operators and local publicity bureaux in an effort to maximize the efficiency of tourism promotion campaigns.⁷⁵

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³BCGTB *Newsletter*, No. 3 (June 1946), 1.

⁷⁴*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1948*: 52.

⁷⁵On the triumph of rational economic planning in the federal bureaucracy during the war, see Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), Chapters 10 and 11.

Regulation

Throughout the war, the BCGTB remained confident that once the war was over, tourism would rebound quickly to "occupy a place of much greater significance than before." The fact that tourism had not been wiped out entirely in 1943 was, it surmised, a sign that tourism had, like mining or forestry, matured as "an industry as definitely and as strongly founded as any of those on which our economic structure is reared."⁷⁶ In fact, the BCGTB drew upon the increasingly prevalent rhetoric of Keynesianism to suggest that tourism "may easily be the shock-absorber to ease us over the difficult transition period from war-time to peace-time production."⁷⁷ To ensure these results decisive action had been required on the part of the province's tourism promoters during the war itself.

If heightened border regulations and gasoline and rubber shortages meant that American tourists could not be lured over the border as in previous years, the BCGTB found another way of building the tourism industry – one that was, in its view, long overdue. During the war, the BCGTB undertook a number of organizational initiatives designed to produce a more coordinated approach to provincial tourism promotion.⁷⁸ These initiatives helped B.C.'s tourism promoters negotiate the economic upheaval of the war itself. But more importantly they also laid the groundwork for the industry's dramatic expansion in the post-war era.

⁷⁶*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1943, 27.*

⁷⁷*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1944, 31.*

⁷⁸Co-ordination of the tourist industry had been an important rationale in the creation of the Special Senate Committee on Tourist Traffic held in 1934 as well as the annual Dominion-Provincial Tourist Conferences inaugurated in 1946.

As the first element in this plan, the BCGTB had created the British Columbia Tourist Council in 1938 as an advisory body. The Council consisted of both government mandarins and representatives from local tourism promotion organizations. The Tourist Council immediately pursued policies that would increase tourist travel into the interior of the province, endorsed a more systematic approach for marking historical sites, and worked towards increasing communication between local tourist bureaux.⁷⁹ Throughout the war, the Tourist Council was involved in many of the important BCGTB decisions concerning publicity and played an active part in helping to co-ordinate the industry as a whole.

Another key initiative arose in response to the sharp increase in the number of auto courts operating in British Columbia. In August 1938 300 auto camps were operating in province. By 1946 this number had more than doubled.⁸⁰ In November 1943, in response to this rapid increase, the bureau moved to create the Auto Courts & Resorts Association of British Columbia [ACRA], a representative body made up of resort owners that would provide the industry with a more united and influential voice in the province's economic affairs. According to E.G. Rowbottom, before this organization had been created, "it frequently happened that operators working in the same area and whose interests were more-or-less identical were barely on speaking terms." This new association divided the province into administrative districts for the purpose of co-ordinating promotional efforts and

⁷⁹*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1939, 22.*

⁸⁰*News Herald, 8 August 1938, 9; Times, 5 July 1946, 11.*

improving communication between tourist resort operators.⁸¹ Together with the Tourist Council, the ACRA ensured improved communication between the BCGTB and private tourism promoters.

In 1945, concerned with what was bound to be intense competition for the tourist dollar after the war, the BCGTB continued its plan to further consolidate the province's tourist industry – this time by regulating tourist resorts directly through a Tourist Camp Act. The Act's regulations focused upon "cleanliness, sanitation and fire hazards" and during the next three years inspectors scurried throughout the province evaluating newly-opened resorts and ensuring that the quality of existing establishments had not deteriorated. By 1948, almost two-thirds of the province's 1070 resorts had been inspected and graded.⁸²

To further coordinate the activities of the province's tourism entrepreneurs, the BCGTB introduced a seasonal newsletter in December 1945 to provide a "medium for exchange of ideas" between resort operators and the government. The newsletter quickly became an important forum through which the bureau passed along the latest advice from tourism experts to tourism promoters and resort operators throughout the province.⁸³ Potential and current auto court operators, for example, were encouraged to adopt modern

⁸¹BCARS, Smith papers, Vol.3, File 4, Margaret Powers, Executive Secretary, Auto Courts & Resorts Association of British Columbia to Smith, 9 February 1949; *Department of Trade and Industry, 1944*, 31; Smith papers, Vol. 3, File 1, Margaret Powers, Executive Secretary, Auto Courts & Resorts Association of British Columbia to Sidney Smith, 9 February 1949.

⁸²BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.1 (December 1945), 5; *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1948*, 53.

⁸³BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.1 (December 1945), 1.

conveniences such as flush toilets and to coordinate the colour of their establishments with the natural surroundings. The *Newsletter* also offered advice on how to paint guest rooms so that they would be more pleasing and "cozy."⁸⁴

The BCGTB's push towards integrating and coordinating tourism promotion in British Columbia was an attempt to get the many different local promotional bureaux working in unison. The frequent meetings of the Tourist Council which began in November 1939 were supplemented by the arrival of the Auto Courts Association in 1943 and the Tourist Camp Act in 1945. Together with the "token" publicity campaigns, these organizational and infrastructure initiatives were designed to keep the province's tourism engine idling high enough so that the province would not be left behind at the starting line when the war ended, and the race for tourists began. With the war over, British Columbia's tourism promoters drew upon these wartime initiatives to develop the tourist industry through the twin strategies of regulation and advertising.

The BCGTB was clearly the leading organizational force behind the growth of the tourist industry in British Columbia. For the bureau the "essence" of this industry remained "good roads and comfortable accommodations reasonably priced." While it could not directly control the former, it could certainly influence the latter through its regulatory powers.⁸⁵ The

⁸⁴BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.1 (December 1945), 2-3; BCGTB *Newsletter*, No. 2 (March 1946), 1-3.

⁸⁵*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1948: 53.* According to Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, E.G. Rowebottom, visitors to B.C. were "strikingly unanimous" in their criticism on the province's roads. BCARS, British Columbia Commission on Forest Resources papers, Box 9, File 8, no.32, E.G. Rowebottom, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, "Memorandum on Travel Industry and its bearing on Post-War Rehabilitation," November 1942.

provincial government designed the Tourist Camp Regulation Act, for example, as an attempt to protect individual operators and to promote and protect the welfare of "the tourist industry throughout British Columbia as a whole." As such, the Tourist Camp Act was expected to deliver a great deal. The regulations were, in fact, designed "to stabilize a great factor in [the] provincial economy, preserve natural resources to the greatest common use, protect the legitimate operator, foster the industry through the establishment of basic minimum standards and protect the tourist whose comfort and satisfaction is of paramount importance to all of us." These regulations were apparently "well received by the industry as an initial step in the right direction."⁸⁶ Maintaining basic standards, it was thought, would maximize the tourist industry's positive effects upon the provincial economy.

Tourism entrepreneurs offered a similar view of their industry's ameliorative effects. P.M. Cowan and F.R. Brason, the proprietors of the 2400 Court in Vancouver, understood tourism's contributions to the provincial economy this way: "The tourist industry buys largely the finished or processed product, which means the employment of a far greater number of persons, than is the case where the raw materials are sold and shipped out of the country. It helps the small business, allows scope for personal development with a small amount of capital, and affords employment to a large number of unskilled workmen and those partially disabled." To provide this industry with the opportunity to continue to provide such benefits for the province, Cowan and Brason reiterated the usual list of necessary elements including

⁸⁶BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.1 (December 1945), 5. The quotation is from the BCGTB. In August 1945, G.H. Worthington of the GVTA had gone on record in singing the praises of the Tourist Camp Act. CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol. 1, File 1, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, 9 August 1945.

quality roads, modern accommodation and unique "Canadian" merchandise. But along with advocating cooperation between communities, they also supported a central role for the government in the continued growth of the tourist industry. Plans for new auto courts and vacation resorts, they argued, should be submitted for approval to the government in advance and the grading and classifying of these establishments should be done by "men knowledgeable" of the "entire province." As part of this central role for government, they suggested that the best way for British Columbia to lead the way in the growth of the tourist industry was for the premier himself to create a new administrative position in the provincial bureaucracy: a Deputy Minister for the Tourist Industry who would focus entirely on the tourist industry itself.⁸⁷ Government regulation of the tourist trade, like the promise of more interventionist macro-economic policies, offered the assurance of expert advice during a time when many Canadians feared a return to Depression-era conditions.

Support for increased government regulation of the tourist business was also voiced by the newly-formed Interior British Columbia Resort Owners' Association. In a submission to the British Columbia Commission on Forest Resources, the Association, whose members included owners of auto camps as well as fishing and hunting lodges in the province's southern central interior, advocated a number of regulations with the aim of elevating "the standard of service and accommodation of the various resorts with a view to encouraging post-war tourist business." Included among the suggestions were calls to ensure that all tourist resorts were subject to inspection and classification, the centralization of advertising

⁸⁷BCARS, Premiers papers', Box 75, File 4, P.M. Cowan and F.R. Brason, 2400 Court, Vancouver to Premier Byron Johnson, 12 January 1948.

signs along primary roads to "improve the scenic beauty of the country," and a call to ensure that "the extensive exploitation of resort sites by any corporation or company be viewed with concern."⁸⁸

In the eyes of the BCGTB, regulations for tourist accommodation were not onerous but instead provided "healthy inducement" to improve these establishments. With the cooperation of the Department of Health, regular inspections were generally carried out within the friendly and courteous atmosphere that existed between government inspectors and tourist camp operators.⁸⁹ Sometimes, however, the interests of the inspectors and the camp operators diverged. As John Keane explains with reference to Claus Offe's wide-ranging examination of the western welfare state, government administrative initiatives aimed at regulating individual activity are faced with a daunting and contradictory task, for "they are forced to reorganize and restrict the mechanisms of capitalist accumulation in order to allow those mechanisms to spontaneously take care of themselves."⁹⁰ By regulating tourist camps operators, the BCGTB found itself facing just such a dilemma. In fact, members of its Licensing Authority were, at times, uncomfortable enforcing the Act. Staunch supporters of private enterprise, they struggled with the role they played in limiting entrepreneurial opportunities. Their concerns were particularly heartfelt when they considered the plight of

⁸⁸BCARS,, British Columbia Commission on Forest Resources papers, Box 9, File 8, No. 424, Brief to the British Columbia Commission on Forest Resources from the Interior British Columbia Resort Owners' Association, c.15 January 1945.

⁸⁹*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1946,1947: 46.*

⁹⁰John Keane, "Introduction," to Claus Offe, *Contradictions of the Welfare State* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), 16.

returning veterans who, they suggested, "should be given every opportunity to establish themselves in the tourist industry." Unfortunately, however, some applications had to be declined. Members of the Licensing Authority saw their responsibilities as extending beyond individual applications and situations. Theirs was a broader responsibility defined by their understanding that British Columbia's "recreational economy rests largely upon their decisions." Sometimes, the BCGTB *Newsletter* explained, individual applications had to be turned down if it meant preserving a lake for fishing or protecting local game.⁹¹

Moreover, some resort operators expressed their displeasure with the licensing of resorts -- not because licenses were difficult to acquire but, in fact, because the licenses were too liberally awarded. In May 1949, for instance, the BCGTB reported that "several local associations have written the Bureau calling attention to what they consider the adequacy of tourist facilities in their area and requesting that further license applications be refused." To such requests, the BCGTB replied that it could not refuse these applications unless these new camps would endanger conservation and natural resources. In defending the Licensing Authority, the BCGTB pointed out the inconsistent position of the local associations: "Most of the operators who have been represented by the letters received are firm believers in the principle of free enterprise and would be among the first to protest restrictions in other fields."⁹² In contrast to these local associations, the Licensing Authority remained more consistent in its views, taking the position that "free enterprise is one of the bulwarks of democracy and one of the most cherished of Canadian heritages." "To block off 50 miles of

⁹¹BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.2 (March 1946), 8.

⁹²BCGTB *Newsletter*, No. 16 (May 1949), 14.

highway, say, and prohibit anyone from building an auto court on his own property," it argued, "would be a violation of private and personal rights." While the authorities "agreed in some instances to discourage further applications by pointing out existing conditions and by demonstrating the fallacy of investing without investigating public need." they were unwilling to sacrifice the greater good of the community for the immediate concerns of individual tourist resort operators.⁹³ Following the principles of the new liberalism, the BCGTB had emerged as visible hand actively guiding the development of the tourist industry.

Advertising

While regulation formed one important strand of BCGTB activities, advertising was the other. By 1947 the BCGTB's newspaper and magazine campaign "was conducted on a better than pre-war basis," and its appropriation had risen to \$62,000 from \$40,000 the previous year. These advertising campaigns were aimed at the western states and eastern Canada in an attempt to lengthen the tourist season.⁹⁴ By 1948, with the restrictions on freedom of movement lifted, the BCGTB felt comfortable reverting to its practice of direct-mail advertising by introducing a "small specially prepared folder in full colour, extending a cordial invitation to 'Visit British Columbia.'"⁹⁵

Advertising was, however, a tricky business -- a business in which there was much

⁹³BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.17 (September 1949), 7.

⁹⁴*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1946,1947*, 46.

⁹⁵*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1948*, 53.

potential for wasting money. For this reason, the BCGTB recommended to tourist accommodation operators the hiring of a qualified advertising agent. Expert advice would direct one's message "to a definite type of class or prospect."⁹⁶ Advertising also had a reputation for dishonesty and the BCGTB joined with others, including R.H. Baker, manager of the GVTA from 1945 to 1949, in stressing the importance of honest and accurate advertising.⁹⁷ Advertising, after all, was "an investment" – an effort to reap longstanding rewards.⁹⁸ Short-term gains at the price of discouraging the tourist from a return visit were harmful not just to the individual resort owner, but to the industry as a whole.

Sound advertising increased one's ability to tap into the rapidly expanding tourist market – a market that was becoming increasingly diversified, particularly in terms of class and gender. The BCGTB closely monitored American publications and US government reports in its attempt to keep on top of the latest developments in the tourist industry. This information was reprinted and passed on to the tourist operators of the province through the BCGTB Newsletter, inaugurated in 1945. One lesson the bureau learned, and worked diligently to pass on to accommodation operators, was that new classes of tourists were emerging. An article in *Traveltime* magazine suggested that tourism was now the second-largest industry in the United States (steel was number one) and that the war had "greatly increased the interest in travel." "Former G.I.'s, their families and friends – millions of average-income Americans – who never traveled much before," the article stated, "are now

⁹⁶BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.2 (March 1946), 13-14.

⁹⁷BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.3 (June 1946), 6.

⁹⁸BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.12 (May 1948), 1.

planning trips ranging from long weekends to extended vacation trips." In addition, "new union contracts calling for higher incomes and longer vacations" along with "higher incomes for wage earners everywhere" had contributed to the opening up of "a whole new segment of the travel market." Readers of the BCGTB Newsletter were being introduced here to a new type of tourist: the "class B travellers who must always watch the budget."⁹⁹

Because "class B" travellers had different desires and expectations than did white collar workers, the BCGTB encouraged resort owners to pay more attention to the specific type of tourist they were best equipped to attract. Too many resort owners, the bureau warned, had been appealing to the wrong crowd. As the editors of the BCGTB Newsletter observed in January 1948, "There seemed to be an assumption that the only people who travel and take vacations are white-collar workers and the business executive type." In fact, they argued, "the aristocracy of labor has time on its hands!" The unionized laborer was now ready to be wooed by tourist advertising: "Through the year he has not lived in such expensive housing as his non-organized fellowman -- on the average -- he has not been called upon for the same clothing and other expenses -- his children, again on the average, are off his hands at an earlier age and he therefore has more ready cash for vacation expenses than the white collar worker!" Resort owners were admonished to direct their appeals to the Boeing workers in Seattle and concentrate their advertising efforts on a particular audience -- "and a little psychology" applied to travel literature might help as well.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.6 (December 1946), 9. The tendency of war travel to increase the desire on the part of military personal after the war is discussed in Valene Smith, "War and Tourism," 211-212.

¹⁰⁰BCGTB *Newsletter*, No.11 (January 1948), 2.

A "little psychology" was something that could also be applied to tourist brochures to take advantage of another growing segment of the tourist market: women. When statistics appeared suggesting that women were emerging as an important factor in the tourist industry, the BCGTB gave a prominent position in its July 1948 newsletter to an article from *The Travel Agent* by Albert K. Dawson. Dawson cited a survey appearing in the *Ladies Home Journal* that confirmed suspicions about who really wore the "travel-pants" in American families. The survey suggested that women made travel decisions by a two-to-one ratio over men. In fact it claimed that seventy-three per-cent of the destinations were chosen by women, while sixty-four percent of the time, women decided upon the mode of transportation. "Now that the postwar travel honeymoon seems to be about over," Dawson suggested, tourism promoters were anxious to discover what "the average woman wants."¹⁰¹ The "average woman" here was defined as "an unmarried employed woman with a vacation of from two to four weeks and with from \$100 to \$400 to spend" who was "aged someplace between 25 and 45."

Acknowledging that these women travelled to have a good time, Dawson speculated on what sort of "good time" these "average women" would seek on vacation: "Boiling it all down and cutting out the frills, a good time in her opinion means a place where there are lots of men -- 'eligible men' -- men in her own age group." Unmarried women, he concluded, only travelled to find mates. This was not a characteristic shared by men:

¹⁰¹BCGTB *Newsletter*, No. 13 (July 1948). 7.

It's a funny thing about women, you know. They can't have a good time by themselves. With men it's different. Thousands of men go off on hunting trips, fishing trips, canoeing trips, have a perfectly wonderful time and never even see a woman -- except perhaps a passing squaw -- for weeks at a time. But did you ever hear of a woman going off on a vacation to a place where she knew in advance there would be no men? Well I never did either.

Resorts with "tennis courts, hiking trails, a dance floor, a lake and canoes" were not enough, he continued. "Who is your customer going to play tennis with, or go hiking with -- just another girl? And who will she go canoeing with in the moonlight?" To bolster his position, Dawson, drew the reader's attention to a recent article in *Mayfair* magazine entitled, "How to trap a man on your vacation."¹⁰²

Armed with this information, what were tourist promoters in British Columbia and elsewhere to do? "With all this in mind," Dawson suggested, "it might be well to begin revamping your literature and your promotion plans with an eye to the feminine trade. Cut out some of those bathing beauties and put a few men on your front cover for a change." Women were, apparently, not well-disposed towards tourist brochures that suggested that beautiful models would offer competition in their attempts to "trap a man." In fact, "the finest resort picture" Albert Dawson had ever seen was an advertisement for Bermuda that "showed one girl, just an ordinary girl, surrounded by three attractive men!" He also alluded favourably to a pre-war endeavour in which "cruising steamers used to take along a bunch of extra men as 'assistant cruise directors' whose sole duty was to dance with the

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 8.

wallflowers."¹⁰³

The BCGTB evidently found Dawson's pronouncements on the tourist industry so valuable that the following issue of its newsletter, in September 1948, again provided ample space for his views -- this time accompanied by a response to his original article from a woman in Seattle. Miss Terry Britten agreed with much of what Dawson had suggested. Speaking for the "average woman," Britten admitted that "If we get just rest, a change of scenery, and not even a suggestion of a romantic interest, we're disappointed." In fact, she continued, "this applies just as much to married women as to single. A married woman also gets a big thrill if one of the opposite sex shows a little interest." While Britten was not entirely convinced by the travel expert's claim "that women can't have a good time by themselves," she did concede that women preferred "to have a few men around to see them having a good time." Britten encouraged tourist associations to redesign their promotional materials to show men, "or a woman surrounded by men, on their covers."

The problem, as she saw it, was to get both men and women to visit the same resorts: "Must we then, advertise the abundance of men to the women and the abundance of women to the men?" Undaunted, the *Travel Agent* writer acknowledged the problem this entailed: different messages to different clienteles, and a concomitant increase in advertising costs. Dawson then suggested that since "women are willing, as a rule, to pay more for their vacations than men," one possible solution "would be to give the gents an economic edge. In other words, charge the boys \$50 for a week's board and room and charge the girls \$100." In addition, since men "as a rule, are willing to put up with less privacy than women, so one

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 9.

might house the men in bunk houses at a lower rate than the ladies who require single and double rooms with bath."¹⁰⁴ It is not clear that many tourism promoters in BC adopted Dawson's suggestions wholeheartedly. What is certain is that in the immediate postwar era advertising campaigns began to offer very different views of women.

Historians investigating the impact of the Second World War on the status of women have noted the conflicting nature of public pronouncements on women's position in society. The more active and public roles women enjoyed during the war were often acknowledged by employers, the government, and the press. Frequently, however, such acknowledgements were undermined and even trivialized by a conflicting discourse in which women were patronized and objectified sexually. The overall effect of women's wartime activity on female emancipation was thus muted and a new, more restrictive, attitude toward women's activities emerged during the 1950s in which women were very much confined to household duties and rendered subordinate to their husbands.¹⁰⁵

What remains underexamined are representations of women in advertisements for consumer goods and leisure activities not associated with the household. Leisure was an increasingly important component of post-war life in North America and as Albert Dawson and others were now emphasizing, women played a central role in making decisions about

¹⁰⁴BCGTB *Newsletter* Vol. 14, (September 1948), 6-7.

¹⁰⁵Helen Smith and Pamela Wakewich, "'Beauty and the Helldivers': Representing Women's Work and Identities in a Warplant Newspaper." *Labour/Le Travail*, 44 (Fall 1999), 71-107; Susannah J. Wilson, "The Changing Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulating Magazines, 1930-1970," *Atlantis*, 2 (Spring 1977), 33-44; M. Susan Bland, "Henrietta the Homemaker, and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in *Maclean's Magazine*, 1939-50." *Atlantis* 8.2 (Spring 1983), 61-86.

vacations. How did British Columbia's tourism promoters address potential female consumers?

BCGTB advertisements during and after the war reflected – and even accentuated – the contradiction similar to that outlined by previous scholars studying the rhetoric surrounding women and work. In the late 1940s a number of BCGTB ads appeared featuring women in non-traditional roles. These included women exploring the province alone by car, hunting, and fishing (see figures 4.3 to 4.6).¹⁰⁶ Some BCGTB advertisements were more ambiguous. One ad appearing in the June 1947 edition of *Sunset* magazine (see figure 4.7) featured three young women gazing across the water at a passing boat. Entitled "Land of the Pleasure Cruises" the ad promised "sun-flecked sheltered waters." "colorful Indian villages" and the "exhilarating beauty" of the province's "rugged mountains, glaciers and evergreen forests." The role of the women, however, remains unclear. Were they simply three friends enjoying British Columbia's scenery? Perhaps they are examples of the "wallflowers" that Albert Dawson hoped would be entertained by "assistant cruise directors"? Alternatively, perhaps they were employed here by the BCGTB to lure American males north to spend their US currency? Whatever their purpose, they were part of the growing presence of women in BCGTB ads -- a presence that likely reflected both the growing awareness of women's spending power as well as the increasing resonance of heterosexuality in tourism promotion campaigns.

By the early 1950s, however, while women continued to appear as fishers in BCGTB

¹⁰⁶See, for example, *Sunset* magazine 86,6 (June 1941), 10; 99,6 (December 1947),4; 105,4 (October 1950), 24; 106,5 (May 1951), 21; 108,5 (May 1952), 29.

ads, they all but disappeared as hunters and drivers as the typical advertisement emphasized more and more the familiar portraits of both the companionate wife and the family at play. After 1952 women could be seen fishing and occasionally golfing, but were increasingly shown taking tea while the men pursued outdoor activities. Illustrative of this retrenchment is the BCGTB advertisement featuring BC Premier Byron Johnson which was used to open both the 1949 and 1950 advertising campaigns (see figure 4.8). Placed in 47 newspapers covering 11 different states in the western and southwestern US, the ad resulted in more enquiries than any other ad during the campaigns. The ad included a personal message from the premier to the people of the United States encouraging them to take advantage of the province's "fine food and excellent accommodation." Along with the standard promise of a "courteous Canadian welcome" and some of the finest scenery in the world. Johnson promised potential visitors the opportunity to purchase "[f]ine English linens and woolens ... in our shops." In the post-war era, the British flavour of the province was increasingly not an essence subtly present in the visitor's imagination, but a set of commodities the visitor could purchase and cart home as a souvenir.

The border surrounding Johnson's message is also revealing -- literally in the case of the scantily-clad female figure who inhabits it. Active amidst the mountains, forests and rivers, is a husband enjoying two of the province's chief recreational opportunities: golf and fishing. Always nearby, and not nearly as active, is his wife. In one scene she amuses herself with a beachball while he fishes. When he lands the fish, she will commemorate and preserve her husband's accomplishment by photographing him with his catch. When he golfs she lies

mermaid-like on a rock apparently marking the trajectory of her husband's shot.¹⁰⁷ If this advertisement reflected a turn away from the more emancipatory images of women employed during the 1940s, the bikini-clad woman was suggestive of a more lasting change in tourism promotion campaigns: an increasing emphasis on the possibilities of heterosexual gratification.¹⁰⁸

BCGTB films also acknowledged the increasing resonance of heterosexuality in advertising.¹⁰⁹ "The Okanagan Valley: British Columbia's Orchard Playground," a film released by the bureau in the late 1940s explicitly acknowledged the emerging heterosexual "norm." Audience members were told that surfboarding behind a power boat was a popular pastime in the region and the men in the audience were urged to "Try this with your best girl." Other episodes in the film were marked by less-than-tasteful double entendres. To publicize the region's orchards the film featured a woman looking at a peach while the narrator slyly exclaimed "What a peach!" A few moments later a woman holds a watermelon

¹⁰⁷BCARS, Premiers' papers, Box 84, File 10. L.H. Eyres, Minister of Trade and Industry to Premier Byron I. Johnson, 10 January 1951.

¹⁰⁸An increasingly explicit emphasis on heterosexual fulfillment may, in fact, prove to have been a continent-wide phenomenon. Karen Dubinsky's study of Niagara Falls, Ontario, for example, demonstrates that that city's tourism promoters only began to diligently "sell" the honeymoon in the post-war era. Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment*, 30, 168, 214-5, 229-237.

¹⁰⁹For a survey of BCGTB film production during this era, see David Mattison, "The British Columbia Government Travel Bureau and Motion Picture Production, 1937-1947," in *Flashback: People and Institutions in Canadian Film History*, ed. Gene Walz (Montreal: Mediatexte Publications, 1986): 79-104.

in front of her chest as the narrator continues in the same vein: "More juicy watermelon."¹¹⁰

The acknowledgement of heterosexuality could also be more implicitly incorporated into promotional campaigns. In August 1950, Elsie Parker and her husband visited Vancouver as a result of her election as "Queen for a day."¹¹¹ The GVTA's role in this publicity stunt was characteristic of an increasingly favoured method of obtaining publicity. Utilizing the popularity of the Mutual radio show "Queen for a day" which reached ten million listeners, the GVTA arranged to host one of the winners. On the show a winner was "elected in Hollywood and is the winner of numerous prizes among which is a trip by plane to some far off place where she is regally entertained." After her trip the winner would regale the listening audience with details of her experiences -- a public relations coup for the city visited.¹¹² After Parker had reported on her experiences, GVTA members were informed that the publicity stunt had been well worth the expense. Included in the Parkers' vacation experience was "a day's salmon fishing in Howe Sound where she and her escort landed seven nice salmon. These were well photographed, and the two largest fish were packed in ice and taken back to Hollywood with them by plane." The GVTA was also pleased to report that "the fish did not diminish in size when she described her Vancouver experiences" on the

¹¹⁰BCARS, BCGTB film, "The Okanagan Valley: British Columbia's Orchard Playground" (c. 1940s)

¹¹¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, 21 September 1950.

¹¹²CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, GVTA Board of Directors Minutes, "Operating Report," 17 August 1950.

air.¹¹³

Several other local Vancouver tourism initiatives had heterosexual dimensions. A campaign led by the Vancouver Junior Chamber of Commerce in the mid-1950s featured a "Couple of the Week" who were selected and entertained by campaign organizers.¹¹⁴ In the early 1960s the GVTA began to fancy Vancouver as a honeymoon destination and sought to incorporate this theme into its promotional material -- which was becoming increasingly focused on film. In August 1960 the GVTA embarked upon a attempt to create two films (a short 13-minute trailer to be shown in cinemas before feature films and a longer 28-minute "documentary type" version). The 13-minute version was aimed, in part, at teenagers and would focus on the experiences of a young honeymooning couple visiting Vancouver. The strategy was to highlight "the tourist attractions, perhaps some hotel accommodation, very light on narration and high on music." The 28-minute version would include this shorter film but would supplement it with "suitable industrial and civic enterprise."¹¹⁵ The film was clearly designed to appeal as well to the emerging baby boom generation. D. Bennett of Parry Films, for example, stressed that "emphasis should be placed on the youth of the city."¹¹⁶

This new emphasis on heterosexuality reflected the fact that tourism promoters were

¹¹³CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, "Operating Report," 21 September 1950.

¹¹⁴CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 8, GVTA Greeting & Hospitality Committee Minutes, 8 February 1956.

¹¹⁵CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 11, GVTA Special Meeting, 30 August 1960.

¹¹⁶CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 11, Minutes of the GVTA Meeting to Inquire into Arrangements for the Production of a 'Vancouver' Film, 7 November 1960.

paying greater attention than ever before to determine who was most likely to be lured to British Columbia for a vacation. As the instability of the immediate post-war years was superseded by a sustained period of economic expansion, the province's tourism promoters would continue to gather information zealously profiling potential tourists -- a segment of society, they were now convinced, that was larger than ever.

4. Conclusion

By 1949 BCGTB publications and pronouncements exuded confidence in British Columbia's tourist industry based on what was considered to be a lengthy and diversified list of factors contributing to the industry's success: the cumulative effect of continual advertising, regional and national promotion on behalf of the federal government, improvements in accommodation, the provincial highway development programme, the BCGTB's own inspections carried out under the auspices of the Tourist Camp Act, the province's abundance of fish and game, and the development of local attractions by local tourism promoters.¹¹⁷ In fact, in 1950 the BCGTB announced in its annual report that "the tourist movement to British Columbia has assumed such dimensions as to make it one of the first-ranking industries in the Province."¹¹⁸ It was no coincidence that advertising and government regulation topped the BCGTB's list of important elements in the province's tourism success. They had been the keys to the industry's consolidation during the Second World War and they would become the twin pillars of tourism "management" in the post-war

¹¹⁷*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1949: 57.*

¹¹⁸*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1950: 37.*

era.

Hedley S. Hipwell, GVTA president from 1947 until 1950, summarized tourism's future potential in his 1950 Annual Report. Hipwell saw British Columbians as "stockholders" who, while "fully aware of the inexpendable stock which we have on hand," were nonetheless too conservative in their approach to convincing others to travel to visit the province. "Profits are made on a confident approach to a market," he explained in 1950, "and with full knowledge of, and pride in, the 'product' which is being sold."¹¹⁹ By ignoring the central role that the provincial government had played in coordinating the province's tourism industry, Hipwell's "stockholder" metaphor misrepresented the nature of tourism's growth in the immediate post-war era. The guiding hand of the state had played a leading role not only in advertising campaigns, but in regulating the behaviour of tourist industry entrepreneurs as well.

As the following chapters demonstrate, tourism did indeed experience a post-war "boom" but the nature of this "boom" can be better understood by reconceptualizing how tourism was experienced and promoted during and in the immediate aftermath of the war. While the war effort occupied much of everyday life for Canadians, leisure pursuits did not disappear. In fact, leisure activities were often deemed essential to a strong war effort. A small but varied literature is emerging that suggests that in the face of increasingly stringent government regulations and ever-expanding wartime demands for labour and supplies, Canadians retained a healthy interest in leisure activities. In their study of leisure activities

¹¹⁹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, Hedley S. Hipwell, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1950*, 1-3.

in Alberta. for example, Donald G. Wetherell and Irene Kmet have discovered that despite expressed concerns about the appropriateness of leisure activities during the war, festivals and agricultural fairs continued to attract large crowds. So too did professional hockey as Canadian civilians and soldiers joined with team owners to defeat campaigns to curtail or cancel professional hockey during the war. Moreover, as Jeff Keshen has recently demonstrated, professional sports magnates were not the only civilians anxious to protect their economic interests. Even in the face of strict government price and wage controls, many Canadians also retained a healthy interest in making a profit by circumventing government regulations through black market activities.¹²⁰

Tourism offered both an opportunity for rigorous outdoor activity as well as a chance to escape from the strains and concerns of the war effort. While the number of tourists visiting British Columbia during the war did not approach the record years of the late 1920s, the story of tourism during the war is far more complicated than the existing "spasmodic" explanation suggests. The post-war travel boom did not mark the return of a once vanished industry. Nor did it indicate the arrival of mass tourism where no similar industry had existed before. The 1940s instead saw the consolidation of tourism as an industry in British Columbia -- an industry that would by the mid-1960s rival forestry and mining in its importance to the provincial economy. By working to create consumer demand, British Columbia's private sector and government tourism promoters used the war as an opportunity

¹²⁰Donald G. Wetherell with Irene Kmet, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta, 1896-1945* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre/Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, 1990), 317-318; R. Bruce McIntyre, "Which Uniform to Serve the War: Hockey in Canada Versus Military Service During World War Two", *Canadian Journal of History of Sport*, 24(2), (1993), 68-90; Keshen, "One For All or All For One."

to increase their province's share of the Confederation pie. They worked hard to maintain acceptable levels of US tourists, but also benefitted greatly from the increasing numbers of Canadians visiting their province. In doing so they contributed directly to the foundation of the post-war tourist boom.

By June 1944, Premier Hart looked forward with confidence to the coming years in which British Columbia would be comfortably positioned to help its residents, and especially the returning veterans "make their homes and rebuild their lives in the peace and security which they have won for themselves and for us all."¹²¹ But as this chapter has demonstrated, the province's tourism promoters had not been content to leave civilians and returning veterans to "rebuild their lives" alone -- they worked diligently to ensure that tourism became an increasingly central component of civilian life. By not factoring in the promotional activities of the province's tourism promoters, we risk overlooking an important aspect of the post-war boom: the role promoters played in creating demand for leisure activities *before the "boom" occurred*. In doing so, we also risk ascribing an unrealistic amount of agency to consumers. Tourists, as Karen Dubinsky reminds us, "are made, not born."¹²² The decision to travel during the post-war era was made within a particular context -- one in which tourism promoters had spent much of the war coordinating their promotional efforts and refining their advertising campaigns. If the activities of British Columbia's tourism promoters

¹²¹BCARS, Premiers' papers, Box 55, File 9, Premier Hart to E.G. Rowebottom, 5 June 1944.

¹²²Karen Dubinsky, "'Everybody Likes Canadians': Canadians, Americans and the Post-World War Two Travel Boom," in *The Development of Mass Tourism: Commercial Leisure and National Identities in 19th and 20th Century Europe and North America*, ed. Shelley Baronowski and Ellen Furlough (University of Michigan Press, forthcoming).

are any indication, the Second World War should be recorded not as bleak period in which tourist travel vanished entirely because customers and promoters were deeply immersed in the war effort, but as a time in which the shape of the tourism industry was transformed and consolidated.

Anticipating the post-war boom in April 1947, representatives from tourism promotion bodies throughout the Pacific Northwest gathered in Seattle for a Pacific Northwest Tourist Conference hosted by the University of Washington under the heading "Building a Billion-Dollar Business." Participants included BC premier John Hart and E.G. Rowebottom, the province's Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry who was then serving as the President of the Canadian Association of Tourist and Publicity Bureaus. The two day conference focused on tourism's potential in the region with presentations addressing issues such as state involvement; publishing; the role of restaurants, parks and highways in attracting tourists; accommodation management; advertising; and the relationship between tourism and public education.¹²³ This was a conference about *managing* the tourist industry in the Pacific Northwest in the face of increasingly intense *competition*. These two themes are the subject of the remaining chapters of this study.

¹²³UWA, Business Research Bureau papers, Box 1, File 2, *Pacific Northwest Tourist Conference Program*, 17-18 April 1947.

CANADA SPEAKS



Ottawa,
February 4, 1941.

To the Citizens of the United States:

I am pleased to extend to you an invitation on behalf of the people of Canada to visit our country in the course of the present year.

When you come to Canada, you will be able to cross the border without difficulty; you will need no passports; you will suffer no restrictions; you will be as free in our country as you are in your own.

You will meet with the warm friendship that good neighbours entertain for one another. Our country and our institutions are somewhat different from your own, but these variations will add interest to your visit.

You will find good roads on which to travel, fine gardens, lakes and rivers, mountains and meadows, and peaceful hamlets. You will also find great national parks preserved and dedicated for the health, refreshment, and entertainment of the people of Canada and their friends. We have splendid hotels, railway systems of which we are proud, and many pleasant beaches along our highways and bays where the visitor may rest.

For your money, you will receive the full premium. The American dollars which you leave behind will be used by the Government of Canada for purchases to be made in the United States. These purchases will be used for the defence of the ideals of freedom and justice which we hold in common.

The fact that we are at war will not mean to you the slightest interference with your enjoyment and freedom.

Mackenzie King

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA.



Figure 4.1. "Canada Speaks." Mackenzie King and his dog Pat did their part for Canada's tourism industry during the war by appealing to Americans' sense of duty and assuring them that they would face no restrictions on their freedom of movement. According to King their tourist expenditures would "be used for the defence of the ideals of freedom and justice..." Canadian Government Travel Bureau. *Canada Calls You* (Ottawa, c.1941).

**GOOD
NEIGHBORS
IN PEACE**

Comrades in War

Today, our two nations are fighting a war together . . . pushing our defences far into the northern wilderness . . . opening up a country so beautiful and fascinating it cannot be pictured or described.

Tomorrow, when the war is over, we who have been good neighbours in peace and comrades in war will give you the warmest of welcomes. Meantime . . . buy War Bonds . . . save for that grand vacation day ahead in British Columbia.

Write Today to the
British Columbia Government Travel Bureau,
Vancouver, B. C.

44-4

BRITISH COLUMBIA

The Sun-land that has Everything!

Figure 4.2. "Comrades in War." Indicative of British Columbia tourism promoters' new approach to advertising in light of the US entry into the war, this advertisement appeared in the October 1943 issue of *Sunset* magazine. The Greater Vancouver Tourist Association followed the BCGTB's lead with its own "Salesmanship in Reverse" campaign. *Sunset* magazine 91.4 (October 1943), 2.



Figure 4.3. "A Female Angler." *Sunset* magazine 86.6 (June 1941), 10.



BRITISH COLUMBIA

HAPPY MOMENTS like these are duplicated many times along our scenic highways. No matter what type of vacation you are looking for, you'll find it in large measure in British Columbia.

Sail in sheltered waterways. Golf at some of Canada's most spectacular courses. Fish—we tell you there's nothing like them! As for relaxation, you'll find the serenity of this northern province something that you'll really enjoy.

For information, write

BRITISH COLUMBIA
GOVERNMENT TRAVEL
BUREAU,
Victoria, B.C. 25-10-51

Visit
**BRITISH
COLUMBIA**
Canada

Figure 4.4. "Happy Moments." *Sunset* magazine 106.5 (May 1951), 21



"Vacations Unlimited"

Let's go to...
BRITISH COLUMBIA

Anytime is vacation-time in beautiful British Columbia. Plan now to visit and experience for yourself the delights of its year-round temperate climate and unexcelled beauty. This is a holiday you'll always remember, linked with the stirring spirit of the Canadian West. This is the land of real values, where your travel dollar goes further. No passport is needed.

For information, write today
 BRITISH COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT TRAVEL BUREAU
 Victoria, B. C.



Figure 4.5. "Let's go to ... British Columbia." *Sunset* magazine 99, 6 (December 1947), 4.



ENJOY every sport from big game hunting to tennis, in scenic settings that alone are worth the trip. Come to British Columbia for the ideal holiday. There are no passport restrictions and your vacation dollar goes further. Write British Columbia Government Travel Bureau, Victoria, B.C.

VISIT ALLURING
British Columbia
CANADA

Figure 4.6. "A Female Hunter." *Sunset* magazine 105.4 (October 1950), 24.



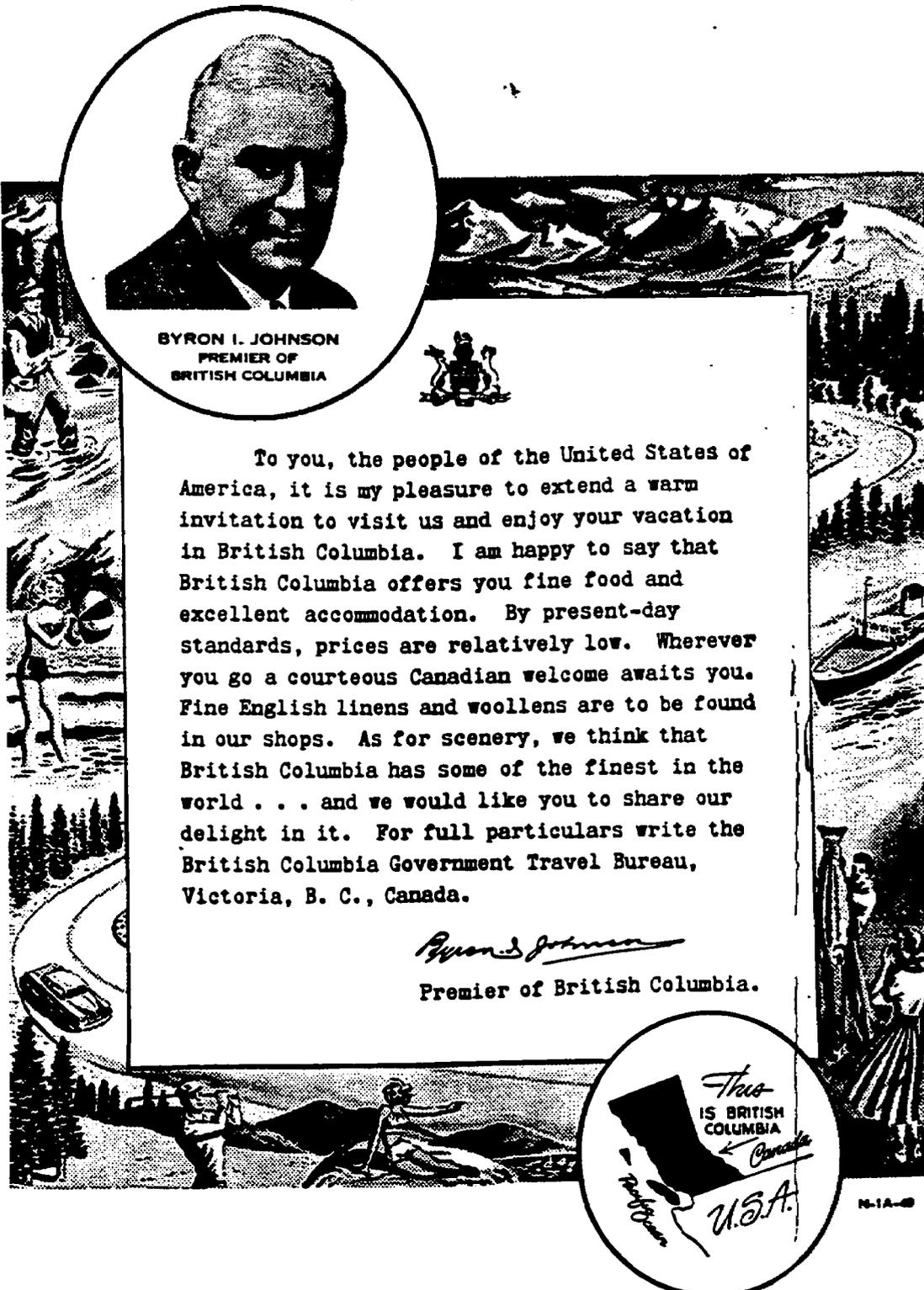
BRITISH COLUMBIA Land of Pleasure Cruises

Sail the sun-flecked sheltered waters of British Columbia, past colorful Indian villages. Enjoy for yourself the exhilarating beauty of its rugged mountains, glaciers and evergreen forests. British Columbia offers relaxation in an atmosphere of Canadian hospitality, with an infinite variety of vacation opportunities. This is the vacation land of real values, where your travel dollar goes further. No passport is needed.

For information, write today
BRITISH COLUMBIA GOVERNMENT TRAVEL BUREAU
Victoria, B.C., Canada



Figure 4.7. "British Columbia Land of Pleasure Cruises." *Sunset* magazine 98.6 (June 1947), 11.



BYRON I. JOHNSON
PREMIER OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA



To you, the people of the United States of America, it is my pleasure to extend a warm invitation to visit us and enjoy your vacation in British Columbia. I am happy to say that British Columbia offers you fine food and excellent accommodation. By present-day standards, prices are relatively low. Wherever you go a courteous Canadian welcome awaits you. Fine English linens and woollens are to be found in our shops. As for scenery, we think that British Columbia has some of the finest in the world . . . and we would like you to share our delight in it. For full particulars write the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau, Victoria, B. C., Canada.

Byron I. Johnson

Premier of British Columbia.



N-1A-48

Figure 4.8. Premier Johnson's invitation to British Columbia. BCARS, Premiers' papers. Box 84, File 10.

Chapter Five

Differentiation, Cultural Selection, and the Post-war Travel "Boom"

"If more people spent more time in places like this we'd have a heck of a lot fewer inmates in institutions."

-An anonymous psychiatrist commenting on Victoria's Olde England Inn, c.1960¹

"But there isn't an Empire any more ... it's a Commonwealth. And we just stole the word evergreen from Oregon. But Totem, now that's original with us, and it's a good gimmick."

-Former GVTA Vice-President Harry Duker on why Vancouver's new sports stadium should be named "Totem Stadium," 1954²

1. Introduction

In the late 1940s, while the number of visitors to Canada was certainly increasing (see table 5.1), tourist expenditures were not increasing as rapidly as before. Moreover, retail prices in the United States had peaked in August 1948 and had since dropped while Canadian prices, conversely, continued to rise. The result was the elimination or narrowing of the "price differential" that Canadian merchants had been enjoying. Consumer items with a foreign feel to them continued to sell briskly, however. "Fine English china still leads the field in retail sales to tourists," the Canadian Travel Bureau's report on Canadian tourism for 1949 announced. "followed by English and Canadian silverware, woolens, leather goods,

¹H.P. McKeever, "You might say I live in the past", *Canadian Hotel Review* (August 1960): 26-27. My thanks to Karen Dubinsky for this reference.

²*Province*, 12 August 1954, 21.

blankets and luggage."³ Before the war the tourist trade was measured both by expenditure and its contribution to the upbuilding of industrial development; tourism in the post-war era was increasingly identified with, and rationalized by, its own cash value. Consumer purchases were now considered the primary measure of tourist activities. Consequently, maximizing tourism's economic potential required a promotional strategy that encouraged tourists to spend money while on vacation.

Table 5.1. US Tourists Arriving at Border Crossings en route to Vancouver, 1946-1949 (January-October).

1946	518,995
1947	535,281
1948	537,348
1949	587,998

Source: Annual Reports of the Greater Vancouver Tourist Association.

Tourism's potential contribution to the province's economic growth was nicely summarized by the Hon. Earle C. Westwood, British Columbia's Minister of Recreation and Conservation, in a September 1957 speech to the GVTA, entitled, "B.C. as the Playground of North America in Our Future." Having surveyed the natural wonders of the province, Westwood informed his audience that "we have but scratched the surface in the utilization of these recreational resources." His emphasis then turned quickly to the economics of leisure. Westwood quoted a writer in *Business Week* magazine who, in 1955, had emphasized the potential of "leisure time spending" this way: "Spending money on leisure is no longer

³NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Speeches" File, *An Interim Report on Canadian Tourism* (1949).

considered an economic waste. In fact, the future economy of America will be built upon leisure-time spending. There is just so much food, and clothing, and shelter, and other things needed for bare existence. There is no foreseeable limit to what we need and can use as our leisure time increases." And there could be no doubt. Westwood informed his audience, that leisure time was indeed increasing along with the population and the opportunities for mobility.⁴

CTB Chief Leo Dolan saw a similar pattern emerging throughout Canada. Canada's "rapid industrialization," he explained to a meeting of the National Retail Hardware Association in Toronto, had "contributed to a marked increase in real income and thus to higher living standards" for its population. The average Canadian now earned "more than double the income of his forbearers at the turn of the century," Dolan announced. "And he has been able to achieve all this and at the same time enjoy greater leisure. In 1900 the average manufacturing employee worked 57 hours a week. Today he works 41 hours a week, a decline of more than one quarter in working hours."⁵

The key problems facing the tourist industry, according to Westwood, were familiar ones for the province: its lack of proximity to the continent's major population centres and the intense competition waged by other tourist markets. Westwood's solution was to minimize the province's disadvantages and maximize its advantages: "The merchandising

⁴CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 9, Speech by the Honourable Earle C. Westwood, Minister of Recreation and Conservation to the GVTA Annual General Meeting, "B.C. as the Playground of North America in Our Future," 25 September 1957.

⁵NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Speeches" File, Dolan address to the 57th Annual Congress of the National Retail Hardware Association, Toronto, 24 July 1956.

of the tourist industry is no different from the merchandising of any product. The sales talk must be convincing, the product must be attractively packaged, and it must live up to its advertisements."⁶ Tourism promoters in British Columbia thus remained convinced that they needed to play an active role in building up a tourist industry if they were to harvest the fruits of their inter-war and wartime endeavours.

BC tourism promoters were well aware of the intense international competition they faced in the post-war era. Before the Second World War, the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau reported in 1958, "there was comparatively little competition. Now seventy-two countries and forty-nine States and two Territories actively compete for our market."⁷ As Karen Dubinsky has demonstrated, Canadian tourism promoters envisioned their task in nationalist terms – an approach which seems to have muted the BCGTB's concern with competition from other provinces.⁸ There were, as Leo Dolan explained to the GVTA in 1959, 61 domestic campaigns in the United States that were "either state financed or have more than \$100,000 annually to spend to keep United States citizens visiting their own land." There was a time, he continued, when Canada could rely upon its proximity to the US as a "tremendous asset." Now, however, "magazines and newspapers are filled with advertisements sponsored by the multi-million [dollar] travel budgets of transportation interests encouraging people to leave California or New York in the morning and be in

⁶Westwood, "B.C. as the Playground of North America in Our Future."

⁷*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation. 1958, Q45.*

⁸On the nationalist orientation of post-war tourism promotion initiatives, see Dubinsky, "'Everybody Likes Canadians':"

London or Copenhagen for dinner the same night." "In short," he lamented, "potential Customers Canada once had almost for the asking, are now going to Europe, to the Orient, to the Middle East, to Russia and far-off corners of the world with an expenditure of not much more money necessary to visit Canada."⁹

The importance of differentiating British Columbia from other destinations was reflected in a letter written to *Holiday* magazine in December 1948 by one disgruntled visitor to Victoria. Mrs. Henry A. Berger of Chicago offered a very critical indictment of the city based on recent experiences she had shared with her daughter. Mrs. Berger reported that their trip had begun inauspiciously when they were forced to endure an overcrowded boat ride into the city. Their mood did not improve when their hotel staff visibly protested having to serve them tea after the official sitting time. The overpriced and underprepared meal left them further disgruntled. What really seemed to have floored Berger, however, was what she suggested was an Americanization of the city. She found the city inundated with "neon signs, many hamburger and milk bars, slot machines, etc." instead of the "quaint old streets" she had expected.¹⁰

The province's tourism promoters were alert to such disappointed customers. Increasingly convinced that the tourism effort was an industry itself, they were also more and more conscious of the need to produce a tourism product that would not disappoint customers such as Mrs. Berger. This chapter illustrates the ways in which they commodified

⁹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 10, Text of Speech, Leo Dolan to GVTA, 21 October 1959.

¹⁰"Victoria," Letter to the Editor, Mrs. Henry A. Berger, Chicago, *Holiday* (December 1948): 6-8.

history in their attempt to differentiate British Columbia from competing tourist destinations.

2. An Industry In Itself

The shift in thinking about tourism was most noticeable in post-war Victoria. As early as 1934 David Leeming had suggested that tourism had reached an unparalleled level of importance for the city. Now others were beginning to add their support to the late mayor's vision. While George Warren retained his dominant presence in Victoria publicity circles during the post-war era and, indeed, retained his position as Commissioner of the V&IPB until 1960, other key tourism promoters in the city appear to have been drawn primarily from businesses directly related to the tourist industry. In March 1963, for example, when the V&IPB was reorganized to become the Victoria Tourist, Convention and Publicity Bureau, its new directors included Howard McKay of the Hudson's Bay Company, Conway Parrot, the general manager of Vancouver Island Coach Lines, local hotel proprietor Sam Lane, and Leslie Parkinson, the manager of the Empress Hotel.¹¹

Tourism's heightened position would not go unchallenged, however. Some members of the business community remained uncomfortable with the idea of basing the city's economic future primarily on tourism. Major H.C. Holmes, a local real estate agent, was one Chamber of Commerce member who expressed concern about the rising prominence of tourism. In 1949 he was alarmed by a suggestion from the Chamber's Tourist Trade Group that a lack of natural resources and an unfavourable location meant that large-scale industrial development was not practicable in Victoria. Holmes preferred instead to see Vancouver

¹¹*Daily Colonist*, 13 March 1963, 13.

Island pursue an economic development strategy more along the lines of Switzerland, a country which had "practically no raw material, but yet was a large Industrial center of Europe, and imported over 90 per cent of [the] raw material used in its manufacturing plants."¹² Tourism and other industries, he suggested, could exist comfortably side by side.

The tourist industry, transformed in the Depression and consolidated in war was thus, by the 1950s, becoming a source of tension within Victoria's local business community. By 1954, for example, Conway Parrott, head of the Chamber's Tourist Trade Group and a leading proponent of developing Victoria as a "Convention City," expressed his concerns to the Chamber's Board of Directors about the forthcoming establishment of a pulp mill in the Victoria area. While Parrott "recognized the need for local industry," he was deeply worried about the possibility of the mill polluting the city and jeopardizing the city's tourist allure.¹³ In March 1954, having been recently elected president of the Victoria & Island Publicity Bureau, Parrott continued his steadfast opposition to industrial pursuits that might endanger the tourist business, this time opposing the planned establishment of a Royal Canadian Navy torpedo range in Saanich Inlet. The range, Parrott feared, "might prove a severe deterrent to local residents and visitors alike who might frequent Saanich Inlet waters and Butchart's Gardens."¹⁴ Not everyone agreed with Parrott. Stuart Keate, publisher of the *Victoria Daily Times*, strongly supported the establishment of the pulp mill and argued that "nothing should be done to discourage additional payrolls from settling here." The torpedo range probably

¹²VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Minutes, 25 May 1949.

¹³VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Minutes, 19 February 1954.

¹⁴VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Minutes, 19 March 1954.

came with "a great deal of nuisance attached." Keate admitted, but as a matter of "national security" it was something the business community should not challenge too vehemently.¹⁵

What is striking here, of course, is the dissimilarity between Parrott's pronouncements and those of earlier promoters such as Herbert Cuthbert in the 1910s and 1920s. No longer employed primarily as a strategy to lure industrial development to Victoria, tourism had now become an industry in itself -- an industry with its own strategies, characteristics and, most importantly, its own interests which were, in the eyes of many of its proponents, increasingly incompatible with other industries such as forestry and manufacturing.

A 1957 *Canadian Business* profile of Vancouver and Victoria confirmed the Victoria business community's acceptance of tourism as the city's economic foundation. In a comparison of the two cities' achievements and motivations, R.H. Francis found that the debate surrounding tourism's role had largely subsided and cited Arnold Webb, Managing Secretary of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce, to illustrate the new consensus. "We recognize we play second fiddle to Vancouver industrially," Webb explained. "But Victoria is Victoria and we are not willing to make sacrifices merely to be big." The city certainly sought economic growth, but it did not "seek smokestacks." A plethora of larger industries would threaten the city's "assets," Webb explained, in a veiled reference to tourism.

To capitalize most fruitfully upon these assets, Francis reported, the city's tourism promoters concentrated their efforts on what made Victoria "different and attractive to the U.S. visitor," namely its British character. The American tourist, Francis explained, "savors

¹⁵VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Minutes, 19 February 1954; Board of Directors Minutes, 19 March 1954.

the atmosphere of a more leisurely age. He sees the tweedy garb of the older inhabitants, he enjoys eating crumpets and watching cricket." And the tourism promoters were happy to oblige, comfortable in their understanding that their actions reflected "not just a clinging to the past which happens to appeal to tourists," but, in fact, stemmed from the city's "character inherited from early British residents of the city."¹⁶ By the early 1960s it was clear to many that Victoria's future lay squarely in the realm of tourism promotion. A January 1961 article in the *Victoria Daily Times* nicely summarized the city's plight. A recent survey of the city's economy emphasized the importance of both tourism and government to the city's future development and suggested that there was "little likelihood that the primary industries in the capital region would increase much in the future."¹⁷

Conversely, a more economically diversified Vancouver could see tourism potentially as one of many industries. Tourism in Vancouver, however, was seen by its chief proponents as a key ingredient in the city's overall economy. The GVTA's 1954 Declaration of Policy endorsed this point. The association was to serve as "a non-profit community organization, which will enable business firms and individuals to work together collectively..." in an attempt to develop the tourist industry. In publicizing the Greater Vancouver area "as a tourist mecca and playground and as a convention area" it hoped to "foster, develop, create

¹⁶R.H. Francis, "Victoria -- Vancouver: a study in contrasts on the West Coast". *Canadian Business* (September 1957): 30-33.

¹⁷VCA, "Tourism" Clipping file, *Victoria Daily Times*, 4 January 1961, "City Faces Tough Job In Enticing Industry -- Tourism Best Bet Survey Indicates."

and promote good will to all visitors in the interests of our civic and provincial economy."¹⁸

Like the V&IPB the hotel industry was well-represented among the GVTA's senior officers. Fred Evans, the President and Managing Director of the Devonshire Hotel, for example, served on the Board of Directors from 1953 to 1956 while Colin McCartney, GVTA Vice-President in 1963, was the Manager of the Hotel Vancouver. Frank Baker, a city Alderman and owner of the Colonial House Restaurant served as GVTA Vice-President from 1958 to 1961 and President in 1962 and 1963. The GVTA also boasted significant representation from the public relations and advertising fields. Peard Sutherland, Vice-President in 1949 and 1950 was the Assistant Public Relations Manager for the BC Telephone Company. Harry Duker, who chaired the GVTA's Finance Committee in 1948 and 1949 and served as the association's Vice-President in 1951 was the former manager of Duker & Shaw Ltd, an outdoor advertising firm. Harold Merilees, a longtime public relations manager with BC Electric who had served terms as president of both the Advertising Association of the West and the BC Public Relations Society, served in a variety of capacities with the GVTA throughout the 1950s including Vice-President from 1956 to 1959. He served as President in 1960 and 1961 before taking over the day-to-day operations of the association as its Managing Director in 1962.

A March 1965 GVTA News Release nicely summarized what, for Vancouver's tourism promoters, tourism promotion was all about. According to GVTA President Jack Bain, "More than 7,200 men and women ... are directly on the payrolls of companies whose

¹⁸CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 7, GVTA Declaration of Policy, 21 October 1954.

prime function is to service visitors." Bain also cited UBC economists in arguing that "this volume of foreign dollars spent in Greater Vancouver helps to keep taxes down... ." Burnaby Reeve and GVTA Director Alan Emmott explained the relationship between tourism, the service sector and the public in terms of a "'chain reaction' of profits which results from the tourist industry, and pointed out that many people living in Burnaby, a residential area, made their money out of some aspect of tourism, and spent it in their own neighbourhood... ." ¹⁹ L.W. Lane, Jr., publisher of *Sunset* magazine employed a more colourful metaphor to make the same point: "A tourist dollar puts a billiard ball to shame in its ricochet effect within an economy." ²⁰ Such pronouncements reflected early optimistic estimations regarding the extent to which tourist expenditures had a multiplying effect upon local economies. ²¹

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s tourism promoters such as E.H. Adams had joined with prominent civic leaders such as Gerry McGeer to emphasize the importance of tourist expenditures. In the post-war era, however, the chief concern for the province's tourism promoters was no longer depression or war: it was competition. "Did you know." GVTA Publicity Commissioner M.J. McCormick asked the association's members in 1951. "that Mr. and Mrs. U.S. Citizen spent almost \$700 million dollars in travel OUTSIDE the U.S.A. last year, but that only 44% of this amount was spent in Canada[?]" Increased competition

¹⁹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.10, File 96, Draft of GVVCB News Release, 4 March 1965.

²⁰"*Land of the Empire Builders*" *The Pacific Northwest Dimensions and Opportunities* (Sunset, 1964).

²¹For an examination and critique of these early pronouncements on the "multiplier effect," see Pearce, *Tourist Development*, 205-211.

from Mexico, the Caribbean and Europe among other destinations, he explained, was clearly cutting into Canada's share of the lucrative US market.²² To meet the challenges of post-war competition, BC tourism promoters embarked upon a concerted effort to differentiate the province's attractions from those of competing destinations. In doing so they drew selectively from the province's complex past.

3. "Selling the sizzle instead of the steak:" The Lessons of Differentiation

"We travel to see something unlike what we are familiar with at home, and we usually plan to take away with us something that is not available at home, or which will in the future represent to us that which we enjoyed in our travels. Let us emphasize our differences within this region and between this and other regions, and see that symbols of these differences are available. We may have to develop or discover these unique features, but they should be as standard and distinctive as the tartans of Scotland."

-UBC Commerce Professor E.D. McPhee, 1955.²³

As Conway Parrott's 1953 campaign against the building of a pulp mill suggested, Victoria's tourism promoters knew what sold the city and did their best to maintain their chosen image. CTB Chief Leo Dolan advocated the continued expansion of the Canadian tourist industry along similar lines. "In all conscience," he explained, "I hope never to see Canada's tourist areas a replica of some sections of California, or of Florida, or of Europe.

²²According to DBS statistics 85% of US visitors were "short term" visitors that spent 48 hours or less in Canada. This group spent on average just \$2.55 per visitor. Conversely, "long term" visitors spent on average \$56.89 per visitor. CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, M.J. McCormick, "Publicity Commissioner's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1951*, 10.

²³E.D. McPhee, "The Business of Tourism," in *Proceedings of the 33rd General Conference of the PNTA*, Vancouver, 9-10 November 1955, 13-17.

Let us keep our attractions as something that is distinctively Canadian." Here he focused on history, arts and the humanities and encouraged GVTA members to follow the examples of the Stratford Theatre, BC's own 1958 Centennial Celebrations, and Fredericton's Beaverbrook Gallery. "[O]ur visitors," he explained, "don't want only to visit night clubs and the sort of thing they can get bigger and better at home in the United States."²⁴ A July 1951 GVTA tourist opinion survey supported Dolan's suggestions. A compiled list of "Complaints" and "Compliments" revealed that visitors to the city were apparently unimpressed with the city's poor directional signs and generally found it difficult to find their way to the city's chief attractions. They were further dismayed by the dearth of Mounties and Indians -- typically Canadian attractions they had been anticipating.²⁵

Faced with intense competition in the post-war era, the province's tourism promoters came increasingly to adopt a position held by R.E. Jefferson of McKim Advertising Ltd. in Vancouver. During the early 1950s McKim was one of more than half a dozen advertising firms employed by the BCGTB. According to Jefferson, tourism promoters needed to focus on "selling the sizzle instead of the steak." Gimmicks were necessary to succeed in the international battle for tourists. As exemplary gimmicks, Jefferson offered three international examples: "the Indian Maharajah who greeted American tourists in his pink palace, put them up in his guest house and gave them rides on elephants." He also praised "the imaginative innkeeper in France's Dijon who installed faucets in every room which dispensed red and

²⁴CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 10, Text of Speech, Leo Dolan to GVTA, 21 October 1959.

²⁵M.J. McCormick, "Publicity Commissioner's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1951*, 11-13, 16-17.

white wines" and the date grower in California who attracted customers to his roadside stand with the promise of "a continuous movie showing the sex life of the date."²⁶

Some promoters seem to have taken Jefferson's food metaphor literally, for the scramble to differentiate British Columbia from other tourist destinations included a concerted attempt to Canadianize and commodify food. Leo Dolan, for example, played an active part in encouraging the growth of a distinct Canadian cuisine for the travel industry. In March 1950 he called for more information to be distributed "on how to cook and serve Canadian food." Such typically Canadian foods included, "...Ontario's own special blueberry pie; Prince Edward Island Clam Chowder; ... Winnipeg Goldeneye. ...[and]... Quebec Soup au Pois." British Columbia was represented in Dolan's smorgasbord of Canadian cuisine by "Lion's Gate Pancakes."²⁷

GVTA Vice-President Jim Hughes echoed Dolan's suggestions. "We have not in the catering business drawn sufficiently on those foods native to our Province," he lamented, "and when we do, we use little if any imagination in featuring them on our menus." In short, he explained, "We do not capitalize on our native assets."²⁸ These calls to market distinctively Canadian foods demonstrate the extent to which tourism promoters had

²⁶"Report of the Visitor & Recreation Committee," *Proceedings of the 35th General Conference of the Pacific Northwest Trade Association*, Victoria, 14-15. May 1956, 23.

²⁷NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.2, "Booklets and Pamphlets" File, Script for broadcast of *Borden's Canadian Cavalcade*, CBC radio, 14 March 1950. Dolan also desired more emphasis be placed on seasonal dishes such as fresh fish. NAC, Dolan papers, Vol.1, "Speeches" File, Dolan address to Canadian Restaurant Association, 15 March 1950.

²⁸Roland Wild, "How Tourist Dollars Make Sense," *Saturday Night* (6 August 1955): 27.

embraced the necessity of employing "gimmicks" to lure tourists to British Columbia. Their most lucrative "native asset," however, was history.

Buffeted by the pressures of the modern world, many scholars now argue, North Americans by the mid-twentieth century sought solace and escape in a variety of historical half-truths and fictions. In his study of the representation of Seminole Indians in Florida, for example, Jay Mechling explains that the popularity of Seminole tourist sites increased as Americans sought to escape from modern anxieties as varied as fear of nuclear annihilation and a dread of the deadening conformity of North American consumer culture.²⁹ In fact, the antimodernist desire for stability has proven a powerful stimulus to the creation of a number of reassuring ethnic stereotypes. The popularity of the Nova Scotia "fisher folk," indigenous architecture in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the romantic imagery of Cannery Row in Monterey, California, for example, all speak to this desire to look to the past for relief from the onrush of modernity.³⁰ Travellers visiting British Columbia similarly embraced simplified representations of two of the province's ethnic groups.

The importance of selling British Columbia's history was emphasized by many individuals, including the Provincial Librarian and Archivist. In 1954 Willard Ireland addressed the Annual General Meeting of the GVTA on the subject of "British Columbia --

²⁹Jay Mechling, "Florida Seminoles and the Marketing of the Last Frontier," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 162-3.

³⁰McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*; Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); Martha K. Norkunas, *The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in Monterey, California* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993).

A Panorama of Development." As part of his recipe for development Ireland informed his audience "that the early history of our Province could and should be capitalized for the benefit of our Tourist Industry."³¹ The call for increased use of the province's British character and Indian lore in the 1930s had, by the end of the war, been heeded. In her 1945 examination of the expanding tourist industry for *Canadian Business*, Lyn Harrington praised British Columbians for making use "of the Indian theme in such places as Thunderbird Park in Victoria" and for ensuring that "English traditional ways and motifs" offered American tourists something "different."³²

Three years later, in his September 1948 profile of Victoria in *Holiday* magazine, Ronald John Williams commented favourably upon the city's British atmosphere. Williams drew his readers' attention to the Tudor-style architecture of the local shops and the city's hanging flower baskets. Until recently, he explained, all of the city's police officers "wore the uniform of the English bobby;" now, he reported approvingly, these uniforms had been "retained in the downtown area as a concession to the tourist-trade boosters." Williams praised the city's "British" cultural activities which included cricket, lawn bowling and afternoon tea and commented favourably upon the city's exclusive gentlemen's clubs. He was particularly delighted with the exclusivity of the Union Club where one could "observe a

³¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol. 2, File 8, VTA Annual General Meeting minutes, 24 November 1954. In a 1965 address to the Penticton Chamber of Commerce, Willard Ireland "stressed that history is like any other commodity and a Board or Chamber needs to know its product and have it well packaged if it is to be attractive to tourists." CVA, BCCC papers, Vol. 3, File 1, "Sell History," *BC Bulletin* Vol.15, No.2 (March 1965): 6.

³²Lyn Harrington, "The Yankee Dollah!"

concentration of rugged British tweeds, ruddy cheeks and close-clipped army mustaches."

Williams dwelled at length on the Empress Hotel and praised its "terraced lawns and magnificent gardens." Entering the hotel, he explained, was like "going into Durham Cathedral." Even the hotel's occupants, he reported, offered a respite from the modern world. Of the several elderly women who lived in the Empress, Williams had this to report: "To watch a group of these stately dowagers at this social ritual is, in the word of one enchanted Seattle girl, 'something straight from the world of Queen Victoria.'" Williams also highlighted the "Britishness" of consumer goods. "The shops are more English than Canadian," he reported, "and feature such merchandise as imported British woolens, tweeds, and homespuns, and English chinaware bearing the respected marks of Wedgwood, Spode, Crown Derby and Royal Doulton, all of which are priced lower than in the United States." He also directed visitors to the city's antique shops.³³

Williams's enthusiasm for the city's "British" character was shared by Sam Lane, vice-chairman of the Victoria Chamber's Tourist Trade group and a fervent supporter of preserving Victoria's historical landmarks. In 1957, for example, Lane succeeded in gaining Chamber support for the preservation of Rodd Hill, Fisguard Light House and several forts for use as an Historical Park.³⁴ Lane was also responsible for the Tourist Trade group's decision to adopt the crumpet as a publicity symbol. During a mid-1950s promotional tour

³³Ronald John Williams, "Canada's 'City of Gardens'," *Holiday* (September 1948): 91-97, 137-138. The push to discard the English-style Bobby uniforms came from the police union itself which agitated for American style uniforms. See Jim Nesbitt and Melwyn Breen, "Victoria -- Our West-Coast Garden," *Saturday Night* (8 August 1950): 3-10, 31.

³⁴VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Minutes, 22 March 1957.

of Washington State Lane had borrowed from the rhetoric surrounding the Cold War to coin the slogan "Come behind the crumpet curtain and see Victoria" and had taken to distributing crumpets to those he came in contact with along the way. Lane also carried with him an eighteenth-century English horn which he sounded whenever the party entered a new city.³⁵

Sam Lane was not simply an ambassador for Victoria's tourist industry, but part of the industry himself. He and his wife owned the city's Olde England Inn which by 1960 had taken the commodification of Englishness to new heights. The Lanes' Inn boasted canopy beds and five-hundred-year-old suits of armour apparently "dented by musket fire" while guests were served by waitresses sporting the "attire of the Middle Ages." The Lanes, along with their three children, lived in a three-storey residence that was "an exact replica of the house in which Shakespeare was born" and managed to obtain permission from the director of Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust to erect a replica of Anne Hathaway's cottage. Lane attributed the success of the Inn and its restaurant to an increased desire on the part of visitors to escape "paper cup service and menus that read differently but taste alike." He believed "the bulk of his guests visit[ed] his establishment to escape chromium fittings, juke boxes and other devices of modern insanity... ." "Modern gimmicks," he explained, "would put me out of business overnight."³⁶

The commodification of Englishness was not Victoria's prerogative alone. In the mid-

³⁵The caravan which included 33 members from Victoria including Stuart Keate, president of the Chamber, and George Warren, publicity commissioner of the V&IPB. VCA, VCC fonds. 32 B 7, General Scrap Book, *Times*, n.d. (c.May 1955), "Goodwill Party From Victoria at Spokane Festival."

³⁶McKeever. "You might say I live in the past."

1950s several Vancouver hotels sought to capitalize on this historical theme. In January 1955, the *Canadian Hotel Review* reported that three Vancouver hotels now offered visitors theme lounges concentrating on English history. The Hotel Vancouver's Mayfair Room focused on the days of George III and included a twenty-foot tall mural of London as well as ornamental grille screens covered in dark green vine. The Sylvia Hotel's Tilting Room boasted murals as well but these offered a medieval theme and included a scene of a noble family setting out for a tournament. Twin canopies, like those that would have covered the entrance to the royal tent, were supplemented with medieval-themed coasters and napkins as well as a ceiling designed to look like stone. Armour, shields, and banners decorated the walls. The Cavalier Grill at the Hotel Georgia focused on the England of James I and its entrances featured "hand hammered copper sheeting which [had] been treated with acid to darken its color." Cedar strips and pennants lined its walls.³⁷

The commodification of the past and the emphasis on encouraging tourist expenditures is, however, best illustrated by the enhanced interest tourism promoters showed in Aboriginal culture. Turn-of-the-century tourism promoters made scant reference to Aboriginals. Aboriginal culture was first appropriated by the province's tourism promoters on a regular basis during the Depression. In 1945 the Royal Bank added its voice to the chorus calling upon tourism promoters across the country to utilize the country's "Indian lore" to a greater extent in luring tourists to Canada.³⁸ Aboriginal culture shared at least two

³⁷"New Vancouver Lounges Exploit English History", *Canadian Hotel Review* (January 1955): 18-19. My thanks to Karen Dubinsky for this reference.

³⁸BCARS, Smith papers, Vol.3, File 4, Royal Bank of Canada *Newsletter* (April 1945).

characteristics with its British counterpart that made it ideal for the purposes of tourism promotion: it was both increasingly uncommon and appeared suitably "foreign" to visitors from the United States. The province's British-born population had peaked as a percentage of the total provincial population in 1921 at 31.6% declining only slightly during the 1920s before plummeting in the post-war era to 12.4% in 1961. The province's Aboriginal population was, of course, considerably smaller declining from 10.9% in 1901 to 2.2% in 1951 before rising slightly throughout the 1950s and 1960s to 3.5% in 1971.³⁹ Both groups were thus diminutive in size in comparison to the rest of the provincial population. More importantly, however, these cultures shared a history of roughly two hundred years of contact, conflict and colonization.⁴⁰ In capitalizing upon the new cachet of Native culture, however, British Columbia's tourism promoters offered the more comforting vision of the province's Natives as quaint and mysterious people who maintained a safe enough distance from the modern world to retain their uniqueness but still managed to reap the benefits of modern architecture and education.

³⁹Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 379-380. The commodification of Native culture was preceded by a scramble to preserve Native culture that was motivated to a great extent by the belief in the nineteenth century that Aboriginal populations would soon be extinct. See Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 16-60.

⁴⁰Early Native-White relations in British Columbia are documented most extensively in Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890, 2nd Edition* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992). See also the important essays on this topic in Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia* as well as his "Social Power and Cultural Change in Pre-Colonial British Columbia", *BC Studies* No.115-6 (Autumn/Winter 1997): 45-82. More recent political conflicts involving the province's Aboriginal population are surveyed in Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990).

The growing acceptance and commodification of Native culture can be seen through three BCGTB films produced between 1942 and 1964. In the 1942 version of *Vancouver Island: British Columbia's Island Playground* the audience was directed to take note of Victoria's Thunderbird Park located in close proximity, the film boasted, to where potlatches had once been held. Here was a place where "weird totems, armorial bearings of an ancient and mysterious people, gaze with unseeing eyes toward the modern city that has grown from a trading post stockade." A mysterious aura was emphasized -- although it was not so mysterious that potential tourists would be frightened away from purchasing such authentic Indian articles as sweaters, socks, and tuques. What this interpretation erased was the conflicting and painful memories of federal bureaucrats who, throughout the first half of the twentieth century had tried to end these very same potlatches on the grounds that they inhibited the spread of European values regarding property.⁴¹

In describing Forbidden Plateau, a small mountain near Courtenay, the narrator informed the audience that an Indian legend proclaimed the area taboo and warned that those who journeyed there would not return. While the narrator reassured the audience that this was "just an old native superstition," he also refashioned this legend for the purposes of tourism promotion: the area was a "land of bewitching loveliness" -- so bewitching, in fact, that visitors might not want to leave. "In the stillness of the scene one can imagine the mystic

⁴¹On the conflict between Aboriginals and Whites over the potlatch see Tina Loo, "Dan Cranmer's Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884-1890," *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 73, No.2. (June 1992): 125-165 and Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin, *An Iron Hand Upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990).

beat of tomtoms and the weird chant of the council fire." he continued. With drums beating in the background, the narrator concluded his pitch: "Yesterday Indian land of taboo, today a matchless paleface playground."⁴²

Another film, *Highway 16*, released six years later, offered a similar description of an Indian village named Quispiox near the Skeena River. This village also possessed "weird totems." "Behind the village is a limitless region taboo to those hidden children of the wilderness," explained the narrator. Yet the mystic and mysterious Indians apparently lived harmoniously with modern society. In the village of Kitwangaha, he continued, the "Natives live comfortably in large homes" while "education facilities are provided and healthy recreation [is] enjoyed by the youngsters." While changes to the Indian Act in 1951 encouraged the integration of Native children into the province's public schools system and ended the prohibition of the potlatch, the everyday reality of the province's Aboriginal population bore little resemblance to the BCGTB's saccharine representation of Native life.⁴³ Totem poles were prominent in this film as well appearing as "silent monuments" to a "brave" and "noble" people and their "mystic beliefs." Here too, the film emphasized shopping and encouraged the audience to enjoy leisurely stopovers to purchase Indian handicrafts. Lest potential visitors concern themselves that these educated and well-housed

⁴²BCARS, BCGTB film, *Vancouver Island: British Columbia's Island Playground* (1942). In its 1939 souvenir programme commemorating the third annual 'See B.C. First' Caravan from Vancouver to the Cariboo, the Tourist Traffic Committee of the Vancouver Junior Board of Trade included a photograph of totem poles along with the caption: "Weird Totems -- armorial bearings of an ancient race." CVA, Merilees fonds, Vol. 3, File 1. *Official Programme Third Annual 'See B.C. First' Caravan* 1939.

⁴³On changing opinions towards the province's Native peoples and the uneven effect of the liberalization of the Indian Act, see Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 307-309.

Indians were too modern, the narrator turned to a "wolf totem" which stood "as a silent sentinel ... unshaken by the gleaming planes that wing us to the airways of the world."⁴⁴

An updated version of *Vancouver Island* was released in the mid-1950s but retained the same description of Native imagery.⁴⁵ A third version completed in the early 1960s, however, offered a different view. This time, it was explained, the totem poles in Thunderbird Park recorded "the legends of our Native Indians." These were not "weird" totems; they were now "our" totems. The description of Forbidden Plateau now emphasized the fresh mountain air, the meadows, and the different types of flowers. An Indian Legend did indeed pronounce the area "forbidden," but the narrator now confidently assured the audience "you will find nothing forbidding here." Native history here had been almost fully domesticated and cleansed of its complexity. The totem poles at Alert Bay had watched as steam power had rendered sailing ships redundant and planes had allowed men to fly in "great birds." They stood now as "silent guardians of the past" and helped demonstrate that "the past, present, and future are as one."⁴⁶ The uneasiness surrounding the use of Native culture which had been prevalent in the early decades of the century had disappeared completely by the 1960s. Native culture was now eagerly employed to boost souvenir sales.

⁴⁴BCARS, BCGTB film, *Highway 16* (c.1948-1949)

⁴⁵BCARS, BCGTB film, *Vancouver Island: British Columbia's Island Playground* (c.1956-7)

⁴⁶BCARS, BCGTB film, *Vancouver Island: British Columbia's Island Playground* (c.1962-4). In Florida, the tourist representations of the Seminole Indians underwent a similar transformation so that by the mid-1950s, they "were now portrayed as noble children of the swamp but also as people who could pick and choose from modern conveniences without jeopardizing the virtues of their traditional ways." Mechling, "Florida Seminoles and the Marketing of the Last Frontier," 158.

The most forceful demands for the increased use of Native lore came from Vancouver. By 1949 even the uniforms of the GVTA's female counter staff were being redesigned to capitalize on the increasing popularity of Aboriginal culture. The uniforms now sported a "Travel Advisor" insignia containing a "thunder bird motif."⁴⁷ In 1950 the GVTA had a hand in creating an organization designed to concentrate solely on increasing the use of Aboriginal themes in promoting British Columbia. In August of that year the GVTA agreed to donate \$500 to an organization termed the "Totem-Land" Society, confident that the work this group hoped to accomplish would produce great results for the tourist industry.⁴⁸ Vancouver Mayor Charles E. Thompson served as president while Harry Duker, GVTA Director and Director of Special Events for the Vancouver Board of Park Commissioners, served as Secretary-Treasurer. Duker was the real force behind the organization. He had arrived in Vancouver in 1907 from St. Louis, Missouri hoping to land a position on a local professional baseball team. Duker failed to make the team and became the team's club secretary instead. He would go on to become known as "Vancouver's Club Man" and was associated with over twenty different local organizations over the next sixty years.⁴⁹

At a 1950 Board of Directors meeting, GVTA Comptroller A.L. Woods praised the new association noting that "we have in this Province a great deal of interesting Indian lore

⁴⁷CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 2, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, 18 August 1949.

⁴⁸CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, "Operating Report," 17 August 1950.

⁴⁹*Sun*, 12 June 1968, 83.

that could be 'sold' to the rest of the world. California has been 'selling' her Missions for years and is still doing so. Our British Columbia Indians' Totem Poles lend themselves to much colorful advertising, and the whole idea should be grist for our mill."⁵⁰ At that same meeting Harry Duker addressed the GVTA board of directors and outlined the future possibilities of the organization. Duker was confident that the "Totem-Land" theme would lend itself well to advertising campaigns featuring Vancouver and British Columbia, and insisted the organization "would prove of great value in luring more tourists and interesting them in something distinctively British Columbian." The "other uses" that Duker foresaw for the slogan and "totem pole publicity" included letterheads, envelopes, invoices, shipping labels, and even the cancellation stamps used for mailing machines.⁵¹

According to the official letterhead, the "Totem-Land" Society was incorporated under the provincial Societies Act ostensibly "to Foster and Protect Indian arts and Promote Goodwill Among All Canadians." Given the number of "tourist conscious" men sitting on its executive, however, a cynical observer might easily conclude that the society's aims were primarily economic in nature. In 1962, for example, Charles E. Thompson served as immediate Past President while the presidential duties were now performed by R. Rowe Holland. Halford D. Wilson served as first Vice-President and Duker himself held the

⁵⁰CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, "Comptroller's Operating Report," 12 October 1950. On the city of San Diego's campaigns to re-emphasize its Spanish heritage during the 1950s in an attempt to lure tourists, see Susan G. Davis, "Landscapes of Imagination: Tourism in Southern California," *Pacific Historical Review* 68, 2 (1999), 176.

⁵¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, 12 October 1950.

position of Honorary Secretary-Treasurer.⁵² All four men were affiliated with the GVTA.

One of Duker's chief aims was to champion the use of native imagery in place of what he saw as unnecessarily vague alternatives. Informed that the provincial government was contemplating introducing promotional license plates in 1964 with the slogan "'Beautiful' British Columbia." Duker was adamant that the slogan itself was insufficient. According to Duker the "Totem-Land" Society saw "undoubted merit in including some descriptive data on the license plates, as is being done in some of our Provinces and in many of the neighbouring States." But the Society was concerned that "the word 'beautiful' is too general and not exclusively symbolic of British Columbia." According to Duker the Society's opinion was shared by the *Vancouver Province* which had suggested that the term "beautiful" was "too platitudinous and advocated a more meaningful and original word." Not surprisingly, Duker's alternative suggestion was "Totem-Land." His rationale placed very little emphasis on the possibilities of fostering and protecting Indian arts or promoting goodwill among Canadians and focused to a great extent on the more measurable advantages that such a slogan offered. "The totem poles of British Columbia are historic monuments and are recognized as such by the Government, hence the restoration work that is being done to preserve them for posterity." Moreover, "Totem-Land" was "a short word and would easily incorporate with other license plate data." And finally, Duker's preferred slogan would "provoke the curiosity of strangers and may influence some of them to come to British

⁵²UBCA, Fraser Valley Tourist Association [FVTA] papers, File 4, Harry Duker, "Totem-Land" Society, Vancouver to M.S.W. Mackenzie, 18 October 1962.

Columbia to explore something of our Indian history and totem lore."⁵³

The Fort Langley and District Board of Trade enthusiastically endorsed Duker's proposal and cited the slogan's uniqueness as its chief selling point. "No other place on this continent," the Board's Secretary Mrs. M.S.W. Mackenzie suggested, "can lay claim to these historic monuments but British Columbia ... So let us honour our native indians [sic] and be proud of our Totem pole Emblems by having them on our license plates."⁵⁴ In differentiating British Columbia from competing tourist destinations, tourism promoters had increasingly emphasized the province's British and Native heritages: they provided, however, no suggestion that these two cultures had ever been in conflict. Even the construction of the province's first tourist information centre at the Douglas border crossing south of Vancouver in the mid-1950s was influenced by the desire to convince American tourists that they were visiting a foreign land that boasted two "foreign" cultures. "The lofty presence of the Red Ensign beside the building," the BCGTB reported, "adds to the feeling that the traveller is entering a different land."⁵⁵ The erection of a "an authentic 40-foot totem-pole immediately south of the building" similarly convinced "a great number of visitors to stop at the Centre."⁵⁶

Indeed, the complexities of colonization (not to mention the sobering impact of

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴UBCA, FVTA papers. File 6, Mrs. M.S.W. Mackenzie, Secretary, Fort Langley and District Board of Trade to Harry Duker. 11 November 1962.

⁵⁵*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1955, W52.*

⁵⁶*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1957, II35.*

decolonization) were nowhere to be seen in promotional literature, historically-themed hotel rooms, or on vehicle license plates. A GVTA news release publicizing Aboriginal culture in the early 1960s nicely illustrates this point. "British Columbia's Coast Indians were prolific totem pole carvers," the news release explained. "Very few Indians now, however, have the techniques or prowess necessary to carry out this art. While much of the earlier handiwork unhappily has been lost through neglect, some splendid examples have been preserved." Here the GVTA deftly avoided explaining why it was that Aboriginal totem poles were few and far between. There was, of course, no indication here of European involvement in this "neglect." The number of Aboriginal artists capable of producing these objects had simply diminished.⁵⁷ By reducing Native culture to the useful and marketable symbol of the totem pole, the province's tourism promoters encouraged visitors to the province to embrace British Columbia's history in a simplistic but comforting way – one that encouraged consumption rather than contemplation (see figures 5.1 to 5.7).

Harry Duker remained Vancouver's foremost proponent of the use of Aboriginal imagery throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In 1954, he waged a public campaign urging the provincial government to purchase a collection of "Indian paintings" by the Vancouver artist Mildred Valley Thornton. In purchasing these paintings depicting "native Indian chiefs," most of whom were now dead, Duker reasoned, the provincial government could ensure that the paintings were kept in their "rightful place" – "where they can be seen by our citizens and visitors." Such an undertaking would both provide "enjoyment for all who see the pictures"

⁵⁷CVA, GVVCB papers, Series D, Vol.6. File 33. "Totem Poles," *News from Vancouver*, c.1960s.

and preserve "a valuable record for future generations."⁵⁸ That same year he waged an unsuccessful battle to have Vancouver's new sports stadium termed "Totem Stadium." His rationale was familiar: the mere mention "of the word 'totem' to any listener anywhere," he claimed, "immediately suggests British Columbia."⁵⁹

Duker was also adamant that Aboriginal culture be prominently displayed at Vancouver's airport. In an August 1965 letter to the *Province* he championed the use of recognizable cultural artifacts at the airport as opposed to the "loosely termed 'modern art'" that all too frequently appeared in air terminals around the globe. To this end, Duker suggested that a large totem pole be erected outside the airport. Such an artefact, he claimed, would act both as "a tribute to our native brethren, and as a unique symbol of our province." He also suggested that display cases inside the airport exhibit "handicrafts from the backgrounds of our ethnic peoples."⁶⁰

Yet Duker's activities and suggestions should not simply be seen as a brazen attempt to capitalize upon Aboriginal culture. It is clear that he sympathized with the plight of the province's Aboriginal population and very likely saw his effort to commodify their culture as one that would benefit them as well. In 1966, for instance, Duker publicly reprimanded H.A. Takser, a Magistrate in Tahsis, for his demeaning statements about Nootka Indians at Friendly Cove. Duker offered this condemnation on behalf of the Vancouver Civic Unity

⁵⁸Harry Duker, Letter to the Editor, *Province*, 14 December 1954, 6.

⁵⁹Harry Duker, Letter to the Editor, *Province*, 9 July 1954, 6.

⁶⁰Harry Duker, Letter to the Editor, *Province*, 21 August 1965, 4.

Association, an association that he chaired.⁶¹ A year later, moved by a visit to the Indian pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal, Duker again publicly sympathized with Canada's Aboriginal peoples. The Indian Pavilion, Duker explained, had been "an agonized 'cry out' of protest" and "[r]esponsible Canadians, whatever their racial origin, deplore what can only be regarded as discrimination against our native Indians." Indeed, Duker yearned for "a feeling of mutual responsibility" to emerge "between our native Indians and all other Canadians." To this end, Duker encouraged Aboriginal people to scrutinize Canada's Bill of Rights in an attempt to extract themselves from the discriminatory regulations of the Indian Act. Duker's ideal solution to the plight of Aboriginal people was itself contradictory. The Bill of Rights, he hoped, would accelerate "their speedy assimilation as a sustaining unit in the new pattern for Canada which is presently emerging."⁶² Whatever his altruistic goals, however, Duker's efforts remained part of an expanding effort in the post-war era to differentiate British Columbia from other popular tourist destinations.

4. Conclusion

In 1964, L.J. Crampton, Head of Recreation Economics Research at Stanford University, addressed a meeting of the Canadian Tourist Association in Saskatoon. Crampton was one of a growing number of tourism "experts" on the Pacific Coast who were bringing the tools of social science to the study of tourist behaviour. Crampton's lesson for those in attendance was that climate and scenery were no longer sufficient for tourism success. Times

⁶¹Harry Duker, Letter to the Editor, *Province*, 20 June 1966, 4.

⁶²Harry Duker, Letter to the Editor, *Province*, 29 June 1967, 4.

had changed, he explained. "In reality, what the tourists want, what they will buy, what we must sell them is, instead, what all successful areas are selling -- an enjoyable experience." Tourism promoters, Crampton argued, "must think of themselves as 'peddlers of fun' rather than as promoters of an outstanding bit of mountain scenery or a lake that will consistently produce trophy fish." "Scenery and climate and other natural attractions," he reminded his audience, "are only the building blocks upon which this opportunity for enjoyment can be built, not the sole reason for visitation."

Crampton divided the promoter's task into two complementary procedures. The first was "product development." Tourism promoters must develop features and facilities to lure tourists to their particular area. Attractive scenery and comfortable climates were everywhere; guaranteeing potential visitors the maximum amount of fun and excitement was the only way to woo them away from similarly endowed destinations. One key product in need of constant development, according to Crampton, was "service." Hospitality and service, he argued, were crucial to tourism success and complemented the other key to product development: differentiation. In detailing the tourism success enjoyed by the Cherokee Indian community in North Carolina, Crampton was blunt: "The secret of their success has been in the differentiation of their product to provide a specific reason to visit this community to obtain fun and enjoyment." Only after this first phase of "product development" had been accomplished did the second phase, promotion and advertising, make sense. Here Crampton advocated targeting specific audiences in concentrated areas so as to

maximize the impact of advertising expenditures.⁶³ By the early 1960s British Columbia's tourism promoters had embraced the lessons of differentiation and would have agreed with much of what Crampton had to say. The story of how these lessons were implemented, however, is the story not only of the commodification of British and Aboriginal culture, but also of an increased commitment by the provincial government to recognize tourism as an important element in its post-war province-building schemes. It became part and parcel of the "new" British Columbia that its citizens must be "tourist conscious." These developments are the subject of the following chapter.

⁶³BCARS, Smith papers, Vol.3., File 4, L.J. Crampton, "Trail to the North", presented to the meeting of the Canadian Tourist Association, Saskatoon, 7 October 1964.

Enjoy a 
CORONATION
 Year **VACATION**

VACATION IN
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
 CANADA



A "vintage year" for your vacation here. Share the reflections of Coronation Year's colorful pageantry where the tartans of our Scots and the red coats of our "mounties" make every day "different". Wonderful motoring, sightseeing, sports and shopping. For more information, write

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VACATION *Wise*

... you'll find fabulous fishing, hunting, sightseeing, and shopping, mile after mile of uncrowded, modern highways through mountainlands and lovely green valleys.

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 BUREAU,
 VICTORIA, B. C.



RELAX IN
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
 CANADA

Figures 5.1 and 5.2. A "Coronation Vacation." Aware of visitors' interest in the province's British heritage, the BCGTB embraced to occasion of Queen Elizabeth II's Coronation to make sure that Mounties, Royal Guards and Red Ensigns were featured prominently in post-war advertising campaigns. *Sunset* magazine 110.4 (April 1953), 26; *Sunset* magazine 111.1 (July 1953), 8.



This year, come to

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Canada's Color-Camera Country

Every turn brings you a "close-up" of spectacular beauty, for the scenery never ends in British Columbia. Soaring mountain peaks, quiet lakes and vast ranchlands form a perfect background for relaxing vacation areas. Your color camera will give glowing memories of an unforgettable vacation.



Good fishing awaits



Travel smooth, modern highways



Cruise sheltered inland waters

For your copy of "Alluring British Columbia" to help plan this year's vacation, write to:

British Columbia Government
Travel Bureau,
Victoria, B.C., Canada. Dept. S-2

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____

Figure 5.3. "Canada's Color-Camera Country." Native imagery even dominated BCGTB advertisements ostensibly focusing on the province's natural beauties. *Sunset* magazine 116,5 (May 1956), 38.

THE *Chinook* OF PUGET SOUND

make your trip infinitely more delightful by traveling in the new M. V. Chinook... "Over 300 feet of Streamlined Luxury" ... all yours!



This is THE YEAR for an "Old World" Canadian holiday... **VICTORIA and VANCOUVER ISLAND**

Includes a scenic sea voyage abroad in your motor trip to the Pacific Northwest



A young Scotsman and his "Bobby" friend

Yes, you include a voyage through breath-taking beauty when you travel to Old World Victoria and Vancouver Island in the luxuriously modern M. V. Chinook. Spacious accommodations include modern staterooms with beds (not bunks) for 200 people, ample room for 100 cars in the drive-on automobile deck. Sailings nightly from Seattle, frequent day service from Port Angeles, northern terminus of U. S. Highway 101.

And at the other end of your voyage you'll relax in the leisurely Old World atmosphere of Victoria, British Columbia's capital. You'll love the shops reminiscent of London's Old Bond Street, and the helpful "Bobbies" that raise memories of Tower Bridge and "Big Ben." And Vancouver Island's scenic highway will reward you with beauty for a drive of forty miles or a hundred and forty.

Since Devaluation, Your American Dollars Go 10% Further in Canada!

Go one way - return another: You can travel one way from either Seattle or Port Angeles via M. V. Chinook, and return by fast Black Ball Ferry through the famed 172 islands of the San Juan archipelago to Anacortes, Wash., adjacent to U. S. Highway 99. Frequent service, large automobile capacity, dining service.

**MIKA MAMOOK TZUM KOPA
WAWA MIKA TIKY KLOSH KUMTUX WHULGE
ILLAHEE***



**PUGET SOUND NAVIGATION COMPANY
BLACK BALL LINE
Colman Ferry Terminal, Seattle, Wash.**

Please send me:

Victoria and Vancouver Island [Schedules and Fares]	<input type="checkbox"/>	Map of Puget Sound	<input type="checkbox"/>
Victoria—3 Ways to Go	<input type="checkbox"/>	The San Juan Islands	<input type="checkbox"/>
		The Olympic Peninsula	<input type="checkbox"/>

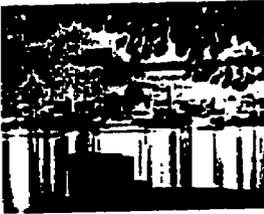
Name.....
Street.....
City and State.....

*Chief Chinook advises, in Chinook jargon: "You make spots to say that you want to good know Puget Sound Country," or more freely, "Mark the coupon and send it to us. We will be glad to send you attractive folders with more information."
Chinook jargon is the trading language used by white traders and natives in pioneer days in the Pacific Northwest. It is made up of words from Indian dialects, and the native tongues of the early English, Russian, and French traders.

Figure 5.4. "Chief Chinook." British and Aboriginal cultures are united in this 1950 Puget Sound Navigation Company advertisement. The conflicts and repercussions of colonization are submerged beneath a happy facade in which the grammatically-challenged Chief Chinook takes on the role of tourism promoter by encouraging readers to return a coupon in exchange for schedules and maps. *Sunset* magazine 104,5 (May 1950), 29.

CANADA'S MOST BEAUTIFUL PROVINCE

Big city fun in cosmopolitan cities. Ketchikan dining. Beautiful houses and gardens.



Good fishing in every part of B.C.



Quiet lake or busy Pacific, the water's fine!



After a day of spectacular viewing along B.C.'s new Rogers Pass route to the Rockies.



Handsome Sikhs, the only colony in North America.



everything's different in

BRITISH COLUMBIA CANADA

you'll feel different, too



Antique, oriental treasures, Indian art. After shopping, have tea!



Delightful places to stop.

You're in for a surprise if you think the Pacific Northwest is all the same. In British Columbia, you do things differently. Take spending the morning riding the open range and the afternoon on a golden, sandy beach. Like hauling in a 25-pound salmon in eight of skyscrapers. And have you ever panned for gold? You can, in Barkerville. Now, add a backdrop of the world's most dramatic scenery everywhere you go. No wonder you feel different, more interested, more relaxed. You're having more fun!



Youngsters get a kick out of different stamps, flags, uniforms, coloured money. See the Royal Coat of Arms everywhere. In God Save The Queen. "Fill up with a bigger, 'Imperial gallon'! Unusual place names (Nanaimo and Tsawwassen are tricky, because you're always heading westward). It's a wonder just a big 'Hello!' doesn't



Over 2,000 Provincial employees at annual picnic grounds.



Visit history landmarks.

B.C. abounds in safe, scenic spots. Like dipping salmon!



In San Francisco, visit British Columbia House, 500 Market Street.

B.C. GOVERNMENT TRAVEL BUREAU
VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA

Please send complete vacation list that tells what to see and do, where to stay.

Name.....
Address.....
City..... Zone..... State.....

Figure 5.5. "Everything's Different in British Columbia." The quest for differentiation reached new extremes in the early 1960s when this BCGTB ad began to appear regularly in *Sunset* magazine. Along with the ubiquitous Mountie, potential US visitors to British Columbia were encouraged to enjoy the province's foreign "stamps, flags, uniforms [and] coloured money." They could also enjoy the unique experience of filling up their vehicles with "a bigger, 'Imperial gallon'." "Unusual" Aboriginal place names such as Nanaimo and Tsawwassen were also emphasized as were the province's "Handsome Sikhs" -- "the only colony in North America." *Sunset* magazine 130.3 (March 1963), 56-57.



A dozen things you can't do anywhere else but VANCOUVER, Canada

- 1 Ride a twin-seat chairlift over 4,000 feet up for an unforgettable view of city and shoreline.
- 2 Walk across sidewalk-width suspension bridges in the canyons of the Capilano and Lynn Rivers.
- 3 Spend days in world-famous 1,000 acre Stanley Park.
- 4 Beachcomb and swim on one of the beaches that outline Vancouver.
- 5 Fish for a fighting Tyee salmon, perhaps with your hotel in sight.
- 6 See a stage presentation at new *Queen Elizabeth Theatre* and *Playhouse*, musical at *Theatre Under The Stars*, or the fun-filled *Pacific National Exhibition*.
- 7 See colorful Chinatown, second largest outside Asia.
- 8 Highlight your dining with fresh Boundary Bay crab and tiny Pacific Coast shrimp.
- 9 See B.C. Lions in a professional Canadian Football game at new Empire Stadium.
- 10 See one of the world's most beautiful university campuses - a magnificently landscaped peninsula.
- 11 Enjoy historic pleasures: a sunset over the Gulf Islands, an outbound ship, a band playing in a beachside park.
- 12 Take home souvenirs of native Indian crafts, British china and woolsens, and Commonwealth imports.



See the Fraser Valley

East of Vancouver lies the Fraser Valley. Colorful farmlands roll from either side of the river to snow-capped mountains behind. In 2 hours' drive you reach the world-famous Fraser Canyon, a route of B.C.'s gold seekers in 1860.

Fish the Sunshine Coast

Fast ferries take you north-west from Vancouver to the Sunshine Coast. This is B.C.'s Pacific outdoors at its best - fine beaches, campsites, fishing spots, and inviting communities. Tiny harbours and fords are favorite haunts of yachtsmen.



MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

	GREATER VANCOUVER VISITORS AND CONVENTION BUREAU 11 596 W. Georgia Street, Vancouver 2, British Columbia
<i>Please rush me your full-color Visitor's Kit.</i>	
Name.....	
Address.....	
City..... State.....	

Figure 5.6. "A dozen things you can't do anywhere else but Vancouver, Canada." In 1963 tourism promoters in Vancouver embarked upon a new method in their campaign to differentiate the city from other tourist destinations: a lengthy list of experiences unique to Vancouver and its surrounding area. *Sunset* magazine 30.3 (March 1963). 5.



**You'll
have fun
exploring
VANCOUVER
ISLAND** BRITISH
COLUMBIA,
CANADA

Forests that are centuries old. Canada's highest waterfall. So many trout and salmon you'd wonder where they came from. High mountains and deep lakes. And at many a turn in the road, warm, sandy beaches. You'll wish you could wrap it all up and pack it home as a souvenir.



MAIL COUPON FOR FREE BROCHURE

Vancouver Island Publicity Bureau, 786 Government Street, Victoria, B.C., Canada	\$3
<i>Please send me your colorful brochure on "Canada's Treasure Island".</i>	
NAME.....	
ADDRESS.....	
.....	

Figure 5.7. "You'll have fun exploring Vancouver Island." By 1963, tourism and shopping were so entwined that tourism promoters on Vancouver Island could equate the visitor's entire travel experience with the desire to purchase souvenirs. *Sunset* magazine 130.5 (May 1963), 44.

Chapter Six

Tourism as a Public Good: The Provincial Government Manages the Post-War “Boom,” 1950-1965

"It must be made clear to our citizens and merchants alike, that every single citizen benefits from this golden tide."

-GVTA President George Bradley, 1956¹

1. Introduction

The British Columbia Government Travel Bureau's changing status throughout the post-war era reflected the provincial government's growing recognition of tourism. From its inception in 1937 until 1956 the bureau remained under the control of the Department of Trade and Industry – a reflection of tourism's earlier role as a means of attracting industrial and agricultural investment. In 1957, the BCGTB became one of five units comprising the newly created Department of Recreation and Conservation – a new department reflecting the growing importance of recreation and leisure activities in the lives of British Columbians.² This arrangement lasted until 1967 when the growing importance of tourism (now recognized by the government as the province's third-largest industry) necessitated the creation of a governmental department focusing solely on the tourist trade: the Department of Travel Industry.³

¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, George C. Bradley, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1956*, 4.

²The other four units were the Fish and Game Branch, the Provincial Parks Branch, the Photographic Branch, and the Commercial Fisheries Branch.

³*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1957*, 7; *Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1967*, 7.

BCGTB expenditures over this period tell a similar story. The bureau's expenditures on promotional activities during the early 1950s ranged between \$60,000 in 1953-54 and \$98,000 in 1951-52 and 1956-67. With the transfer of the bureau to the new Department of Recreation and Conservation in 1957, however, came a dramatic increase in promotional expenditures. In 1957-58, for instance, expenditures on tourism promotion climbed to over \$193,000 and by 1966-67 they had reached over \$860,000. The creation of the Department of Travel Industry brought a further increase in expenditures to just under \$1.7 million in 1969-70.⁴ A comparison between BCGTB promotional expenditures and those of the Greater Vancouver Tourist Association [GVTA] makes clear the leading role that the state bureau played in advertising British Columbia as a tourist destination. In 1963, for instance, the GVTA spent less than \$37,000 on promotional endeavours while the BCGTB expenditures topped \$400,000 (see table 6.1.).

Table 6.1 GVTA and BCGTB Expenditures, 1950-1965.

	GVTA		BCGTB	
	Advertising	Total	Advertising	Total
1950	NA	NA	\$129,121	\$238,842
1955	NA	\$61,246	\$67,062	\$161,667
1960	NA	\$98,912	\$200,302	\$279,398.
1965	\$48,163	\$215,349	\$548,400	\$797,964

Sources: GVTA *Annual Reports*, 1950-1965; Government of British Columbia, *Public Accounts*, 1950-1965. All figures are adjusted for inflation and expressed in 1960 dollars. The revised figures have been rounded to the nearest dollar. GVTA figures are for the calendar year listed. BCGTB figures are for the fiscal year completed during that year.

⁴*Public Accounts of British Columbia*, 1950-1970.

Several studies now illustrate the degree to which the post-war economic boom was "managed" through government intervention. Dominique Marshall, for instance, has revealed the important role that the federal government envisioned for family allowances in promoting post-war consumption in its efforts to avoid a return to economic depression after the Second World War. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Robert M. Campbell explains, the federal government abandoned its ostensible commitment to Keynesian fiscal policy in favour of a less discretionary and invasive monetary approach to regulating the economy. This approach was supplemented, however, by a number of *ad hoc* initiatives including a campaign to encourage public works construction during the winter to offset seasonal unemployment, a determined effort to alleviate regional disparities through subsidies and tax credits, as well as a number of policies designed to protect domestic industries from foreign competition. All of these various initiatives, together with welfare state provisions such as medicare and unemployment insurance, were employed in an effort to manage and maintain the post-war economic boom. Indeed, by the late 1950s, according to Joy Parr, the welfare state combined with private medical insurance plans to provide Canadians with a sense of security that, in turn, increased their willingness to purchase goods.⁵

In their attempts to "manage" the post-war tourist "boom," British Columbia's tourism promoters similarly adopted a managerial approach and acknowledged a sizeable role for governments in developing the tourist industry. In many ways the activities and approach of

⁵Dominique Jean [Marshall], "Family Allowances and Family Autonomy: Quebec Families Encounter the Welfare State, 1945-1955," in *Canadian Family History: Selected Readings*, ed. Bettina Bradbury (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1992): 401-437; Campbell, *Grand Illusions*, 208-212; Parr, *Domestic Goods*, 101.

the provincial government's travel bureau closely resembled the ambitious "state-initiated social engineering" initiatives examined by James C. Scott. The BCGTB shared with other state organizations of the post-war era a determination to bring about an "administrative ordering of nature and society" through a systematic process of measuring and quantifying human behaviour in order to produce efficient but simplistic models which would serve to guide government policy. The bureau's initiatives also adhered to what Scott has termed a "high-modernist ideology" – an enhanced, even exaggerated confidence in the virtues of science, technology, and rational planning.⁶

The first half of this chapter explores the ways in which tourism promoters' efforts to maintain a high level of consumer demand for British Columbia's attractions throughout the post-war era relied upon direct actions by the state. The second half of the chapter focuses on civil society by examining campaigns conducted by the BCGTB and local tourist bureaux to sell the importance of the tourist industry to British Columbians. By examining a variety of educational initiatives ranging from more traditional didactic endeavours, including publicity campaigns as well as university and public school initiatives, to more unconventional and innovative enterprises including an attempt to provide hospitality without any human hosts at all, this chapter documents the extent to which tourism was sold as a public good.

⁶James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 2-4.

2. Travel Surveys and BCGTB Advertising Campaigns

For UBC School of Commerce Professor E.D. McPhee, a frequent speaker on issues concerning tourism in the Pacific Northwest, the government's central role in fostering the tourist industry was essential. In fact, he endorsed arguments that considered tourism a component of national life whose "benefits are so widespread, so difficult to tie down to any particular providers of goods and services, only a representative institution can properly and equitably finance such an effort." Governments, McPhee argued, through business taxation, needed to play a major role in financing the tourist industry.⁷ Moreover, he explained, governments should also play a leading role in financing adequate surveys of tourists' "wants and wishes."⁸

The importance of tourist expenditures was similarly championed before the Pacific Northwest Trade Association by Dr. Weldon B. Gibson, Director of Economic Research at the Stanford Research Institute.⁹ Increased tourist travel would come, he explained, not only

⁷E.D. McPhee, "The Business of Tourism." *Proceedings of the 33rd General Conference of the PNTA*, Vancouver, 9-10 November 1955. 13-17.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹While Gibson dwelled at length on the important role tourist expenditures played in the region's economy though he also acknowledged the industry's capacity to draw settlers. Dr. Weldon B. Gibson, "Pacific Northwest Tourists: A Billion Dollar Industry," in *Proceedings of the 33rd General Conference of the PNTA*, Vancouver, 9-10 November 1955, 3-8. The *Pacific Northwesterner*, the voice of the Pacific Northwest Trade Association, also continued to recognize tourism's "investment" possibilities -- albeit in a secondary capacity. The Association recognized the importance of the "tourist dollar" but also appreciated the fact that tourism brought with it the possibility of increased settlement and investment. These possibilities were an additional bonus in the eyes of the Association. University of Washington, Special Collections, "More Gracious Hosts," *The Pacific Northwesterner* Vol.6, No.2 (March 1955): 1.

from higher incomes and advances in transportation, but from changes in the makeup of a growing US population which was migrating west and growing older. As a result, he predicted, the next two decades would bring an increase in the number of potential visitors with more leisure time. To facilitate the industry's expansion, Gibson, like many others, advocated greater attention to advertising. But he also underscored the importance of another component of tourism promotion: research. "Tourist research," Gibson explained, was being undertaken not just by federal government departments in Canada and the US, but by "states, counties and communities, territories, provinces, private groups, bureaus of business research and applied research organizations." Moreover, he reported, "bureaus of business research" at colleges and universities in the Pacific Northwest were becoming "very active in analyzing the tourist industry." Most of these studies employed surveys to determine the number of tourists visiting a particular destination in the Pacific Northwest. However, there was, as yet, no over-all appraisal of tourism's importance to the region. Such an over-all analysis, Gibson suggested, would provide crucial information regarding tourists' motivations and the effectiveness of promotional efforts.¹⁰

The absence of reasonably complete travel statistics had long been a frustrating limitation for tourism promoters. "With the other basic industries," E.G. Rowebottom lamented during the Second World War, "the matter is realitively [*sic*] simple -- so many board feet, so many tons, so many cases -- but with Tourism the statistics are all so very personal -- how many were in the party, how long did they stay, where did they go, how much did they spend -- that there can be no compulsion." Visitors could only be "invited" to

¹⁰Gibson, "Pacific Northwest Tourists: A Billion Dollar Industry."

cooperate and divulge such information.¹¹ With the increasing recognition by governments of social science and market research techniques, it is not surprising that British Columbia's provincial travel bureau embraced similar survey techniques. BCGTB campaigns in the early 1950s reflected survey results indicating that US tourists visiting Canada were primarily interested in "touring and sightseeing" rather than other attractions such as fishing and hunting. In 1951 the BCGTB placed greater emphasis on what it termed "the totem theme" in an attempt to "emphasize the different or foreign features which are of importance to tourist-and sightseeing visitors." The use of totem poles also allowed the BCGTB to establish "a symbol," or trademark, that would serve as a lasting reminder of British Columbia.¹² While such surveys provided tourism promoters with some detailed information on tourist behaviour, the most significant surveys were undertaken in the early 1960s. By 1960, in fact, the BCGTB was carrying out continuous travel surveys through its reception centres. The bureau remained convinced, however, that much more information was required in order to allow it to conduct its promotional campaigns on a more scientific basis.¹³

Determined to obtain such information the bureau embarked upon a detailed survey of travellers between the US and British Columbia during the summer of 1962 and published

¹¹ Rowebottom. "Memorandum on Travel Industry and its bearing on Post-War Rehabilitation."

¹²The survey results were as follows: fishing 17%; hunting 5%; cruising and sailing 3%; resort relaxation 13%, city-visits 11% and touring and sightseeing 51%. *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1951, Q58.*

¹³*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1960, O44.*

the results in a booklet entitled *Tourist '62*.¹⁴ The *Tourist '62* survey commissioned by the BCGTB and conducted by Regional Marketing Surveys Limited of Vancouver confirmed many earlier hypotheses while rejecting others. The company conducted 626 personal interviews with US visitors en route to, or returning from, Vancouver Island by ferry and a further 1003 interviews with US visitors travelling by car through the Douglas border crossing. The survey indicated that over seventy percent of US tourists visiting the province came from California, Oregon and Washington State and logically recommended that promotional efforts be concentrated along the US Pacific Coast. The visitors were also older than average and possessed above-average incomes. Few visitors made less than \$5,000 a year and most made between \$7,500 and \$12,000 annually. Almost half of the province's visitors came from the "upper-middle and upper classes even though these classes represent a segment of 15% of the population." They were "typically in the professions, law, medicine, teaching and senior management." "Middle class" tourists or "white collar workers" represented roughly one-third of these visitors while "skilled labourer[s]" formed accounted for a further fifteen percent. Overall, the survey concluded, "our visitors are sophisticated, moderately wealthy, and middle aged." The survey reported with some surprise, however, that "the 'typical' tourist group -- the happy family with a couple of children along" was not quite so typical. In fact it was more common for couples to travel without children.¹⁵ The survey also offered valuable detailed information about tourists' activities while on vacation and highlighted the importance of convincing visitors to extend their stay, noting that only

¹⁴*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1962, S51.*

¹⁵BCGTB, *Tourist '62* (Victoria, 1962), 2-15.

six percent of visitors stayed in the province for longer than a week and that even convincing visitors to stay just one day longer would result in increasing the province's tourist revenue by forty percent.

The survey also revealed that tourists in British Columbia overwhelmingly expressed an interest in visiting the province's two largest cities and, of course, taking in the province's scenery. In fact, eighty-five percent of those surveyed visited only the Victoria and Greater Vancouver areas, a pattern the provincial government and many interior communities hoped to change. The survey confirmed suspicions that visitors were more interested in obtaining a sense of being in a "foreign" country through shopping and visiting historical attractions, than they were in "fishing, camping and the outdoor life." Finally, the survey indicated that nearly half of the province's visitors planned their summer vacations between January and June while twenty percent planned their trips even earlier than that. Such information, the report explained, reinforced the importance of reaching potential visitors during the Spring and early Summer.¹⁶ A similar examination of tourist behaviour resulted in a sustained campaign to both lengthen British Columbia's tourist season and decrease the significant fluctuations in tourist travel throughout the year.

Lengthening the Season

In the post-war era the BCGTB was not content simply to lure tourists to the province; it worked with other promotional organizations to influence *when* these visitors travelled as well. British Columbia's tourism promoters had long been interested in extending

¹⁶BCGTB, *Tourist '62*, 16-35.

the tourist season. In the 1920s, for instance, they had embarked upon a "Prairie Winter" campaign to lure residents of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba west to enjoy British Columbia's more temperate climate. By September 1947, the goal of lengthening the tourist season was described in the increasingly popular Keynesian language of the day. In a report to the GVTA Board of Directors, GVTA Secretary-Manager R.H. Baker underscored his concern with the increasing number of working-class vacationers who were joining the growing number of people receiving paid vacations for the first time. "If all these new vacations are to be in July and August," he lamented, "the feast and famine aspect of tourist business will only be aggravated." To combat this situation, Baker advocated a concerted effort on the part of tourist groups to try to spread vacations throughout the year. California, he reported, "has taken the lead in this campaign in the hope that others will follow." "During the next few years you will probably hear a lot about the advantages as an employer, or employee, of having vacations spread out so factories are not literally closed down for weeks during the summer, with idle machines adding up losses for all." Vancouver, he suggested, had a great deal to gain from such a campaign and he advocated a complementary campaign which would encourage British Columbians themselves to spread their own vacations throughout the year. This approach "would have the twofold advantage of making more accommodation available in the summer months at our own resorts, and provide the margin of business to enable our transportation and accommodation people to broaden their season and provide facilities for visitors."¹⁷

¹⁷CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 1, Board of Directors Minutes, VTA Manager's Report, 11 September 1947.

Throughout the post-war era the BCGTB played a prominent role in this endeavour. In 1949, for example, both the text and timing of advertising copy were modified in an attempt to "lengthen" the tourist season. The resulting slight increases in tourist traffic from the United States in both the Spring and Autumn were viewed as encouraging. Discussions with large employers were also pursued with "a view to encouraging those without children of school age to take vacations in the off-season."¹⁸ Similarly, the GVTA's choice of magazines for advertising copy in 1949 reflected both its determination to reach potential travellers with "better than average" incomes and to extend the tourist season as much as possible. Hence advertisements were placed in *Kiwanis* magazine and *Rotarian* magazine "on the theory that service club members had better than average incomes" and "were unquestionably more travel-conscious than other groups." In an effort to reach business executives in eastern North America, the GVTA took out an advertisement in *Forbes* magazine. In the immediate post-war years the GVTA embarked upon a sustained attempt to increase visitors from Eastern Canada during the fall and winter. To this end the association took out colour advertisements in *Time* and *Saturday Night* magazines in October and November. This sustained campaign to extend the tourist season beyond the summer months was already paying dividends by 1949 in increased tourist visits in fall and winter.¹⁹ Throughout the post-war era tourism promoters worked vigorously, primarily through advertising campaigns, to expand the travel season (see figures 6.1 to 6.5). Their efforts

¹⁸*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1949, DD57.*

¹⁹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, R.H. Baker, "Manager's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1949*, 10-11.

appear to have been successful. By 1964 the BCGTB was reporting that the tourist season had been successfully extended into September and October to a greater extent than ever before.²⁰

Conventions

In a 1959 visit to Vancouver, CTB Chief Leo Dolan encouraged the GVTA to focus its efforts on the now central aims of tourism. He was disturbed by the growing focus on conventions which he considered a "specialized job" that was the responsibility of individual communities. Overall he emphasized the GVTA's role in bringing tourists to the city and spoke out against what might prove to be alluring ties between other industries and the tourist trade. "In other words," he explained, "this organization should not be promoting industry, that is the job for the Vancouver Chamber of Commerce."²¹ Dolan's admonishments were misplaced. In the post-war era even conventions were understood by BC tourism promoters not as a method for attracting investment, but as an important source of tourist expenditure.

In the 1950s and 1960s British Columbia's tourism promoters became increasingly interested in encouraging groups and organizations to hold conventions in the province. According to one mid-1960s BC Chamber of Commerce delegate, the province's seasonal tourist industry could avoid its "feast and famine" cycles by boosting the number of

²⁰*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation. 1964, 11.*

²¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 10, Text of Speech, Leo Dolan to GVTA, 21 October 1959.

conventions. "The convention delegate long ago earned the reputation of being a 'big spender'." the delegate reasoned. "This is certainly true today when most delegates have either corporate expense accounts or a larger than average supply of discretionary spending dollars." Moreover. "[i]ncreasingly, the convention delegate is taking his wife, and sometimes family, along with him -- accommodation enjoys double occupancy and the retailer welcomes mom while pop attends sessions." Convention delegates patronized most visitor services including accommodation, nightclubs, restaurants and transportation. Attendance at conventions was often combined with holiday or "better still, the delegate likes what he sees and returns for a vacation visit."²²

Interest in promoting conventions was motivated by the recognition that convention visitors tended to spend three times as much as their non-convention counterparts and thus made a significant contribution to the province's tourism income.²³ The BCGTB deemed conventions to be important enough components in its campaign to smooth out the seasonal fluctuations in tourist traffic by the early 1950s that additional messages encouraging "convention traffic" were included in the bureau's general and regional tourism folders.²⁴ In 1960, the BCGTB reported, the province hosted over two hundred conventions with almost 50,000 delegates.²⁵ Two years later the bureau created its own Conventions Section with a

²²CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.7. File 42. n.a. "Convention Business is BIG Business" c.1965-66.

²³George C. Bradley, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1956*, 5.

²⁴*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry 1953*, LL53.

²⁵*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation 1960*, O 10.

mandate to "co-ordinate the convention sales story for the Province" and encourage the development of the convention business throughout British Columbia.²⁶ By 1963 the bureau had created a new brochure entitled *British Columbia, the Memorable Land for Conventions* and was embarking upon both a direct mailing campaign and a national advertising program aimed at bringing the province to the attention of convention executives.²⁷

Field personnel from the BCGTB's Convention Section travelled the province visiting and classifying accommodation and endeavouring "to assist new operators with the problems of management and promotion of their establishments." The Convention Section also worked diligently to promote "pre- and post- convention tours" in an attempt to lengthen delegates' visits in the province and the BCGTB even made staff available to assist in "planning and operating" the conventions themselves.²⁸ By 1965 the bureau estimated that convention delegates alone were responsible for spending over \$5.5 million in British Columbia.²⁹

In coordinating the province's convention business, the BCGTB's efforts mirrored the work of the province's civic tourist associations. By 1953 the GVTA was increasingly aware of the fact that many other cities boasted convention departments involved in actively recruiting conventions in an effort to keep a city's accommodation consistently filled. These departments pursued this aim both by regulating the number of delegates attending such conventions and by scheduling conventions so as to avoid conflicts. The time had come,

²⁶*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation 1962*, S52.

²⁷*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation 1963*, U43.

²⁸*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation 1964*, T42.

²⁹*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation 1965*, Y49.

GVTA President Ivor Neil implied, for Vancouver to adopt such a department. GVTA Commissioner J.V. Hughes recalled the suggestion by the manager of a convention bureau in the US that such "long range planning" made it possible to "obtain a continuous flow of conventions .. which keeps accommodation filled practically to capacity the whole of the year."³⁰

By 1954 the GVTA was seriously considering the creation of a Convention Bureau and the following year the GVTA gained membership in the International Association of Convention Bureaus -- an association that worked as a "clearing house for confidential information regarding conventions held in member cities all over the continent."³¹ By 1957 the GVTA's own Convention Bureau was up and running and, by year's end, had secured four conventions totaling over three thousand visitors -- the successful outcome of a close collaboration with the local hotels. It had also "serviced" a total of forty-five conventions totalling over 14,500 visitors, each gathering valued at roughly "\$100 per head in new money to our business community."³² So important were conventions to the association that in 1962 it changed its name from the Greater Vancouver Tourist Association to the Greater

³⁰CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, Ivor Neil, "President's Report." *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1953*, 1-2; James V. Hughes, "Commissioner's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1953*, 4.

³¹James V. Hughes, "Commissioner's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1954*, 7.

³²CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, George C. Bradley, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1957*, 5; James V. Hughes, "Report of the Executive Vice-President," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1957*, 9; T. Boyd Haskell, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1958*, 3.

Vancouver Visitors and Convention Bureau [GVVCB].

Victoria's tourism promoters similarly embraced the possibility of convention business. In July 1951 the Victoria Chamber of Commerce's Tourist Trade group succeeded in obtaining permission to set up its own Convention Committee to encourage the holding of conventions in the city.³³ The Group's endeavours included a concerted attempt to develop visible local ceremonies to entertain convention delegates. In January 1953, for example, Conway Parrott explained that "his group was trying strenuously to develop Victoria as a Convention City and urged that some form of military ceremony be held as often as possible in the summer evenings at the Parliament Buildings to *develop a traditional ceremony* that would help to keep tourists interested in stopping over in the City."³⁴ So important were conventions deemed to the local economy that by the late 1960s L.C. Parkinson, Chairman of the Chamber's Tourist and Convention Advisory Committee was instructing his fellow Chamber members to include "'Victoria THE Convention City' in their advertising and correspondence."³⁵

The BCGTB's role throughout the era remained a coordinating one. The bureau's duties, as the 1956 report aptly explained, were "essentially those of a sales organization" and its "functions ... very similar to those of sales management in industry." BCGTB members were thus expected to "keep in close touch with those responsible for the 'commodity,

³³VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Minutes, 18 July 1951.

³⁴VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Meeting, 16 February 1953. Emphasis added.

³⁵VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 5, L.C. Parkinson, Chairman, Tourist and Convention Advisory Committee, to President and Board of Directors, 26 April 1968.

packaging, and distribution" aspects of tourism promotion. Moreover, the bureau's public relations and promotional activities required close contact not only with the Game and Parks branches of the government, but also with the various Chambers of Commerce and tourist bureaux "which function as retail outlets in the merchandising set-up of tourism."³⁶ In pursuing these objectives, the BCGTB took a leading role in developing strategies for the province's tourism promotion campaigns. Along with recognizing the advantages of market research studies and sustained campaigns to lengthen the tourist season and lure conventions to the province, the bureau undertook a determined effort to encourage tourists to visit areas of the province beyond Vancouver and Victoria.

Regional Coordination and the Campaign Against Uneven Tourism Development

[W]e, with all due modesty, cannot help but claim that we are entering British Columbia's half-century -- and cannot help but observe that 'B.C.' also stands for BOOM COUNTRY.

-Phil Gaglardi, Highways Minister, 1955³⁷

As Minister of Highways from 1952 to 1968 Phil Gaglardi presided over an era of unprecedented road construction in British Columbia. In addition to significant upgrades to the Cariboo Road through the Fraser Canyon, for example, the provincial government played a leading role in completing the long-awaited new trans-Canada route through Rogers Pass thus alleviating the need for drivers to endure "white knuckle drives" between Golden and

³⁶*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1956, Y58.*

³⁷Untitled speech by Phil Gaglardi in *Proceedings of the 34th General Conference of the Pacific Northwest Trade Association*, Seattle, 31 October - 1 November 1955.

Revelstoke.³⁸ Between 1952 and 1958, in fact, W.A.C. Bennett's new Social Credit government spent more money on highway development than had been spent on the province's highways by every previous provincial administration.³⁹

Highways, as the primary means of communication, according to the BC Chamber of Commerce, were "major factors in the development of a civilized society." In advocating the continuation of the province's road-building campaign, the Chamber underscored the importance of highways not just in servicing industries, but also recognized "the great importance of tourism" to the national economy.⁴⁰ By 1962 tourism was sharing top billing with subjects such as education and free enterprise as part of the BC Chamber's annual General Policy Statements. Its first "tourism" statement recognized that the tourist industry annually created "millions of dollars of new wealth that penetrates into every segment of the provincial economy benefiting directly and indirectly every man, woman and child."⁴¹ The Chamber's General Policy Statement on "Tourism & Recreation" in 1964 focused more intently on tangible goals such as the construction of highways and vacation resorts together with accommodation and recreation facilities, the development of community attractions and the solicitation of conventions. There was, the Chamber claimed, "a need to attract group business throughout British Columbia, including conventions, sales meetings, seminars and

³⁸Lyndon Grove, *Focus on British Columbia* (Vancouver: Westworld, c.1981), 17-18.

³⁹Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 271, 281.

⁴⁰CVA, BCCC papers, Vol.1, File 10, *General Policy Statements and Resolutions British Columbia Chamber of Commerce 1952-53*, 3.

⁴¹CVA, BCCC papers, Vol.2, File 4, *Submissions Received up to 14th April, 1962 for Discussion at Eleventh Annual Meeting*.

special events such as fishing derbies, winter carnivals, etc. which will attract groups of people to visit this Province throughout the year." "In order to achieve this objective," it maintained, "it will be necessary to increase substantially the expenditure for external advertising by the Provincial Government."⁴²

The provincial government, not the private sector, was thus expected to take the lead in funding promotional campaigns. Smaller communities throughout the province were particularly insistent that the provincial government take a leading role in developing the tourist industry in the more remote regions of the province. Indeed, the BC Chamber of Commerce functioned as a sort of clearing house through which such demands were passed along to the government.

The limited impact of tourism on many of the province's smaller communities was implicitly alluded to in 1951 by GVTA Comptroller A.L. Woods when he saluted one of the GVTA's "best investments" over the last year: a Press Tour around "the British Columbia circle." The tour included stops in Hope, Princeton, Vernon, Salmon Arm, Kamloops, and Vancouver.⁴³ That this circle tour, which covered but a small portion of the province, could be considered a circle tour of British Columbia would have infuriated the fledgling tourism organizations elsewhere in the province, but was also indicative of the limitations that the underdeveloped road system and a limited advertising budget had placed on the ability of communities in the northern parts of the province to reap tourism's rewards.

⁴²CVA, BCCC papers, Vol.2, File 6, *Submissions Received up to 14th April 1964 for Discussion at Thirteenth Annual Meeting.*

⁴³CVA, BCCC papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, "Operating Report," 11 January 1951.

The newly created Alaska Highway offered some promise but was by no means an instant boon for the tourist industry. In April 1949, for example, *Sunset* magazine profiled the road and reported that the trip "takes time and money" and "should not be attempted in less than a month." Its overall report was even less complimentary. "In short, the trip as sight-seeing trip for *tourists* is not recommended." Only for "ardent fishermen, adventurers, experienced campers, and those who balance hardships... against the thrills of exploring new frontiers and areas of historical significance" was the Alaska Highway a suitable journey.⁴⁴

Even more accessible areas outside of Vancouver and Victoria that were gaining recognition in the mid-1950s struggled to compete with the province's two major centres. *Sunset* magazine followed a complimentary 1956 article profiling British Columbia's Okanagan with an article the following year on the province's "Big Bend"-Kootenay region. For the family the region offered a promising area to drive through with ample opportunities for camping, fishing, swimming and boating. The more "rugged outdoorsman" was encouraged to try his hand at "big game hunting, backpacking or mountain climbing." The magazine compared the region to England's Lake District -- "though on a grander scale and with more than a touch of the frontier added... ." *Sunset* did warn potential travellers, however, that the Big Bend road itself was "good (if not fast)" and that they should not to expect "the big motor hotels that line some of the major highways south of the border." as the short tourist season ruled out "most of the frills."⁴⁵

⁴⁴"Alaska Highway," *Sunset* 102,4 (April 1949): 6-14.

⁴⁵"October Is a Fine Time To Visit The Okanagan" *Sunset* 117,5 (October 1956): 28-30,32,34,36; "Looping the Big Bend country ... and the watery Kootenays..." *Sunset* magazine 119,2 (August 1957): 44-48.

In the mid-1950s the BC Chamber of Commerce became a forum through which the province's smaller and more remote communities made their pitch to benefit more fully from the tourist industry. Since its reinception in 1951 the BC Chamber of Commerce met annually to consider resolutions from its member organizations and to develop General Policy Statements. Chief among submissions from its constituent organizations throughout the province in the post-war era was a concern that areas outside the Lower Mainland and Victoria benefit from the tourist boom. These requests for provincial government involvement were not restricted solely to road-building projects -- although these were indeed important.⁴⁶ Small communities throughout the province, in fact, sought government action and expenditure on a number of different fronts in their attempts to obtain a piece of the tourist pie. Demands for increased parkland and camping facilities were accompanied by demands for financial support for publicity endeavours as well as regulations governing recreation sites and local fish stocks.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Representative demands for road improvements to encourage tourist travel in the vicinities of Cranbrook, Kimberley, Vanderhoof and Seton Portage in the mid-to-late 1950s appear in the following: CVA, BCCC papers, Vol.1, File 13, *General Policy Statements 4th Annual Meeting of the BC Chamber of Commerce*; Vol.2, File 1, *Submissions Received up to 19th March, 1959 for Discussion at Eighth Annual Meeting*; Vol.2, File 1, *Submissions Received up to 19th March, 1959 for Discussion at Eighth Annual Meeting*.

⁴⁷Examples of requests for the expansion and improvement of parks and campgrounds near both Dawson Creek and Trail are located in: CVA, BCCC papers, Vol.1, File 16, *Submissions Received up to 31st March, 1958 for Discussion at Seventh Annual Meeting*, 6; Vol.2., File 2, *Submissions Received up to 1st April, 1960 for Discussion at Ninth Annual Meeting*. Suggestions for publicity endeavours came from many sources including the Associated Boards of Trade of the Fraser Valley and Lower Mainland, the Kamloops & District Board of Trade, and the Duncan-Cowichan Chamber of Commerce. See CVA, BCCC papers, Vol.1, File 12, *Policy Statements and Resolutions Submitted to the 3rd Annual Meeting of the BC Chamber of Commerce*, 1954: 9; Vol. 2, File 2, *Submissions*

While these communities were anxious to obtain a share of visitor expenditures, they also saw tourism, as Victoria and Vancouver had seen it in the 1920s, as a means to induce industrial and agricultural development. The desire to increase recreational opportunities for local inhabitants also influenced these communities' pursuits. During the post-war era these communities found the provincial government receptive to their demands. The most powerful political figure of the era was W.A.C. Bennett, Social Credit leader and premier of the province from 1952 to 1972. Bennett's governments focused on building infrastructure, luring US investment, and harnessing the province's hydro-electric power potential. His governments were also dedicated to "ameliorating regional disparities" as part of the Premier's "Northern Vision."⁴⁸

In a 1956 address to the Pacific Northwest Trade Association, Bennett outlined what he considered to be the proper role of government in industrial development. Because the government represented "the interests of all the citizens of British Columbia," he explained, it was the responsibility of the government to "assist in the development of our economy wherever and whenever possible." "[W]hile the main impetus to industrial expansion in British Columbia will be given by the initiative of private enterprise in the search for profitable opportunities," he explained, "the government will play a major role in the

Received up to 1st April, 1960 for Discussion at Ninth Annual Meeting; Vol.2, File 6, Submissions Received up to 14th April 1964 for Discussion at Thirteenth Annual Meeting. Requests for government regulation came from, among other organizations, the Courtney-Comox Chamber of Commerce and the Prince George Chamber of Commerce. See Vol.1, File 13, Policy Statements and Resolutions Submitted to the 4th Annual Meeting of the BC Chamber of Commerce, 1955, 7-8; Vol.2, File 4, Submissions Received up to 14th April, 1962 for Discussion at Eleventh Annual Meeting.

⁴⁸Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 271, 281.

development of the province." The aims of the Bennett government then, "while allowing the freest play of private initiative, must be to ensure that the needs and welfare of the community are adequately taken care of."⁴⁹ Historian Jean Barman attributes Bennett's political success to his tendency to put "forward policies held together more by their innovative character than by their ideological consistency." "A strong verbal commitment to free enterprise," she explains, "cheerfully coexisted with a willingness to use the power of the state to set capitalism's direction."⁵⁰ A similar tendency on the part of the province's smaller communities and the BC Chamber of Commerce created a consensus in which tourism was employed as a strategy to alleviate regional economic disparities.

As a government bureau the BCGTB was responsible for the welfare of the tourist industry throughout the entire province and by the time W.A.C. Bennett came to power in 1952, the BCGTB was already focused on promoting the province's less-developed regions. To this end, in 1950, the BCGTB distributed regional tourist folders for the first time featuring the Lower Fraser Valley and the Kamloops-Cariboo region.⁵¹ The following year a folder featuring the "Okanagan-Fraser Canyon Loop" was created and in 1952 regional attractions were featured in thirty-two radio spots.⁵² By 1954 increased interest in travel through British Columbia to Alaska necessitated the production of a folder entitled, "The

⁴⁹Hon. W.A.C. Bennett, "A New Era." *Proceedings of the 35th General Conference of the PNTA*, Victoria, 14-15 May 1956, 26-30.

⁵⁰Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 280.

⁵¹*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1950*, HH62.

⁵²*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1951*, Q60; *Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1952*, FF68-9.

Great North Road through British Columbia."⁵³

These regional brochures were abandoned in 1959 as the bureau adopted a province-wide approach to promotion. In 1961, however, the BCGTB embarked upon a new method of encouraging regional tourist promotion by inaugurating a matching grant plan in which it provided dollar-for-dollar matching assistance in each of the eight designated regions of the province. This initiative marked the decentralization of the provincial government's administration of tourism promotion. The grants, totalling \$50,000 the first year, were to be "applied against the cost of selected promotions, such as advertising, literature production, displays and exhibits, national and international tourist association memberships, regional signs, and administration of community tourist promotion offices." By the end of 1961 five such regions had taken advantage of their full grant quota.⁵⁴

GVTA President Frank Baker recognized the significant impact the matching grant programme had on his financially-challenged association. In 1962, he explained, the GVTA as a member of "Region B" comprising Greater Vancouver, the Sunshine Coast and the Fraser Valley now had \$32,000 available for promotional endeavours. A year earlier, without the matching grant programme, the association had been able to direct just \$17,000 toward promotional advertising. The tripling of the funds made available by the provincial government the following year meant that "Region B" could anticipate spending \$96,000 on promotion in the coming year. According the GVTA Managing Director Harold Merilees, the matching grants programme was "the most constructive and forward looking plan of its

⁵³*Report of the Department of Trade and Industry, 1953, LL53.*

⁵⁴*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1961, V47.*

kind in Canada."⁵⁵

From 1962 through 1964 the BCGTB increased the grant to \$150,000 and raised it to \$175,000 in 1965.⁵⁶ In 1966 the programme was reorganized with the government funding sixty percent of these promotional initiatives.⁵⁷ These matching grants reflected an increasingly modern and bureaucratic approach to tourism promotion in which the province was divided into promotional zones in an effort to address local needs more directly and manage information more efficiently.

The needs of British Columbia's more remote communities were similarly served by the establishment of *Beautiful British Columbia* magazine in 1959. Under the direction of the BCGTB this attractive colour magazine quickly gained a popular following in Canada and abroad. By 1967 the magazine boasted over 83,000 subscribers, nearly two thirds of whom lived outside Canada.⁵⁸ The magazine published four issues a year and did much to

⁵⁵CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 23, Frank Baker, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Visitors and Convention Bureau Annual Report 1962*, 4; Harold Merilees, "Managing Director's Report," *Greater Vancouver Visitors and Convention Bureau Annual Report 1963*, 11.

⁵⁶*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1962*, S51. *Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1963*, U45. *Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1964*, T43. *Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1965*, Y51.

⁵⁷*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1966*, T58. At a meeting of the Provincial Tourist Advisory Council in March 1966, W.K. Kiernan explained that this shift in policy was designed to allow regional boards to direct more of their own revenue toward local initiatives such as information centres and administrative expenses." CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.7, File 50, Provincial Tourist Advisory Council Meeting, Empress Hotel, Victoria, 23 March 1966.

⁵⁸*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation (1959)*, 7; *Annual Report, Department of Travel Industry (1967)*, 28.

showcase the province's northern and interior communities. The Spring 1960 issue, for example, highlighted the attractions of Nelson, Osoyoos, Kitimat and Kispiox while the Summer 1961 issue contained articles such as "Williams Lake -- Heart of the Cariboo," "Pleasure puts the O.K. in Okanagan." and "Hunting Moose with a camera."⁵⁹

By the mid-1960s increased advertising expenditures and the techniques of market research had been combined in order to mount a systematic campaign aimed at overcoming the legacy of tourism's earlier uneven development. This push to spread tourist expenditures more evenly throughout the province was part of the provincial government's broader commitment to the tourist industry in the post-war era. The expanded activities and budget of the BCGTB, including its eventual re-organization into its own government department in 1967 signaled the acceptance of systematic and coordinated tourism promotion as tool in managing the post-war economy.

3. Teaching "Tourist Consciousness:" Selling Tourism as a Public Good

Each year thousands of tourists are attracted to the Fraser Valley by its scenic beauty. Its countryside has often been compared with that of beautiful Switzerland. Visitors are impressed by the many mountain ranges which surround the area and they also find the greenness of the valley. due to our abundant rainfall, unusual and pleasant.⁶⁰

The above quotation is not an excerpt from a tourist pamphlet; it is, in fact, the introductory

⁵⁹*Beautiful British Columbia* (Spring 1960); *Beautiful British Columbia* (Summer 1961).

⁶⁰UBCA, FVTA papers, File 15, Joyce Williams, Abbotsford Junior Secondary School, Grade 10, prize winning essay. "The Land of Simon Fraser," n.d. [1963].

paragraph from a prize winning essay written by Joyce Williams in 1963 when she was a grade 10 student at Abbotsford Junior Secondary School. Exploring how she came to write this essay -- and indeed how tourism promotion infiltrated the curriculum of British Columbia's school system -- provides us with an opportunity to examine the extent to which the province's tourism promoters responded to the intense competition of the post-war era by attempting to make the average British Columbian "tourist conscious."

Increasingly, tourism promoters concluded that they must retain and expand public support for their industry if they were to triumph in the competitive battle for tourists. Complementing their efforts to differentiate the province's attractions from those of competing tourist destinations were concerted attempts to improve British Columbians' hospitality. While other countries had embraced the possibilities of the tourist industry, GVTA President Hedley S. Hipwell lamented in 1950, Canadians were not yet fully appreciative of all that it offered. Advertising, he argued, was not the only solution. More attention must also be directed towards the province's attractions, its highways, its accommodations, and to the overall quality of the tourist's reception -- namely hospitality. In short, Hipwell explained, the "travel industry must be treated as *big business!*"⁶¹

Gaining government support for tourism promotion at the provincial level had been an important achievement, but this alone could not guarantee a healthy tourist industry. Equally important, in light of increasing competition, was the necessity of securing popular recognition and support for tourism. In the remainder of this chapter I trace the increasing

⁶¹Hedley S. Hipwell, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1950*, 1-3.

emphasis that tourism's proponents placed on educating their fellow citizens. These educational initiatives were pursued in two ways: the gathering and publicizing of statistical data that documented the industry's contributions to local economies, and the socialization of service sector employees and schoolchildren.

Drawing on Dominion Bureau of Statistics findings in 1951, GVTA Publicity Commissioner M.J. McCormick argued that one way for the city to maximize its tourist revenue in increasingly difficult times was to make a determined effort to lengthen the stay of US visitors through "*Service, Courtesy, and Hospitality*."⁶² To this end McCormick recommended the modernizing and streamlining of the GVTA's headquarters to improve service to its visitors. He also emphasized the necessity of improving visitors' ability to locate points of interest and popular attractions through an expanded number of directional signs and maps. A "new official civic guide book" and a "new shopping reference guide," he reasoned, would also increase tourist expenditures.⁶³

In a July 1958 submission on advertising policy, the GVTA's advertising firm, Cockfield, Brown & Company identified two key concerns: selling Vancouver to the world and selling the GVTA to Vancouver. Selling Vancouver's attractions to the world had long been part of the GVTA mandate. But just as central to the company's recommendations was the desire to increase public support for the association. To this end it advocated the expansion of the GVTA's educational program "to cover a large number of groups who come

⁶²M.J. McCormick, "Publicity Commissioner's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1951*, 10.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 10-11.

into daily contact with tourists." Store clerks, in particular, could "be told how best tourists can be served: how to handle difficult situations such as the discount on the American dollar; the sort of questions tourists ask and where information can be obtained." Its specific recommendations also included the suggestion that "Vancouver schoolchildren could work on projects with the title of 'Why Vancouver is a good tourist centre,' or, 'Vancouver and the Tourist Industry'." The GVTA, the advertising company suggested, should not only sponsor such assignments, but also ensure that "winning essays were rewarded fittingly."⁶⁴

Shortly after the Second World War CTB Chief Leo Dolan suggested that because the tourist industry was "Canada's most important means of securing U.S. dollars, it must be the concern of every Canadian from the bootblack to the banker."⁶⁵ British Columbia's tourism promoters shared this view. Convincing the larger business community of this fact, however, was no easy matter. Indeed, a great deal of effort was required to illustrate the industry's importance.⁶⁶ In the 1930s tourism promoters successfully campaigned to have the provincial government recognize tourism as an important economic activity in its own right. Now they were broadening their campaign to influence civil society as well. This time the fruit of their earlier efforts, the BCGTB, played a key role in the pursuit of this aim. The

⁶⁴CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 10, Cockfield, Brown & Company Limited, Suggested Advertising Policy for the Greater Vancouver Tourist Association, 3 July 1958.

⁶⁵NAC, Dolan papers, Vol. 2, "Booklets and Pamphlets" File, "24th Annual Convention and Exposition Success" *The Hotel News* Official Organ of Hotel Associations in Canada Vol. 22, No.4. (March 1949): 12-13.

⁶⁶On the national campaign to convince Canadians that tourism was "everybody's business," see Dubinsky, "'Everybody Likes Canadians'."

campaign to sell the merits of the tourist industry to British Columbians included a BCGTB advertisement that appeared in sixty small weekly newspapers across the province in May 1949. Titled "It's Your BC," the ad encouraged British Columbians to visit different parts of the province but focused primarily on illustrating the important role that tourism played in the province's economic development. "British Columbia," the ad explained suggestively, "is noted for its courtesy, for its friendly attitude towards 'the stranger within its gates.'"⁶⁷

Civic organizations similarly emphasized the industry's contributions. In 1959 the Victoria Chamber of Commerce inaugurated a Tourist Appreciation Week aimed at impressing upon the public the importance of the industry.⁶⁸ A second such week held the following year was helped markedly by local radio, newspaper, and television media and resulted in the distribution of 7,988 Tourist Appreciation Week buttons -- a feat the Chamber's Tourist Trade Group considered demonstrative of the public's "mounting interest" in their endeavours.⁶⁹ By 1961 the new chairman of the Tourist Trade Group was encouraging Chamber members to continue employing Tourist Appreciation Week as a "weapon of some force" to counter the "apathy displayed by many citizens and some

⁶⁷Interestingly, these advertisements retained a focus on tourism's role in promoting settlement -- an emphasis that diminished markedly throughout the post-war era. BCARS, Premiers' papers, Box 194, File 8, Estimate and Schedule, Stewart-Lovick & Macpherson Ltd., 9 May 1949.

⁶⁸VCA, VCC fonds, 33 G 1, File 2, Victoria Chamber of Commerce, *1959 Annual Report*.

⁶⁹VCA, VCC fonds, 33 G 1, File 2, Victoria Chamber of Commerce *1960 Annual Report*.

merchants towards tourism."⁷⁰

In January 1960 GVTA Assistant Manager C.R. Porter presented to the organization's Executive Committee a plan from the Membership Committee to produce a "Shopping, Services and Sightseeing Guide." Such a guide, the committee suggested, provided a number of advantages including the ability to offset the cost of publication by accepting member advertising and the opportunity to "tap a revenue source now lost to commercial guides."⁷¹ When the guide came off the press in May 1961, however, GVTA members felt it would play another useful role: increasing membership.⁷² By offering an explicit demonstration of tourism's role in increasing revenue for local businesses, GVTA members hoped the brochure would increase recognition and support for their work.

A similar rationale informed a later attempt by the GVTA to publicize the degree to which tourist expenditures permeated the provincial economy. In 1968, the association's second annual Convention Week included a "dollar bill hunt" designed to "highlight the importance of the convention industry to Greater Vancouver." Thirty thousand one dollar bills were employed as the 2000 delegates to the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy were asked to "exchange their own currency for one dollar bills in a special

⁷⁰VCA, VCC fonds, 33 G 1, File 2, Victoria Chamber of Commerce, *1961 Annual Report*.

⁷¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 10, GVTA Executive Committee Minutes, 18 January 1960.

⁷²CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 12, GVTA Membership Committee Minutes, 18 May 1961. By January 1962 it had been decided to change the name of the booklet to "Sightseeing, Entertainment and Shopping." CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 12, GVTA Membership Committee Minutes, 31 January 1962.

series." When the bureau released the serial numbers of the bills, those people receiving the special bills became eligible for prizes which included, not surprisingly, two totem poles valued at \$10-\$15 each. By May 1968 almost 400 dollar bills had been traced with one bill travelling as far as Campbell River.⁷³ British Columbia's tourism promoters thus did not lack creativity when it came to educating their fellow British Columbians about the importance of the tourist industry.

Business, Tourism, and Education

Examinations of the relationship between business and education in the post-war era have, for the most part, focused on the extent to which businesses attempted to inculcate "free enterprise" values either through advertising campaigns or through a determined effort to infiltrate the university or public education system. Peter McInnis, for instance, has documented the extent to which Canadian business leaders publicly championed the values of "free enterprise" in their attempts to ward off excessive state intervention in the form of an expansive welfare state.⁷⁴ In the American context Elizabeth Fones-Wolf has demonstrated that US corporate leaders were keen to offer financial support to institutions and pursue closer personal ties with educators at universities as well as primary and

⁷³CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.8, File 61, GVVCB News Release, n.d. [c.1968]; Series E, Vol.8, File 62, List of Prizes for Dollar Trace Winners, n.d.; Series E, Vol.8, File 62, William D.S. Earle, Assistant Manager, Convention Bureau to W.G. Schammann, General Manager, Discovery Inn, Campbell River, 30 May 1968.

⁷⁴Peter S. McInnis, "Planning Prosperity: Canadians Debate Postwar Reconstruction", in *Uncertain Horizons: Canadians and Their World in 1945*, ed. Greg Donaghy (Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1997): 231-259.

secondary schools in an attempt to "create an educational climate more favorable to business and the capitalist system."⁷⁵ Tourism promoters in British Columbia followed similar strategies but focused on championing the importance of the tourist industry itself, rather than the free enterprise system as a whole. In doing so, they championed tourism as a "public good" – as a practice and economic pursuit that benefitted all members of society and thus deserved widespread public support.⁷⁶

One of the province's more outspoken tourism promoters on the topic of education was R.D. Baker who sat on the GVTA's Board of Directors throughout the 1950s and served as a Vice-President of the association from 1953 until 1955. Baker had been sent to Canada in 1936 by Standard Oil to be the sales manager of its British Columbia Division.⁷⁷ He was also a member of the Pacific Northwest Trade Association -- an international body composed of boards of trade and chambers of commerce throughout the Pacific Northwest.⁷⁸ For Baker business and education were interdependent yet complementary pursuits. Both attempted "to meet the needs and wants of the community and to promote the general welfare." But they also tended to pursue these aims separately and along what appeared to be "divergent

⁷⁵See Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, *Selling Free Enterprise: The Business Assault on Labor and Liberalism, 1945-1960* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), Chapter 7. Quotation at 193.

⁷⁶On the proliferating advocacy of public goods since the 1960s, see Paul Rutherford, *Endless Propaganda: The Advertising of Public Goods* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

⁷⁷"Ralph D. Baker Chooses Canadian Citizenship," *The Pacific Northwesterner* Vol.16, No.4 (October 1964): 6.

⁷⁸*Proceedings of the 31st General Conference of the PNTA*, Portland, 11-12 November 1954, 35.

courses." Business, he explained, tended to focus primarily on more immediate needs while education took the more "leisurely" route of exploring the past to find solutions to future problems. As a result, he claimed in 1952, education frequently became too preoccupied with the past and failed to focus enough on present-day concerns. Baker and many other tourism promoters looked forward to a greater degree of collaboration between business and education.⁷⁹

Delegates involved in a round table discussion on tourism at the 1955 Pacific Northwest Trade Association conference in Vancouver, for example, focused on the need for what they termed "internal promotion" -- the educating of host communities to prioritize tourism.⁸⁰ Lee Jacobi of the Cole and Weber Advertising firm in Seattle similarly stressed the importance of education in the tourism industry. Jacobi advocated educating tourist workers through film and literature as well as classroom instruction. He also championed better education for the tourists themselves through an expansion in the number of information centres and directional aids including signs and road markings indicating desirable routes through cities.⁸¹ For tourism promoters, then, education could serve two purposes: it could increase recognition and support for the industry throughout the business community and it could provide important information to both tourist workers and tourists

⁷⁹Ralph D. Baker, "A Challenge and Golden Opportunity," *The Pacific Northwesterner* Vol.3, No.2 (August 1952): 1-2.

⁸⁰Stanley M. Oberg, "Report on the Tourist Round Table," in *Proceedings of the 33rd General Conference of the PNTA*, Vancouver 9-10 November, 1955, 32-33.

⁸¹"Report of the Visitor & Recreation Committee," *Proceedings of the 35th General Conference of the PNTA*, Victoria, 14-15 May 1956, 23.

themselves.

In his address to the 1955 Pacific Northwest Trade Association conference, Professor McPhee, Director of the University of British Columbia's School of Commerce, took a decidedly academic approach to his subject, "The Business of Tourism." He began by defining his terms. "Tourism," he explained, "is the business of selling goods and services to persons who are away from home for a period and who spend money in the place they visit which is earned elsewhere."⁸² McPhee acknowledged that he was conflating the supposedly distinct categories of "travel" and "tourism" but while conceding that "the number of travelers is not an exact measure of the number of tourists," McPhee encouraged his audience not to miss the key point: people travelling across provincial, state and national boundaries were "spending money in our cities and countryside which would not be spent there if 'tourism' were not accepted as a natural part of our mores and customs."⁸³ For McPhee and other "tourist conscious" citizens the distinction between "high" travel and "low" tourism was moot. The fact that travellers spent money in places other than where it was earned made them *de facto* tourists.

To reveal the inner workings of the industry to his audience, McPhee relied upon a small but increasing number of research studies. Surveys in Victoria, Vancouver, and Washington State between 1952 and 1954 all suggested that fifty percent of tourist expenditures went directly to hotels, motels, auto courts and restaurants. The Washington State survey suggested that thirteen percent of tourist expenditures were directed to

⁸²E.D. McPhee, "The Business of Tourism"

⁸³*Ibid.*

transportation costs (including gasoline and automobile repairs), eleven percent to entertainments, while the remaining twenty-six percent went to retail sales. Many people, McPhee argued, were benefitting from tourism without contributing their fair share. This situation arose, he explained, both from a desire on the part of many businesspeople to let others carry the cost of promotional efforts, as well as from the fact that tourism was viewed by many as a "fad or a hobby" unworthy of serious economic consideration. The only way to correct such behaviour, McPhee explained, was to offer concrete evidence of tourism's importance. This could be done most effectively by increasing research efforts.⁸⁴

British Columbia's tourism promoters undertook their educational initiatives at a time when Vancouver's business leaders were increasingly recognizing the opportunities afforded by a closer relationship between business, the provincial school system, and the University of British Columbia. By 1952, the Vancouver Board of Trade had recognized these possibilities and was involved in educational programs on a number of fronts. In the mid-1940s, for example, the Board of Trade entered into an arrangement with the financially struggling School of Commerce at UBC whereby the Board provided an annual grant of a thousand dollars toward a university course on "merchandising." Within a few years courses on advertising and "sales management" were also available. The Board also attempted to "stimulate the interest of high school students in vocational matters" by providing prizes for "job studies" analyzing the province's industries. And at the local level, the Board sponsored "B-E Day" -- "Business-Education Day" -- an opportunity twice a year for the Board to introduce Vancouver's teachers and principals "to the complexities and problems of business

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

and the way in which management is attempting to maintain progress."⁸⁵ Tourism promoters in the post-war era similarly focused their efforts on gaining recognition and support for their activities through a number of educational initiatives. Anxious to obtain the empirical facts necessary to demonstrate their industry's importance, British Columbia's tourism promoters turned to an institution capable of providing the necessary information: the province's university.

Travel Surveys and the University of British Columbia

The 1950s and 1960s witnessed a noticeable increase in emphasis on specialized education in the business world. More and more companies sought employees with university business training to fill their management positions. New executives were expected to be experts in "organizational theory, rate of return accounting, and planning techniques." This new emphasis could be seen on Canadian university campuses as well. Between 1960 and 1970, for instance, the number of full-time university students in Canada pursuing business degrees tripled from roughly 5500 to 16000. Over the same time period the number of MBA candidates in the country increased ten-fold from two hundred to over two thousand.⁸⁶

Tourism promoters similarly saw a role for the university in their pursuits. In April 1946, for example, GVTA President Leo Sweeney voiced his concern that UBC was not

⁸⁵Reg. T. Rose, "An Academic Enterprise ... sponsored by Business," *Canadian Business* (June 1952): 58-59, 78-81.

⁸⁶Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 500-501.

giving the tourism industry due recognition. Sweeney was particularly frustrated by his experience at a recent meeting he attended with university officials in which many other industries were discussed, but not tourism. To help rectify this situation, he suggested the establishment of a prize or trophy to be presented to the winner of an oratorical or essay contest that addressed the "tourist field," with the hope that such a competition might stimulate greater recognition on the part of students of the importance of the tourist industry.⁸⁷ It is unclear what became of his suggestion, but within a decade the university and the GVTA would enjoy a close working relationship.

Vancouver's first serious foray into the gathering of tourism statistics came as a result of GVTA Commissioner J.V. Hughes's participation in a Pacific Northwest Trade Association meeting in the early 1950s. During one of the Association's sessions on tourism Hughes heard a description of a tourist survey carried out by university students. On his return to Vancouver, he approached E.D. McPhee, Director of UBC's School of Commerce, about the possibility of the university undertaking a continuous survey of visitors' "habits and trends." For Hughes such a survey would serve two functions. It would provide "authentic information" for the local business community on the value of tourist expenditures, and it would "disclose many facts which would be of assistance to everyone interested in tourist promotion." McPhee acceded to the request and Professor Stanley Oberg assumed responsibility for the survey. It was quickly incorporated into a university course on marketing. Questionnaires were created and distributed through the GVTA's headquarters

⁸⁷CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 1, Board of Directors Minutes, VTA Manager's Report, 11 April 1946.

from May through September seeking basic information concerning visitors' place of origin, length of stay, and details surrounding their expenditures while also soliciting general "suggestions and comments" on their experiences in Vancouver.⁸⁸

The preliminary results of the initial survey were announced at the GVTA's annual meeting while a more detailed analysis was provided in the form of a graduating thesis prepared by a School of Commerce student -- an achievement Hughes deemed worthy of a \$100 service award.⁸⁹ These surveys were conducted on an annual basis so as to establish patterns of tourist behaviour.⁹⁰ In April 1955, for example, Gordon Richardson completed his graduating thesis focusing on tourist behaviour in Vancouver. Because Richardson had had to pay for the drawing of graphs, and for making copies of the thesis, the GVTA contributed a service award of \$100 and passed a resolution supporting the awarding of this payment on an annual basis.⁹¹ In effect this cemented the relationship between the GVTA and

⁸⁸N.F. Pullen, "A Statistic Speaks Out", in *Proceedings of the 36th General Conference of the PNTA*, Yakima, WA, 1-2 October 1956, 35.; James V. Hughes, "Commissioner's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1953*, 2; CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, James V. Hughes, "Commissioner's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1954*, 5.

⁸⁹CVA, GVVCB, Series B, Vol. 4, File 23, James V. Hughes, "Report of the Executive Vice-President," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1955*, 6.

⁹⁰CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 7, VTA Management and Finance Committee Minutes, 17 September 1953.

⁹¹CVA, Add MSS 633, Series A, Vol.2, File 8, VTA Management and Finance Committee Minutes, 20 April 1955. The role of the UBC professors did not stop there, however. In May 1955, Professor McPhee approached the VTA Executive Vice-President James V. Hughes with the offer of setting up conference on tourism in Seattle to discuss ways of overcoming the lack of factual data concerning tourism. Those present at the meeting in Seattle included McPhee, Oberg, J.V. Hughes, Ernest Evans, George Warren, Charlie Johns, Dr. J. Guthrie of Washington State College, Dr. Engle of the University of

the School of Commerce at UBC and guaranteed that one student a year would work for the tourist industry.

These studies provided the GVTA with important details about tourist behaviour. In 1956, for instance, a thesis by Ralph Kitos indicated that the number of visitors and the length of their stay in Vancouver had declined over 1955.⁹² The UBC surveys also offered another possibility as well. GVTA President Ivor Neil hoped that the association's recent arrangement with UBC would "disclose to the whole business community a set of authentic facts, resulting in our members becoming more increasingly aware of the value to them of allocating funds for the work in which our Association is engaged."⁹³

By the mid-1960s these university initiatives were paying off not simply in additional information about tourist behaviour, but also in more tangible ways. In April 1966 it was announced that the GVTA had hired William D.S. Earle, a recent UBC Commerce graduate, to help run its expanding convention business as its Assistant Manager of the Convention

Washington, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry T.L. Sturgess, and the Director of the Bureau of Economics and Statistics in Victoria Mr. Hatcher. CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 8. VTA Board of Directors Minutes, 19 May 1955; VTA Management and Finance Committee Minutes, 4 August 1955. And in January 1962 Ald. Bell-Irving suggested establishing a Chair of Hotel Management at the University of British Columbia. CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 12, GVTA Board of Directors Minutes, 15 January 1962.

⁹²CVA, Add MSS 633, Series A, Vol.2, File 9, GVTA Board of Directors Minutes, 21 February 1957. According to Roland Wild, these studies revealed that visitors to the city approved of the city's culinary and consumer offerings as they spent 27 per cent of their money on food, and 14 per cent on clothing. They were, however, frustrated by the city's lack of directional signs, its wednesday shop closings and its antiquated liquor laws. Wild, "How Tourist Dollars Make Sense," 27.

⁹³Ivor Neil, "President's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1953*, 1.

Department. GVTA General Manager Harold Merilees – an enthusiastic proponent of university graduates in tourism – hoped this was a portent of things to come and pushed for an agreement with universities in which selected commerce students would be hired during the summer by hotels, motels, transportation companies, and tourist information centres. Such experience would also help the GVTA recognize the best prospective tourism promoters of the future. "The best prospects," Merilees explained, "should, after graduation, be sent abroad to study procedures in other selected areas for the period of three to six months and then brought back to put into practice in B.C. what they have learned." The end result would be a highly trained workforce: "Instead of just having people stumble into the industry," he explained, they would now be "specially trained for it."⁹⁴ The training of service sector personnel was another important component of tourism's educational initiatives.

Anxious to shore up support for the tourist industry, tourism promoters had effectively colonized the curriculum of the province's university and could now depend upon undergraduate research assignments in their efforts to convey the importance of the tourist industry to members of the general public. To increase public awareness as to what was considered appropriate behaviour towards tourists visiting the province, tourism promoters organized educational initiatives aimed at inculcating in service sector workers an appropriate hospitality ethic.

⁹⁴CVA, GVVCB papers, Series D, Vol.6, File 31. GVVCB News Release, 18 April 1966.

Teaching Hospitality

"Travel competition is getting keener each year. The need for courtesy, friendliness, service to our visitors from all our people must be kept constantly to the fore."

—GVTA Comptroller A.L. Woods. 1950⁹⁵

The importance of establishing Vancouver's reputation as a "friendly city," was emphasized by GVTA President George Bradley in 1957 when he urged store clerks and service station attendants to "extend the warmest of welcome[s] to our guests." He also called upon merchants and citizens to "play their part in making Vancouver a colorful city" by employing "[u]nusual window displays of unique merchandise" and raising Canadian ensigns on flagpoles. Such endeavours, he suggested, served as the "lowest cost advertising medium" in the form of "word of mouth publicity from tourists who have visited this area and have found a friendly and enjoyable atmosphere."⁹⁶

At least one observer, addressing the GVTA in December 1950, sounded the alarm concerning what he saw as an unacceptable decline in the level of hospitality offered to visitors. According to A.E. Del Grauer, the standard of hospitality in "Western Cities" had declined markedly since the war. Was the problem post-war abundance? Grauer found that "[p]eople seem to have been thrown off stride morally and spiritually." He argued for a "restoration of courtesy" and suggested that the GVTA embark upon a campaign in the

⁹⁵CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 23, A.L. Woods, "Comptroller's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1950*, 14.

⁹⁶George C. Bradley, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1956*, 5; George C. Bradley, "President's Report," *Greater Vancouver Tourist Association 1957*, 6.

coming year designed to highlight the importance of courtesy.⁹⁷

Public pronouncements were not enough, however, and organized educational initiatives were also a favoured solution. The move to expand educational opportunities for those interested in embarking upon a career in the tourist industry in Canada began even before the Second World War had ended. In October 1945 the Ontario Agricultural College planned to offer a short training course lasting seven months that would provide students, initially restricted to returning servicepeople, with both "classroom instruction" and "laboratory work." The course would focus on cooking and accounting as well as "the actual construction and maintenance of a resort hotel."⁹⁸ In 1945-46 a tourist industry training course for returning veterans was created at the University of Toronto's Department of Institutional Management and flourished briefly before being transferred to the neighbouring Ryerson Institute of Technology in 1949.⁹⁹

In its attempt to improve hospitality standards the GVTA enlisted the help of oil companies and requested that service stations be advised "to pay special attention to tourists in the matter of giving that little extra service on windshield, tires, etc.. that creates goodwill... ." The GVTA also asked the Retail Merchants' Association to emphasize among retail merchants the "value of courtesy to tourists."¹⁰⁰ Not content to leave training initiatives to

⁹⁷CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, Minutes of the GVTA Annual Meeting, 2 December 1950.

⁹⁸Harrington, "The Yankee Dollah!"

⁹⁹Dubinsky, "'Everybody Likes Canadians.'"

¹⁰⁰CVA, Add MSS 633, Series A, Vol.1, File 3, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, "Operating Report," 11 January 1951.

individual companies, the GVTA joined with similar associations across the country in the late 1940s to hold "Tourist Service Education" weeks which were sponsored nationally by the Canadian Association of Tourist & Publicity Bureaus. In BC, where such weeks were known as "Tourist Courtesy" weeks, the BCGTB and GVTA organized the week-long campaigns. These campaigns, aided by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, included the distribution of posters, bumper cards and leaflets. In newspapers and in radio advertisements, as well as through "stunts," one sought to "arouse public interest in the value of courtesy to visitors."¹⁰¹

By 1957, in his annual report for the Victoria Chamber of Commerce Tourist Trade Group, Sam Lane underscored the necessity of developing "an education curriculum in the catering and hosting arts." A preliminary effort had been made that year, he reported, in conjunction with the BCGTB and a Hospitality Academy had been created. Unfortunately, the city's population had not shown a great degree of interest in the project, although tourism workers themselves had responded warmly to an educational bus tour.¹⁰²

Both the provincial government and the BC Chamber of Commerce supported and actively participated in similar initiatives throughout the post-war era. By 1957 the BCGTB had initiated a series of Tourist-Clinic Workshops in cooperation with the provincial wing of the Canadian Restaurant Association and the British Columbia Hotels' Association. The detailed organization of the clinics, held in Chilliwack, Penticton, Kelowna, Kamloops,

¹⁰¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series B, Vol. 4, File 22, R.H. Baker, "Manager's Report," *Vancouver Tourist Association Annual Report 1948*, 16-17.

¹⁰²VCA, VCC fonds, 33 G 1, File 2, *Victoria Chamber of Commerce 1957 Annual Report Year Book and Business Directory*, 13-15.

Nanaimo, and Victoria, was left to local boards of trade and the regional branches of organizations such as restaurant and hotel associations.¹⁰³ As with post-war initiatives regarding advertising and regulation, the BCGTB continued to coordinate and direct the province's tourism promotion efforts.

In January 1963, the BC Chamber of Commerce's newsletter profiled and endorsed two more innovations in tourism promotion. Hostesses representing the Kamloops Chamber of Commerce had taken to visiting local restaurants in the mornings to distribute information kits highlighting local attractions. The Chamber also praised the Princeton Chamber of Commerce's proposed Tourist Clinic which would aim to provide "people working in the service industries with better information about the attractions in the community and area." The Chamber hoped that "all personnel who deal with the public will thus increase their effectiveness as good-will ambassadors when dealing with tourists."¹⁰⁴

A more wide-ranging BCGTB educational initiative occurred in 1959 when the bureau noted a need for a counselling service to aid new accommodation operators and entered into an arrangement with the provincial Department of Education to appoint an "Institute Counsellor" responsible for co-ordinating "the various educational facilities in the restaurant-motel-hotel field, arrange clinics and instructional classes...".¹⁰⁵ By 1968 the provincial Department of Education in cooperation with the Department of Travel Industry was offering a one-week "travel counsellors course" which focused on training tourist

¹⁰³*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1957*, II36.

¹⁰⁴CVA, BCCC papers, Vol.2., File 5, *BC Bulletin* Vol.13, No.1 (January 1963): 6.

¹⁰⁵*Report of the Department of Recreation and Conservation, 1959*, Y42.

information centre operators (among others) in the following fields: public relations, geography, transportation, history, industrial and natural resources, recreation, accommodation, sources of information, border regulations, highway systems, special attractions and provincial parks. This was a five-day course offered at Vancouver City College with the only charge being five dollars for a manual.¹⁰⁶

While such training courses were aimed primarily at adults, the province's tourism promoters did not ignore younger British Columbians. Always on the lookout for free publicity and an opportunity to increase tourism's profile, BC tourism promoters went so far as to enlist the help of the province's school children. As early as September 1948 the GVTA was supplying material to Vancouver high schools for use in classroom lessons about the "industry, history, development and future of Vancouver" and as early as 1951, tourism promoters were beginning to consider how the province's many school children might be utilized to further the interests of the tourist industry. In February of that year one GVTA member suggested that the support of schoolchildren might even prove useful for the Association's financial drive.¹⁰⁷

In the early 1960s the recently formed Fraser Valley Tourist Association [FVTA] embarked upon a new attempt to increase tourism's stature throughout the community. Essay and poster contests were held in schools throughout the district involving high school

¹⁰⁶CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.7, File 42, [BC Chamber of Commerce] *The Intelligencer* Vol. 17, No. 10 (October 1968), 6.

¹⁰⁷CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 2, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, Manager's Report, 14 October 1948; Vol.1, File 3, Minutes of a Closed Meeting of the Joint Board of the VTA and Automobile club, 10 February 1951.

students. The best essays were then to be publicized through purchased advertising space in newspapers and on radio.¹⁰⁸ In March 1963, the FVTA distributed promotional material to over thirty schools throughout the Fraser Valley with the hope of interesting "a great number of our students to become better acquainted with the proud history which is our heritage."¹⁰⁹ The importance of heritage, however, was very much tied to publicity and tourism. In his message to local school principals, FVTA President René Pelletier was more forthcoming. "This Association hopes to use the achievements and the name of Simon Fraser in its advertising campaign and tourist promotion," he explained, and was "attempting to have this part of the country known as 'The Land of Simon Fraser'." In seeking principals' cooperation in organizing essay and poster contests among local high school students, Pelletier emphasized that a poster should not simply be of any format, but "should be such that it can be adapted for use on Billboards, crests, stationary letterheads or lapel buttons." Both the essays and posters were to take as their theme, "The Land of Simon Fraser."¹¹⁰ Cash prizes for both competitions were furnished by the Bank of Montreal and by Pelletier himself.¹¹¹

The FVTA's initiative combined a desire to educate with a recognition of the potential public relations benefits of associating school children with their endeavours. Some

¹⁰⁸UBCA, FVTA papers, File 13, Minutes of FVTA Executive Meeting, 25 June [1963].

¹⁰⁹UBCA, FVTA papers, File 13, René Pelletier, Pres, FVTA to "Editor," 23 March 1963.

¹¹⁰UBCA, FVTA papers, File 13, Pelletier to Principals of Schools in the Fraser Valley, 11 March 1963.

¹¹¹UBCA, FVTA papers, File 13, Executive Committee Minutes, 26 February 1963.

tourism promoters took a different stance and viewed the province's schoolchildren as potential tourist industry employees whose opinions of the industry needed to be shaped from an early age. In response to a 1969 questionnaire from Canadian Pacific Airlines concerning what needed to be done to improve training facilities for tourist workers, one GVTA member offered the following blunt appraisal: "I feel that more emphasis must be put on the service industries to the student in the primary and secondary grades."¹¹² In their determined attempts to promote an ethic of hospitality throughout civil society, tourism promoters thus adopted a variety of educational strategies ranging from community tourism clinics to public school essay contests. When it came to focusing directly on how hospitality affected the experience of tourists visiting British Columbia, however, the province's tourism promoters demonstrated a willingness to embrace a number of unconventional approaches.

Hospitality Without Hosts

In his 1955 address to the Pacific Northwest Trade Association, Professor E.D. McPhee objected to what he saw as the overly generic quality of much of the region's promotional material. Too many promotional efforts, he maintained, were hindered by general assertions that tourist destinations or attractions were "unsurpassed, glorious, magnificent," and "tremendous." More specific and detailed descriptions, he explained, were necessary. McPhee encouraged promoters to acknowledge the increasing differentiation of their clientele. "Who wants what you have -- young people with families or middle aged

¹¹²CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.7, File 49, CP Air Questionnaire; Completed and submitted to Jack Webb, 12 December 1969.

people?" he asked. Moreover, he explained, promoters in the Pacific Northwest had relied for too long on the region's scenery as its primary selling point. Beautiful scenery, he reminded his audience, was also available in Colorado and California. In British Columbia, he argued, more needed to be made of the province's many parks as well as its recreational opportunities. Such efforts would complement the overall thrust of tourism promotion: to emphasize the possibility of experiences that the tourist could not obtain at home.¹¹³ Promotional activities after the war suggested that the province's tourism promoters were indeed aware of this necessity.

Yet for McPhee promotional material was only part of the solution. Once these tourists arrived, he argued, more needed to be done to direct their experience. "The tourism business in Britain is made more attractive and easy," he maintained, "by planned routes which tell you mile by mile the things to see. the things you could see, points of historic interest in the land you are passing through." Similarly, he argued, tourism literature in British Columbia, and elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest should "help a tourist to know where to go and how long he should allow to buy the goods and services you want sold[.]" Directional signs, he explained, were another useful component in directing the tourist experience.¹¹⁴ Such endeavours were increasingly important as the international competition for tourists increased.

Formal attempts to inculcate an ethic of hospitality through classroom initiatives were supplemented by other less traditional forms of socialization. For example, organizations

¹¹³McPhee, "The Business of Tourism."

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

such as the GVTA also encouraged hospitality by creating hospitality clubs. The task of soliciting and maintaining subscriptions for the association remained the domain of the GVTA's overwhelmingly male membership under the auspices of what they termed the Captain Vancouver Club. The task of performing more "traditional" hospitality tasks, however, was reserved for women. Indeed, an important stage in the development of hospitality services in Vancouver was the establishment of the Lady Vancouver Club in 1963. Its initial fifty volunteers quickly went to work supplying maps and brochures while conducting questionnaires at the Blane Border Crossing on 3-4 July 1963.¹¹⁵

Lady Vancouver Club activities focused on promoting GVTA aims and objectives and emphasized "the role of women as hostesses in their home town." Their activities included volunteering for office work during rush periods, operating information booths at conventions, greeting arriving groups from ships and trains, arranging tours of homes and gardens, formulating ideas for crests and souvenirs, and even the formation of a "Bare Flagpole Committee to encourage the flying of Canada's flags in good condition and at appropriate times."¹¹⁶ According to the GVTA, the Club was the first of its kind in North America.¹¹⁷ It benefited from a \$500 grant from the GVTA and, according the Club Secretary

¹¹⁵CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.3, File 13, GVVCB Executive Committee Minutes, 28 February 1963; Vol.3, File 13, GVVCB Board of Directors Minutes, 5 June 1963.

¹¹⁶CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.9, File 78, Mrs. C.W. Mellish, Secretary, Interim Planning Committee, Lady Vancouver Club to GVVCB Board of Directors, 11 March 1963.

¹¹⁷CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.9, File 79, GVVCB *News From Vancouver*, 6 April 1972.

Emily Ostapchuk, the members' motivations were based on civic and provincial pride.¹¹⁸ In 1965 the Club embarked upon a good will tour of the southwest US with one of the members dressed as Captain Vancouver and the others sporting straw sailor hats with blue ribbons.¹¹⁹

Much has been written about the way in which tourist experiences are shaped and determined by the tourist gaze – the manner in which tourist sites are contrived and constructed.¹²⁰ In the post-war era tourism promoters in British Columbia were now in a better position than ever before to control the tourist gaze effectively. They did so by employing a number of modern techniques in an effort both to encourage proper deportment among workers in the tourist industry and to direct tourists efficiently from one attraction to the next.

One initiative involved employing modern surveillance techniques in an effort to have service sector employees engage in self-discipline. To this end the GVTA utilized contests to provide incentives for hospitable behaviour on the part of local workers. In 1965 the GVTA sponsored an anonymous committee to select ten "typically courteous public-spirited employees" from throughout the business community as winners of the GVTA's "Spring Hospitality Contest."¹²¹ Winners were chosen from "categories" ranging from retail

¹¹⁸CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.9, File 78, Emily Ostapchuk, Secretary, Lady Vancouver Club to Jack Bain, President GVVCB, 8 July 1966.

¹¹⁹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series D, Vol.6, File 30, VVB News Release, 25 May 1965.

¹²⁰See, for example, Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* and Ian McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964," *Acadiensis* 22,2 (Spring 1993): 102-138.

¹²¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.7, File 38, Harold Merilees to Councillor Henry Gilbertson, Richmond, 7 May 1965.

clerks, hotel and motel staff, taxi drivers, and car hops, in short, "any male or female whose duties bring them into direct touch with tourists and/or convention delegates." Nominees were inspected secretly by committee members. GVTA Managing Director Harold Merilees underlined the importance of hospitality, and thus of such a competition, by reminding GVTA members that the tourist travel and convention business was now the province's second largest industry and was worth over \$185 million annually. Greater Vancouver's share of this "large economic melon" was over \$100 million and the "most important factors in maintaining the phenomenal growth of this lucrative business" were "COURTESY AND ACCURATE INFORMATION." It was on these bases that nominees would be judged.¹²²

The winners' prize, part of Air Canada's attempt to publicize its new "high-speed jet service" between Vancouver and New York was a five day round-trip all-expenses paid tour of New York's World Fair in May. The winners, honoured with a lunch at the Pacific National Exhibition's Dogwood Dining Room were drawn primarily from the service sector and consisted of a ship's pilot, a waitress, a head waiter, a bus driver, a district supervisor for the provincial Fish & Game Branch, a Vancouver Police traffic officer, a hotel doorman, a gasoline service station manager, a maid-housekeeper, and a retail sales lady.¹²³

Noticeably absent from this list of winners were Vancouver cabbies -- a group that had been recently lambasted in local newspapers as being among "the world's scruffiest taxi-drivers." Cabbies for Black Top Cabs were made aware of the GVTA competition, but the

¹²²CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.7, File 38, Harold Merilees, form letter to various recipients, 6 April 1965.

¹²³CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.7, File 38, Harold Merilees to Councillor Henry Gilbertson, Richmond, 7 May 1965.

company offered a more tangible suggestion as to why hospitality might be improved: "At all times we should be most courteous and ever helpful to our passengers, a good percentage of whom are tourists" a company bulletin explained, "--we should conduct ourselves in this manner if for no other reason than to promote the receiving of larger tips."¹²⁴

By the 1950s the province's tourism promoters had also begun to embrace the possibility of controlling the tourist gaze and ensuring visitor satisfaction even without the intervention of hospitality workers. In the mid-1950s, for example, the Victoria Chamber took a more active role in steering its tourists towards the city's attractions. Besides endorsing a plan that would see the creation of more sightseeing signs marking important historical and geographical attractions, the Chamber approved Sam Lane's suggestion of creating directional signs throughout the city "to focus tourist attention on points of interest." Drawing on a theme long associated with the City, Lane's signs would include a bird emblem.¹²⁵ By 1957 a yellow line guiding visitors with cars throughout the city had become a reality through the work of the V&IPB together with support from the civic politicians of Victoria, Saanich, Esquimalt and Oak Bay.¹²⁶ And by June of that year the Chamber was declaring the city's system of roadside markers and painted yellow lines on the roadways such a success that they sought the means of extending the system throughout the Island.¹²⁷

¹²⁴CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.7, File 38, *Black Top Cab Bulletin*, April 1965.

¹²⁵VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Minutes, 19 November 1954; Board of Directors Minutes, 26 September 1955.

¹²⁶VCA, VCC fonds, 33 G 1, File 2, *1957 Annual Report Year Book and Business Directory*, Sam Lane, "Report of the Chairman of the Tourist Trade Group."

¹²⁷VCA, VCC fonds, 32 A 2, Board of Directors Minutes, 14 June 1957.

The increasing desire to control the tourist gaze and to guide visitors to appropriate attractions efficiently was reflected in one GVTA member's lament that Vancouver was "the worst marked city on the Continent" and paled in comparison to the US federal highway system of frequent numbered markers for road through cities.¹²⁸ The attempt to guide visitors along an appropriate tourist route was thus not a strictly Victoria phenomenon. A "49 Mile Drive" in San Francisco served a similar purpose and in 1957 the GVTA attempted to revive and enlarge an earlier plan to create a Scenic Drive for Vancouver.¹²⁹ By March 1958 the GVTA considered itself having moved closer to realizing this aim of establishing a 59 mile scenic drive of Vancouver.¹³⁰ According to Hughes the benefits of a scenic drive were threefold: it provided visitors with "an opportunity to properly see the beauty spots to best advantage"; it inevitably meant cash-generating stops along the way; and it meant visitors would return home as "as better ambassadors."¹³¹

Establishing scenic drives and otherwise ensuring tourists had an enjoyable experience in Vancouver meant removing some less enjoyable scenes. When the President of the South Burnaby Board of Trade brought to the GVTA's attention the existence of some unsightly squatters' shacks on Burrard Inlet, the GVTA enthusiastically took up the Board's

¹²⁸CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.1, File 2, VTA Board of Directors Minutes, 19 August 1948.

¹²⁹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 9, GVTA Visitor Promotion Committee Minutes, 16 May 1957.

¹³⁰CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 9, GVTA Board of Directors Minutes, 20 March 1958.

¹³¹CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 10, GVTA Meeting Regarding a Scenic Drive Minutes, 9 June 1958.

case by drafting letters to anyone who might have influence – including the CPR, the Municipality of Burnaby, the National Harbours Board and the Department of Indian Affairs – to urge a clean-up.¹³² Hospitality and differentiation were thus two sides of the same coin. To ensure maximum tourist enjoyment required not only an efficient and welcoming host population, but also a determined effort to direct tourists' attention towards some aspects of the province's social realities and away from others.

The drive to sell tourism to British Columbians as a public good thus embraced a wide variety of initiatives. Having secured state support for their endeavours the province's tourism promoters set their sights on civil society with the hope of creating a "tourist conscious" province. Their initiatives included forays into university and public school curricula, concerted efforts to train and monitor service sector employees, and a campaign to improve directional signage in order to limit the occurrence of unpleasant travel experiences, all in an effort to manage and maximize the post-war tourist "boom."

5. Conclusion

As Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse remind us in their study of Canada's Cold War, "the capitalism that produced the goods after the war was not quite the old unregulated *laissez-faire* capitalism of the 'Dirty Thirties.' It was a capitalism managed and assisted by the state."¹³³ As tourism promoters' activities in the post-war era suggest, however, the

¹³²CVA, GVVCB papers, Series A, Vol.2, File 9, GVTA Executive Committee Minutes, 26 May 1958.

¹³³Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 14.

government played an important role in *selling the goods* as well. The BCGTB employed market research surveys and expanded advertising campaigns in order to sell consumer goods to visitors while participating in a vigorous campaign to sell tourism as a public good to British Columbians.

The provincial government, through its funding initiatives and its direct involvement in promotional campaigns, played a central role in developing the province's tourist industry. As a mature industry, an increasing number of tourism promoters argued, tourism required the tools and approaches that had gained currency elsewhere. Thus when Dan Wallace, Acting Director of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau, addressed the annual meeting of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce in 1965 he suggested that it was now "right to speak with respect of 'the travel industry'." And because tourism was an "industry" it required more "extensive market research" as well as an increasing effort to relate "travel promotion expenditure to the returns to be expected on this investment."¹³⁴

Tourism promoters in British Columbia had, in fact, been pursuing such goals since the end of the Second World War and they had been leaning heavily on the provincial government in the process. Their activities testify to the fact that British Columbia's post-war tourism boom was not simply a reflexive reaction to pent-up tourist demand; it was a process that was managed (but by no means fully controlled) by the province's tourism promoters. The final decision about how much to travel and where to visit certainly rested with consumers, but as this chapter demonstrates, promoters harnessed the spending power and

¹³⁴VCA, VCC fonds, File 7, "Canada's Travel Industry" Address by Dan Wallace, Acting Director, CGTB to the Annual Meeting of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce, 15 September 1965.

bureaucratic management style of the provincial government as they worked diligently to influence both consumer behaviour and the conduct of those British Columbians tourists were likely to meet.



**SEPTEMBER IS
'Spring Time'
in B.C.**

Yes, right now the Spring or Tyee Salmon are running in the famous coastal waters of British Columbia. Here is sport-fishing at its finest, fishing which attracts anglers from all over the world. You'll catch Spring Salmon from 6 lbs. to 60 lbs. in size, and excellent Coho, too, the lightest fish that every took your lure. Take two weeks and come now. Excellent accommodation at all fishing centres. For further details, write:

BRITISH COLUMBIA
GOVERNMENT TRAVEL
BUREAU
Victoria, B.C. 6-10-49



Figure 6.1. "September is 'Spring Time' in B.C." Some BCGTB ads attempted to equate Autumn with Spring. *Sunset* magazine 103. + (October 1949). +.

fresh green world
of holiday fun

BRITISH COLUMBIA

CANADA

To: Dept. A,
British Columbia Government Travel Bureau,
Victoria, B.C., Canada.

Name _____

Address _____



HAPPY VALLEYS, smiling sunsets, sparkling, cool, calm waters await your visit to British Columbia this year. If you were here before you'll enjoy another visit—if not, the new atmosphere will do you good. Right now is a good time. No passport needed. Write

BRITISH COLUMBIA
GOVERNMENT TRAVEL BUREAU
Victoria, B.C.

SS-67-31



Figures 6.2 and 6.3. A year-round "green world" of "happy valleys." Other ads simply urged tourists to visit the province outside of the usual summer months. *Sunset* magazine 107.4 (October 1951). 20; *Sunset* magazine 114.4 (April 1955). 38.

Vancouver has everything for everyone... the blue Pacific at your doorstep... amazing mountains... year 'round sport and holiday pleasure. It's gay, cosmopolitan—a city of flowers and famous parks, smart shops, exciting night life. You'll ride unique chairlifts to scenic mountain tops... cruise-sheltered inland seas within minutes of the city center. There's vacation fun 12 months of the year... accommodation to suit every budget. You'll be glad you came to Vancouver... a perfect blending of metropolitan activity and the great outdoors. Come this year!

VANCOUVER

Greater Vancouver Tourist Association
 200 West Lamont Street
 Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Please send me, whether post, business and holiday information on Vancouver, B.C.

Name: _____
 Address: _____
 City: _____



CANADA'S
 EVERGREEN
 PLAYGROUND

VANCOUVER ON-THE-PACIFIC

It's mild here and green all year. It's for holidays and honeymoons. It's for vacations and conventions. It's the place you'll remember and talk about for years. Hotels - motels - plenty of places to stay. Come by bus, car, plane or train. But come soon - and often!

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Figures 6.4 and 6.5. Vancouver as a year-round destination. Greater Vancouver Tourist Association advertisements throughout the 1950s emphasized this point as well. A 1951 advertisement informed readers that "vacation fun" was available "12 months of the year" while a 1957 advertisement reminded potential visitors that "It's mild here and green all year." *Sunset* magazine 107,1 (July 1951), 15; *Sunset* magazine 118,5 (May 1957), 4.

Conclusion: From Tourist Trade to Tourist Industry

"What is a tourist?" asked Roland Wild in a 1955 article for *Saturday Night* magazine, "What does he want and where does he spend his money?"¹ Wild's two questions appear seamlessly linked, for today we generally assume that a tourist is someone who visits a place other than his or her home community and whose impact upon society is measured primarily in terms of the dollars spent there. As the early chapters of this study demonstrate, however, there was a time when Wild's second question would not have followed so naturally from his first. During the first three decades of the twentieth century in British Columbia, tourism promoters saw tourism as a way to lure investment to the province. After 1930, however, tourism became increasingly equated with consumption and the industry's success was measured primarily in terms of tourist expenditures. Between 1920 and 1965 tourism was effectively incorporated into North America's growing culture of consumption. Two brief anecdotes, both focusing on tourism promoters' attitudes towards Aboriginal imagery, capture the essence of this incorporation.

In January 1966 the Greater Vancouver Visitors and Convention Bureau [GVVCB], then the latest incarnation of the Greater Vancouver Tourist Association, hit upon what its members considered to be a stroke of promotional genius. With Canada's 1967 Centennial celebrations on the horizon, the GVVCB planned to commission a 100-foot tall totem pole to be presented to "honour our capital city at Ottawa" and erected on Parliament Hill. According to the bureau's manager, Harold Merilees, such an endeavor had several benefits.

¹Wild, "How Tourist Dollars Make Sense," 27.

First it "would be a newsworthy reversal of the usual pattern. Instead of requesting a Centennial grant from Ottawa," he explained, "we would be making a tangible contribution to our capital city commemorating Canada's Centennial." Second, and most obviously, the totem pole would "remain as a permanent advertisement for British Columbia for all who would see it and photograph it on Parliament Hill." Third, its journey from Vancouver to Ottawa would also generate publicity as it would be shipped by truck across the western half of the country and would be "exhibited in the principal cities en route" and would make an appearance at the World's Fair in Montreal. Fourth, there was an additional possibility for publicity -- one that was very much in keeping with an emerging trend in tourism initiatives that championed behind-the-scenes or "back region" experiences.² Merilees insisted that the "actual work of carving by our native Indian craftsmen would provide a big attraction" for both residents and visitors during 1966 – BC's Centennial – either in Stanley Park in Vancouver or Thunderbird Park in Victoria.³

Grant Deachman, the federal Member of Parliament for the riding of Vancouver-Quadra responded to Merilees's proposal with cautious optimism. Deachman was keen on the proposal but expressed "grave doubts that the government will permit the erection of a totem pole or any other exhibit of regional culture on the sacred grounds of Parliament Hill." "The granting of permission to a city or province to erect something on Parliament Hill," he cautioned, "would blow up a competition to end all competitions." Deachman was apparently

²MacCannell. *The Tourist*, 100-102.

³CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.8, File 52, Memorandum from Harold Merilees to various people including MPs and MLAs, 28 January 1966.

envisioning a provincial rivalry in which the 100-foot tall BC totem pole would be quickly joined by, among other provincial symbols, a 100-foot tall Nova Scotia lobster and a 100-foot tall PEI potato – all cluttering the grounds on Parliament Hill.

Deachman voiced an alternative idea. The National Museum was scheduled to move into a new building to be completed in 1969 that would surely "be one of the most important buildings in Ottawa and a national tourist attraction." This building, Deachman suggested, "should be the permanent home for a Vancouver totem." "In fact," he explained optimistically, "it could become the signature piece of that building..." For the present time, Deachman suggested, the Centennial totem pole "should be given a very prominent place in Ottawa" (his suggestion was that the pole be temporarily located at the corner of Elgin and Sparks streets which represented "the hub of city foot and vehicular traffic" and then moved into the National Museum). "When the time comes to install it at the Museum," Deachman enthusiastically explained, "it should be moved to the new site with great ceremony." "An Anglican Bishop should bless it," he continued. "A Catholic Bishop should throw holy water on it and a Rabbi should cut a piece off it."⁴

Deachman's pronouncements here reveal a great deal about the exalted place of Aboriginal culture in British Columbia's tourism promotion efforts by the 1960s. But the playful way in which Deachman suggested the totem pole be welcomed into the museum belied another aspect of tourism promotion: the manner in which promoters now tipped their collective caps to the playfulness and pastiche of postmodernity. In Deachman's proposal

⁴CVA, GVVCB papers, Series E, Vol.8, File 52, Grant Deachman, MP, Vancouver-Quadra to Merilees, 7 February 1966.

religion and Native culture were reduced to a decidedly de-contextualized spectacle. The historical precedence for such a ceremony -- most obviously missionary activity in the Canadian west by various religious denominations (and the conflict and complexity these activities entailed) -- was neatly expunged from this proposed ceremony. Native culture here served a solely commercial purpose: to sell visitors to Ottawa on the prospect of visiting Vancouver and leaving behind a sizeable portion of their disposable income in the process. By the 1960s tourism promotion was understood primarily as a method of encouraging visitors to spend as much money as possible in a given geographical location and from the middle-part of the century, tourism promoters had embraced the colour and allure of Aboriginal culture to help sell visitors on the prospect of visiting the city – and leaving behind their money.

That was the 1960s – and the aims of Deachman and Merilees are of a piece with the motives of tourism promoters today. Tourist behaviour today is measured by the amount of money tourists spend at a given destination. Other revealing aspects of this exchange highlight key developments examined in this study: the equation of totem poles with advertisements, the recognition by politicians of tourism's importance, and, of course, the allusion to the intense competition between tourist destinations for travellers during the post-war era. Tourism promotion in British Columbia, however, had once served a very different purpose and had been pursued in very different ways – ways which did not entail Aboriginal artifacts as a central part of the promotional effort.

A 1903 exchange between Herbert Cuthbert, then a leading member of the Tourist Association of Victoria [TAV] and J.S. Bloomfield, an artist hired to design the cover for *An*

Outpost of Empire for the TAV illustrates this point well.⁵ When Cuthbert asked the artist to provide a sketch for the booklet, Bloomfield produced one of an Indian. Cuthbert's reply was polite but direct. The Tourist Association, he explained, had "endeavored to avoid using the Indians in our illustrations as much as possible because while it is true they are probably very picturesque when found in the interior, ... those found on the coast are otherwise." He directed Bloomfield to produce instead a cover illustration of Esquimalt Harbour.⁶

Cuthbert's objection was not, however, based solely on his personal opinion of Native people. "I showed the sketch to some of our principal subscribers and some of our newspaper men and I must admit that they all took ... a decided objection to the Indian." Cuthbert explained. "[T]here is such a local prejudice against anything with Indians or references to Indians." Cuthbert maintained, that Bloomfield's design could never gain acceptance. Cuthbert requested instead a sketch "that will represent some feature in the history of this City or Island as an Outpost of Empire without using the glorified Indian." A "sailor, a soldier, a miner or lumberman" would all prove acceptable as representing an incident or feature typical of the City.⁷ Fittingly, Cuthbert's alternative suggestions reflected contemporary Anglo-Saxon martial and industrial ideals. The choice of the harbour itself also

⁵VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks 1903-1906, Cuthbert to J.S. Bloomfield, Vancouver, 12 December 1903.

⁶VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks 1903-1906, Cuthbert to S. McClure, Victoria, 20 October 1903.

⁷VCA, TAV papers, Secretary's Letterbooks 1903-1906, Cuthbert to J.S. Bloomfield, Vancouver, 14 November 1903. When it eventually went to press, the first edition of the pamphlet sported Flora, the Goddess of Flowers in the foreground and British Warships in the background. See Lines, "A Bit of Old England," 35.

reinforced the desired effect of the tourist literature: to help potential visitors see Victoria as a lively and productive commercial centre.

This study has examined the developments that took place between these two episodes and has examined tourism promoters' changing conceptions of just what a tourist was. Indeed, the changing makeup of the tourism promoters themselves throughout the twentieth century is itself indicative of the changing nature of tourism promotion. At the turn of the century, local boosters such as Herbert Cuthbert dominated the public discussions surrounding tourism and its potential contributions to prosperity in British Columbia. They saw tourism primarily as a promotional strategy that would capitalize upon the utilitarian outlook of tourists who were both repulsed and excited by the impact of industrial capitalism. By the 1930s, a new group of tourism promoters held sway. Men like David Leeming and Charles Webster presided over local tourist organizations whose membership increasingly reflected the growing centrality of the service sector in the provincial economy. It was at this time that the rationale behind tourism promotion was transformed to embrace a consumerist orientation that identified tourist visits with tourist expenditures. This orientation was confirmed in the post-war era as veteran advertising men such as Harold Merilees and Harry Duker stepped forward to lead more aggressive and innovative campaigns for tourists in the 1950s and 1960s.

In tracing the changing conceptions tourism among tourism promoters in British Columbia, this study has also examined the formation of a tourist industry. It would be misleading to refer to tourism promotion efforts in British Columbia before the Second World War as comprising a tourist "industry" – although the term was employed by many

tourism promoters themselves. Tourist "trade" is a far more fitting term. Before the economic dislocation of the Great Depression tourism promotion was viewed by many people, and the provincial government in particular, as an unimportant activity. Moreover, before the government belatedly recognized tourism's possibilities in the late 1930s, tourism promotion was generally pursued in an uncoordinated manner in a very limited portion of the province. The advent of state intervention was the crucial development that transformed the tourist trade into a tourist industry. During the Second World War, the provincial government's travel bureau embarked upon a campaign to coordinate the province's tourism promotion activities. It also commenced a drive to catalogue both the province's attractions and the characteristics of potential visitors to the province. Throughout the post-war era the elements of the modern tourist industry were put in place: expanded advertising campaigns, intensified consumer marketing research, and the creation of a receptive and hospitable host population. Such state intervention set the stage for an invasion of civil society during the post-war era. In 1955, for example, when *Saturday Night* journalist Roland Wild posed the questions, "What is a tourist?" and "What does he want and where does he spend his money?" he could be confident that answers were now being provided – by undergraduate students at the University of British Columbia whose assigned task for their graduating essays was to supply market research information to tourism promoters in Vancouver.

Wild also expressed confidence in something else. "The tourist," he concluded, "has been recognized as a commodity."⁸ This study has examined and detailed the process by which tourists had come to be defined entirely by the amount of food, accommodation and

⁸Wild, "How Tourist Dollars Make Sense," 27.

souvenirs they had purchased on their visits to British Columbia. It has also demonstrated the extent to which British Columbia's history was commodified in an attempt both to lure these visitors to the province, and to convince them to spend as much money as possible once they had arrived. The commodification of the tourist is best illustrated by the comments of Earl McCallum of the *Seattle Times* who, in 1962, offered his views on how British Columbia's tourism promoters could best capitalize upon the Seattle World's Fair. In doing so he echoed the regular campaigns carried out and coordinated by the BCGTB and emphasized the province's scenery and "foreign" attractions. Yet McCallum's advice also echoed another emerging characteristic of the BC promoters' approach to tourism -- a tendency to measure tourist activities as one would the reservoir held back by a dam. "For 1962," McCallum insisted, "collective effort should result in a volume of visitors that is 'head and shoulders' above 1961."⁹ Yet tourism promoters faced an awkward dilemma. For the purposes of managing the post-war tourist "boom" visitors to British Columbia were recorded, questioned, and catalogued. For McCallum and others they were increasingly viewed impersonally as components of economic development. As this study has demonstrated, however, one of the key concerns of tourism promotion was hospitality. Tourists might comprise a "volume" that flowed into the province, but they were not. GVVCB President Alan Emmott reminded Vancouverites, "chickens to be plucked" – a revealing term that acknowledged the plight of the individual consumer who was confronted

⁹UBCA, FVTA papers, File 6, Memorandum, Earl McCallum, Director, World's Fair Edition, *Seattle Times* to Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce Throughout British Columbia, 25 November 1961.

with the assembled apparatus that the tourist industry now boasted.¹⁰ The story of tourism in twentieth-century British Columbia is not simply the story of a seemingly insatiable consumer demand spasmodically slaking its thirst whenever the opportunity arose. It is the story of how this formidable apparatus of consumer culture was put in place and set to work.

¹⁰CVA, GVVCB papers, Series D, Vol.6, File 32, "Hospitality Stressed By Tourist Official", *News From Vancouver*. May 1969.

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