

A HISTORY OF MAYNE ISLAND

by

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ABSTRACT

Mayne Island is one of the most accessible of the populated outer Gulf Islands in the southern Georgia Strait of British Columbia, which also include Saturna, Galiano, and North and South Pender. Together with Saltspring and many smaller islands, the southern Gulf Islands form a buffer zone between the two largest metropolitan areas of the province, Vancouver and Victoria. A prime location in the Georgia Strait urban region and a marine environment have circumscribed Mayne Island's social, political, and economic development for more than a century.

This study traces the development of Mayne Island from the beginning of white settlement to the present, and focuses upon the problems inherent to settlement, the acquisition of community services, and the demands placed upon the region by the forces of urban and industrial growth. General concepts of British Columbia history are tested by examining the lives of individuals and families, the role of Indian women in post gold rush society, the influence of the British immigrants, and the integration of the Japanese prior to 1942.

The last section of the thesis discusses the problems of transportation and development of land resources in the Gulf Islands between 1950 and 1982, as a consequence of the burgeoning population of the mainland and the southern tip of Vancouver Island. Gulf Islanders abandoned their pleasant, laissez-faire existence and accepted government assistance for ferry transportation and land-use protection. The need for environmental preservation culminated in a concept in local government, the Islands Trust, never before implemented in Canada. A test case on Mayne Island played a vital role in establishing the viability of the Trust.

Urban attitudes presently dominate British Columbia historical scholarship. The history of Mayne Island suggests that more studies of local, rural areas are also required to gain a complete picture of British Columbia's development.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

A dramatic confrontation between country and city is occurring all over North America today as rural communities face the threat of urban assimilation. There is an urgent need for historians to define these vulnerable rural areas before they vanish from the maps. One of the most threatened sectors in British Columbia lies in Georgia Strait, midway between the province's two largest metropolitan regions, Vancouver and Victoria. Despite the insularity provided by a marine environment, the southern Gulf Islands, comprised of Saltspring, and the outer islands of North and South Pender, Saturna, Galiano, and Mayne, are rapidly becoming part of the Georgia Strait urban region.

From the earliest settlement period until the present, Mayne Island's history is a prime example of a marine community that had to come to terms with its vulnerable location in southern Georgia Strait. Several natural advantages resulted in the island becoming the social hub of the outer Gulf Islands, and while the residents dealt with the problems of establishing and maintaining a rural community in close proximity to the mainland, they made a unique contribution to the development of the province.

Local history provides an opportunity to examine closely the lives of individuals in order to discover how much they adapted to their environment, and how much of the environment was changed to suit their needs. The extent of these adaptations on Mayne Island is illustrated by studies of individuals from each major time period, i.e., early settlement, circa 1900 to 1960, and circa 1960 to 1980. The studies are also used to illustrate the social conditions of the island residents. Was the nature of Mayne Island society egalitarian? Closely-knit?

British Columbia historians tend to overlook small, rural communities when tracing the development of the province. The nineteenth century history of British Columbia concentrates on the Cariboo gold rush and the growth of Vancouver and Victoria. It seldom questions what happened to the ex-gold miners once they were ready to become settlers, nor the contributions made by their families. These early pioneers developed many of the small agricultural settlements in British Columbia before a large number of middle-class British immigrants arrived in the late nineteenth century, yet the latter receive the praise for introducing a civilizing influence. Native-white relationships is another area that has been largely ignored, especially the subject of Indian wives who were a stabilizing influence in their partnerships with white settlers. At a

later stage in British Columbia history, the contribution of the Japanese, and their acceptance in society has been chiefly defined by the negative evidence of racial discrimination. Mayne Island's social development provides a positive aspect to the history of the Japanese in British Columbia, together with challenging new material about Indian wives and ex-gold miners.

With a favorable economy in the 1950's and 1960's, British Columbia's population and industries expanded rapidly, but the rural areas became much more vulnerable for exploitation. The Mayne Island community at first wanted to become part of this development, but later had difficulty coping with the demands placed on its land resources. The legislation of the Islands Trust by the provincial government in 1974 was a major experiment in local government and environmental control. The Trust evolved from control under the Capital Regional District to control by Gulf Island residents, with positive and negative factors in its administration.

The history of Mayne Island suggests that an examination of rural communities in British Columbia can be richly rewarding. Details concerning the social, economic, and political development of the island help to fill in

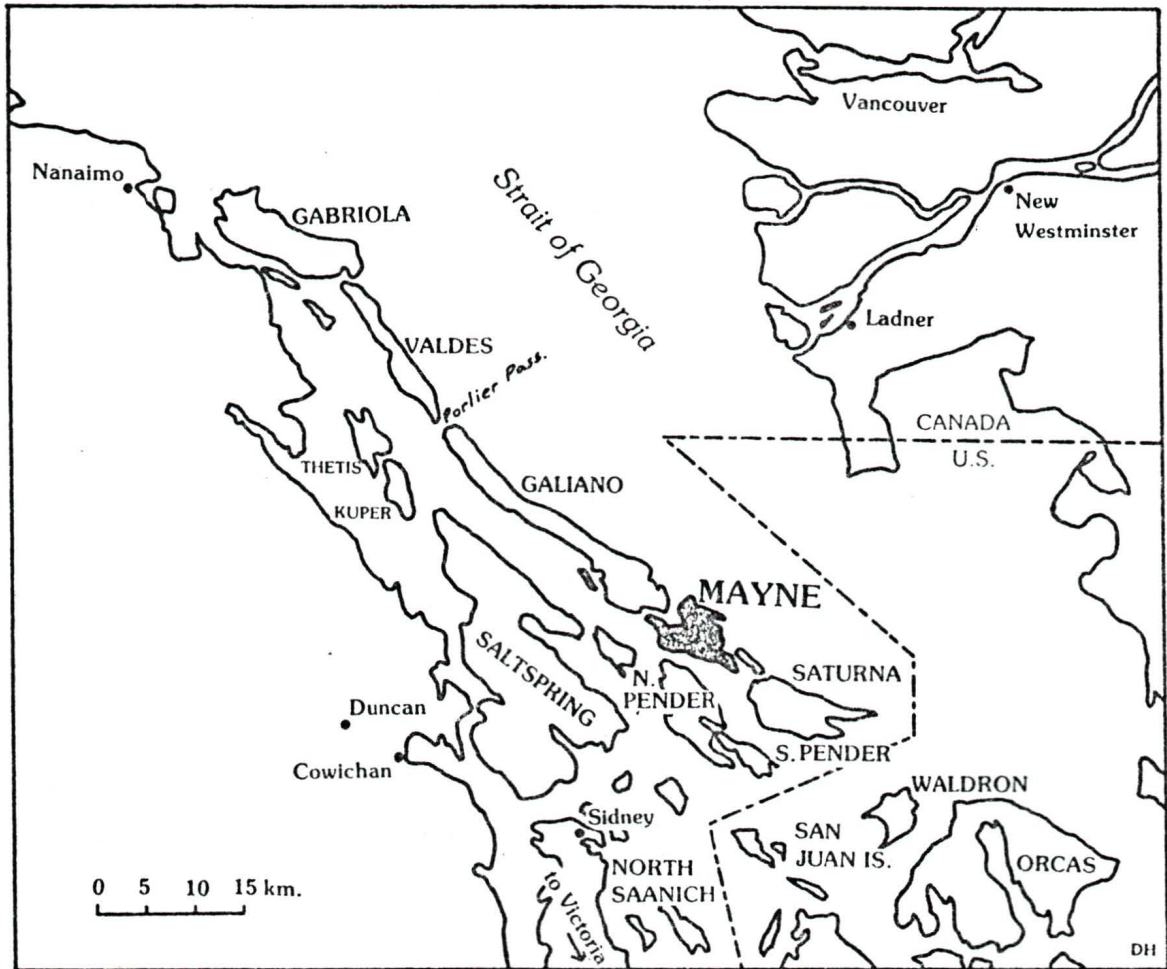
the larger, over-all picture of our province's past, and may present a new challenge to social historians concerned with our ethnic heritage.

* * * * *

The sea gave birth to Mayne Island some sixty million years ago, and has dominated the history of the island ever since, carving out valleys and shore indentations during post glacial periods, providing sustenance for the earliest native Indian inhabitants, challenging the efforts of intrepid settlers to establish homesteads, and paradoxically threatening isolation while enhancing a utopian ideal.

With a surface area of 6,506 acres, Mayne Island is the second smallest, populated island of the southern Gulf Island group that also includes Galiano, Saturna, Saltspring, and North and South Pender Islands (see map page 5). The southern Gulf Islands are an extension of the San Juan archipelago and lie midway between Vancouver Island and the mainland in southern Georgia Strait. During the Late Cretaceous period, approximately 100 million years ago, this region was established by sedimentary deposition in the Nanaimo Basin, which extended from Sucia Island in Washington State northwest to Nanoose Bay on Vancouver Island.¹

MAP NO. 1



The southern Gulf Islands of British Columbia

Tectonic activity 60 million years ago thrust this deposition into anticlines with axial planes trending northwest/southeast. Subsequent breaching, erosion, igneous intrusions (on Saltspring only), glacial activity, and marine incursions created islands with low valleys of silt-covered shale, and rocky, barren cuerdas of impervious conglomerate. Thus, the valleys contain soil that is fertile and productive, whereas the hillsides are suitable for limited grazing purposes only.²

Mayne Island possesses a greater percentage of agricultural land than most of the outer Islands. Three fertile valleys which bisect the island from northwest to southeast provided farm sites for the early settlers. A mild climate, averaging 2,000 hours of sunshine and 31 inches of rain annually, was also conducive to settlement and agricultural production.³

The island's physical location on the south side of Active Pass, with a large harbour, Miners Bay, midway through the waterway, was an asset for two reasons. Isolation, always a major factor to contend with in island living, was reduced when steam vessels used the Pass after 1855 as part of the shortest route between Victoria and the mainland. Secondly, large quantities of salmon migrated through the Pass to the Fraser River, providing sustenance and income from fishing.⁴

Archaeological evidence has placed man on Mayne Island as early as 3,000 B.C. when forerunners of the Nanaimo and Cowichan Indian tribes, Halkomelem speakers, used Helen Point at the south entrance to Active Pass as a fishing station. More recently, Straits Salish (Songhees, Saanich) temporarily used the same site, trapping fish in large reef nets. Three distinct cultural phases have been established: Mayne, Marpole, and San Juan, the latter dating from 1200 A.D. to European contact.⁵

The Spanish found Indians residing on Galiano during explorations in 1791 and 1792, and they were probably present on the other Islands as well. The Sutil and Mexicana, under Commanders Don Dionisio Galeano and Don Cayetano Valdez, anchored overnight in June 1792 in a bay off the east coast of Galiano Island that the Spaniards named Anclage. While navigating the strong tides of Porlier Pass the next day they encountered "healthy-looking young men and two older men" who offered bramble berries, shellfish, and water in return for beads and buttons. The Spaniards found these natives to be more "trusting and affable" than those encountered later at Nanaimo.⁶

Sixty years later, when the Royal Navy commenced surveying the coasts of Vancouver Island and the mainland in 1858, they observed Indians residing on Mayne Island. The earliest detailed maps of the area, prepared by Captain George Henry Richards, show an Indian village at Mayne Island on a bay named, rather unimaginatively, Village Bay.⁷ On March 3, 1877, the Joint Reserve Committee designated the land at Helen Point, Mayne Island, as an Indian Reserve.⁸ Whereas elsewhere in the province many of the Reserves established by the Committee were not recognized, this particular Reserve of 323 acres has remained intact and occupied by members of the Cowichan tribe to the present day. Thus, descendants of the first Indian tribes to occupy Helen Point three thousand years ago were on Mayne Island to assist the first white settlers when they arrived in 1861.

* * * * *

When Governor James Douglas made a canoe trip from Victoria through the "Canal de Arro" to visit the coal district at Wentuhuysen Inlet (Nanaimo) in 1852, he found his maps extremely inaccurate, with the coastline of Vancouver Island charted fifteen to twenty miles east of where it should be, and the "intermediate space" occupied

by islands that he named the Arro Archipelago. In a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society in London, Douglas recommended that this region be surveyed as soon as possible in order that merchant ships plying between Victoria and Wentuhuysen Inlet could use a shorter route than the existing one by way of Georgia Strait.⁹ This survey was not carried out until 1858-59 by Captain George Henry Richards on the survey ship H.M.S. Plumper. Many of the Gulf Islands had been named during the voyages of the early Spanish explorers and Captain George Vancouver in 1791 and 1792, but Mayne Island was designated by Captain Richards to honor his lieutenant on the Plumper, Richard Charles Mayne. Upon his return to England in 1862, Mayne published Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, which has become a classic account of conditions in early British Columbia.¹⁰

At the same time that Richards was surveying the southern Georgia Strait region, the first white occupation of Mayne Island commenced in 1858 when gold miners, en route to the Fraser River from Victoria, began stopping overnight at what soon became known as Miners Bay, Plumper Pass (see map page 30). Two freshwater streams and a relatively flat camping area adjacent to a gravel beach made the area an attractive resting place. Plumper Pass was the name first used for Active Pass by the local settlers, a practice that

continued into the twentieth century. In his book, Mayne hints that Active Pass was originally called Plumper Pass.¹¹ Captain Richards officially named the waterway Active Pass in 1958 upon learning that the U.S.S. Active, which had assisted Richards in surveying Semiamhoo Bay in connection with the international boundary dispute, had been the first naval steamship to use the Pass in 1855.¹² Nevertheless, local usage persisted. The first post office to serve the outer Gulf Islands, located at Miners Bay, was called Plumper Pass in 1880, and the Provincial Police lockup, built near the post office in 1896, bore the Plumper Pass designation. The post office officially changed its name to Mayne Island on April 1, 1900, but as late as 1909 journalists were still writing articles for the newspapers using Plumper Pass to describe the Active Pass area.¹³

The first settlers to record pre-emptions in the Plumper Pass region chose Miners Bay and the valley running eastward from it across the island, about 1861.¹⁴ Their diverse backgrounds represented the wide variety of newcomers to British Columbia at the time of the Cariboo gold rush. Christian Mayers was of German descent, a native of Plochingen in the kingdom of Wurtemberg, and James Messenger Greavy came from Boston, Massachusetts, and before that from

New Brunswick.¹⁵ They each registered 100 acre tracts of land, the size of the lots surveyed in the Cowichan and Nanaimo districts in 1859.¹⁶ Optimistically calling their farming area New Brighton, they proceeded to establish small ranches stocked with cattle and hogs.¹⁷ Greavy and Mayers may also have cut cedar shingles and salmon cask staves. German settlers on Saltspring Island received \$3.50 per 1000 shingles in Victoria in 1860.¹⁸

Creating a homestead on Mayne Island was somewhat less arduous for Mayers and Greavy than for settlers in other parts of British Columbia where terrain and climate were more forbidding. Cedar, alder, and fir trees comprised a large proportion of the timber on their pre-emptions, thus providing fuel for heating, and durable building materials for their homes, outbuildings, and split-rail fences. Without expensive saws, the easiest method to clear the land was to bore holes with an auger into the center of the large firs and cedar trees, then fill the holes with hot coals. The process was repeated once the trees were felled, to eliminate them altogether.¹⁹

Access to the growing communities of New Westminster, Nanaimo, and Victoria was readily available by boat. Each place, approximately thirty miles away, required a day and a half travelling time if a sail was employed and advantage

taken of the tides, which tend to flow south on the ebb and north on the flood.²⁰ Mayers and Greavy acquired a small sloop, the General Hancock, in order to transport farm produce and cattle to city markets.²¹

* * * * *

The first major difficulty for the settlers to overcome was not hewing a homestead from the forest but dealing with the Indians, for their reaction to the settlers was an unknown factor. Not only did local resident Indians outnumber the settlers²² but renegade bands roamed the waterways from the San Juan Islands north to Kuper Island. The Cowichan Indians were known to have used the narrow passages through Plumper Pass and Porlier Pass as convenient locations for plundering the canoes of other tribes.²³ Added to this uneasy situation was the knowledge that the Haidas made trading visits to Victoria, spurning the seasonal, northern trading trips of the Hudson's Bay Company ships Labouchere and Otter.²⁴ While both white and Negro settlers on Saltspring Island had experienced their violence, it appears that Mayne Island residents were spared.²⁵ Nevertheless, at least three incidents involving white-Indian conflict have been documented for the Plumper Pass area.

In 1863 Christian Mayers invited Frederick Marks, a fellow countryman, living with his wife and five children on Waldron Island, to join him at Miners Bay. On April 8 Mayers and Marks set out in two boats to move the family's effects to Mayne Island. Mayers reached Miners Bay safely with Mrs. Marks and four of the children, but Frederick Marks and his young, married daughter, Caroline Harvey, were murdered by members of a renegade Lamalcha band as they camped overnight on Saturna Island. In reporting the murder to authorities in Victoria, Mayers stated that he had never before experienced any difficulty from the Cowichan Indians on Mayne Island and had one member in his employ. According to the Victoria Colonist, the future settlement of the Islands was in jeopardy:

Mr. Mayer [sic] states that formerly he used to travel in his boat without either gun or knife, but that now even armed and with companions he feels alarmed lest himself may be a victim in the next tragedy. Mrs. Marks and family, who were left at Plumper's Pass [sic] under the care of one man, were in much distress and terror when our informant left. Of late there have been numerous farms pre-empted on the islands lying between Plumper Pass and San Juan; there will, however, be an end to all settlement if effective measures are not promptly taken for giving the necessary protection to isolated residents, and terminating the "reign of terror" which seems to have been inaugurated. 26

The spring of 1863 was an especially difficult time for white-Indian relations. Besides the murder of Marks

and his daughter, William Brady was killed and his companion, John Henley, wounded by Indians at Bedwell Harbour, Pender Island. Further north, Indians attacked white traders at Bentinck Arm.²⁷ Concerned lest London misinterpret the alarmist stance of the Victoria newspapers, Douglas hastened to inform the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, that only a few Indians were involved; there was no threat of a general uprising among the native population. James Douglas had been under pressure by the residents of Saltspring Island for some time to provide them with law enforcement on that island. These incidents were enough to force him to appoint John Peter Mouat Biggs as Justice of the Peace for Saltspring in May 1863.²⁸

After more than a month of investigation by the Victoria police, aided by the Royal Navy gunboats Forward, Grappler, Cameleon, and Devastation, during which time one seaman was killed and the Indian village on Kuper Island razed in an act of "forest diplomacy," the murderers of Marks and Brady were apprehended. They were tried, convicted, and executed at public hangings in May and July, 1863. The executions were witnessed primarily by a large number of Indians.²⁹

At the time that Mayers reported the Marks and Harvey slayings, he stated that an Indian in his employ had talked about the murder of three white men at Plumper Pass in 1858, perpetrated by a "certain bad Indian" who liked to boast of

his exploits in killing white men.³⁰ On the evidence of two witnesses an elderly Indian named Skul-a-weet was found guilty of murdering an unnamed white man on an unnamed island about five years previous to July 1863, but lack of further information prevents linking the island with Mayne Island.³¹

In the summer of 1870, a further incident involving Indians and Plumper Pass settlers occurred. Robert Clarke had given up a tinker's existence in Victoria to attempt homesteading with his wife Annie and three children at Village Bay. While Annie was away overnight with her children visiting Sophia Georgeson on Galiano Island, Clarke was shot and killed as he split cedar shakes near his home, and his cabin was looted.³² The local settlers immediately sent a request to the Colonial Secretary in Victoria for a gunboat to "teach the Indians a lesson," but the request was denied on the grounds that the Indians involved might not belong to the Gulf Island tribes.³³ Police Commissioner Augustus F. Pemberton posted a \$500 reward for the apprehension of the murderer, which was not achieved until after a month of investigation by Victoria and New Westminster police.³⁴

The jury was unable to reach a verdict during the first trial, but evidence presented before Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie during the second trial in November 1870 indicated that an Indian named Tom had been seeking

revenge for the ill-treatment received a few days before the murder from a Portuguese settler on Galiano. Although a second jury found Tom guilty, and Judge Begbie sentenced the man to death, execution was delayed for more than two years by petitions from Tom's friends.³⁵

Troubles with the Indians continued at least until 1873 when Tom was finally executed. In September 1871 a petition signed by fifteen settlers at Plumper Pass requested the appointment of a local constable because the Indians were becoming "very troublesome and saucy, and they openly threaten to kill a white man."³⁶ On May 6, 1873, Henry Georgeson returned from Victoria to find his wife unconscious on the floor of their home. He claimed that the Indians had tried to poison Sophia, possibly in revenge for his testimony at the trial of Indian Tom.³⁷

Oldtimers of the Plumper Pass region maintain that their great-grandfathers deliberately chose Indian wives in order to protect themselves and their homesteads. In disputes with the Indians, these women would act as mediators. The difficulties experienced by the Clarkes and Georgesons contradict this belief and suggest an opposite conjecture: that white-native relationships may have been viewed with antagonism by the Indians. Despite their

Indian status Annie Clarke and Sophia Georgeson were both victims of native retaliation.³⁸

Demographic evidence on the Gulf Islands refutes another recent theory about Indian wives. Robin Fisher has argued that "An Indian wife was a positive advantage to a fur trader but not to a settler. Some settlers did form temporary liaisons with Indian women but more commonly they provided merely a temporary satisfaction of desires."³⁹ Most of the sixteen settlers at the northeast settlement on Saltspring Island in 1860 had Indian wives,⁴⁰ as did six of the earliest settlers in the Plumper Pass district: Christian Mayers, Henry Georgeson, Robert Clarke, Jacob Heck, John Silva, and William T. Collinson. Native women were trained from birth to live in the wilderness, a factor that added stability to their relationships with white men, especially during the early stages of establishing a homestead. With the possible exception of Mayers, all of the Plumper Pass unions were permanent until the death of one of the partners.⁴¹ This evidence suggests that a study of other rural districts in British Columbia might also yield similar information regarding lifetime partnerships between white settlers and Indian women.

When the Thomas Bennett family arrived on Mayne Island in 1879 there was still one elderly Indian living near their homestead, located three miles from the Indian

Reserve. The only difficulties they encountered with the Indians were the occasional potato raids carried out by the Tsawwassen band, residing directly across Georgia Strait from their farm. The Indians would either cross the Strait to dig up the potatoes themselves, or intercept Bennett as he took his produce by boat to New Westminster. Although these incidents terrorized the young family from Newcastle, England, no physical harm occurred to them.⁴²

Despite the fact that Indians outnumbered white settlers by a large margin in the Gulf Islands--the Colonist estimated the Cowichan Indians numbered 3,000 in May 1863--they never attempted to take advantage of their strength and annihilate the intruders.⁴³ Lack of harmony among the diverse tribes may be one reason why white settlement was achieved without a great deal of violence, but James Douglas's policy of dealing promptly with misdemeanors through the use of Royal Navy gunboats, public trials, and hangings must also be credited. Indians up and down the Coast came to fear and respect "King George's men." Because the gunboats were stationed at Esquimalt they were frequently in evidence for the southern coastal tribes as the ships passed among the Islands en route to the Fraser River or further north.⁴⁴ By 1885 a correspondent to the Colonist could

sanguinely report on the Plumper Pass community, "Our Indian Reserve is at present in the hands of a few steady, industrious redmen who are of great use to us in supplying a deeply felt want, to wit, labour at a reasonable price."⁴⁵

Indian-white conflicts involving Plumper Pass settlers were relatively few in number compared to other areas of British Columbia then being settled. Unfortunately, the white residents of the Pass region could not know this at the time. They could only rely on personal courage, their neighbours, and the Royal Navy for support.⁴⁶

* * * * *

During the next decade an international cross-section of young men, many with families, commenced homesteading in the Plumper Pass area. Most of these settlers remained permanently, thus providing an egalitarian foundation for the agrarian community. Fear of the Indians did not deter Alexander Nicholson, H. Lee, William Crooks, Nicholas Cook, and Hugh Hamilton from establishing pre-emptions on Mayne Island by 1865. By the same date a group of Portuguese fishermen, Juan Bronar, Jose Silvia, and Jose F. Silvia, had pre-empted 100 acres for a fishing station on the Galiano side of Plumper Pass, and Theodore Trage and John O'Brian chose to establish farms there.⁴⁷

As the Cariboo gold rush ran its course and the perceived danger from the Indians receded, men hardened by the harsh realities of Barkerville, Keithley Creek, and Quesnel Forks were ready to settle down and raise their families in a more favorable climate within British territory. There was likely a "grapevine" in operation for the next wave of settlers knew one another in the north. Jacob Heck, of Prussian origin, and countryman John Puetz had originally registered a pre-emption together at Swamp Creek in the Cariboo in 1861. Heck had subsequently operated a ferry near Keithley Creek while Puetz had worked as a labourer for various mining operations. On May 20, 1870, they registered claims on adjoining parcels of land, 120 acres each, on Mayne Island. Heck's pre-emption partially included the abandoned claims of Greavy and Mayers.⁴⁸

Although Henry "Scotty" Georgeson did not register his pre-emption until 1873, we know from details of the Robert Clarke murder that he was living on Galiano in 1870. Georgeson had come to Victoria from the Shetland Islands in the 1850's and had owned a stopping house at Beaver Pass, Lightning Creek, near Barkerville, in 1862.⁴⁹

Next to arrive were William T. (Tom) Collinson, his wife Mary, and two children in 1871. He had met Heck in the Cariboo and had settled at Sumas Prairie in 1863,

before abandoning his claim in favor of Mayne Island. Under the Land Ordinance of 1870, Collinson was able to pre-empt 160 acres. He was joined in 1873 by Fred Robson, supposedly a partner, who pre-empted 132 acres bordering the Collinson claim.⁵⁰

The one new family on Mayne Island without a gold rush background were John and Louisa Silva. John arrived from the Azores in the late 1860's and operated a grocery store in Victoria for several years before marrying Louisa, a Cowichan Indian, and moving to Village Bay in 1873.⁵¹

In August 1874 the provincial government assigned George Turner, formerly of the Royal Engineers, to survey Mayne Island. A notice in the British Columbia Gazette, November 27, 1875, announced that all vacant Crown Land on Mayne Island was open for pre-emption with the exception of twenty parcels that had already been claimed. Five years later the Gazette listed only thirty-six parcels remaining.⁵² Once the legal survey was completed, the settlers could register their claims properly and pay for them outright if the necessary \$2.50 worth of improvements per acre had been carried out. Pre-emptions had been recognized prior to government survey if a written request had been made to the Land Commissioner and a \$2.00 fee paid.⁵³ This method of registration carried with it an element of risk. William Collinson lost the first of his

two pre-emptions on Sumas Prairie when it was claimed as part of an Indian Reservation.⁵⁴

The settlers of Mayne Island had required a strong sense of self reliance to secure their land and establish their farms in a semi-isolated marine environment. They would now have to work together to obtain community services such as a post office in order that their personal investments would prove worthwhile.

¹Roger B. Stickney, "Sedimentology, Stratigraphy and Structure of the Late Cretaceous Rocks of Mayne and Samuel Islands, British Columbia" (M.Sc. thesis, Oregon State University, 1976), pp. 20-24; and Jory Allen Pacht, "Sedimentology and Petrology of the Late Cretaceous Nanaimo Group in the Nanaimo Basin, Washington and British Columbia: Implications for Late Cretaceous Tectonics" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1980), pp. 3-6.

²Stickney, "Sedimentology," pp. 160-165.

³S. Eis and D. Craigdallie, Gulf Islands of British Columbia (Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services), p. 7.

⁴John T. Walbran, British Columbia Coast Names (Vancouver: J. J. Douglas Ltd., 1971), p. 11.

⁵Roy L. Carlson, "Excavations at Helen Point on Mayne Island," B. C. Studies, 6 and 7 (Fall and Winter, 1970), pp. 113-123; and James C. Haggarty and John H. W. Sendey, Test Excavation at the Georgeson Bay Site, Gulf of Georgia Region, British Columbia (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1976), p. 64.

⁶Henry R. Wagner, Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968), p. 425; and Henry R. Wagner, Spanish Exploration in the Strait of Juan de Fuca (Santa Ana, California: Fine Arts Press, 1933), pp. 253-257. Punta de Anclage (i.e., anchorage) was probably the bay separating Gossip Island from Galiano, just north of Active Pass, since the rest of the Galiano coastline does not offer any protection from Georgia Strait until Porlier Pass is reached.

⁷"Haro Strait and Middle Channel," Map G786 har, 1872, Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter cited as PABC).

⁸British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1901, p. 591.

⁹James Douglas, "Report of a Canoe Expedition Along the East Coast of Vancouver Island," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 24 (1854), pp. 245-248.

¹⁰Richard Charles Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island (London: John Murray, 1862; reprint ed. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), pp. 10 and 151.

¹¹Mayne, Four Years, p. 207.

¹²Walbran, B. C. Coast Names, p. 11. The Hudson's Bay Company steamship Beaver used Porlier Pass at the north end of Galiano, rather than Active Pass, although the tidal bore could reach 7-8 knots in either waterway, and Porlier Pass had dangerous rocks in mid channel. Log of S.S. Beaver 1850-51, HBC Archives, C.1/208, fos. 9 and 55d, Provincial Archives of Manitoba; and George H. Richards, Vancouver Island Pilot (London: Hydrographic Office, Admiralty, 1864), p. 66.

¹³L. E. Sawyer, Manager, Public Affairs, British Columbia and Yukon Division, Canada Post, Vancouver, to author, November 9, 1979; British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1896, p. 309; and Victoria Daily Colonist, November 2, 1900, p. 5, and October 10, 1909, p. 2 (hereafter cited as Colonist).

¹⁴The exact date of occupation is uncertain. When reporting the deaths of Frederick Marks and Caroline Harvey in 1863, Mayers indicated that he had lived at Miners Bay for two years. Colonist, April 10, 1863, p. 3.

¹⁵Probated will of Christian Mayers, 4755, and intestate papers of James Messenger Greavy, 296, folio 123, vol. 1, Central Probate Index, British Columbia Court Registry, Court House, Victoria.

¹⁶A. F. Fluke, "Early Days on Saltspring Island," British Columbia Historical Quarterly 15-16 (July-October 1951), 165-166.

¹⁷Colonist, March 3, 5, and 12, 1867, all p. 3.

¹⁸Right Rev. George Hills, Journals, typescript, p. 21, British Columbia Provincial Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, Vancouver (hereafter cited as Synod Archives).

¹⁹Charles Groth, Diary, passim., Add. MS 243, PABC; and interview with Frederick James Bennett, Mayne Island, November 1981. Fred Bennett is the grandson of pioneer resident Thomas Bennett.

²⁰Mayne, Four Years, p. 19; and Will Dawson, Coastal Cruising, ref. 3d ed. (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1973), p. 22.

²¹Colonist, March 3, 1867, p. 3.

²²Wilson Duff indicates a high concentration of Indians on southeastern Vancouver Island in a population distribution map for 1835, suggesting 3-4000 natives. Wilson Duff, The Impact of the White Man, Anthropology in B. C. Memoir 5, 1964 (Victoria: Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, 1964), p. 41.

²³Thomas Crosby, Among the An-ko-me-nums (Toronto: William Briggs, 1907), p. 68.

²⁴Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Vancouver: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1958), pp. 127-128.

²⁵Hills, Journals, p. 214, Synod Archives; and Fluke, "Early Days," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, pp. 183-185.

²⁶Colonist, April 10, 1863, p. 3.

²⁷Colonist, April 9 and 28, May 4 and 19, 1863, all p. 3.

²⁸James Douglas to the Duke of Newcastle, May 21, 1863, CO 305/20, pp. 177-185, Public Records Office. mf.

²⁹Colonist, May 6, June 26, July 6, 1863, all p. 3; and Douglas to Newcastle, May 21, May 30, and July 4, 1863, CO 305/20, pp. 177-185, 191-193, and 223-234, PRO. mf.

³⁰Colonist, April 10, 1863, p. 3.

³¹Colonist, July 26, 1863, p. 3.

³²Colonist, July 9, 1870, p. 3.

³³Philip I. Hankin to A. Nicholson, J. O'Brian, and others, July 11, 1870, CO 2/505, Colonial Correspondence (hereafter cited as CC), PABC; and R. McMillan to Augustus F. Pemberton, Police Commissioner, Victoria, July 18, 1870, Superintendent of Police correspondence, outgoing, GR 61, PABC.

³⁴James McNamara and W. Edwards to A. T. Bushby, November 18, 1870, F511(2), CC, PABC.

³⁵Matthew Baillie Begbie to Colonial Secretary P. Hankin, November, 1870, court notes and correspondence, Matthew Baillie Begbie Correspondence, 142(i), CC, PABC. Robert Bishop to P. Hankin, December, 1870, 153, CC, PABC; and Colonist, April 30, 1873, p. 3. See also Pemberton to Hankin, November 24, December 7, 16, and 22, 1870, GR 61, PABC.

³⁶Colonist, September 16, 1871, p. 3.

³⁷Colonist, April 30, May 1, 4, and 6, 1873, all p. 3. Charges were to have been laid against Sophia's assailant (who had been apprehended by special constable Henry Clapham) as soon as she recovered, but no record can be found of this case being heard in Victoria court.

³⁸Interview with Wilbert Deacon, Mayne Island, November, 1981. Wilbert Deacon is the grandson of pioneer residents John and Margaret Deacon, Village Bay.

³⁹Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), p. 113.

⁴⁰Hills, Journals, p. 215, Synod Archives.

⁴¹ Christian Mayers's common-law wife Mathilda verified from probated will 4755, Court Registry, Victoria. Mathilda lived with Mayers for at least ten years while their three sons, George, Joseph, and Frederick were born. Robert Clarke's wife Annie verified by correspondence, Begbie to P. Hankin, November, 1870, CC, 142(I), PABC; John Silva's wife Louisa verified by Leo and Gayla Nelson, "Silva Family," typescript, Add. MS 242, PABC; Henry Georgeson's wife Sophia verified by great granddaughter Mary Ellen Harding, Galiano; William Collinson's wife Mary verified by great granddaughter Margaret Bennett, Mayne Island; and Jacob Heck's wife Kitty verified by Vera Green, granddaughter of William and Ann Robson, Mayne Island.

⁴² Interview with Edith Higginbottom, August 1981, Mayne Island. Edith is the granddaughter of Thomas and Alice Bennett.

⁴³ Colonist, March 28, 1863, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Barry M. Gough, The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1914 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974), pp. 89-92. See also R. Byron Johnson, Very Far West Indeed (London: Sampson Low, Marson Low & Searle, 1872), pp. 158-159. Johnson describes being pursued by Indians across Georgia Strait to Plumper Pass in 1862, where naval gunboats were anchored. F. W. Howay and Hubert Howe Bancroft suggest that Johnson had a powerful imagination and did not even come to British Columbia until 1863. (See: British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present 2 (Vancouver: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914), 675, and The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: The History Company, 1887), p. 771.

⁴⁵ T. R. Figg, "Mayne Island, Interesting Letter from that Flourishing Locality," Colonist, September 8, 1885, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Indians of the Chilcotin country remained hostile towards white settlers for more than a decade, beginning with the massacre of thirteen white men, part of a road party working on the Homathko River, in April 1864. (Fisher, Contact and Conflict, pp. 107-108, and 184-185.)

⁴⁷British Columbia, Legal Surveys Branch, Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, pre-emption records for the Cowichan land district; and Registration of Pre-emption Claims, Department of Lands and Works, Inventory II, 1861-1870, GR 765, PABC.

⁴⁸Ibid., and F. W. Laing, "Colonial Settlers," unpublished manuscript, Add. MS 700 (A-819), pp. 11 and 43, PABC. See also "Boone Helme," Victoria Times, August 18, 1893, p. 7; and Cariboo Sentinel, May 6, 1867, p. 3, and May 15, 1868, p. 3.

Greavy and Mayers may not have intended to settle permanently on Mayne Island, for both men were employed in the late 1860's as engineers on Fraser River steamboats, Greavy at Soda Creek where he died (Colonist, September 6, 1867), and Mayers at New Westminster (Sessional Papers, 1879, Voter's List--New Westminster District, p. 115). Greavy also owned a lot in Victoria. Prominent Victoria lawyer and politician Montague Tyrwhitt Drake purchased both the lot and pre-emption rights to the Mayne Island property from the estate in February, 1871, following Greavy's death (intestate papers of James Messenger Greavy, Court Registry, Victoria).

⁴⁹Laing, "Colonial Settlers," p. 332, PABC.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 194; C. Brew to Colonial Secretary, June 6, 1965, enclosing Collinson's sketch of proposed pre-emption at Sumas, CC F194(I), PABC; and Cowichan District land register, Legal Surveys Branch, Ministry of Lands Parks, and Housing, Victoria.

⁵¹Leo and Gayla Nelson, "Silva Family," typescript, Add. MS 242, PABC.

⁵²British Columbia Gazette, November 27, 1875, p. 263; January 1, 1876, p. 4; and February 28, 1880, p. 121.

⁵³British Columbia Land Ordinance, 1870, cited by Robert E. Cail, Land, Man and the Law (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974), pp. 252-253.

⁵⁴William T. Collinson to Governor Frederick Seymour, March 24, 1867, CC. F315(I), PABC.

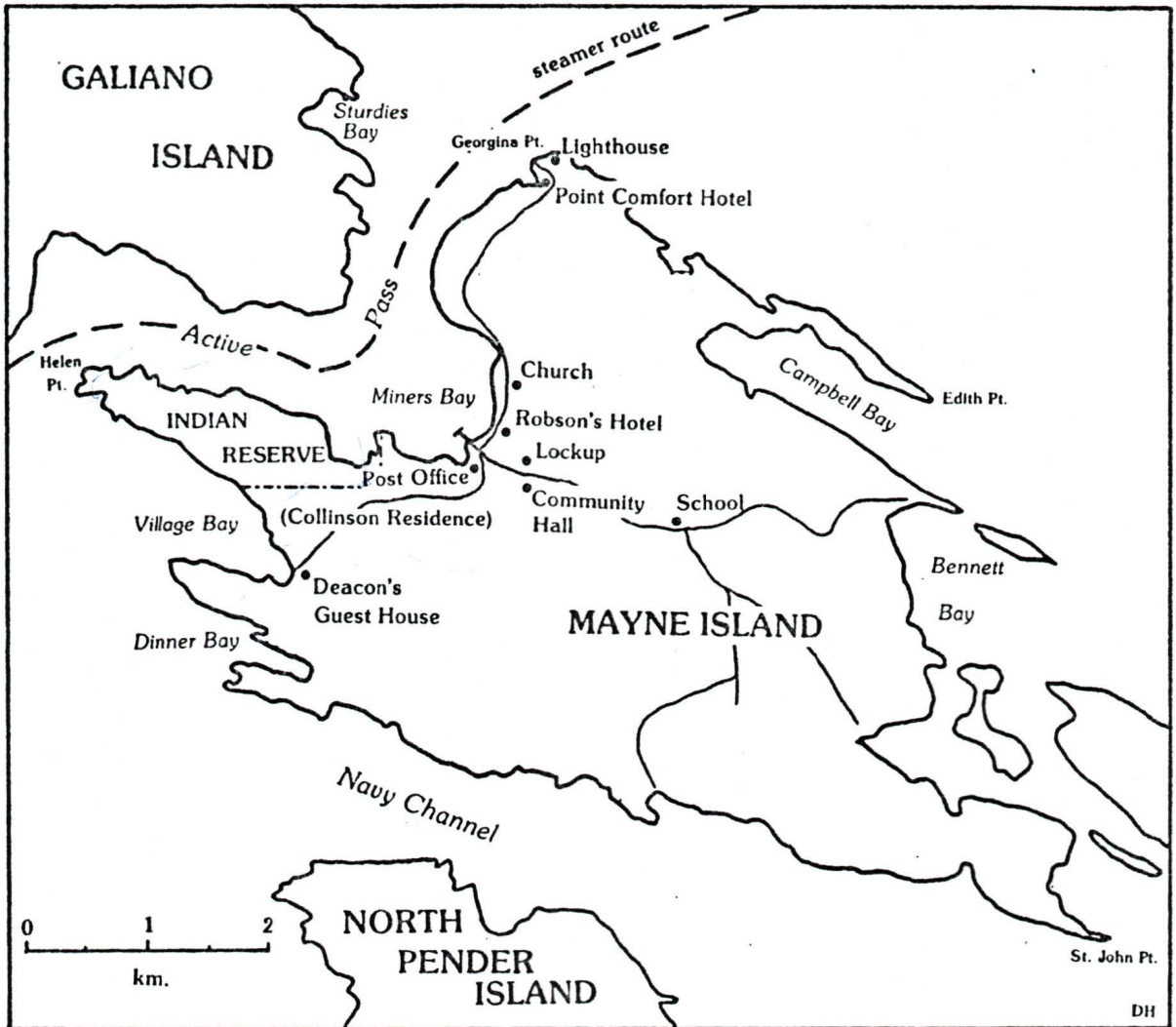
The Plumper Pass Community: 1875-1900

During the next quarter century the frontier settlement at Plumper Pass evolved into the social center of the outer Gulf Islands. Miners Bay, on the steamer route between Victoria and New Westminster, became the focal point of efforts to provide various services to the rising community. Eventually, the wharf, post office, stores, church, community hall, and police lockup would be located here. In addition, Mayne Island experienced the first demands for natural resources from the growing population and industries on the mainland. By 1900 the island was supplying fuel for the Fraser River canneries, and vacation facilities for the middle class of Vancouver and New Westminster.

The provincial government built the first wharf in the outer Gulf Islands at Miners Bay in 1878. This facility permitted the shipment of farm produce by steamer, thus enabling local farms to develop on a larger scale. The wharf also provided settlers on Mayne Island with a strong claim for a post office when regular mail delivery became a possibility.¹

Both the implementation of postal service for the outer Gulf Islands and the duties it entailed were fraught with difficulties. Initially, residents had rowed out

MAP NO. 2



Public Facilities on Mayne Island by 1900

and intercepted the Hudson's Bay Company steamer when they wished to dispatch mail, or paid someone 50¢ to \$1.00 to do the chore for them. Attended by rumours that the provincial government planned to build a wharf at Miners Bay in the near future, they submitted a petition for postal service to Ottawa in 1876. (Saltspring had been granted a government mail service in 1874.) The unsuccessful petition was submitted on behalf of all the residents of Plumper Pass, but the nine signatures it contained were from Mayne Island only. A second petition, submitted in 1879, contained nineteen signatures from residents of Mayne, Saturna, North Pender and Galiano Islands. Although the Postmaster General approved this request, a delay ensued while a replacement was found for Isaac Tod, the man initially proposed for postmaster. William Collinson, who operated a small trading enterprise, finally accepted the position in 1880, and postal service commenced November 1st of that year. A mail slot was inserted into the side of Collinson's house, located near the new wharf. This post office served all the outer Gulf Islands: Saturna, Tumbo, Samuel, North and South Pender, Prevost, Galiano, and Mayne. The steamers delivered mail two or three times a week, which gave outer Islands residents an excellent excuse to take time off from their homesteading chores and row to Mayne Island for a visit and groceries.²

Collinson received \$50 per year for his postal duties. This money was well-earned for he frequently had to row out to the steamer while the ship hove to in Miners Bay to transfer mail, passengers, and freight. Because of the strong tides in the Pass (up to seven or eight knots), the steamer captains were reluctant to use the Miners Bay wharf after dark, especially at 2 a.m. when Tom had to meet a weekly Victoria to Vancouver mail train sailing.³ The transfer of baggage and bodies in close proximity to the dangerous sidewheels of the Yosemite and Princess Louise was a difficult feat. Mrs. Leonard Higgs remembered huge hands reaching up to her in the darkness as she and her young son climbed down the ship's ladder to Collinson's waiting rowboat, on their arrival from England in 1893. One Mayne Island woman and her baby lost their lives, five years later, under similar circumstances.⁴

No doubt, a major asset to the settlers was the fact that William Smithe, MLA for Cowichan and the Islands, had been Minister of Finance and Agriculture from August 10, 1876, to June, 1878, and was Premier and Minister of Lands and Works from January 29, 1883, until March 28, 1887. During the years that he served in government office, Mayne Island acquired the post office, wharf, school, lighthouse,

and the commencement of roads to link all these services together. Duplication of services on the other Gulf Islands proceeded more slowly, thus reinforcing Mayne's social importance. The school commenced in September, 1883, with an enrollment of thirty children from Galiano and Saturna, as well as Mayne. Smithe made a point to attend final exercises in June, 1884, and again in 1885, handing out prizes and urging the parents to support good education.⁵

With Captain John Irving at the helm, Smithe arrived on board the Princess Louise December 4, 1885, to open officially a new provincial government wharf, built as a replacement for the 1878 structure. This new dock was twice as wide as the first wharf, and jutted almost 50 feet farther into Miners Bay to receive the sidewheelers. Captain Irving pronounced it "the best on either the New Westminster or Nanaimo routes."⁶

The opening celebrations for the wharf revealed two intriguing sides to the Plumper Pass community. More than 150 people attended from Mayne and the other islands. The lighthouse tender, Sir James Douglas, which had visited Mayne Island frequently while the lighthouse was being built at Georgina Point, lent flags for decorating the wharf, a group of schoolboys fired a welcoming volley from

rifles, and John Puetz arranged for a "cold collation" to be served at his new hotel and store, recently erected nearby. In spite of the festivities and merriment the islanders, nonetheless, took the opportunity to present a list of grievances to Captain Irving regarding passenger services.⁷ This list was the first of a great many that would be prepared down through the years to the present day. To the islanders adequate passenger service went hand in hand with progress.

* * * * *

As the residents of Plumper Pass watched black clouds of smoke rising over the instant city of Vancouver on Sunday, June 13, 1886, they could look with considerable relief at their own situation where, thanks to hard work, their farms were increasing in productivity and providing more than an adequate living. Surplus produce was taken to the mainland or Vancouver Island on a regular basis. The inauguration of the Victoria and Sidney Railway six years later, in 1894, made Victoria the preferred destination for many Islands farmers.⁸

A report to the Department of Agriculture by the local school teacher, W. H. Mawdesley, in 1893, listed the produce and livestock raised on Jacob Heck's farm. Rather than concentrating on one or two types of livestock or produce, mixed farming provided the best returns. Spring

wheat, oats, peas, and hay were harvested, as well as potatoes, mangolds, carrots, turnips, and onions. In addition to these crops, Heck raised chickens, receiving 30¢ a dozen for eggs. He claimed that the market was always good for poultry. Sheep raising, which provided much of the income for farmers on Pender and Saturna, was not as popular on Mayne because of the larger proportion of productive land. Berkshire pigs and shorthorn cattle were raised for meat, and Jersey cows for milk.⁹

Most farmers had planted substantial fruit orchards and these matured in the early 1890's. In 1890 T. R. Figg represented Mayne Island for the Apple Growers Association, and Thomas Bennett, Jacob Heck, and Tom Collinson were members of the Islands Agricultural and Fruit Growers Association, which included fruit growers on all the Gulf Islands. Fruit from island farms sold well in the cities until Okanagan produce took over the market in the early 1900's.¹⁰

The most successful Plumper Pass farmers with large acreages took advantage of local government tenders to earn additional money working on new roads, or public buildings such as the lighthouse and school. In addition, Tom Collinson, John Puetz, and William Robson held various local government offices of postmaster, tax collector, and Justice of the Peace, and they were also store/hotel keepers.

Subsistence farmers such as Charles Groth had to be even more ingenious to earn an adequate living.¹¹

As a young immigrant from Schlesweig-Holstein, Charles kept a diary for the first six years that he homesteaded on Galiano, 1881 to 1887, and from his careful entries we can gain an understanding of an immigrant's new life, one hundred years ago. He moved to Galiano Island in 1879 after working for Noah Buckley on North Pender Island, where he learned the rudiments of farming. By 1881 he had married sixteen-year old Elizabeth Georgeson, daughter of Sophia and Henry, and registered his pre-emption of 160 acres. Until Charles could establish a productive farm, he raised sheep in partnership with a neighbour, John O'Brien. Despite heavy losses to cougars, they managed to round up a flock of lambs each fall and take them by sloop to market in New Westminster. Charles bought lumber for a barn at New Westminster with the money from the second year's crop of lambs, then stopped at Ladner for a cow before returning across Georgia Strait. The young family apparently resided with Henry Georgeson until they could move into their new home in December, 1882.¹²

By making use of abundant natural resources, bartering with neighbours on Galiano and Mayne, and selling produce in Victoria, Nanaimo, and New Westminster, Charles was able to maintain a comfortable living for his family. Deer skins and ducks were sold to Chinese merchants in

Victoria; oil rendered from dogfish livers sold at New Westminster for 25¢ a gallon as grease for logging skids. Deer, grouse, and ducks provided free meat year round for the price of ammunition, and salmon and cod were salted or smoked and dried for the winter. Charles traded calves for potatoes and wheat from Jacob Heck's established farm, and bought other supplies from Collinson, Puetz, and Robson. In addition, his sheep shearing skills brought remuneration annually.¹³

Groth's father-in-law, Henry Georgeson, fished for Alexander Ewen's cannery on the Fraser River, and served on the Sandheads light station before he became the first lighthouse keeper at Georgina Point, Mayne Island, in June 1885.¹⁴ Groth's diary records that Charles also fished on the Fraser River in the 1880's. Salmon runs for the years 1881 to 1883 were excellent. In 1882 Charles and his partners caught 6901 salmon, which sold for four cents each. The year 1886 had a poor salmon run. Charles felt he was "not making salt" and did not want to fish again.¹⁵ Public works projects supplied further income. Charles worked building the Georgina Point lighthouse in 1884, and won a contract to build 725 yards of road on Galiano in 1885 for \$175.00.¹⁶

While still a relative stranger in a new land, Charles took part in the affairs of the community. He willingly rowed across Active Pass to attend several preliminary school meetings before the first school was erected on Mayne Island in 1883, and he registered his vote during an election in 1885.¹⁷ Although his farming efforts, as described in his diary, were less productive than the large farms of Jacob Heck and Fred Robson, Charles Groth can be considered typical of many immigrants who came to British Columbia and quietly made their contribution to the rural history of the province by working hard and living in harmony with friends, neighbours, and the environment.

* * * * *

Despite their relative isolation, both small and large farms in the Plumper Pass area were vulnerable to smugglers and cattle rustlers. The settlers soon demanded effective police protection. As early as 1867 James Greavy complained that his ranch stock had not increased because of rustlers, but by 1890 a petty annoyance had reached epidemic proportions. Home base for the thieves appeared to be in the San Juan Islands. The many protected bays to the south and east in the Gulf Islands, such as

Fiddler's Cove, Saturna, provided ideal locations for their clandestine operations. The wharf, postal service, and central location at Miners Bay were decided assets when Superintendent of Provincial Police F. S. Hussey had to choose an Islands headquarters for a special constable.¹⁸

Following numerous appeals to Hussey by the Gulf Islands farmers, Thomas M. Robb was eventually assigned to Gulf Islands patrol in March 1893. He boarded at Mayne Island House, operated by William Robson, J.P., at Miners Bay. Robb was replaced by William McNeill in September 1893, and in May 1894 Arthur Drummond was appointed on a permanent basis, followed by Stephen Hoskins in 1898 and Angus Ego in 1900. A police launch from Victoria assisted the constables in patrolling the Islands during the summers of 1893 and 1894.¹⁹

For all other seasons of the year, and from 1895 onwards, the only method of transportation for the constables was a sixteen-foot rowboat equipped with a sail. Efforts by Arthur Drummond to secure a steam-powered launch in 1897 proved futile.²⁰ Officially termed "Plumper Pass and the Islands," the district extended from the United States-Canadian border to Porlier Pass at the north end of Galiano Island, and from the Strait of Georgia west to Vancouver Island. The more densely populated Saltspring

Island was thus a responsibility, and from 1900 to 1905 parts of North Saanich were also included. Frequently, travelling in the line of duty did not stop at these boundaries. Stephen Hoskins recalls having to walk from Cowichan Bay to Duncan in order to contact other district constables, and all serious cases had to be tried in Victoria or New Westminster. When investigating the theft of a boat in October 1894, Drummond journeyed as far as Seattle, rowing to Waldron Island where he then caught the steamer. Other boat thefts involved trips to the canneries at Ladner on the Fraser River or to the growing city of Vancouver.²¹

Besides smuggling, cattle rustling, and boat thefts, the constables had to investigate pit-lamping and the illegal sale of liquor to the Indians, deliver trading and liquor licences approved by the Superintendent of Police, and report any outbreak of communicable diseases. Constable Ego vaccinated thirty-eight people on Galiano for smallpox in 1903. Cannery season on the Fraser River caused a mass migration of workers through Active Pass, with subsequent thefts and breaking and entering. The constable on duty remained at Mayne Island while water traffic was heavy during June and September.²²

There were few unusual deaths to investigate. Most were from drowning or natural causes, although timber clearing by the Japanese resulted in the accidental deaths of men on Pender, Galiano, and Mayne.²³ Constable Ego displayed incredible zeal when he dealt with the most sensational case of the period, the shooting death of recluse Barnard (also known as Marnard) Wenzel on Tumbo Island in 1903. When the Vancouver Daily Province suggested that the wheels of justice turned slowly in the Gulf Islands, William Collinson, now a Justice of the Peace, came to Ego's defense:

I notice in your issue of the Daily Province of the 24th inst. an article reflecting very unjustly on Constable Ego re. the slaying of Marnard Wenzel, better known as Jack the Ripper. Let me give you the facts as far as affects Constable Ego. At 12 a.m. on the 14th inst. Captain Shultz appeared before me asking for a warrant against a man supposed to be Jack the Ripper--for shooting at him in the twilight of the evening of the 12th inst. telling me that he had fired a shot back at Wenzel as he (Wenzel) was preparing for another shot, and he was afraid that he might have wounded Wenzel, and urged that the constable make what haste he could to the scene of the tragedy.

I made out the warrant and handed it to Constable Ego, and although blowing strongly at the time, Ego left immediately in the sixteen-foot rowboat for Tumbo Island, twelve miles along the open Gulf, and in less than three hours had found Wenzel dead. By 10 o'clock that night Ego arrived here at the Pass with Captain Shultz, whom he had picked up on the way. Two o'clock next morning found Ego on his way to Saltspring Island, ten miles distant, to notify the Coronor. Having fulfilled his mission he landed back at the Pass in the afternoon, at once setting to

work to empanel a jury, and by next morning had everything ready, jury, gravedigger, and a coffin to boot--making the latter himself. All this forty-four miles was performed in a rowboat, right down steady rowing; and you say Ego travels by slow freight. All the same, if you have a swifter man on your staff let us hear of him and he shall be dubbed The Imperial Limited. 24

All three of the permanent constables were outstanding examples of dedication and hard work. They were shrewd judges of character, quickly learning to separate local feuds from legitimate complaints. With a salary of only \$60-\$65 per month, they were often out of pocket for travelling expenses until reimbursed. Nevertheless, they accepted their responsibilities without complaint and easily gained the respect of the Islands residents. "As a policeman, you looked upon any place you hung your hat as home," Stephen Hoskins recalled. "Everyone made you welcome. I always had blankets in the boat, and a certain amount of grub. Sometimes you'd strike a poor shack, pull in, take the best they had, and give 'em what you had of yours."²⁵

Weather permitting, regular patrols were made of all the Islands, but the Superintendent occasionally heard from a resident who felt he had been neglected. To one complaint raised by H. L. Robertson of Moresby Island, Drummond provided a lengthy description of his rowboat patrols for a five month period, from January to May 1896. Moresby was

a small island, with only one farm, but Drummond had checked its shores for smugglers at least once every two weeks during that time.²⁶

Despite the vigilance of the constables, smugglers did persist in making their visits, albeit with less frequency. One crafty fellow by the name of Old Burke became something of a folk hero on South Pender, where for a number of years he made cautious visits, exchanging chickens, tobacco, or whatever the residents would accept for sheep's wool. When the United States Customs authorities discovered a high amount of wool coming from one small, rocky island in the San Juan group, they laid a trap and Old Burke's smuggling days came to an end.²⁷

Seldom did the constables take time off from work. Before doing so the Superintendent had to be notified and a temporary replacement found. Drummond made full use of his free time by organizing camping parties for his friends on Saturna and South Pender. On one occasion he brought his flotilla to Miners Bay for salmon fishing.²⁸

With regard to the personal history of the constables, little is known about the two temporary constables, McNeill and Robb, except that they had been stationed earlier in Victoria. Robb was subsequently transferred to Ashcroft where his health broke down, as a consequence of having been "sandbagged" by some prisoners at Mayne.²⁹

Arthur Drummond and Stephen Hoskins had lived in the Gulf Islands for several years before being appointed. Drummond was one of three brothers who resided on Saturna, scions of Drummond castle in Scotland.²⁹ Drummond later served in the Kootenay region as police constable. Stephen Hoskins had left England in 1890, homesteading on the Prairies before coming to British Columbia in 1894. He lived on Galiano for two years and initially turned down the opportunity to join the Provincial Police in 1896: "I told them I would never make a policeman in 1,000 years --I hadn't the guts." After serving as a temporary replacement for Drummond, he finally accepted the permanent position when Drummond was transferred in 1898. Hoskins subsequently served with the Victoria City detachment and later in the Kootenays before becoming a Government Agent.³⁰

It was not until four years of police work had been completed in the Gulf Islands that a lockup was deemed necessary. With a wharf and post office, and a central location, Miners Bay was the logical site even though Robson's Bay (Horton Bay) and locations on the other Islands had also been suggested. Arthur Drummond's friend and neighbour on Saturna, Warburton Pike, generously donated property situated two hundred yards up the road from the wharf at Miners Bay, and Levan Cullison, a

Galiano resident, was awarded the building contract for \$320. The lockup, which was completed in December 1896, measured 15 by 23 feet, and contained two cells and a single front room large enough to hold a magistrate's court, when necessary.³¹ A Galiano resident, Henry Freer, arrested on a charge of larceny, had the dubious honor of being the first prisoner. Because the lumber had not yet dried, Drummond borrowed blankets and a bed from Robson's hotel so Freer would not have to sleep on the damp floor. The unfortunate prisoner spent a miserable week incarcerated before he was found not guilty at New Westminster.³²

During the months of January and February 1897, Drummond continued to make Robson's hotel his residence. He submitted hotel receipts for room and board until Superintendent Hussey informed him that he would have to consider the new lockup as his home--no further charges for meals or bed would be expected from Mayne. The Department supplied a stove and table and chairs, but the policeman was responsible for his own bed. Not until 1900 did Constable Ego dare to suggest to the Superintendent that the government purchase the bed of the previous constable, Stephen Hoskins.³³

Precisely how many prisoners stayed in the lockup is not known because monthly police reports for the period in question are unavailable. The existing evidence suggests that the building saw more use as a police residence than

as a detention center. Henry Georgeson's diary notes that a local resident was kept overnight in the lockup December 26, 1912, and that the next day in magistrate's court he was sentenced to one month in prison for trespassing. The sentence would have been served in Victoria or on the mainland. It is possible that this was the last recorded detention in the lockup; certainly the memories of long-time residents tend to corroborate this assumption.³⁴

The only other lockup in the Gulf Islands was a building erected in 1886 at Central Settlement on Salt-spring (at the junction of Vesuvius Bay and North End Roads).³⁵ This site was inconveniently located three miles inland from the Ganges steamer landing. In 1911, six years after headquarters for the Gulf Islands had been transferred to Saltspring, Constable O'Hara wrote a long letter to Colin S. Campbell, Acting Superintendent of Police, requesting that Mayne once again be made the Islands headquarters. He stressed the importance of its central location in the district compared to Saltspring, and the facts that Mayne Island had the only hotel in the outer Islands and a recently installed telephone office.³⁶ O'Hara was allowed to have the Mayne lockup refurbished, but it appears that Saltspring remained the Gulf Islands headquarters from 1905 onwards. One vast improvement to

the policeman's lot was his method of transportation. Because all the Islands had wharves and adequate boat service by 1911, the constables were allowed to use steamer transportation to visit the outer Islands, rather than a rowboat.³⁷

* * * * *

The spiritual and recreational needs of the emerging community were not overlooked. As early as the 1880's ministers from Victoria began occasional visits for christenings or marriages. Local residents took care of burials on private property because there was no official cemetery on Mayne Island until 1911. In 1884 Charles Groth recorded in his diary that a Reverend Mr. Woods rowed across Plumper Pass from Mayne Island with Mrs. Margaret Deacon to baptize two of the Groth children.³⁸ Sunday school also began that year on Mayne Island, but church services were sporadic until 1896 when Canon William Francis Locke Paddon of the Anglican Church commenced regular visits from Victoria. Services were initially conducted in the school or Robson's Hotel.³⁹ William Collinson volunteered to donate land for a church in 1894, but his offer was not acted upon and, instead, Warburton

Pike, donor of the lockup property at Miners Bay, provided the site for the church as well. In 1897 Bishop William W. Perrin allotted a fund, established by Mrs. Baynton Starkey of Great Cheswell, England, for the purchase of a steam launch for an Islands mission, towards the construction of a church. The funds amounted to \$836, which Canon Paddon considered sufficient when combined with local pledges. Architect J. C. Keith, designer of Victoria's Christ Church Cathedral, provided plans, and Galiano carpenter William Cain supervised the construction. On Easter Sunday, 1898, the church was consecrated by Right Reverend Perrin, Bishop of Columbia. Representatives from Galiano, Gossip, Mayne, Pender, Saturna, and Samuel served on the church board. Paddon journeyed from Victoria fortnightly to hold services until he moved to the island permanently in 1904.⁴⁰

Paddon's close supervision of the construction and furnishing of the church is responsible for an unusual baptismal font, a large block of beach drift sandstone, carved into an attractive shape by wave action. Paddon and Ralph Grey transported the rock by rowboat from East Point, Saturna, in a laborious operation that took them all day. Mounted in the narthex of the church, the sandstone font reminds all worshippers as they enter that the island had a marine origin.⁴¹

About 1899--the precise date is uncertain--the first community hall in the outer Islands was erected at Miners Bay, providing a center for dances and parties attended by residents of the Islands for the next fifty years. Thereafter, annual New Year's Eve dances were held at Mayne Island, with more than one hundred merrymakers in attendance from all the islands. Victoria Day celebrations were another annual, inter-island event that ended in a dance at the hall in the evening. The Maple Leaf Club was formed in 1903 to care for the building and like the church board, it also contained members from the other Islands.⁴²

* * * * *

Despite their isolation from one another, the shared adversity of having to negotiate the dangerous waterways of the Gulf Islands in rowboats provided the residents with a common bond. Until the advent of gas powered motors in the early 1900's, tides and weather controlled the possibility that residents on the other islands would attend social events at Mayne Island. Winnifred Grey of Samuel Island was one of the few Gulf Island women who enjoyed boating (with her husband, Ralph, or sister, Mabel), but she summed up the cautious attitude of her family thus:

Wind and tide played a large part in our lives on the islands. All our comings and goings were ordered by them to a great extent, except in an emergency. Ralph had a tide book issued by the

government, which he always consulted before we planned any trip. Mabel and I never sailed alone; the gusts of wind and sudden squalls in those enclosed waters were too treacherous. 43

The cohesiveness of the small Plumper Pass community was also due to the fact that everyone knew one another's business. This closeness can explain why second generation sons and daughters did not intermarry--they simply knew one another too well--but it also explains why relations among the residents was occasionally discordant. On the positive side, this closeness was a decided advantage when the residents required health care or companions to share in leisure-time adventures.

The island farms could not support all the children of the large pioneer families. Only one or two second generation members chose to remain on the island and help elderly parents with the upkeep of land, buildings, and livestock. The sea beckoned many of the young men. At least six left before 1900 for jobs on coastal steamers or on whaling vessels that travelled as far as Japan. Other seasonal work was found in the canneries on the Fraser River.⁴⁴

Most young women on Mayne Island married without having worked away from home, although two of William Collinson's daughters worked as housekeepers in Victoria--one even going to the Klondike--before marrying. No marriages were contracted between the oldest families: Hecks, Robsons, Deacons,

Georgesons, Collinsons, and Bennetts. There were inter-island marriages, however, and the rest involved new families on Mayne Island or young men and women from the mainland or Victoria.⁴⁵

Many of the early settlers on Mayne Island lived long, healthy lives. A combination of hard, outdoor work, wholesome food, and freedom from stress ensured that Elsie and Thomas Bennett, Sophie and Henry Georgeson, and Fred Robson reached eighty years or more. Until 1897, when Dr. G. R. Baker became the first resident physician on the Islands at Saltspring, the settlers took care of their own health requirements.⁴⁶ Charles Groth's wife Elizabeth gave birth to seven children before her death from tuberculosis at age 35 in 1899. With the exception of one baby who was born at New Westminster, all the children were probably born at home.⁴⁷

On Mayne Island, Ann Robson and Elsie Bennett were known for their skills in midwifery. Women from the other Islands boarded with them during confinement, but the safe delivery of a healthy baby was always a risk. Elizabeth Grimmer of North Pender gave birth to a son in a rowboat on the way to Elsie Bennett's, and Emma Higgs of South Pender, who also relied on Elsie Bennett, lost four of her babies because of birth complications.⁴⁸ Since there would not be a hospital at Saltspring until 1914, most babies continued to be born at home or at the Robson's or Bennett's

homes on Mayne until about 1920. For those few mothers who could afford it, the alternative was to stay in a private nursing home in Victoria or on the mainland.⁴⁹

Indian women like Sophia preferred the attentions of their own native doctors when sick. Henry Georgeson used to fetch Indian Tom from the Helen Point Reserve to care for his wife, but the egalitarian nature of the community allowed Ann Robson to provide nursing care when Sophia was terminally ill.⁵⁰

The happy occasions of births and marriages were occasionally augmented by such light-hearted pastimes as cock fighting and even searching for gold. Cock fighting took place primarily among the English remittance settlers on South Pender and Saturna Islands. An English settler with a hooded game cock under his arm, en route to a neighbour, was a familiar sight on South Pender on a Sunday morning.⁵¹

Following the Cariboo gold rush, stories of buried gold were part of the folklore of many communities in British Columbia. The homestead of Alex Nicholson, an early Mayne Island settler who had mined in Australia, California, and the Cariboo, was the site of an intensive hunt in 1895. An earlier search had been carried out in 1875 upon Nicholson's death when one oldtimer claimed he

had caught Alex counting his gold on the table in his cabin, and noticed that a brick had been removed from the fireplace hearth. Nothing was found beneath the bricks except \$4.50 in silver coins. A resident's dream, showing where the gold might now be found, led to the 1895 treasure hunt. The community spent two days probing Nicholson's orchard with pointed metal bars but again came away empty-handed. Attempts were still being made to find the legendary cache as late as 1955.⁵²

Excitement generated by the Klondike gold rush was hard to ignore. Despite the large number of merchants in Vancouver by 1898, Victoria was also an important supply depot. Residents of the Pass area were treated almost daily to the spectacle of passing ships, heavily laden with men, supplies, and barking dogs. Edward Winstanley of Galiano and Fred Robson of Mayne, joined Gerald Payne, Saturna, and Ralph Grey, Samuel, in one venture to the north. Winstanley made several more trips, but it would seem the others were more curious than ambitious.⁵³

* * * * *

The small community, semi-isolated by water, experienced a build-up of tension from time to time, which was often released by using a public servant as a target. The tribulations of feisty William Tom Collinson are a good example.

When Collinson attempted to secure the position of police constable at Sumas Prairie in 1867, Chartres Brew described him as "notorious for not speaking the truth."⁵⁴ Winnifred Grey had this to say after meeting Tom on a visit to Miners Bay in 1897:

Tall, lean Mr. Collinson was the postmaster, and held the record for having the largest feet; and being the island's champion liar--or shall we say, Romantic. No matter what the topic of conversation, he could lie, and lie interestingly--as long as anyone would listen--about his experiences and utterly impossible exploits in that particular line, with a perfectly straight face; and then tell the same episode next time, with varying circumstances. It was a real gift. 54

Thomas Figg, a newcomer to Mayne Island in 1884, described Tom as the "connecting link with the outside world, careful over his postal duties and always willing to receive or impart gossip from or to the outside world as he ferries his passengers to the Yosemite or Teaser." Tom thus held a precarious position in the community. He had received about five years of schooling in North Yorkshire before emigrating with his family to Gray County, Canada West, in 1850, and this education put him in good stead when a postmaster was

sought. Tom's name does not appear on the petition for the post office in 1876; omission may be explained by some local animosity or by absenteeism.⁵⁵

Tom had been instrumental in arranging for a school on Mayne Island in 1883, yet when he was being considered for the Justice of the Peace position that same year a petition was sent to Premier Smithe requesting that he not be appointed.⁵⁶ Once he took over the postal operation in 1880 and became a public servant, Tom was a constant target for complaints. Fortunately, he was every bit a match for his detractors.

In 1886 Washington Grimmer, Justice of the Peace for North Pender Island, submitted a petition bearing sixteen signatures to the postal authorities, claiming that Tom was opening residents' letters and broadcasting the contents. The chief postal inspector from Victoria, E. F. Fletcher, carried out an investigation, taking affidavits from six of the petitioners. Fletcher concluded that Tom may have been "incautious" in speaking about handwritten addresses on the envelopes, but that transactions at the Plumper Pass post office were being carried out in the proper manner: "The prejudice existing against him appears to be strengthened from the fact that he is a trader, in a small way, in opposition to the store kept by Mr. John Puetz, who with his friends, seems to be the chief mover in the

complaints brought against him." Tom was to get his revenge a few years later when he led a petition against a liquor licence that William Robson, Puetz's friend, wanted for his Mayne Island Hotel.⁵⁷

Perhaps Tom's most difficult fight occurred in 1894 when John W. Rudd attempted to claim part of the Collinson pre-emption at Miners Bay, stating that Tom had not carried out the necessary amount of improvements on the property to entitle him legally to hold onto it. Fourteen pages of letters and petitions are bound into the British Columbia Sessional Papers for 1897, covering the charges and counter-charges between the two parties and their island supporters. Tom won out in the end, but at considerable cost in time and money. Surveyors had to be paid and witnesses secured for petitions and documents.⁵⁸

Tom's role in the community reached a zenith when he was finally made Justice of the Peace in 1897, a position previously held by Puetz and Robson. By this time a larger community, with a resident constable, required more judicial services from Tom than it had from predecessors. Respect for his position and age seems to have tempered any further animosities.⁵⁹

* * * * *

As the community on Mayne Island grew, so also did the urban and industrial demands upon it from the lower mainland. Middle class families from Vancouver and New Westminster sought moderately priced summer vacation facilities close to the cities while, at the same time, the salmon canning industry on the Fraser River directly affected the community.

As early as 1883 Plumper Pass had been a desirable destination for one day picnic outings for the Oddfellow fraternity and their families. On August 16 of that year the Yosemite from Victoria, W. G. Hunt from Nanaimo, and R. G. Dunsmuir from New Westminster brought seven hundred people and a complement of brass bands to the Miners Bay area. Mayne Island's accessibility, combined with such desirable recreational facilities as salmon fishing and sea bathing, caused it to become one of the first resort areas on the Pacific Coast. By 1900 two hotels and two guest homes were attracting a large number of summer visitors.⁶⁰

John Puetz's small hotel and store, built at Miners Bay about 1885, was enlarged by the next owners, John and Ann Robson, by 1895 to accommodate more guests. In 1892 the local school teacher, W. H. Mawdesley, formed a company to build a thirty-bedroom hotel on his attractive property near the lighthouse at Georgina Point. Captain

John Irving is supposed to have been one of the investors, and when the hotel was completed in 1897 Irving's Canadian Pacific Navigation steamers disembarked hotel guests at a private dock.⁶¹ Designed by the Victoria architectural firm of Soule and Day to emulate an old English inn, and set in 132 acres of natural landscaping, the elegant, three-story building was a landmark on Active Pass until it was dismantled in 1958. Thomas Bennett and his family operated the building as the Point Comfort Hotel for approximately two years before Mawdesley sold it to Captain Eustace Maude and his family. The Maudes catered to visitors until about 1910 before allowing the building to run down. Its most popular feature at the turn of the century was its well-stocked bar. Residents of Galiano would risk foul weather and strong tides to enjoy their liquid refreshments on the other side of the Pass. Because Robson's Hotel also featured a saloon, Mayne acquired the nickname "little Hell."⁶²

Other large families on Mayne Island also began to turn their homes into boarding establishments for summer visitors with the departure of their children to work in Victoria or on the mainland. Tom Collinson's large home at the head of the government wharf offered six rooms for

lodgers by 1895.⁶³ Margaret Deacon advertised in the New Westminster Columbian in 1897 that her resort was near Plumper Pass and that the steamer would make a special stop at Village Bay which was

...fortunate in possessing exceptionally fine beaches for bathing, while on the bay boating is practically free from the dangers of tide riffles and storms. In the vicinity, also, are fine mineral springs, containing valuable curative properties. ⁶⁴

Guests were allowed to roam over the large acreage of the Deacon farm, riding horses or hiking to the top of nearby 700 foot Mount Parke. On mail days they would make the one mile trek to "the Pass" in a horse-drawn wagon. The mineral spring was man-made in 1890 while drill testing for coal. A more favorable result was obtained at Tumbo Island, but the abandoned drill hole, with its wooden shaft, now spilled out sulphur water.⁶⁵

Coincidentally, while Mayne Island experienced an influx of tourists during the summer time, Japanese labourers began arriving as a direct result of the Fraser River canneries. The canneries required not only fish, but large supplies of cordwood for furnaces and charcoal to heat the soldering irons that sealed the cans.⁶⁶ Japanese labourers were soon working on all the islands, cutting wood and making charcoal in large, earthen pits. The fuel supplies would then be shipped by schooner to the Fraser River. When the Tumbo

coal mine was closed by disaster in 1893, the Japanese miners also turned to wood cutting on Saturna and the other islands.⁶⁷ In February 1901 an immigration officer estimated that there were several hundred Japanese cutting wood on Mayne, Pender, Prevost, and Galiano, with eighty men on Mayne.⁶⁸ The woodcutters were followed by Japanese fishermen who established themselves at St. John's Point on Mayne Island. Local farmers began hiring these men to clear land, and were also willing to rent or sell acreage to them. Thus, by 1900 the nucleus of a permanent Japanese community had been formed, and by 1942 it comprised one third of the entire population of the island. The only other large Japanese community in the Gulf Islands was at Saltspring.⁶⁹

Unlike North and South Pender Islands which were proud of their Scottish and English enclaves,⁷⁰ Mayne, Saltspring, and Galiano Islands maintained an egalitarian nature until the twentieth century. Germans, Scots, Irish, Portuguese, and English, some with Indian wives, did not take time to worry about class distinctions as they struggled to establish their farms. The arrival of the Japanese residents in the late 1890's was accepted as a matter of course, just as their children would be later welcomed at the local school, in sharp contrast to Vancouver

and Victoria where Orientals were treated with considerable prejudice.⁷⁰

By the turn of the century, semi-isolated by its marine environment, the community on Mayne Island was thriving and its residents confident and optimistic. The population had grown from two men in 1861 to about one hundred men, women, and children by 1900. They had every right to join with most Canadians as the nation looked forward with anticipation to even greater prosperity and happiness in the new century.⁷¹

Footnotes: Chapter Two

¹ Wharf noted in Report of Public Works, British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1878, p. 820.

² Jonathan Begg was providing a postal service for northern Saltspring Island in 1859 (Fluke, "Early Days," p. 180), but an official post office was not recognized by the federal government until 1874. (George H. Melvin, The Post Offices of British Columbia [Vernon: Wayside Press, 1972], p. 2.)

Petition of Mayne Island residents to the Honorable Postmaster General, October 1876, and covering report 251, R. Wallace, post office inspector, Victoria, to Postmaster General, RG3, 6, Public Archives Canada (hereafter cited as PAC). Wallace to Postmaster General, June 4, 1880, inspector's report 534, RG 3, 6, PAC. Information on Collinson's house from Margaret Bennett, Mayne Island, January 1982.

³ Post office inspector, Victoria, to Postmaster General, Ottawa, reports 885 and 936, 1891, RG 3, 6, PAC. Collinson requested \$200 a year salary when the 2 a.m. sailing was inaugurated. He was granted \$150.

⁴ Saanich Peninsula and Gulf Islands Review, December 2, 1953, pp. 1 and 7 (hereafter cited as Sidney Review); and interview with William Deacon, Mayne Island, November 1981.

⁵ "Mayne Island School Examination," Colonist, July 1, 1884, p. 3; "Mayne Island School Examination," Colonist, June 28, 1885, p. 3.

⁶ "Mayne Island Festivities Incidental to the Opening of the New Wharf," Colonist, December 11, 1885, p. 3.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ George Hearn and David Wilkie, The Cordwood Limited (Victoria: Fleming Review Printing Ltd., 1974), pp. 16-55; and F. W. Howay, British Columbia, 2:435.

⁹ British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1893, p. 871.

¹⁰Derek Reimer, ed., "Farming--'In a Mild Sort of Fashion'," The Gulf Islanders, Vol. 5, no. 4, Sound Heritage (Victoria: Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1976), p. 43; Margaret A. Ormsby, "The History of Agriculture in B.C.," Scientific Agriculture, 20, p. 65.

¹¹British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1878-1900, passim.

¹²Charles Groth, Diary, passim., PABC.

¹³Ibid., and pp. 1, 28, and 51.

¹⁴Henry Georgeson, Diary, in the possession of great granddaughter, Mary Ellen Harding, Galiano Island.

¹⁵Cicely Lyons, Salmon: Our Heritage (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1969), pp. 165-189; and David J. Reid, The Development of the Fraser River Salmon Canning Industry, 1885-1913 (n.p.: Department of the Environment, 1973), p. 72. Charles Groth, Diary, pp. 6, 31, 47, and 119, PABC.

¹⁶Charles Groth, Diary, pp. 70, and 91-93, PABC; and British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1885, p. 255.

¹⁷Charles Groth, Diary, p. 105, PABC.

¹⁸Colonist, March 12, 1867, p. 3; and F. S. Hussey, Superintendent of Provincial Police, to William Robson, Mayne Island, November 28, 1893. Provincial Police, correspondence outgoing, GR 61, PABC.

¹⁹William McNeill to Hussey, September 14, October 15, and 24, 1893, Provincial Police, incoming correspondence, GR 55, PABC.

²⁰Arthur Drummond to Hussey, August 7, 1894, GR 55, PABC.

²¹G. E. Mortimore, "He Never Fired His Gun," Colonist, September 15, 1957, p. 14; Drummond to Hussey, October 8, 1894, GR 55, PABC.

²²Angus Ego to Hussey, June 22, 1903, GR 55, PABC; Hussey to Stephen Hoskins, September 15, 1898, GR 61, PABC.

²³Drummond to Hussey, January 16, 1897; and Hoskins to Hussey, December 21, 1899, GR 55, PABC.

²⁴Vancouver Daily Province, October 23, 1903, p. 1, November 4, 1903, p. 7.

²⁵Mortimore, Colonist, September 15, 1957, p. 14.

²⁶Drummond to Hussey, May 22, 1896, GR 55, PABC.

²⁷Winnifred Grey, Diary, pp. 461-462, Add. MSS 604/A-791, PABC; David Richardson, Pig War Islands (East Sound, Wash.: Orcas Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 271-273.

²⁸Winnifred Grey, Diary, p. 487, PABC.

²⁹Thomas M. Robb to Hussey, July 1, 1893, GR 55, PABC.

³⁰Winnifred Grey, Diary, p. 451, PABC; Mortimore, Colonist, September 15, 1957, p. 14.

³¹Hussey to William Robson, Mayne Island, November 28, 1893, GR 61, PABC; Drummond to Hussey, September 8 and 16, 1896, GR 55, PABC; and British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1896, p. 309.

³²Drummond to Hussey, February 8, 1897, GR 55, PABC.

³³Hussey to Drummond, February 8, 1897, GR 61, PABC; and Ego to Hussey, March 3, 1901, GR 55, PABC.

- ³⁴Henry Georgeson, Diary, entry for December 26, 1912.
- ³⁵British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1885, p. 255.
- ³⁶John O'Hara to Colin S. Campbell, Acting Superintendent of Police, September 30, 1911, GR 55, PABC.
- ³⁷Without extensive research it is difficult to verify when the Provincial Police finally provided a patrol launch for the Saltspring constable, but most likely this important asset was granted in the 1920's, during the rum running era.
- ³⁸Canon William Francis Locke Paddon, parochial notes; and Church Register, St. Mary Magdalene Church, Mayne Island. Also, Charles Groth, Diary, p. 68, PABC.
- ³⁹T. R. Figg, Colonist, September 2, 1885, p. 3.
- ⁴⁰Ibid.; and Colonist, August 23, 1901, p. 4.
- ⁴¹Beatrice J. S. Freeman, ed., A Gulf Islands Patchwork (Victoria: Fleming Review Printing, 1974), p. 47.
- ⁴²
The earliest reference to the Mayne Island community hall is in Winnifred Grey's diary. Winnifred noted that Mrs. Robson and Mrs. Bennett had given the Greys a wedding reception there in July, 1900. Grey, diary, p. 580, PABC. "Declaration of Association," Maple Leaf Club, 1903, in possession of Mayne Island Agricultural Association, Mayne Island.
- ⁴³Winnifred Grey, Diary, p. 653, PABC.
- ⁴⁴Interviews with Fred Bennett and Wilbert Deacon, Mayne Island.
- ⁴⁵Interview with Margaret Bennett, Mayne Island.
- ⁴⁶Church Register, St. Mary Magdalene Church; and Sidney Review, August 24, 1960, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth's death was published in Vancouver Daily World, July 29, 1899, p. 8. Charles Groth's diary records the birth of the first baby at New Westminster, and the births of the next three children at home. Charles Groth, Diary, frontspiece, PABC.

⁴⁸ Freeman, ed., Patchwork, p. 184; interview with Geraldine Goldsmith, March 1982, Victoria; granddaughter of Emma Higgs, South Pender Island.

⁴⁹ Sidney Review, April 16, 1958, p. 1; Freeman, ed., Patchwork, p. 130, and Winnifred Grey, Diary, p. 563, PABC.

⁵⁰ Henry Georgeson, Diary, entry for November 28, 1913; interview with Vera Green, Mayne Island, January 1982.

⁵¹ Freeman, ed., Patchwork, p. 171.

⁵² Colonist, February 28, 1895, p. 3, and March 6, 1895, p. 7. In 1955 Margaret Bennett, when proprietor of Springwater Lodge, Mayne Island, had as a guest a man who claimed he was the grandson of Nicholson. The visitor spent several days "prospecting" the site of Nicholson's homestead.

⁵³ Freeman, ed., Patchwork, pp. 11 and 85; and Winnifred Grey, diary, p. 549, PABC. Also interview with Mrs. Mildred Page, Victoria, September 1981.

⁵⁴ Winnifred Grey, Diary, p. 485, PABC.

⁵⁵ T. R. Figg, Colonist, September 2, 1885, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Thomas Bennett to Premier William Smithe, June 20, 1883, Smithe Papers, correspondence inward, EC/SM 62, PABC.

⁵⁷ Post office inspector's reports, Victoria, to Postmaster General, Ottawa, 1887, 794 and 814, RG 3, 6, PAC.

⁵⁸ Correspondence, Rudd vs. Collinson, British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1897, pp. 933-943.

⁵⁹ Tom retained his zest for life as long as he lived. Shortly before his death in 1911 he wrote to his daughter, Emma, that he was planning to move to the South Seas as soon as his health permitted. Letter in the possession of Margaret Bennett, Mayne Island.

⁶⁰ Colonist, August 17, 1883, p. 3; and Robert Connell "Among the Gulf Islands," Colonist, September 25, 1938, p. 3.

⁶¹ Puetz's store is mentioned in Groth Diary, passim., PABC, and also in reports from Post Office Inspector, Victoria, to Ottawa, 1887, 794 and 814, RG 3, 6, PAC. Enlarged Mayne Island Hotel verified by photographs in possession of Margaret Bennett and Vera Green, Mayne Island. Point Comfort Hotel described in Colonist, October 18, 1892, p. 7.

⁶² Colonist, October 18, 1892, p. 7, and June 30, 1897, p. 5. See also Reimer, ed., "In the Grand Style: The Point Comfort Hotel," pp. 49-53. Reimer gives 1900 as the date that Maude purchased Point Comfort Hotel, but liquor licences, recorded in the Superintendent of Police correspondence, GR 55, PABC, indicate that Maude did not take over operation until possibly 1902.

⁶³ Photograph by Mrs. Hannah Maynard, Victoria, ca. 1895.

⁶⁴ New Westminster Columbian, July 7, 1897.

⁶⁵ Buckham Collection, 65:14, Add. MS 436, PABC.

⁶⁶ Reminiscences of Harold Payne, formerly of Saturna, Sidney Review, April 5, 1950, pp. 1 and 6. Photograph of schooner loaded with cordwood in Richard Mouat Toynbee, Snapshots of Early Salt Spring and Other Favoured Islands (Victoria: Morriss Printing Company Ltd., 1978), p. 69. Report of mine explosion on Tumbo in Victoria Daily Times, February 1, 1893, p. 7. Statistics regarding woodcutters cited in Report of Immigration Office, British Columbia Sessional Papers, 1902, p. 851.

⁶⁷ Harold Payne, Sidney Review, April 5, 1950, pp. 1 and 6.

⁶⁸British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1902, p. 851.

⁶⁹John Nagata to author, December 1981.

⁷⁰Freeman, ed., Patchwork, pp. 176-177; and Reimer, "Englishness," pp. 11-15.

⁷¹See: W. Peter Ward, White Canada Forever (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), pp. 129-131, and 53-76. Also Ken Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981); and Patricia E. Roy, "British Columbia's Fear of Asians 1900-1950," Social History 13 (May 1980): 161-172.

⁷²The Mayne Island population for 1900 is based on the residents listed in Williams' British Columbia Directory, 1899 (Vancouver: Province Publishing Co. Ltd., 1899), p. 217.

CHAPTER THREE

1900 to 1960: Complacency Then Contention

During the next sixty years, local, national, and international events challenged the optimism and enthusiasm with which the residents of Mayne Island faced the coming of the twentieth century. The community gradually set aside notions of prosperity and growth in favor of merely enjoying life in a pleasant environment, as they maintained their quiet backwater through two world wars and a depression. The island existed comfortably with the demands of the mainland for vacation facilities, while British pensioned families arrived and the established white and Japanese farmers continued to provide the economic base for the community.

Lacking the resources for economic growth, but enjoying low taxes and adequate transportation, the white residents of Mayne Island would not have to make many changes to their way of life until the 1950's. Unfortunately, the Japanese residents of the community would experience a complete upheaval in 1942.

As always, the marine environment dominated life in the Gulf Islands. Social activities continued to focus around the arrival of the mail and passenger steamers three or four

times a week. The Islands had enjoyed an adequate service from a great variety of vessels, beginning in the 1880's with the sturdy Hudson's Bay sidewheelers Enterprise and Princess Louise, and followed by R. P. Rithet, Yosemite, Islander, Teaser (Rainbow), Tees, Otter, and Charmer when the Company amalgamated with Canadian Pacific Navigation Company in 1883.¹ The Canadian Pacific Railway Company acquired control of the CPN fleet in 1901, using many of these ships and adding replacements as the older ones were retired. Through the years, captains and crews won the admiration and friendship of many Island residents. A favorite captain would be recognized, even before his ship docked, by the manner in which he blew the three short and one long docking signal on the ship's whistle.²

At times, steamship service was also supplied by smaller companies, such as the Victoria Terminal Railway and Ferry Company, which built the Victoria and Sidney Railway in 1894, shortening considerably the distance by ship for passengers and freight bound for Victoria. The company's S.S. Iroquois serviced the Gulf Islands from 1901 to 1911, with round trips every Saturday and Wednesday, connecting with the V&S Railway at Sidney. Farmers shipped cream, garden produce, and livestock--especially lambs--to city markets. In order to avoid the heavy winter seas

encountered off South Pender en route to Saturna, a small isthmus of sand was removed between North and South Pender Islands in 1903, allowing the Iroquois to make a safer and faster passage among the islands. Besides her regular stops, she could be flagged down along the way. Moonlight cruises were an added attraction during the summer, especially for residents of Victoria and the Saanich peninsula.³ With almost personalized service the little vessel was also popular for its bar, which the ship's purser opened upon arrival at any wharf. Thirsty islanders took ready advantage of this travelling liquor store that dispensed spirits for \$1.25 a bottle.⁴

Even to the untrained eye, the superstructure of the Iroquois was obviously top-heavy, and the crew were not always prudent in limiting passenger loads. Mrs. Mildred Page remembers the July 1st holiday excursion to Ganges in 1901 that was squelched by her mother, Mrs. Alfred Cayzer, who noticed (while kneading bread by the kitchen window) that the Iroquois was already overloaded with passengers as it approached the Mayne Island dock. With hands still covered in flour she rushed down to the dock and prevented her daughters from going on board.⁵ Ten years later the Iroquois foundered in a gale near Sidney, April 10, 1911, with a loss of fourteen lives, including the wife and son of Evan Hooson of North Pender Island.⁶

This marine accident, together with others closer to home, served to remind the Gulf Islanders of their tenuous relationship with the sea. The first recorded incident in Active Pass--the near grounding of H.M.S. Termagant at Laura Point--occurred in 1860.⁷ During a heavy snowstorm in February, 1872, the barque Zephyr, loaded with sandstone from Newcastle Island, struck Georgina Shoals and sank off the northeast coast of Mayne Island with the loss of two lives.⁸ The construction of the Georgina Point lighthouse in 1884 considerably aided navigation through Active Pass, but Henry Georgeson had to cope with a machine-operated foghorn until 1911, when the first automatic steam foghorn was installed. When balky machinery refused to start during heavy fog in the early years, Henry was forced to use a hand-operated horn to warn nearby ships entering Active Pass. Despite these extraordinary services, the CPR steamer Adelaide went aground at Georgina Point, almost on the lighthouse doorstep, October 13, 1918.⁹

During another snowstorm in the very bad winter of 1915-1916, the 3700 ton Ken Kon Maru #3 went aground on Belle Chain Reef near Bennett Bay. The ship had been bound for Vladivostok from Seattle with a cargo of railroad ties and knocked-down box cars.¹⁰ The crew boarded with the Thomas Bennetts and William Deacons until the damage could be

ascertained. Despite the fact that the ship's owners brought in a salvage crew from Japan, inclement weather hindered refloating the badly damaged ship for six months. The ship's captain added further drama to the marine accident by refusing to leave the island, and the federal government was forced to hold an inquiry on Mayne.¹¹

The turbulent waters of Active Pass also claimed lives from time to time. John and Louisa Silva, who had developed the Village Bay farm that John and Margaret Deacon purchased in 1883, lost two of their children, John and Martha, about 1880, and moved to Gabriola Island to escape their sad memories. In two separate accidents in the 1930's, Archie Deacon, age 22, and Lawrence Kirby and his friend, Allison Copland were drowned.¹² A healthy respect for the sea and early training in navigation prevented the occurrence of many more tragedies in nearby waters.

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The positive aspects of island living far outweighed the negative. An adequate ferry service enabled Gulf Islanders to continue catering to summer visitors, and to market agricultural produce in Victoria and Vancouver. A combination of low freight rates and property taxes allowed farmers to compete easily with producers on the mainland and Vancouver

Island for the next fifty years. In 1902 seventy dozen eggs plus sheep, hogs, and chickens were shipped weekly from Mayne to Victoria on the Iroquois. About 1910 Richard Hall established Mayne Island's first hothouse industry, specializing in spring daffodils and tomatoes. After serving in World War I, Hall returned to Mayne Island, pioneered the use of greenhouses large enough (360' x 40') to accommodate a team of horses and a plough, and became known as the "tomato king" among horticulturalists on the Pacific Coast. In 1921 his weekly shipments in the spring season amounted to 45,000 daffodils and one ton of tomatoes.¹³ James Bennett and Hunter Jack also shipped tomatoes on a smaller scale, but, eventually, Japanese labourers employed by Hall and Bennett took over the hothouse industry in the 1930's. The mild climate, which provided more sunshine than the Fraser Valley, ensured that Gulf Island tomatoes could reach Vancouver markets several weeks ahead of mainland competition. Unlike the Islanders' attempts at fruit growing, which were defeated by the Okanagan market in the early 1900's, the hothouse industry remained viable until higher freight rates were introduced by the CPR shortly after 1950.¹⁴

When the Saltspring Island Creamery opened in 1904, farmers on the other islands were encouraged to send cream there rather than to Victoria. From an early production of

30,000 pounds of butter a year, the creamery produced 140,000 pounds annually in 1928. Fred and James Robson on Mayne Island, and A. H. Menzies, Washington Grimmer, and their sons on North Pender Island established registered Jersey herds, which supplied the Saltspring enterprise. Farmers with smaller herds also benefitted by selling milk to the creamery, too.¹⁵ In 1922 a jam factory opened on Saltspring. It accepted shipments of fruit from the outer Islands, but initial production amounted only to 500 cases and the operation soon terminated.¹⁶

The sedimentary formations of the Gulf Islands contributed to small sandstone quarries on Saltspring, Saturna, and North Pender. Sandstone from similar formations on Newcastle Island found their way into the causeway at Victoria and the San Francisco Mint. In 1911 a brick plant was built by the Franco-Canadian Company at Bennett Bay, Mayne Island, to develop the deposit of blue clay which ran inland for about one half mile on the Thomas Bennett farm. A large, Tudor-style boarding house was erected for the men, tracks laid for ore cars, and a kiln built near a concrete barge landing. World War I closed the operations when funds dried up from the French interests.¹⁷

Vacation resorts continued to be popular among holidayers who enjoyed the trip by steamer to Miners Bay and the individual attention received at the boarding houses and small hotels on Mayne Island. The Maude's splendid Point Comfort

Hotel attracted such prominent families as the Bell-Irvings from Vancouver until the building reverted to a private residence about 1910.¹⁸ The Deacon's boarding house at Village Bay, and the Mayne Island Hotel at Miners Bay operated until 1914 and 1923 respectively, when both buildings were destroyed by fire. The Mayne Island Hotel had grown considerably over the years from its modest beginnings as John Puetz's store in 1885. By 1923 it boasted a ballroom, billiard room, indoor plumbing, and electric lights (from a generator).¹⁹

When Tom Collinson died in 1911 his daughter and her husband, Emma and Brook Naylor, took over the operation of his boarding house. Naming their new home Grandview Lodge, they set out to manage it in conjunction with a small farm. Boarders were treated to fresh garden vegetables, berry pies, and home-made bread, and slept in beds furnished with hand-embroidered linens and home-made quilts of sheep's wool. Many of the Naylor's guests came because of the excellent fishing in Active Pass during the summer months. Mrs. Naylor, herself, enjoyed fishing and could often be seen rowing her guests about the bay on a summer evening. In 1930 the Naylor's added a six-bedroom wing to the original building (one bedroom furnished ornately as a bridal suite), with indoor plumbing, a parlour, dining room, and a large kitchen on the ground floor. Like the Mayne Island

Hotel, it also acquired an electric generator for lighting, and for operating a large, walk-in refrigerator. The Naylor's catered to as many as thirty guests a week during the summer. In 1934 the rates were \$14.00 single and \$12.50 double per week, all meals included.²⁰

For those people who found the cost of a week's stay prohibitive, Sunday excursions were very popular during the summer months. Up to 700 people would arrive for a picnic in the park adjacent to Grandview Lodge, and afternoon tea was served in the dining room. Church congregations and companies such as Woodards and Canadian Pacific in Vancouver, and Spencers in Victoria chartered the Motor Princess or other CPR vessels for their annual summer picnics. Publicity for these excursions was provided by writers like Nellie McClung, who reported her impressions of a Sunday visit to Grandview Lodge in the 1930's for the Winnipeg Free Press: "In an old-fashioned dining room with point lace on the high shelf of the sideboard, and pictures on the walls in carved wooden frames with leaves on the corners, we ate strawberry shortcake and drank tea out of nice old English china."²¹

In 1936 Mr. and Mrs. Richard Hall began operating their large home overlooking Active Pass and Miners Bay as a guest house, "the Anchorage." Vacationers there and from the Grandview Lodge cheerfully took part in social activities

on the island, joining with local residents at the wharf on boat days, and dancing on Saturday nights at the community hall.²² Age and ill health finally forced Mrs. Naylor to curtail her hotel operations in 1943, although she was always ready to take in a stranded visitor.²³

The Halls catered to vacationers until 1952, many of whom returned year after year. In addition, the Franco-American boarding house, closed for so long at Bennett Bay, was operated as a hotel on a small scale between 1940 and 1950, and the Point Comfort Hotel, renamed the Cherry Tree Inn, reopened for a few years in the late 1940's before being permanently closed.²⁴

* * * * *

The pleasant marine environment favored development of the hothouse and tourist industries, but it was also responsible for the arrival of the Eustace Maude family who introduced a British middle-class element to Mayne Island's agrarian society. Commander Maude had served on the Royal Navy ships Scout, Rinaldo, Temeraire, and then the Queen's private yacht, the Victoria and Albert, before retiring after twenty-one years of service. Maude homesteaded in Oregon, and operated a store in Duncan, but he was never

happy living away from the sea. In 1900 he re-established his family at Miners Bay where he bought waterfront property and carried on his drygoods business. When the Point Comfort Hotel was put up for sale about 1901, Maude moved his family into yet another waterfront home, at that time the most impressive building on Mayne Island. The Maudes operated their new home as a hotel in the summer time, and kept a small store and the bar open during the winter. About 1910 the family decided to give up serving the public, and the hotel reverted to the Maude's private residence.²⁵

A very outgoing couple, with three daughters and a son (who later joined the Canadian Navy), Commander and Mrs. Maude frequently gave large parties and dances. Naval personnel from Vancouver and Victoria, together with middle class English families from the other Islands, were invited to many of these affairs. The introduction of the gasoline launch by 1920 allowed a great deal of social intercourse among Island communities.²⁶

Already the social center of the Islands for the farmers and early settlers, Mayne now became the focus of British middle-class activities. In addition to the parties and formal balls, tennis matches and afternoon teas were regularly held at Point Comfort during the summer.

Occasionally, the sons and daughters of the agrarian community would be invited to these gatherings, but formal dances were more exclusive. In turn, Commander Maude accepted invitations from English families on Saltspring and the other Islands, taking his family and guests on his sloop, the Half Moon. When Colonel and Lady Constance Fawkes arrived from England in 1924 they bought the Point Comfort Hotel from the Maudes and continued the tradition of afternoon teas and tennis parties into the late 1930's.²⁷

Initially, the Maudes were the only British middle-class family on Mayne Island. They quickly made contact with English remittance families on South Pender, Saturna, and Samuel. In 1904 Canon Paddon and his family took up permanent residence in the vicarage on Mayne Island,²⁸ and Richard Hall, who had trained as an agriculturalist on Guernsey, arrived about 1910.²⁹ Together, the Maudes, Paddons, and Richard Hall formed the nucleus of British middle-class on Mayne Island until a number of other pensioned British servicemen arrived with their families following World War I. Captain J. N. Waugh, Captain A. B. Gurney, Captain H. L. Houlgate, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Flick, Richard Steele, and Herbert Foster were either veterans of the Boer War, World War I, or both. Also included in this English circle were the island's resident

doctor, Christopher H. West, who had trained in London and retired from service with the Northwest Mounted Police in 1924, and his successor, Dr. Thomas E. Roberts, in 1935.³⁰

This cohesive group of British families assumed an active role in community affairs. They were largely responsible for maintaining the Anglican church on Mayne Island, the men serving as wardens while the women organized a ladies auxiliary. Canon Paddon, who had worked so hard to see the church established on the island, was succeeded by Reverend R. H. Porter and his family. Porter was provided with a small gasoline launch and managed to conduct three services every Sunday--on Mayne, Galiano, and North Pender. Occasionally, Sunday afternoon services would also be held at the Bennett residence on the southeast side of the island for people too elderly or remote to attend morning service at Miners Bay.³¹

The Fawkes, Porters, and Wests, rather than the agrarian segment of the population, were instrumental in organizing the first agricultural fair on the island in 1925. Agricultural fairs had begun at Victoria in 1861, and soon were a feature in most communities. Despite long distances and awkward journeys by boat, residents of the Gulf Islands were keen participants and observers at many

of these shows every year. Saltspring Island inaugurated their fair in 1896, but Mayne Island became the first of the outer Islands to establish an annual fair, and residents from Galiano, North and South Pender, and Saturna usually attended and submitted entries. *Most of the Mayne Island white and Japanese farming families enjoyed entering garden produce, flowers, farm animals, home cooking, and fine art in competition with entries from the English sector who had small kitchen gardens only. The cooperation of the ferry companies, making special excursions and transferring entries from other islands, enabled the little fair to continue with few breaks until the present time.³²

Colonel Fawkes and Mrs. Foster also encouraged the development of the fine arts on the island. Fawkes, a member of the Island Arts and Craft Society, was a highly-skilled water-colorist, and enjoyed giving art lessons to the school children every Friday afternoon. Mrs. Foster had studied photography in Portugal and was also adept at painting and weaving, which she taught to residents on the island.³³

*The other distinctive social group on Mayne Island were the Japanese. They tended to blend socially with the descendants of the original settlers because both groups earned their living by fishing or farming, and did not have pensioned incomes. Their children attended the

the local school in contrast to those of the Maudes, Paddons, and Halls who were sent to private school or were tutored by private governesses. Japanese and whites worked side by side during harvesting, on community "bees" to care for the school and community hall, or on major tasks such as transporting steam boilers from the beach to a Japanese greenhouse. They also spent leisure time together at golf, badminton, dances, and card parties at the community hall.³⁴

Middle class English religious values extended into the lives of the Japanese in the 1920's when Colonel and Lady Constance Fawkes were allowed to act as sponsors for the group baptism of twelve Japanese children. In the late 1930's two Japanese weddings were performed in St. Mary Magdalene Church at Mayne Island, but apparently no Japanese burials took place in the church cemetery.³⁵

British immigrants have been frequently credited by historians of British Columbia as providing the social foundations of our province, especially in Victoria and the Okanagan. The social structure of Mayne Island presents another settlement pattern: community organization had been forged by an egalitarian group of settlers before the British immigrants arrived on the scene after 1900. British notions of class distinction were not upsetting to the established community; their cultural contributions

were also welcomed.³⁶

* * * * *

With a secure economic and social foundation, the small community on Mayne Island weathered the unsettled decades from World War I to World War II without major difficulties. The economy of Mayne Island was not adversely affected by World War I because the older, established white and Japanese farmers remained on the island during the war period. Self-exiled patriots Eustace Maude and his son, George, and Richard Hall enlisted beside the part-Indian descendants of the original settlers, Robert and Arthur Georgeson, and Frank and Frederick Heck. The Mayne Island Roll of Honour lists eighteen men, but at least five of these veterans did not arrive on the island until after the war. There were no Mayne Island casualties. North Pender lost six men; South Pender, four, and Saturna, one. Those residents who remained behind were active in the Red Cross Society, holding regular teas, bazaars, and other community activities to raise funds. The Mayne Island branch collected \$1,076.48 in three and one half years, and the women donated large amounts of handiwork.³⁷

Returning soldiers brought fresh ideas back to their communities after the war. Frank Heck's contribution was the island's first automobile in 1919. By 1922 there were seven cars on the island and other new technology was intruding. The first airplane visited the island in 1919, and in 1924 residents flocked to the community hall to hear the provincial election results on a new crystal set owned by Dalton Hill, the local storekeeper. Limited telephone service was introduced on the island in 1911, then in 1930 Mayne became the telephone headquarters for the outer Gulf Islands when a transmitting station was erected at Miners Bay.³⁸

Health care also improved to the benefit of the growing number of older residents. A hospital was built on Saltspring in 1914, and Mayne residents enjoyed the advantage of their first physician, a Dr. Kincaid, in the early 1920's, followed by Dr. Christopher West in 1924, and Dr. Thomas E. Roberts in 1935. These doctors also went to the other Islands for emergencies, or the patients would come to Mayne. Insulated from the mainland, most Islanders remained protected from major epidemics. The children were generally spared measles, mumps, and

chicken pox, which were an accepted part of urban childhoods.³⁹

From time to time visiting journalists predicted that the Gulf Islands were an area just waiting for development, but the economy and the limited resources of the Islands during the inter-war years prevented any large-scale endeavours. The Gulf Islands Board of Trade, formed in 1919 with representatives from all the Islands, attempted to secure better steamer service, telephone facilities, and medical care, but it appears to have ceased operation after 1923.⁴⁰ Two large projects promoted in the 1920's were cancelled because of the depression: a T.B. sanitarium that was to have encompassed the entire Miners Bay area, and a large CPR hotel on North Pender.⁴¹ Besides the hothouse industry, the only new enterprise of consequence on Mayne Island was a small cannery begun on Saturna by Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Steele and moved to Mayne in 1937. By 1948 production totalled 13,000 cases of canned beef stew and plum puddings, but the enterprise moved to the mainland when higher freight rates were introduced by the CPR.⁴²

Newspaper accounts of leisure activities on the Gulf Islands during the inter-war period give the impression that life was nothing but a series of dances, golf matches, tennis parties, and excursions to other islands during the summer.

Winters were less lively but still marked by weekly card parties and monthly dances at the community hall.⁴³ Loyalty and tradition remained very important to the Islanders. New Year's Eve dances and the 24th of May holiday were inter-Island events held on Mayne as late as the 1940's. Initiated by the early settlers and supported, later, by the British element, May 24th was a major celebration on Mayne.⁴⁴ Mothers would pore over Eaton's catalogues, choosing new hats and clothing months ahead for the big day. Afternoon events, featuring foot races for all ages and tugs of war, were followed by a dance in the evening. In 1921 three hundred people from the Islands were in attendance for the afternoon, and 150 remained for the dance. This tradition was enhanced by a permanent display of loyalty to the Crown for the coronation of George VI in 1937. A hexagonal "coronation seat" was built near the wharf at Miners Bay and a copper beech planted in the enclosure. This seat became the center of outdoor gatherings on boat days for many years to come.⁴⁵

When the new King George and Queen Elizabeth visited Victoria in 1939, the CPR steamship Princess Mary made a special excursion among the Islands to take residents to Victoria. Many Mayne Island residents also walked out to the end of Helen Point to wave as the royal pair sailed by on the S.S. Prince Robert.⁴⁶

Life was indeed pleasant on the Gulf Islands during the 1920's and 1930's. Although the Depression affected the farmers and pensioned incomes of ex-servicemen, people generally found that they could live on a little less and still get by, for property taxes remained low and most families preserved garden produce, fish and venison to tide them over the winter. In December 1936, A. E. Craddock, a North Pender Island resident, compared the cost of living between the city and the Gulf Islands, giving a total cost of \$66.28 per month for the city, versus \$22.90 for the Islands. Nevertheless, few newcomers to the Islands remained during the inter-war years unless they were on pensioned income.⁴⁷

* * * * *

The most industrious segment of the Mayne Island population between 1920 and 1940 were the Japanese. They had managed to establish themselves in British Columbia at the turn of the century by working hard, being adaptable, and forming co-operatives. Certainly, the Mayne Island Japanese had all these positive attributes. The large poultry co-operative (50,000 hens) that they had formed earlier in the century had been superseded by a tomato growing co-operative in the early 1930's. Members of the

Active Pass Growers Association had eight acres of tomatoes under glass and produced fifty tons of tomatoes a year. During the summer, hundreds of boxes of tomatoes were shipped every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday to Vancouver markets, delaying the Princess Mary half an hour or more while loading took place.⁴⁸ In addition, a private sawmill supplied local lumber needs, a fish saltery at Dinner Bay employed both white and Japanese labour, and other Japanese fished independently in the waters around Mayne Island. A visiting journalist reported 8,000 pounds of cod were caught and dressed at Miners Bay for one shipment in 1934.⁴⁹ Without exact figures, one can only conjecture on the basis of photographs and verbal reports that the industrious Japanese were conducting more than 50% of the commerce on Mayne Island by 1940, yet represented one-third of the population.⁵⁰

* As Japan's foreign policy became more and more ominous in the 1930's, British Columbia members of Parliament brought out the time-worn accusations of lower standard of living and lack of assimilability to keep the Oriental question before Ottawa. They later added a third theme of protest, "peaceful penetration." Fear of fifth column activities eventually brought about the federal government's decision to evacuate the Japanese from the coastal area, following

Pearl Harbor.⁵¹ In the late 1930's, MacGregor Macintosh, Conservative MP for Nanaimo and the Islands, who in 1931 had spoken in favor of enfranchisement for Japanese veterans of World War I,⁵² became the standard bearer for those Conservatives who wanted the Japanese out of British Columbia. In an address to the Vancouver Centre Conservative Association in January 1938, Macintosh called for an immediate census, using Mayne Island as an example of Japanese incursion:

...in 1920 the population of Mayne Island was almost entirely white. Then the Japanese invasion started and today there is hardly a white man engaged in the Island's hot-house and field tomato trade. Practically all the fishing in surrounding waters is done by Japanese. The head man of Mayne Island Japanese is reported to be the brother of a Japanese admiral....There are more Japanese than white children in the Mayne Island school; the young men send to Japan for their wives and Mayne Island boys are serving their time in the Japanese Navy. 53

Macintosh's reasons for the Japanese success in tomato growing were equally racist:

Japanese live in crude cabins with practically no furniture....A number of groups or families crowd in together. They all work, even women with babies strapped to their backs. There is no apparent wage scale, as all workers are in the so-called family. Youth and boys are evidently indentured to learn the business, and they are all at it, early and late. They live mostly on rice. 54

Mayne Island was a strong Conservative constituency during the 1930's, with the Conservatives having almost twice as many voters as the next largest group, the Liberals, but they recognized the "politicking" in Macintosh's speeches.⁵⁵ One Mayne Island resident, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Flick, was incensed enough to write letters to the editors of the Vancouver Daily Province and the Victoria Colonist, refuting the statements made by Macintosh, and warning of the consequences of rash utterances. A veteran of the Boer War and World War I, Flick predicted all too well what was to happen four years later:

Some of the statements credited to Captain Macintosh are gravely in error. There is, so far as I can ascertain from the Japanese, no relative to a Japanese admiral on Mayne Island. No Japanese boys or young men have gone from the Island to serve in either the Japanese Army or Navy; one young man did go to Japan several weeks ago but he went to get a bride and is now back on his little holding here.

The Japanese standard of living on Mayne Island is generally speaking at least equal to if not superior to that of Europeans engaged in similar pursuits. The Japanese children here are bright, intelligent, clean and exceptionally well nourished. The Japanese homes here are neat and scrupulously clean; and the inmates at once courteous, civil, hospitable and of excellent community spirit toward their fellow citizens....Idle and untrue utterances by politicians concerning Japan and the local Japanese cannot do other than breed ill-feeling which is to be deplored when one considers that the British Empire controls the destinies of some 300,000,000 Asiatics. Now that Japanese and British patrols and outposts are daily face to face, fully armed, ill blood here may start something that Canadians would not care to see. 56

As a result of Conservative propaganda, claiming that many Japanese were entering Canada illegally, Mackenzie King implemented a Board of Review, headed by Hugh L. Keenlyside, Department of External Affairs, assisted by RCMP District Officer Commanding, G. W. Fish, Vancouver, and District Superintendent of Immigration, F. W. Taylor, Vancouver. The final report by the Board stated that very few Japanese had entered Canada illegally in recent years. There were probably no more than 100 Japanese in Canada illegally in 1938. An RCMP check of the Japanese communities on both Mayne Island and Saltspring Island found no illegal residents.⁵⁷

Life went on quietly for the Japanese on Mayne Island in the years preceding Pearl Harbor, and there was visible evidence that they were becoming upwardly mobile. Boon Minamide was about to move his family into a new home, and Kumazo Nagata's son, John, who had completed his high school education in Vancouver, was starting his own tomato business at Campbell Bay, employing a more advanced technique of circulating hot water heating in his greenhouses. Then came December 7, 1941.⁵⁸

Immediately after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor the Japanese on Mayne Island were affected by implementation of Mackenzie King's "moderate policy." King feared

reprisals on those Canadians under Japan's control if word of unfair treatment by Canadian authorities got back to the Imperial Government. Thus, recommendations made by the Standing Committee on Orientals in British Columbia were introduced: Japanese were forbidden to fish or use vessels off the coast of British Columbia; short-wave radio receiving sets, radio transmitters, and cameras were banned; enemy aliens were to be removed from protected areas. As a result, the Canadian Navy impounded all Japanese fishing boats in British Columbia. They towed the Mayne Island boats to the Fraser River in mid-December.⁵⁹

This disturbing action was followed shortly by the removal of five or six Japanese men from Mayne Island. Early in 1942, Fred Bennett was roused from bed by Provincial Police officer Constable D. Tweedhope who promptly swore him in as a deputy. Bennett was ordered to take the police to the residences of the men they had listed. Bennett faced a terrible dilemma for he was being asked to help round up some of his friends; yet the consequences if he refused might be harsh. The round-up took less than an hour. One man was arrested as he was making his way to stoke the fires in the starting house, which contained flats of tomato seedlings almost ready to set out in the greenhouses for the 1942 season. Car keys were

seized for twenty-four hours so that families could not follow their men down to the Miners Bay wharf.⁶⁰

It is difficult to substantiate just who these five or six men were. All had emigrated from Japan in the 1930's and all but one had arrived on Mayne as parties to arranged marriages. Forrest E. LaViolette gives two instances of Japanese males who were evacuated early in 1942. The first was the internment, between December 9, 1941, and January 14, 1942, of thirty-eight persons "dangerous to security." Then, in mid-January Mackenzie King announced that about 6,000 Japanese nationals between eighteen and forty-five years of age were to be removed from the defence area. The first group of one hundred men finally left Vancouver on February 23rd "after the RCMP had done some special rounding up and some special pleading with them."⁶¹

With the loss of the fishboats and now the young men, the Japanese on Mayne Island prepared to face the worst. Evacuation orders were published March 25, 1942, giving them scant time to settle their affairs. *A limit of 150 pounds of luggage was placed on each family. Precious possessions were packed up or hidden away in walls, rafters, and the ground. "The custodian of alien property for the Gulf Islands, Gavin C. Mouat of Saltspring Island, was notified of the visible property left behind."⁶²

In the midst of this turmoil, Kumazo Nagata, Secretary of the Active Pass Growers Association, wrote to the British Columbia Security Commission on April 15, 1942, confirming that members of the co-operative were ready to evacuate, but expressing concern that as yet no one had been designated to look after the extensive hothouse operations once the owners had been evacuated.-- Rather than deprive the fruit and vegetable markets that year, the Mayne Island Japanese had decided to plant their tomato crops as usual.-- Nagata also put in a plea for the white workers who had helped with the tomato industry over the years:

At this time may we convey to you our opinion that those already in employment now be permitted to remain so while possible for them, as we do not wish to have their source of income deprived from them while the greenhouses are being operated by our successors. These persons, though not Japanese, have been our assistants for many years.⁶³

*The strong bond between white and Japanese farmers on Mayne Island is evident in Nagata's letter. Charles Flick reiterated his pro-Japanese stand in a letter to the Colonist January 1, 1942. He believed that Pearl Harbor was "solely due to slackness on the part of the military forces of the U.S.A.," and expressed the hope that the Japanese fishing boats would soon be returned to the Canadian owners (i.e., not sold to American fishermen).⁶⁴

Antagonism towards the Japanese on Mayne Island cannot be substantiated following Pearl Harbor, but residents of Galiano and North Pender Islands wrote negative letters to the newspapers. On the same page of the Colonist, beside Flick's letter of January 1, 1942, a letter was published from Spencer Percival, North Pender Island, titled "Civilian Protection":

...Not knowing who amongst that alien people can be trusted, we should move them all into the interior and draft them to work in various industries, some on farms, some in mines, and some in road construction. We are paying dearly now for our past pacifism, wistful thinking, procrastination, and ignorance. 65

On Tuesday, April 21, 1942, the CPR steamship Princess Mary came for the fifty Japanese men, women, and children who waited on the Miners Bay wharf. Most of the white residents were in attendance to shake hands and wish them well. It was a sad time for all.⁶⁶

A week after evacuation, the first tomatoes of the season, so optimistically planted by the Japanese, were picked by their white friends and sent off to market. Nagata had contracted management of his greenhouses to a Vancouver grower, R. Mayers, for the 1942 and 1943 seasons. The other greenhouses on the island were managed by Chinese growers from Victoria for 1942, and thereafter by local residents. In all, between 150,000 and 200,000 pounds of

tomatoes were harvested. The Mayne Island school lost almost half of its school children. Classes limped along until June and then the school closed until the following May for lack of pupils.⁶⁷

When resettlement away from the Pacific Coast was being implemented, many of the Mayne Island families were allowed to remain together. The Nagata, Sumi, and Konishi families and several others went to Turtle Valley, near Salmon Arm, where they erected rough shacks of green lumber, hoping their stay would be temporary. The winter of 1942 was bitterly cold and the men could find only temporary employment on nearby farms. After two years the group broke up. The Nagata and Konishi families moved closer to Salmon Arm, but others went to Kamloops and Toronto. For two other Mayne Island Japanese the evacuation was doubly tragic. A fisherman from the island jumped overboard while being returned to Japan, and Boon Minamide died shortly after he reached the sugar beet farms of Alberta. He was only about forty years of age.⁶⁸

Between February and July, 1942, the Smith Committee, established by Order-in-Council P.C. 987, sold or leased most of the Japanese fishing boats and equipment taken into custody on the West Coast. In July the remainder was turned over to the Custodian of Alien Property in Vancouver.⁶⁹

Legislation was introduced by Ottawa in June, 1942, to allow the Soldier Settlement Board to buy the abandoned property of the Japanese on Mayne Island and elsewhere in British Columbia. Several Mayne Island residents managed to keep the hothouse industry going on the island, renting the greenhouses from the Board, until returning veterans acquired the property after the War.⁷⁰

Eventually, Gavin Mouat auctioned off the abandoned Japanese possessions on Mayne Island. Mouat had interests in the Gulf Island Ferries Ltd., which operated the motor vessel Cy Peck between Fulford Harbour, Saltspring, and Swartz Bay on Vancouver Island. The auction on December 1, 1943, was turned into almost a holiday outing, with a special excursion sailing of the Cy Peck bringing Islanders from Saltspring and North Pender Islands. Farm machinery, two trucks, and more than 5,000 feet of lumber were disposed of, along with household effects and tools. Ironically, while the possessions of the Minamide family sold for a fraction of their value, the Mayne Island Red Cross raised the substantial sum of \$50.79 during the day selling coffee and sandwiches.⁷¹

After the auctions were completed the Adache family of Mayne Island wrote repeatedly to Gavin Mouat, insisting that some of their belongings were still in their home.

Fred Bennett made repeated searches to no avail. Finally, in desperation he poked a hole in the ceiling. The belongings were all there, although a few mice nests had been added. For a number of years the absent Japanese gave buried saki wine to a few Mayne Island friends as Christmas gifts. The recipients would be instructed by letter where to dig for their presents.⁷²

By another Order-in-Council, PC 3797, in May, 1944, the federal government made the buying and holding of land for the Japanese an offense.⁷³ After the war many of the Japanese wanted to reacquire their holdings on Mayne Island, but no less a person than Major-General G. R. Pearkes, MP for Nanaimo and the Islands, added his voice to the many residents protesting the return of the Japanese to their previous homes:

I represent a constituency in which the Japanese lived in their thousands before the outbreak of this war. When war came with Japan those residents were removed as a protective measure.... The people of my constituency have realized the difference that there is now that the Japanese have gone, and whether the Japanese are made citizens of Canada or not the people of Vancouver Island and the people of the gulf islands do not want to see the Japanese move back to those areas. I have letters from individuals, from farmers, from fishermen, from employers of labour, from churches and organizations, all containing this plea: Do not let the Japanese come back to this territory after the war. 74

In the early 1950's the Koyama family returned to Mayne Island, but only in the 1970's have other descendants of the Mayne Island Japanese bought property on the island. Unfortunately, none of the new generation lives on their forebearers' land.⁷⁵

The Mayne Island Japanese joined with other groups in British Columbia to seek greater compensation for their property losses when an investigation was held by Justice Henry I. Bird in 1947, but the awards were minimal. The Torazo Iwasaki family, formerly of Saltspring Island, later tried through the Exchequer Court and then the Supreme Court of Canada to obtain satisfaction for their land, which had been purchased by Salt Spring Lands Limited, a company in which Gavin Mouat, the custodian, held a twenty per cent interest. The courts refused both petitions, claiming that the acceptance of the award from the Bird decision was legally binding.⁷⁶

Initially, the Mayne Island community was seriously affected by the evacuation of the Japanese. Although the results of Japanese labour, tomatoes, fish and (earlier) poultry, were sold off island, and the Japanese worked through co-operatives to bring in chicken feed and hothouse supplies, the Japanese paid rent for their land and

purchased their groceries from the local stores. These sources of income for the white population were now eliminated. Even the white children's education was affected because of the school closure from September 1942 until May 1943. The white community adapted in time to the loss of more than 30% of the population, nevertheless. Two grocery stores managed to remain in business, and hothouse tomatoes continued as a local industry until higher freight rates and lumber prices in the early 1950's made operating costs prohibitive. Thereafter, tomatoes were grown for local consumption only.⁷⁷

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The war touched Mayne Islanders in many other ways. While the sad fate of the Japanese on Mayne Island was being determined, wartime activities on the Islands were implemented. An area-wide blackout, including southern Vancouver Island, followed Pearl Harbor on the nights of December 8 and 9, 1941.⁷⁸ Civil Defense groups organized area wardens to co-ordinate further blackout exercises, and the local newspaper, the Sidney and Gulf Islands Review, published timely advice on measures to take should an

incendiary bomb land on a roof. Two militia groups, one on Saltspring and one from the outer Gulf Islands, held regular drills.⁷⁹

The residents of Mayne Island raised money for war savings stamps by holding a lottery every Tuesday afternoon on the time that the Princess Mary, now painted in camouflage grey, would whistle for landing at Miners Bay. Annual victory bond drives went over the top every year, and dances, card parties, and bazaars on Mayne and the other Islands were well attended, raising a considerable sum for the Red Cross. The Islanders endured rationing with little difficulty. Farm wives traded meat and butter coupons for the sugar coupons of non-farming women, and storekeepers earned everlasting respect for being generous with credit.⁸⁰

For a short time the Royal Canadian Air Force stationed men at William Deacon's farm to retrieve drogues that were dropped in the fields during aerial target practices. An RCAF plane, unconnected with this operation, crashed on the south hills, near Village Bay, during the same time period, but there were no other military incidents on the island.⁸¹

After the war, Mayne Island welcomed home five returning veterans. The other Islands had a larger number of veterans and, unlike Mayne, had also lost men. Mayne Island's resident doctor, T. E. Roberts, who had survived

Gallipoli in World War I, served as a ship's doctor on H.M.S. Atwater, and H.M.S. Robert, the only vessel to escape the blockade of Hong Kong in World War II. Dr. Roberts resumed his practice on Mayne until his retirement in 1951. He was aided in his work by Eva and Jack Steele who, in addition to operating the local cannery, were both trained nurses.⁸²

By 1945 the social order on Mayne Island was changing. Not only had the Japanese departed, but many second generation descendants of the original settlers had died, as well as most of the British pensioned families, including matriarch Lady Constance Fawkes. Several young families moved to the island between 1945 and 1950, and more would come, if only temporarily, during the logging boom from 1948 to 1955.⁸³

With the end of the War residents of the islands could once again focus on improvements to the community. Young mothers formed a Parent-Teacher group in 1945 on Mayne Island, which sought better facilities for the school children. The Association purchased property for a new playground, and a new school was built on it in 1950.⁸⁴ In 1948 representatives from the Islands attended a Saltspring Island Joint Council meeting to discuss the implementation of hydro service, and air and water transportation problems. This meeting marked the formation of

the Gulf Islands Improvement Bureau, which would play such an important part in the history of the Gulf Islands during the next decade, especially in connection with obtaining adequate ferry service.⁸⁵

The Canadian Pacific Railway had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of steamship service to the Gulf Islands since the 1920's. After employing a series of older ships and replacements, the company came to rely on the Princess Mary year round, supplemented by the Motor Princess during the summer months. Personalized service was still available as earlier in the century. Ships' officers accepted letters for posting on board ship if the local postmaster had already sealed the mailbags, and special calls were made to pick up members of a wedding party or to bring visitors to the annual fall fair. The Gulf Island Ferry Company occasionally brought the Cy Peck on excursion trips to Mayne and the other Islands on special days, too.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, while the Cy Peck continued operating for many more years, the days of the Motor Princess and the Princess Mary were numbered.

In 1949 the CPR eliminated Victoria from the Princess Mary run, which meant that the Gulf Islanders would have contact with Vancouver Island during the summer time only.

At a meeting of the Gulf Islands Improvement Bureau in January, 1950, George Pearkes, M.P. for Saanich and the Islands,⁸⁷ agreed with the delegates that the Islands now had less transportation than in earlier years. He felt that the federal government should be involved because they provided \$3 million to aid Atlantic Coast steamships, but only \$300,000 for West Coast marine transportation. Protests and meetings with CPR officials failed to persuade them to provide more frequent service.⁸⁸

* * * * *

The ensuing ten years of piecemeal passenger and freight service to the Gulf Islands taxed the patience of islanders and politicians alike. Individual islands, and even the residents of one island, were divided politically. Throughout this turbulent period, as the era of relaxed travel, focusing on passenger service, was being replaced by more rapid transit, favoring the automobile, the provincial government never fully understood the strong relationship between Mayne and Galiano Islands and the mainland, believing that most Gulf Islanders preferred marine connections with Vancouver Island.

When new, stringent fire regulations forced the retirement of the Motor Princess in May 1950, the aging Princess Mary took over her Sunday run. Rumours had been circulating for three years that the Mary would not last much longer because the ship was frequently pulled off the Islands route for boiler and engine repairs. In December 1951, the blow finally came. The CPR announced that the Mary would make her final run and be replaced by the Princess Elaine on December 13th. The Mary was eventually sold for restaurant and barge purposes; refitting would have required the costly removal of her entire superstructure to replace the boilers.⁸⁹

The Elaine was 43 feet longer than the Mary, and required larger docking facilities and a larger passenger and freight business to make her operation viable, but the CPR had no other ships available. The company had recently added two luxury vessels, the Princess Marguerite and the Princess Patricia to their fleet and was not prepared to spend another \$1 million for a smaller ship for the Gulf Islands run.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, only Ganges on Saltspring and Port Washington on North Pender had large enough wharves to accommodate the Elaine. The larger ship's schedule was thus much poorer than the Mary's

had been. Whereas the Mary had called at every island except South Pender on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the Elaine docked only at Ganges and Port Washington on those days. Mayne was serviced by the smaller west coast CPR steamer Princess Maquinna every eight days when she made her trip via Victoria to Vancouver and return.⁹¹

Obviously, the increased business required by the Elaine was impossible to achieve.

To cries of protest from the Gulf Islands Improvement Bureau, the CPR replied that the Islanders would have to press the federal government for new wharves before Mayne, Galiano, and Saturna could receive better service. The CPR also suggested that these wharves be built with moveable ramps to facilitate side loading.⁹² The Bureau immediately wrote to Alphonse Fournier, Minister of Public Works, Ottawa, December 27, 1951, pointing out that service once every eight days would ruin not only the hothouse and field produce business, but the tourist industry as well. It recommended improving the smaller wharves immediately.⁹³

The federal government responded quickly to this plea, announcing in March 1952 that \$557,500 would be spent on upgrading wharf facilities. Mayne Island's wharf at Miners Bay was ready for the Elaine on June 28th,⁹⁴ and wharves at Galiano, Saturna, and Sidney also received instant attention. The Elaine was calling on all the Islands in

the summer of 1953, completing round trips four times weekly between Vancouver and Sidney, but in September the CPR announced that it was going to pull the Elaine off the Gulf Islands run and provide a reduced service, once a week, using the Princess Norah. A forty-hour work week and higher pay rates had added \$308,000 to the operating costs of the CPR's British Columbia coast service in 1953. Expenditures for the first half of the year had exceeded revenues by \$1,166,573, and two thirds of a \$115,000 deficit on the Gulf Islands and Powell River runs was attributable to the Gulf Islands service. Each winter trip had cost \$1,566 but revenues amounted only to \$318. Furthermore, the crew numbered fifty, while the number of passengers on the winter run to the Gulf Islands averaged only forty-five.⁹⁵ The report neglected to publish revenues for the summer months when the CPR carried far more passengers, nor did it add that the Elaine could be gainfully employed on her old service, the Nanaimo-Vancouver run. Increasing traffic on that route was proving more than the Princess of Nanaimo could handle.⁹⁶

Once again, protests were mounted against reduced service to the Islands. Jean Howarth, a weekend resident of Saturna, criticized the CPR's handling of the Elaine in a Vancouver Province editorial:

...they must have known that she would lose money, and known that they intended to pull her off....But they let the taxpayers of Canada spend \$500,000 on wharves that only the Elaine needs. The old wharves would have done quite well for the small ships now to be assigned to the run. 97

The same day the Victoria Colonist editorialized, "As far as transportation services are concerned, the forgotten people of British Columbia are the settlers, businessmen, and resort operators of the Gulf Islands."⁹⁸ As a result of the inadequate service, Mayne Island's cannery, the only small industry, was moved to Vancouver in April 1953.⁹⁹

The Gulf Islands Improvement Bureau met and decided to seek restoration of service by writing to federal and provincial members and boards of trade, and by sending a delegation to interview vice-president William Manson of the CPR. Meanwhile, offers were received from Oswald "Sparkie" New of Coast Navigation Ltd., Vancouver, and from Gavin Mouat of the Gulf Island Ferry Company to supply a replacement service.¹⁰⁰ Following the visit from the Improvement Bureau delegation, the CPR reluctantly agreed to increase service from one to three times weekly during the winter of 1953-54. The Princess Norah and the Princess of Alberni were placed on the Gulf Islands route.¹⁰¹

In October, 1953, the CPR made known its plans for the summer of 1954. The Elaine would be used again, commencing June 1st, with stops at Galiano three days each week, and at Port Washington and Mayne twice a week. The Norah and Alberni, travelling in opposite directions to Victoria and Vancouver, would call on Wednesdays.¹⁰² This piecemeal schedule strongly suggested that the long tradition of CPR service to the Gulf Islands was coming to an end. Furthermore, by this time, the CPR was facing strong competition from Black Ball Lines-Canada Limited and was concentrating its efforts on retaining service between Nanaimo and Vancouver, and Victoria to Port Angeles and Seattle.¹⁰³ A number of delegations from the Gulf Islands Improvement Bureau and other interested groups met with Deputy Minister of Highways Evan Jones, requesting government intervention to ensure a year-round service. These groups also met with Black Ball Lines who promised to make an economic survey.¹⁰⁴

When Sparkie New offered to provide a thrice-weekly service to the Islands from Steveston with the S.S. A. G. Garrish (later renamed the Lady Rose), the CPR was more than willing to allow New to take over the Gulf Islands route, promising to help with delivery of vehicles because the Garrish could transport only two cars. The little ship commenced sailing to the Gulf Islands on February 25, 1954. It also acquired the mail contract for the Islands.¹⁰⁵

New provided service to the Islands on a free enterprise basis but soon faced competition from the Gulf Island Ferry Company which was subsidized by the provincial government to operate the Cy Peck between Fulford Harbour and Swartz Bay and, later, the George Pearson between Vesuvius Bay, Saltspring Island, and Crofton.

On February 24, 1954, a major attempt was made to gain government intervention when a large delegation (comprised of representatives from the Chambers of Commerce of Duncan, Victoria, Sidney, and North Saanich; representatives from the Gulf Islands; Larry Giovano, MLA for Nanaimo and the Islands, and John D. Tisdale, MLA for Saanich) met with Philip A. Gaglardi, Minister of Highways. To a formal request for subsidized ferry service to all the Gulf Islands, Gaglardi replied that he was waiting for the economic survey then being carried out by Black Ball Lines before he made any decisions. This survey, which would have meant Black Ball acquiring the Gulf Island Ferry Company, was never made public despite repeated attempts by Gulf Islanders to learn the contents.¹⁰⁶

Negotiations between the Gulf Island Ferry Company and Black Ball broke down in November 1954, but in the meantime the Saltspring ferry company introduced a new run of the Cy Peck, from Fulford Harbour to North Pender Island and Swartz Bay in October 1954. Delegates from the outer

Islands visited Evan Jones, October 28, 1954, requesting that the Cy Peck be subsidized to serve their communities, too, but this request was turned down.¹⁰⁷

Aided by the completion of a bridge linking North and South Pender Islands in March 1955,¹⁰⁸ traffic on the North Pender Island-Swartz Bay route increased fifty per cent between October 1954 and October 1955. Increasingly, residents of Saltspring and North and South Pender Islands were forging links with Vancouver Island as automobile and freight volumes grew. In opposition were Galiano, Mayne, and Saturna residents who believed that their future lay in closer contact with the mainland. In November 1954, they met with Jones in an attempt to gain additional service for the Islands, not a replacement for the existing mainland connection via the Lady Rose. Differences in opinion led to the withdrawal of the Pender Island Farmers Institute from the Gulf Island Improvement Bureau in November 1954. Thenceforth, the Institute began to promote stronger ties with Vancouver Island, while the Bureau, now composed of Galiano, Mayne, and Saturna representatives, promoted mainland connections.¹⁰⁹

At a large meeting of representatives from all the Islands on Galiano in May 1955, Evan Jones suggested they "get their act together" if they wanted better ferry service. Both Gavin Mouat and Sparkie New presented their opposing viewpoints, Mouat favoring subsidized ferries,

and New favoring free enterprise. A subsequent meeting on Mayne Island in May revealed that the residents wanted a government study of the ferry situation, but were divided on subsidy and route questions.¹¹⁰

The Gulf Island Improvement Bureau held a plebiscite in September 1955, asking the residents of Mayne, Galiano, and Saturna to choose between subsidized car ferry service to Vancouver Island or a general freight and passenger service to the mainland. Eighty per cent of the Galiano residents and ninety per cent of the Mayne and Saturna residents responded, heavily endorsing a mainland service. Pender Island refused to hold a similar plebiscite but submitted a petition to the provincial government signed by 218 residents, requesting continuation of the existing subsidized service.¹¹¹

There is no evidence that a study was carried out during 1955 on the best method of servicing the Gulf Islands. Gaglardi does not seem to have understood that more than half the Gulf Island residents favored connections with the mainland, despite the plebiscite results which were forwarded to him by New. In December 1955, Gaglardi finally announced that the provincial government would immediately subsidize service to the outer Gulf Islands by the Cy Peck, connecting with Swartz Bay. New's re-

quest that the government withdraw their subsidies to Mouat and allow him to compete freely with the Saltspring company were ignored. New claimed that his Coast Navigation Company had made an 18% profit on the Gulf Islands run between December 1954, and December 1955.¹¹²

When the government called tenders for service to the Gulf Islands in early 1956, the sole response was from Mouat's Gulf Island Ferry Company, which requested an annual subsidy of \$84,000 over five years, commencing July 1956.¹¹³ Gaglardi accepted the tender with the provision that the Company provide twice daily service to the outer Islands during the summer, and once daily service in the winter.¹¹⁴ The Motor Princess, which Mouat bought from the CPR in January 1955, was refitted promptly and began her inaugural run on June 29, 1956, with Premier W. A. C. Bennett and Gaglardi on board. Bennett assured the Gulf Islanders that,

This trip which I have taken with Mr. Gaglardi means that the government of British Columbia is recognizing the new importance of the Gulf Islands and we intend to vigorously proceed with policies that will increase this development. 115

With a provincial election looming, Bennett sent a personal letter to Gaglardi, July 9, 1956, asking that special attention be given to the Gulf Island problems.¹¹⁶ As a consequence, the Gulf Islands were better served than ever before, with daily connections via either the Motor Princess or the Lady Rose to Vancouver Island and the main-

land, and Earle Westwood, Social Credit candidate for Nanaimo and the Islands, easily won the Gulf Island vote in the election that September. ¹¹⁷

In late 1956 New reversed his position on free enterprise and requested a subsidy of \$3,000 a month for the Lady Rose or he would have to withdraw the ship from service in January 1957. His change of stance was likely caused by rapidly increasing operating costs, especially wages. The Gulf Islands Improvement Bureau unanimously endorsed New's request. Acting on the advice of Earle Westwood, Gaglardi provided New with a \$500 monthly subsidy for one year and consulted with George Paulin, President of Black Ball Ferries Ltd., regarding his company's interest in supplying service to the Gulf Islands. Paulin proposed that if the government would purchase the Black Ball ferry terminal in Victoria for \$700,000 and grant an exclusive franchise for a period of 25 years for a Gulf Island service, Black Ball would purchase the Gulf Islands Ferry Company for \$370,000, the payment to be spread over ten to fifteen years, and take over all the Gulf Islands terminals. Such a proposal was clearly unacceptable, and Gaglardi chose instead to maintain the status quo. ¹¹⁸

When a delegation from Saturna, Mayne, Galiano, and North and South Pender formally requested him February 11, 1957, to provide permanent transportation services to Vancouver

with a larger vessel than the Lady Rose, Gaglardi insisted that such a service would be uneconomic and that Gulf Island development was "tied tightly" to Vancouver Island rather than the mainland. The delegation managed only to extract the usual promise that he would consider having another survey done.¹¹⁹

* * * * *

The difficulties with ferry transportation were reflected in the decrease in population of the outer Gulf Islands. The population of North and South Pender, Mayne, and Saturna dropped from 742 in 1951 to 592 in 1956, a decrease of 20%, and Galiano and Valdes dropped from 587 to 535, a decrease of 9%. Only Saltspring, which had enjoyed uninterrupted ferry service with Vancouver Island since 1932, registered a slight increase of 2%. Cessation of the brief logging boom in the Gulf Islands accounts for part of the population decline but not all of it, because most of the logging crews were formed from local residents.¹²⁰

From 1957 onwards the residents of the Gulf Islands began to press for provincial government takeover of the Gulf Island Ferry Company, a change in stance from their

initial requests for mere subsidization. The government took five years before complying with the new proposition.

Delegations and meetings of outer Gulf Islands residents, often including the Saltspring Chamber of Commerce, began in September 1957 to press for takeover of the Gulf Island Ferry Company to ensure over-all, efficient management.¹²¹ Ferry traffic increased considerably for the Gulf Island Ferry Company between January 1957 and January 1958; vehicles rose from 296 to 354 and passengers from 567 to 857. The time-wasting run through Active Pass to Sturdies Bay, Galiano, and Miners Bay, Mayne Island, was eliminated when the provincial government completed end-loading wharves at new dock sites in Montague Harbour and Village Bay at a cost of \$124,000.¹²²

Subsidies continued to Coast Ferries Ltd. until that company decided to build a new ferry. In June 1957 Gaglardi announced an additional subsidy of \$7,000 to cover the period June to October, but New was not happy and suggested that fares would have to be increased. A further subsidy of \$2,000 for the winter months of November 1957, to February 1958, for three trips weekly, was also granted.¹²³

With the backing of outer Gulf Islands residents who were willing to become shareholders in the enterprise, New next formed the Gulf Islands Navigation Company Ltd. which

commissioned a 20 vehicle, 300 passenger ferry, the Island Princess. The new ferry replaced the Lady Rose in September 1958,¹²⁴ thus giving Mayne Islanders two ferry services six times a week. Then, after a crippling strike by the CPR left Vancouver Island almost cut off from the mainland, Premier Bennett announced at the end of 1959 that Swartz Bay would become the terminal for a new B. C. ferry fleet.¹²⁵

The year 1960 was marked by disarray among Gulf Island groups as they separately and jointly submitted briefs calling for provincial takeover of the Gulf Island service. Pender began the year by petitioning for a 50-60 car ferry with a 350 passenger capacity, plus a bridge between Saturna, Samuel, and Mayne. Sparkie New presented a brief from the Gulf Island Navigation Company to the Executive Council in February asking the government to withdraw subsidies to the Saltspring based Gulf Island Ferry Company, predicting an annual 5% increase in traffic. In May a delegation of Saltspring businessmen from the Chamber of Commerce, and the Businessmen's Association, asked the government to absorb the Gulf Island Ferry Company into its Department of Highways operations.¹²⁶

In July all the Islands finally united in a plea to the government to take over the ferries: Chambers of Commerce on Saltspring, Pender, and Galiano were joined by the Mayne Island Farmers Institute. Saturna was polled and seventy-five per cent voted in agreement. At a cabinet meeting held at Harbour House, Saltspring, July 20, 1960, the Islanders presented further briefs, as did Sparkie New. Saturna, while agreeing to the government takeover, did not want the Motor Princess and Cy Peck to become part of the government fleet. Their petition complained that these two ships were too old and slow and suggested two faster ferries to operate from Swartz Bay. The Chambers of Commerce brief argued that open-ended ferries were similar to highways, and because ferry operations had now expanded beyond the capacity of private enterprise, the government should assume this obligation. New stubbornly clung to his belief in free enterprise, insisting that his new ferry had made 9 1/2% interest on common stock, and that the provincial government should get out of ferry operations.¹²⁷

The summer traffic in 1960 was handled well by the Motor Princess and the Island Princess, the latter making two round trips on Sundays to return weekenders to the mainland, especially from Galiano, Mayne, and Saturna.¹²⁸

In October ferry service switched to a winter schedule, but the Motor Princess continued to serve the Islands every day, while the Island Princess eliminated the Monday and Wednesday trips to Islands.¹²⁹ With this satisfactory service it is difficult to understand why Gaglardi asked his former Deputy Minister, Evan Jones, now retired, to investigate service to the Islands in late October 1960. Jones's findings resulted in the Motor Princess being replaced by the smaller Cy Peck for the winter months. Chambers of Commerce on Pender, Galiano, and Saltspring were again joined by the Mayne Island Farmers Institute in sending telegrams of protest to Premier Bennett. In January 1961 these groups jointly requested the government to act on their last petition of July 1960, which had asked for government takeover of the Gulf Island Ferry Company. Jones revised his report and allowed the Motor Princess to serve the outer Islands on Mondays, but cars were still occasionally left behind at Mayne and Swartz Bay.¹³⁰

When the B. C. ferries commenced operations at Swartz Bay in 1960, business from Ganges fell off sharply for the Island Princess. The Gulf Island Navigation Company dropped Ganges, adding Sidney to the Island Princess route four times weekly, commencing in March 1961.¹³¹ New sought

permission to use the new ferry docks at Tsawwassen to shorten the travel time for the Island Princess, but the government refused his request.¹³² In May, Gaglardi suggested to New that the Gulf Island Navigation Company buy out the Gulf Island Ferry Company, or vice versa. The latter was not interested, but New offered to pay the Gulf Island Ferry Company their 1961 insurance assessments of its ferries plus five years' profit. The Gulf Island Ferry Company turned down the offer, and in June 1961 Earle Westwood announced that the provincial government finally planned to acquire the Gulf Island Ferry Company.¹³³

In the light of this proposed government action, New immediately announced that he would cancel the Island Princess run to the Gulf Islands, September 11, 1961.¹³⁴ Another strong protest was registered by the Islanders who were now joined by a group of residents from Vancouver who had bought retirement property on the Islands and, in the meantime, had become weekend commuters. They met with Westwood on Galiano July 30th, then with Gaglardi on August 28th. In response to their petition, which stated that elimination of the Island Princess would have adverse effects on land values, land development, local industry, mail service, and summer visitors, Gaglardi agreed that the service to the Gulf Islands from the mainland was inadequate and promised to recommend a subsidy to the cabinet.

Nothing came of this promise.¹³⁵

A cheque for \$250,000 was handed over to Gavin Mouat by Premier Bennett at the Swartz Bay terminal, September 1, 1961. The British Columbia Toll Highways and Bridge Authority had now officially acquired the Motor Princess, Cy Peck, and George S. Pearson from the Gulf Islands Ferry Company after seven long years of petitions, pleas, and demands from Gulf Islands residents, but their transportation problems were still far from settled.¹³⁶

In October 1961, New requested that the provincial government purchase the Island Princess outright or provide a subsidy of \$4,000 a month to allow his Gulf Island Navigation Company to break even. New pointed out that Pender and Saturna traffic had declined because of the Gulf Island Ferry Service, but that Mayne and Galiano still needed a link with the mainland. He suggested bridging Mayne to Samuel and Saturna, allowing a Tswassen to Swartz Bay ferry to call at Beaver Point on Saltspring, Port Washington on North Pender, and at Mayne and Galiano.¹³⁷ When the government did not respond to his request, New took the Island Princess off the Gulf Island route on November 15, 1961, and placed her on a northern service, based at Kelsey Bay. The ship never returned to Gulf Island waters.¹³⁸

For the next year and a half commuters from the mainland to Galiano, Mayne, and Saturna had to take a B. C. ferry to Swartz Bay, sailing past their island homes, in order to transfer to the smaller Motor Princess which, in turn, would retrace half the route they had just covered to deliver them to their destinations. The medieval process took five hours of ferry time to cover a normal commuting distance of fifteen to twenty miles--time enough, the mainlanders complained, to fly 3,000 miles to Toronto. They further claimed that with the cessation of the Island Princess, transportation service to the Islands was set back sixty years.¹³⁹

The scope of this thesis does not permit an in-depth analysis of why ferry service to the Gulf Islands was handled in such a piecemeal fashion by the Department of Highways, but two factors are obvious. The Gulf Islands were still lightly populated in the 1950's compared to the lower mainland and the Okanagan where huge highway projects like the Deas Island tunnel thruway and the Okanagan highway were under construction. Secondly, there were also highway projects under way on the John Hart Highway between Prince George and Dawson Creek, and on the Yellowhead route between Prince George and Prince Rupert. All these contracts required enormous amounts of money and attention.¹⁴⁰

The Gulf Islands petitions and meetings with government officials were of minor consequence compared to the problems elsewhere in the province which demanded the consideration of the Highways Department.

* * * * *

The problem of ensuring adequate ferry service was merely one aspect of life on the Gulf Islands during the late 1950's and early 1960's. Assessments on the Islands rose from \$6.5 million to over \$10 million between 1958 and 1962, yet the government share of the school costs was reduced from 58% to 19.5%. This reduction meant that local taxpayers had to make up the difference. To help pay their taxes three elderly owners on Mayne Island subdivided their large farms in 1960-61. Because of these subdivisions and similar ones on the other Islands, there were three times as many taxpayers in 1961 owning property on the Gulf Islands--in Mayne Island's case, four times--than there were in 1941.¹⁴¹ Many of these new owners were mainland residents who had bought lots for investment, vacations, or retirement purposes.

Hydro service, introduced on south Galiano and Mayne in December 1956, was completed to North Pender and Saturna

in 1961.¹⁴² South Pender and north Galiano remained without service for several more years. After many plebiscites a new hospital at Ganges was approved and it opened in April, 1958.¹⁴³ The old hospital became a boarding home for outer Islands high school students attending the only high school for the Gulf Islands at Ganges.

The one new industry introduced in the Gulf Islands between 1950 and 1960 was an aggregate shale plant on Saturna in 1959. Similar plants operated at Beaver Point and Long Harbour on Saltspring Island for a number of years.¹⁴⁴ Several oil companies expressed an interest in the possibility of petroleum resources, but exploratory drilling by Shell Canada in 1963 revealed that the strata had been laid down too rapidly, thus preventing good reservoir conditions for oil entrapment.¹⁴⁵

During this same time period new residents and weekend commuters brought changes in the social organization of the island. With cessation of the Island Princess service in 1961, residents of Mayne Island no longer had a reason to gather on boat days at Miners Bay to share the latest events. Commuters found accommodation only for their cars at the efficient, traffic-oriented terminal at Village Bay. When new owners refurbished the old Grandview Lodge at Miners Bay

and the Franco-Canadian boarding house at Bennett Bay with liquor lounges, these hotels became informal social centers where oldtimers, new residents, weekenders, and visitors could become acquainted.¹⁴⁶

While the government and private interests ignored their plight, Islanders and commuters had no choice but to ride out the storm regarding transportation to the mainland. Future years would prove that this seemingly difficult period was actually the lull before the storm created by unprecedented growth and environmental change. During the next twenty years, Mayne Island and including the rest of the outer Gulf Islands were reluctantly, but relentlessly drawn into the Georgia Strait urban region, bounded by Vancouver, Nanaimo, Victoria, and Seattle.¹⁴⁷

Footnotes: Chapter Three

¹ Robert Turner, The Pacific Princesses (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1977), pp. 233-239, and passim.

² Norman R. Hacking and W. Kaye Lamb, The Princess Story (Vancouver: Mitchell Press Limited, 1974), pp. 236-346, and passim.

³ Hearn and Wilkie, The Cordwood Limited, pp. 16-55.

⁴ Freeman, ed., Patchwork, pp. 23, 81, and 183.

⁵ Interview with Mildred Page, Victoria, May 1981. Mrs. Page lived on Galiano from 1898 to 1900, and on Mayne from 1900 to 1904.

⁶ Freeman, ed., Patchwork, p. 23.

⁷ Mayne, Four Years, p. 207.

⁸ Colonist, February 20, 1872, p. 3; and diorama, Mayne Island Museum. The wreckage site off Georgina Shoals has now been designated a provincial heritage site, thereby protecting it from vandalism by divers. (Victoria Daily Times, February 4, 1977, p. 2, and February 7, p. 1.)

⁹ Transport Canada, Victoria, File 8010-1972; and Sidney Review, October 3, 1922, p. 1. Henry Georgeson was presented with the Imperial Long Service Medal for 37 years in the lighthouse service in October, 1922.

¹⁰ Victoria Daily Times, January 12, 1916, p. 8.

¹¹ Colonist, April 2 and April 14, 1916, both p. 11; and Victoria Daily Times, July 17, 1916, p. 8.

¹² Leo and Gayla Nelson, "Silva Family," PABC: Sidney Review, January 2, 1935, and August 18, 1937, both p. 1.

¹³Colonist, February 2, 1902; p. 9; Freeman, ed., Patchwork, p. 27; and Sidney Review, April 28 and September 1, 1921, both p. 5.

¹⁴Interview with Fred Bennett November, 1981. For information regarding the earlier growing season on the Gulf Islands see B. J. Yorke and G. A. Kendall, Daily Bright Sunshine, 1941-1970 (Ontario: Atmospheric and Environment Services, Canada, 1972).

¹⁵Sidney Review, September 29, 1957, pp. 1 and 4; and Freeman, Patchwork, pp. 12, 21, and 118. The importance of the Saltspring Island Creamery to the smaller Gulf Island farms was confirmed by an interview with Reginald Cousens, Courtenay, whose farm on Mayne Island shipped cream to Saltspring between 1914 and 1920.

¹⁶Colonist, April 21, 1923, p. 5. Director W. Sutherland hoped the output could double in 1923 and was seeking more outlets on Vancouver Island.

¹⁷Freeman, ed., Patchwork, pp. 51-52; A. F. Fluke, "Early Days," p. 180; and Bea Hamilton, Salt Spring Island, p. 35. Information on the brick plant was obtained from interviews with Edith Higginbottom and Fred Bennett, Mayne Island. The provincial government Companies Office has no record of the Franco-American Company.

¹⁸Reimer, ed., "In the Grand Style," pp. 49-50.

¹⁹Jesse Brown, ed., Mayne Island Fall Fair Centennial Booklet, p. 25; and Sidney Review, May 17, 1923, p. 3, and September 17, 1923, p. 5.

²⁰Interview with Margaret Bennett, Mayne Island, November 1981; Grandview Lodge register for 1925 and brochure for Lodge, ca. 1934, in the possession of Margaret Bennett.

²¹Weekly reports on Mayne Island for the period 1920-1940, Sidney Review. Nellie McClung's description of her visit to Grandview Lodge was found in an undated newspaper clipping in Emma Naylor's papers, now in the possession of Margaret Bennett.

²²Pamela Roberts to author, February 28, 1981; and Nancy Rainsford, "The Anchorage, 1936-1952," Mayne Island Community News, September, 1979, p. 1.

²³Sidney Review, April 28, 1943, p. 5.

²⁴Weekly reports on Mayne Island for the period 1940-1950, Sidney Review.

²⁵Reimer, ed., "In the Grand Style," pp. 49-50; Sidney Review, June 24, 1953, p. 5; Lukin Johnston, Beyond the Rockies (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1929), pp. 8-9.

²⁶Ibid.; Interview with Mildred Page May 1981; and Winnifred Grey, Diary, p. 487, PABC.

²⁷Weekly reports on Mayne Island for the period 1920-1935, Sidney Review. Mrs. Maude was the island correspondent for the Sidney Review during this period.

²⁸Canon W. F. L. Paddon

²⁹Interview with Nancy Rainsford, Mayne Island, February, 1982. Nancy is the daughter of Richard Hall.

³⁰Weekly reports on Mayne Island for the period 1920-1940, Sidney Review.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., Colonist, October 19, 1898, p. 6; annual Fall brochures issued for most years between 1925 and 1982, Mayne Island Museum.

³³Freeman, ed., Patchwork, p. 164; interviews with Fred Bennett and Edith Higginbottom, February, 1982.
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³⁴Interviews with Fred Bennett and Edith Higginbottom, February, 1982, and weekly reports on Mayne Island, 1920-1940, Sidney Review.

By 1916 only twelve Indians were living on the Helen Point Reserve (with four heads of families). Their chief occupation was fishing and their living conditions were described as "fairly prosperous and comfortable." The children attended the Kuper Island Industrial School, not the Mayne Island public school. The only other permanently occupied Indian Reserve in the Gulf Islands was at Fulford Harbour, Saltspring Island. Reserves on Valdes Island, Porlier Pass, and on Pender Island were occupied occasionally, and the Reserve at East Point, Saturna, was vacant. (Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia (Victoria: King's Printer, 1916), pp. 277, 280, 281, 285, 287, 293, 294, and 301.)

³⁵Register, St. Mary Magdalene Church, Mayne Island.

³⁶See, for example, Margaret Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, pp. 107, 257, 494; and Jean Barman, "The World that British Settlers Made: Class, Ethnicity and Private Education in the Okanagan Valley," in W. Peter Ward and Robert A. J. McDonald, ed., British Columbia: Historical Readings (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1981), pp. 600-626.

³⁷Freeman, ed., Patchwork, p. 189; and undated newspaper clipping found in Emma Naylor's papers.

³⁸Interview with Fred Bennett, November, 1981, regarding Frank Heck's car; the Sidney Review, January 10, 1922, p. 5, describes the seven cars on Mayne; the first airplane is cited in parish notes for St. Mary Magdalene Church; and Dalton Hill's new crystal set is mentioned in Sidney Review, June 26, 1924, p. 5. The telephone service in 1911 is noted in John O'Hara to Superintendent of Provincial Police, Hussey, September 30, 1911, GR 55, PABC. The erection of the transmitting station is described in Sidney Review, November 28, 1929, p. 5.

³⁹Sidney Review, September 28, 1922, August 7, 1924, and May 22, 1935, all p. 5.

⁴⁰Colonist, October 14, 1919, p. 2, and December 3, 1922, p. 27; Sidney Review, April 14, 1921, and April 13, 1923, both p. 5, describe the Board of Trade. See Vancouver Province, September 20, 1925, p. 2; and Lukin Johnston, "Letters from the Gulf Islands," Vancouver Province, June 5, 1927, p. 3, for journalist reports.

⁴¹El Madrona Sanitarium Ltd., Vancouver, undated prospectus, Mayne Island Museum. For information about the proposed CPR hotel, see Sidney Review, May 13, 1959, p. 5.

⁴²Geoff Story, "The Steeles--A Success Story," and Harold Neale, "A Brief History of the Cannery on Mayne Island," in Jesse Brown, ed., Mayne Island Fall Fair Centennial Booklet, pp. 4-5.

⁴³Sidney Review, passim. See especially the Victoria Day account of May 28, 1921, p. 5.

⁴⁴Ibid., and interview with Fred Bennett, Mayne Island, November, 1981.

⁴⁵Sidney Review, May 19, 1937, p. 3.

⁴⁶Ibid. June 7, 1939, p. 1.

⁴⁷Colonist, December 27, 1936, p. 3 (ms); interview, Fred and Margaret Bennett, November, 1981.

* ⁴⁸John Nagata, "The Japanese People," and Margaret Bennett, "Japanese Story," in Brown, ed., Mayne Island Fall Fair Centennial Booklet, pp. 22-23; also F. W. Pratt, "Japanese at Horton Bay, Mayne Island," in Spalding, ed., Patchwork, pp. 176-177.

⁴⁹Vancouver Province, May 12, 1934, p. 6 (ms).

50 This estimate is based upon interviews with William Deacon, and with Fred and Margaret Bennett who operated four of the greenhouses after the Japanese were relocated in 1942. The estimate is confirmed by John Nagata, Burnaby, who owned a hothouse on Mayne Island, and whose father, Kumazo Nagata, was the secretary of the hothouse co-operative, the Active Pass Growers Association. (Letter to author, December, 1981,) Population estimate obtained from RCMP report to Hugh Keenlyside, Chairman, Board of Review, September 20, 1938. (Department of Immigration file C 4752, microfilm, PABC.) The report stated that of 186 people on Mayne Island, 62 were Japanese.

51 Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates (Ottawa: King's Printer, May 18, 1939, p. 4036; Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was, pp. 204-205.

52 Colonist, March 31, 1931, p. 2.

53 "M.L.A. Urges Immediate Census of all Nipponese," Vancouver Sun, January 19, 1938, p. 1.

54 Ibid., and Vancouver Province, January 19, 1938, pp. 1-2.

55 Interview with Fred Bennett, November, 1981, and voting results published in Sidney Review, June 9, 1937, p. 1.

56 Charles Flick, "Japanese on Mayne Island," Colonist, January 25, 1938, p. 4.

57 Inspector G. W. Fish, RCMP, to Board of Review, September 20, 1938, Department of Immigration file C 4752, microfilm, PABC. By 1938 the Japanese had grouped together on either Saltspring or Mayne Island. There was one couple living by themselves on North Pender, and the other exceptions were the seasonally operated herring salteries on North Pender and Galiano Islands. (John Nagata to author, December, 1981.)

58 Nagata to author, December, 1981, and interview with Fred Bennett, November 1981.

⁵⁹Forrest E. LaViolette, The Canadian Japanese and World War II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), pp. 46-47.

⁶⁰Interview with Fred Bennett, November 1981.

⁶¹LaViolette, The Canadian Japanese, pp. 54-55, and Sunahara, The Politics of Racism, pp. 31-45.

⁶²Sidney Review, March 25, 1942, p. 2.

⁶³Kumazo Nagata to British Columbia Security Commission, April 15, 1942, RG 36/27, 9, file 208, PAC. This file is restricted and Mr. John Nagata has given permission for the re-production of his father's letter. Nagata to author, December, 1981.

⁶⁴Colonist, January 4, 1942, p. 20.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Vancouver Province, April 20, 1942, p. 2; and interview with Don and Gertrude Vigurs, Mayne Island, February, 1975, and with Fred and Margaret Bennett, November, 1981. The Vigurs and Bennetts witnessed the Japanese departure on the Princess Mary April 21.

⁶⁷Nagata to author, November, 1981; interview with Fred Bennett, November, 1981; and Mayne Island school records, School District No. 64, Ganges, B. C.

⁶⁸Nagata to author November 1981.

* ⁶⁹Report of the Department of Labour on the Administration of Japanese Affairs in Canada 1942-1944 (np: King's Printer, 1944), pp. 26-27.

⁷⁰Kamiaki Nakashima, "Economic Aspects of Japanese Evacuation from the Canadian Pacific Coast," (Thesis, McGill University, 1946), p. 123.

⁷¹Sidney Review, November 24, 1943, p. 2, and December 8, 1943, p. 5; interview with Fred Bennett, November 1981.

⁷²Interview with Fred Bennett, November 1981.

⁷³Nakashima, "Economic Aspects," p. 123.

⁷⁴Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates (Ottawa: King's Printer, April 9, 1946), p. 703.

⁷⁵Personal knowledge.

⁷⁶For example, Kumazo Nagata claimed \$14,656, but was awarded only \$5,803.60. Kumajiro Konishi claimed \$5,690 but was awarded \$909. (Recommendations for Payment of Awards by Justice H. I. Bird, Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, MC 28, v. 7, PAC.)

Torazo Iwasaki v. The Queen (1969) I Exchequer Court Reports 281; and Supreme Court of Canada, 1970, Supreme Court Reports 437-438.

⁷⁷Interview with Fred Bennett, November 1981.

⁷⁸Sidney Review, December 10, 1941, p. 1.

* ⁷⁹Interview with J. Hawthorne, Galiano, and Gordon Robson, Mayne Island, December, 1981. Both men took part in the militia for the outer Gulf Islands.

⁸⁰Sidney Review, October 30, 1940, p. 5, and passim. 1940-1945; interview with Margaret Bennett, November 1981.

⁸¹Interviews with Fred Bennett and Wilbert Deacon, November 1981.

⁸²Freeman, ed., Patchwork, pp. 187-189; and Sidney Review, June 2, 1943, p. 5, June 1, 1951, p. 5, and September 30, 1953, p. 1.

⁸³Register, St. Mary Magdalene Church; and interview with Margaret Bennett, November 1981.

⁸⁴Mayne Island Parent-Teachers' Association records for period 1945-1955, in the possession of Elsie Wilks, Mayne Island.

⁸⁵Sidney Review, August 4, 1948, p. 1.

⁸⁶Weekly reports on Mayne Island for the period 1920-1950, Sidney Review.

⁸⁷Sidney Review, September 9, 1949, p. 1; September 14, 1949, p. 1; and January 18 and 25, 1950, both p. 1.

⁸⁸Sidney Review, March 14, 1951, p. 1.

⁸⁹Sidney Review, December 5, 1951, p. 1.

⁹⁰Turner, The Pacific Princesses, pp. 235 and 237; and Sidney Review, April 22, 1953, p. 1.

⁹¹Sidney Review, December 5, 1951, p.

⁹²Captain J. Hamilton, Marine Superintendent, Canadian Pacific Railway, to Captain I. G. Denroche, Secretary, Gulf Islands Improvement Bureau, December 5, 1951, CPR Archives, Montreal.

⁹³Ivan G. Denroche to Hon. Alphonse Fournier, Minister of Public Works, December 27, 1951, CPR Archives, Montreal.

⁹⁴Sidney Review, March 26, 1952, and July 12, 1952, both p. 1.

⁹⁵Vancouver News Herald, October, 1952, and Sidney Review, January 21, 1953, p. 1.

⁹⁶Turner, Pacific Princesses, p. 202.

⁹⁷Vancouver Province, September 4, 1953, p. 11.

⁹⁸Colonist, September 4, 1953, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Harold Neale, "Brief History of the Cannery," in Brown, ed., Mayne Island Fall Fair Centennial Booklet, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Sidney Review, September 23, 1953, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Vancouver News Herald, September 9, 1953.

¹⁰² Sidney Review, October 28, 1953, p. 1.

¹⁰³ Turner, Pacific Princesses, p. 204.

¹⁰⁴ Sidney Review, September 23, 1953, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Colonist, October 30, 1953, p. 15; and Sidney Review, February 17, 1954, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Sidney Review, February 24, 1954, p. 1; and interview with William Wilks, May, 1982. Bill Wilks was a member of many delegations that consulted with the provincial government regarding ferry services to the Gulf Islands between 1950 and 1961. He remembers this period as being very frustrating for Gulf Island residents.

¹⁰⁷ Sidney Review, September 22, 1954, p. 1, and November 24, 1954, p. 1; and Philip A. Gaglardi, Minister of Highways, to Mrs. Virginia Shirley, Port Washington, September 15, 1954, advising that negotiations between Black Ball Ferries and the Gulf Island Ferry Company had reached a stalemate, Dept. of Highways, File 4227, section 1, Victoria.

¹⁰⁸ Sidney Review, March 16, 1955, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ George Pearson to P.A. Gaglardi, May 25, 1955, Dept. of Highways, File 4227, section 1.

¹¹⁰ Sidney Review, May 17, 1955, p. 1, June 1, 1955, p. 1; and Dr. J. B. Hallows, Saturna, to P. A. Gaglardi, May 25, 1955, Dept. of Highways, File 4227, section 1.

¹¹¹ Miss A. E. Scoones, Executive Secretary, Gulf Islands Improvement Bureau, to P. A. Gaglardi, September 14, 1955; O. New to P. A. Gaglardi, September 21 and 26, 1955; and petition from North and South Pender Islands to P. A. Gaglardi, October 17, 1955. Department of Highways File 4227, section 2.

¹¹² Sidney Review, February 15, 1956, p. 1.

¹¹³ New was not interested in submitting a bid for a subsidized service, hence Mouat's bid was accepted. Interview with Sparkie New, June 1982.

¹¹⁴ Sidney Review, February 1, 1956, p. 1; and Department of Highways File 4227, section 2.

¹¹⁵ Sidney Review, July 4, 1956, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ W. A. C. Bennett to P. A. Gaglardi, July 9, 1956.

¹¹⁷ Sidney Review, September 26, 1956, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Sidney Review, December 19, 1956, pp. 1 and 7; Earle C. Westwood to P. A. Gaglardi, January 3, 1957; George Paulin to P. A. Gaglardi, January 21, 1957; and Order-in-Council dated February 11, 1957, approving \$500 monthly subsidy for 12 months to Coast Ferries, effective February 1, 1957, Department of Highways File 4227, section 3.

¹¹⁹ Sidney Review, February 13, 1957, p. 1.

¹²⁰ Sidney Review, August 7, 1957, p. 1, as reported by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

¹²¹ Pender Islands Farmers Institute to P. A. Gaglardi, October 3, 1957, and November 14, 1957, Department of Highways File 4227, section 4; Sidney Review, September 29, 1957.

¹²² Sidney Review, November 13, 1957, p. 1;

¹²³ Sidney Review, June 19, 1957, p. 1, and October 23, 1957, p. 1.

- ¹²⁴Sidney Review, September 24, 1958, p. 1.
- ¹²⁵Sidney Review, December 16, 1959, p. 1.
- ¹²⁶Brief to the Executive Council, February 26, 1960, from Gulf Island Navigation Company, Legislative Library, Parliament Buildings, Victoria, B. C.
- ¹²⁷Sidney Review, July 13, 1960, p. 1, and July 20, 1960, pp. 9 and 10.
- ¹²⁸Ferry schedule in Sidney Review, July and August, 1960.
- ¹²⁹Sidney Review, October 13, 1960, p. 8.
- ¹³⁰Sidney Review, October 26, 1960; December 14, 1960, February 1, 1961, and February 22, 1961, all page 1.
- ¹³¹Sidney Review, March 1, 1961, p. 1.
- ¹³²Interview with W. Wilks, Mayne Island, November, 1981; and with O. New, January, 1982; and Sidney Review, July 26, 1961, pp. 1 and 7.
- ¹³³Sidney Review, May 10, 1961, p. 1; May 29, 1961, p. 1; and June 27, 1961, pp. 1 and 7.
- ¹³⁴Sidney Review, June 27, 1961, pp. 1 and 7.
- ¹³⁵Sidney Review, August 2, 1961, pp. 1 and 10.
- ¹³⁶Sidney Review, August 30, 1961, p. 8.
- ¹³⁷O. New, Gulf Island Navigation Company, to Provincial Cabinet, brief, October, 1961, Legislative Library, Parliament Buildings, Victoria.
- ¹³⁸Sidney Review, November 1, 1961, p. 1, and interview with O. New, June, 1982.

¹³⁹Sidney Review, August 2, 1962, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰British Columbia Department of Highways Reports, 1955-1959. (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1955-1959).

¹⁴¹Sidney Review, April 18, 1962, p. 1. Mayne Island had 56 taxpayers in 1941, and 225 taxpayers in 1961. The farms of David Bennett, Jack Aitken, and Dalton Deacon were sold to real estate developers from the mainland, and to one local entrepreneur from Galiano.

¹⁴²Sidney Review, December 20, 1961, p. 7.

¹⁴³Sidney Review, April 16, 1958, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴Sidney Review, July 15, 1959, pp. 1 and 8.

¹⁴⁵A. Davidson, H. B. Peach, and D. J. Ferrie, "Upper Cretaceous and Tertiary Sediments, Eastern Vancouver Island and Gulf Islands, British Columbia," Report of Field Party 258, 1963, Shell Canada Limited, October, 1965, Shell Canada Limited, Calgary Alberta; and Roger Stickney to author, March 27, 1978.

¹⁴⁶Interview with Margaret and Fred Bennett, November, 1981.

¹⁴⁷Walter G. Hardwick developed his geographical term Georgia Strait urban region in "The Georgia Strait Urban Region," British Columbia, ed. J. Lewis Robinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 121-133.

CHAPTER FOUR

1960 to 1980: The Tides of Change

From 1960 onwards the outer Gulf Islands were caught up in a number of movements that greatly affected their future development and the comfortable existence they had enjoyed with the mainland and Vancouver Island. The steady growth in population of Victoria and Vancouver meant that the Islands were being rapidly drawn into the urban shadows of both cities. This integration was facilitated by improved highways and, especially, the new British Columbia ferry system, which could transport large numbers of passengers and cars efficiently and rapidly to any part of the Georgia Strait region. At the same time, rising incomes, increased leisure time, and a back-to-the-country movement created a demand for vacation and retirement homes within easy commuting distance of British Columbia's two largest metropolitan areas.

As municipalities, towns, and villages grew rapidly during this time period and spread into unorganized territory, the provincial government became increasingly concerned about the uncontrolled settlement patterns. Lack of zoning regulations and a growing awareness of environmental problems

led to major government intervention into land use planning for the entire province. Similar action was occurring elsewhere in North America as society became convinced that the government should take a more active part in promoting economic and social welfare.¹ All these social and political changes touched the Gulf Islands, and especially Mayne Island, in the two decades between 1960 and 1980.

A noticeable retreat from the city began in the United States between 1940 and 1950 when the rural non-farm population became larger than the rural farm population. By 1960 five out of six country residents were non-farmers. In Canada the retreat to the countryside came a few years later. Although rural population has remained stable between 1951 and 1976, the percentage of non-farmers has grown from 48% to almost 77%, or three out of four people.² Between 1951 and 1971 the population of greater Vancouver and greater Victoria doubled.³ The combined population of the Capital Regional District and the Greater Vancouver Regional District represented two-thirds of British Columbia's total population in 1971. Increased wages, flexible working hours, and implementation of better transportation facilities now allowed mainland and Vancouver Island middle class families to seek vacation and retirement property close to home. With

increasing inflation, real estate investment in low-taxed rural property seemed an excellent hedge against a recession.⁴

The Gulf Islands became easily accessible to the mainland when the provincial government inaugurated the long-awaited ferry link between Tsawwassen and Saltspring Island on July 3, 1963, just in time for summer traffic. The new ferry, Queen of the Islands, could accommodate forty cars and four hundred passengers, and called at Galiano, Mayne, and a new terminal at Long Harbour on Saltspring, making two return trips daily to Tsawwassen. North Pender and Saturna were connected by a feeder service, employing the Motor Princess, to Village Bay, but eventually North Pender was also made a port of call for the new ferry.⁵

It came as no surprise to some long-time residents that the new ferry was already outmoded. Saltspring Island travellers, who once preferred the Fulford Harbour-Swartz Bay-Tsawwassen route to the mainland, now created overflow situations most summer weekends by boarding at Long Harbour, leaving little space for Galiano, Mayne, and Pender commuters.⁶ It became necessary to implement reserve bookings, which continue to this day, even though the Queen of the Islands was replaced by the larger Sechelt Queen in 1968, and by the Queen of Sidney in 1976.⁷

With daily service by the Motor Princess (renamed the Pender Queen and replaced by the Mayne Queen in 1965) from

Swartz Bay, the residents of Mayne and the outer Gulf Islands were satisfied once again, but easier access brought land speculators and soon more subdivisions were being slashed into a number of other large property holdings, especially on Mayne and North Pender Islands. Magic Lake Estates on North Pender was termed the single largest subdivision in the Capital Regional District in 1976, growing from 500 lots to 1,450.⁸ The air rang with the noise of hammers and saws as newcomers prepared summer cabins and retirement homes. Within a single decade, Mayne Island's resident population grew from 278 to 495 between 1966 and 1976. During the summer months visitors swelled this total to more than one thousand.⁹

Representatives of real estate companies on the mainland opened offices and took up residence on the islands in order to be closer to the lucrative market. Twenty-five acre lots that sold for \$18,000 in 1962 brought \$40,000 in 1967. By 1969 waterfront lots of one-third to one-half an acre on Mayne Island were selling from \$8500 to \$9000, and semi-waterfront property of similar size commanded \$3795 to \$4850. Dalton Deacon's beautiful valley farm at Village Bay was carved up, allowing only a small portion to remain as hobby farms, as investors were urged to take advantage of the "Gulf Islands' first 'undevelopment'", with only 10% down and the remainder payable at 8% or 9% interest.¹⁰

In November 1969 Dr. C. S. Holling, director of the University of British Columbia's Institute of Research Ecology, announced some of the findings from a computerized study of the Gulf Islands. Funded by a \$500,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, the study involved thirty graduate students and faculty members feeding information covering the previous 69 years of development into the computers, and formulating predictions for the next ten, twenty, and thirty years. Based on the current land development trends, the "appalling" predictions for 1980 were that "80 per cent of all the first class recreation land in the Gulf Islands [would] be intensively developed." Holling further predicted that by 1990 all the recreation land in the Gulf Islands would be in private hands unless something was done to arrest development. The day prior to the release of Holling's findings, the provincial government imposed a ten-acre land freeze on development in the Gulf Islands as a holding action to give the regional districts involved time to prepare zoning regulations. Holling felt that two years was "the absolute maximum time" that could be allowed for "rigid land use policy" to be implemented.¹¹

The strong conservationist stance of the Holling report contrasted sharply with that of some real estate developers. Cy Porter, raised on Mayne Island and actively selling lots

in 1971 for Trincomali Holdings Ltd. in which he had a financial interest, argued that the Gulf Islands should be heavily developed, leaving the Fraser Valley for agricultural purposes:

The idea of anybody today standing out on 10 acres or better of an ideal recreational and retirement area and saying look here, I am not going to let anybody come in and develop my land--that's absolute baloney, bilge of the worst order, dog in the manger attitude number one.

He predicted Mayne Island's population could jump from 250 to 10,000 in five years and that the island could sustain 50,000 people. For North Pender Island he forecasted a population of 15,000 to 25,000.¹²

Given its small size, Mayne Island was the most highly developed of the outer Gulf Islands by 1978. Of its 1,387 lots, only one-third had been built upon. Advertising as far away as Alberta had attracted many speculators, but the stories of American investments in the larger Gulf Islands were later proven false. An Islands Trust study in 1978 revealed that American ownership amounted to only 1.5% of the total property on the thirteen major islands in the Trust, and that Mayne Island, where only 18 parcels of land were owned by United States citizens, represented the overall average.¹³

Until 1965 subdivisions were permitted on a fragmented basis in unorganized territory in British Columbia if the necessary road provisions were approved by the Department of Highways, and water supplies and septic tank fields were approved by the Department of Health. To cope with the rapid expansion of communities and metropolitan areas in British Columbia in the 1960's, a proliferation of local planning boards and hospital boards sprang up. These local groups jealously guarded their authority, but it was becoming increasingly clear to the provincial government that some form of over-all regional agency was needed to integrate these services and "speak for the region as a whole."¹⁴ Adopting a low key approach, the provincial government passed legislation in 1965, establishing regional districts throughout the province. Their functions were not assigned but acquired according to the needs and resources of the area involved. By 1968 twenty-eight districts had been established, covering all but a small portion of northwestern British Columbia.¹⁵ Saltspring Island and the outer Gulf Islands, already organized into hospital and school districts, were included in the Capital Regional District, which also embraced the Saanich Peninsula, Oak Bay, Victoria, Esquimalt, View Royal, Colwood, Langford, Metchosin, and Sooke. The CRD was incorporated on February 1, 1966.¹⁶

The new regional level of government was directed by a regional board comprised of representatives from municipal and non-municipal areas. In the case of the CRD the non-municipal area of the southern Gulf Islands was divided into two electoral regions, Saltspring, and the outer Gulf Islands, with each region electing one regional director. Regional directors of the CRD Board had the same voting privileges as municipal directors who represented incorporated municipalities, but whereas the two regional directors each had one vote, municipal directors had from one to five votes, each vote representing 5,000 people. For example, the three directors from Saanich municipality had a combined vote of fifteen.¹⁷

The regional districts assumed new functions by "a vote of its member areas, at the suggestion of the provincial government, or by order of the Lieutenant-Governor in council." At the same time it was also possible for rural areas to form improvement districts in order to raise money through local taxes and loans from the provincial government to finance water systems, fire protection, and ambulance services.¹⁸

The most obvious drawbacks to the inclusion of the outer Gulf Islands and Saltspring in the CRD were the distances of the Islands from CRD headquarters in Victoria, and the fact that the directors from the two island districts

held only two votes out of a total of fifty-two on a predominantly urban Board. Islands directors could easily be outvoted by urban members who had little knowledge of island problems. Further north in Georgia Strait, islanders in other regional districts found themselves attached to either the mainland or Vancouver Island, with each district offering unequal levels of service.¹⁹

As subdivisions proliferated in the Gulf Islands and in the western communities of the CRD without any zoning regulations, the provincial government introduced further legislation, giving the Minister of Municipal Affairs discretionary powers over the regional directors' responsibilities. Under the Local Services Act (RSBC 1960, C224) the Minister could act as mayor-in-council and received the power to impose land use plans. On October 31, 1969, this power was exercised when the Lieutenant-Governor in Council declared the Gulf Islands as far north as Cortez a "local area" under the Act and prohibited subdivisions under ten acres. The provincial government allowed a cut-off date of March 31, 1970, to permit current subdivision plans to be finalized. Between November 1969 and March 1970 a total of 1900 lots were applied for on Saltspring and the outer Gulf Islands, compared with an average of only 374 lots per year in the

previous three years. A twenty-square-mile area bounded by Finlayson Arm and William Head to the west of Victoria was also placed under the same 10-acre minimum restriction.²⁰

Defending his actions, Minister for Municipal Affairs Dan Campbell stressed the need to protect the environment and recreation potential of the Gulf Islands:

No one perhaps likes the implications involved in regulation, but on the other hand we cannot talk about open spaces and control of the pollution of the environment without having some regard as to the use of our existing open space. The high public recreational value of the Gulf Islands makes this even more apparent because it is unlikely that anyone would suggest that a totally urban environment is the best use of land in all of the Islands stretching from Victoria to Kelsey Bay. 21

Without issuing any explicit instructions, Campbell expressed hope that the regional districts would come up with community plans which they could administer, but he also hinted that he could use his powers as mayor-in-council to impose land use plans should the districts not conform: "I believe that time is running out on these local authorities to get on with the job." The regional districts were allowed to appoint (or elect) five members to an advisory planning commission. The staff of the CRD provided technical assistance. When a community plan had been submitted to the regional district for approval by the planning commission, a public hearing had to be held between

the first and second reading. Approval or disapproval of a plan or by-law would be voted after the third reading by the regional district, which would then submit it, if approved, to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council "upon the recommendation of the Minister of Municipal Affairs" for final certification.²²

The Islanders were urged to involve themselves in matters of planning, land use, and environmental controls. Campbell suggested formation of an Islands Advisory Board, to be composed of one member from each Island, which would also have its own sub-committee.²³

* * * * *

On April 1, 1970, planning for the outer Gulf Islands and Saltspring Island officially came under the jurisdiction of the CRD. More technical help, such as building inspectors, were transferred to the Board's offices, and by-laws were introduced, imposing national building and plumbing codes. Sewage disposal remained the responsibility of the Health Department.²⁴ By this time the CRD was well aware that the Gulf Islands required urgent attention,²⁵ and the District immediately set to work. Chairmen for the Saltspring and outer Gulf Islands Advisory Boards were chosen,²⁶ and in

late 1971 the CRD attempted to gain local involvement in planning for the Islands when its planning department circulated 7700 copies of a tabloid-style questionnaire entitled "Gulf Islands Options" to residents and commuters to the Islands, asking them to indicate their wishes for the future of the region. Respondents could choose among three options, or could provide a fourth option of their own design.²⁷

Option A was the most extreme plan proposed by the planning department, and was included because Gaglardi had recently revealed that such a plan had been secretly prepared at his personal request, when he was Minister of Highways in 1967, by Tamco Engineering, Vancouver, at a cost of \$80,000.²⁸ This option was a highway-bridge link connecting Swartz Bay to Saltspring, Saltspring to Galiano, Galiano to Mayne, and Mayne to Saturna. Ferries would then use only Galiano as the western terminus. Other alternatives within this option were more ferries instead of bridges to accommodate traffic, or a highway-bridge combination with an eventual floating bridge to connect the mainland to Galiano at some time in the future. The questionnaire described the philosophy of this option as meeting all transportation demands in the most economical way. It was

estimated that 20,000 to 25,000 part-time and permanent residents of the Islands would be accrued. New towns would be created on Saltspring, Galiano, and Mayne to accommodate the increased population. With rapid connections via ferry to the mainland, the Islands could easily become another suburb of Vancouver.²⁹

Option B offered limited growth. Specified areas of settlement would be allowed to increase in population from 5,960 people in 1971 to a maximum of 23,930 in the future. Conservation areas, rural areas, and forest land would be set aside to preserve the rural environment of the Islands. The CRD questionnaire posed two questions under this option: "Is it just a delaying action, temporarily diverting or retarding the march of urbanization? Does it mean that it will take thirty years to urbanize the Islands rather than fifteen?"³⁰

Option C involved major park acquisitions, with the remainder of the land handled as in Option B. In 1971 the cost was estimated at \$15 million to purchase 38 square miles of public land. Included would be the islands of Sidney, James, Brethour, Prevost, Parker, Secretary, Samuel, and Curlew, plus land areas on all the main islands. To prevent over-crowding, ferry service would continue on a

small scale, and provision for pedestrian exploration only would be made in order to cut down automobile use. The questionnaire explained that Option C was a matter of priorities, for \$15 million could better be spent on a more useful project, such as a hospital. The land available for settlement would be most expensive--72% of the total area.³¹

For Option D recipients of the questionnaire were provided with a blank map of the Islands and requested to make up their own proposal. At the end of the questionnaire nine additional questions were asked relating to all the options.³²

It was obviously an excellent attempt to obtain grass roots involvement in future planning for the Gulf Islands, but the CRD received a disappointing response rate of only 8%, or 577 completed questionnaires. Of these, 207 were from Gulf Island residents, and therefore the majority were received from non-residents. Twenty residents and fifty non-residents from Mayne Island participated. Despite the lack of enthusiasm, the CRD felt there was a sufficient response rate to represent public opinion, and they published a summary of their findings.³³

The respondents had been very consistent in their wishes that the Islands be preserved as a rural area. Of all options, 203 preferred Option C and 182 Option B. In

answer to Question 2, "Do you favor a bridge from Vancouver to Victoria?", 510 of the 577 replied in the negative.

The new town concept in Option A was rejected by 424 respondents, while 365 favored major parks on the Islands-- 194 thought the amount of land proposed was about right, but 108 felt it was not enough. Most of the Mayne Island participants wanted a population ceiling of 2,000 to 3,000, compared to Galiano's preference for 3,000 to 4,000; North and South Pender, 4,000 to 6,000; and Saturna, 1,500 to 2,000.³⁴

An official regional plan for the Gulf Islands was completed towards the end of 1972 and given initial approval by the CRD. Under the plan the 10-acre freeze would continue "unless the subdivision occurs in an island which is regulated according to the provisions of an official community plan." Protection of the rural country environment was the chief aim. Preliminary zoning by-laws for Saltspring Island and the outer Gulf Islands were enacted January 13, 1971, and June 27, 1972, respectively.

In spite of the 10-acre freeze, the Islands continued to be threatened by large developments. MacMillan-Bloedel proposed to subdivide 900 acres of a tree farm on Galiano into 1500 lots, and a 550 lot subdivision on Gabriola was

cancelled after residents appealed to Dan Campbell.³⁶ Because of the publicity concerning this latter case, Campbell agreed to set up an investigating committee to look into land development on the Gulf Islands. This proposal was inherited by the new NDP provincial government elected in August 1972, which formed a committee on municipal matters, chaired by Alf Nunweiler, MLA for Fort George, and composed of eleven MLAs, "including the Minister of Municipal Affairs and representatives from all four political parties." The committee's task was to "inquire into the question of the future development of the Islands." The existing sections of the Municipal Act and other acts affecting local government were to be reviewed as part of the process, with a view to making recommendations. The committee also encouraged representatives from the various regional districts to make presentations, inasmuch as all the Islands north to Denman and Hornby were included in the inquiry.³⁷ They then toured the Islands in May and July 1973, holding public hearings that were generally well attended by Islands residents. A special one-day visit was made to the University of British Columbia Resource Centre where Dr. Holling arranged a computer presentation related to his 1969 Gulf Island study.³⁸

In a report to the provincial legislature, September 21, 1973, the committee noted that large subdivisions and over-development were priority concerns. More supervised public space was required, and water transportation would be the key factor in determining the extent of true growth, with control and co-ordination the responsibility of the provincial government rather than the region. They further observed that a serious lack of co-ordination existed between various provincial departments and between the province and the regional districts. Emphasis on land use should be for recreation, moderate residential use, and preservation of the rural atmosphere. The committee ended their investigation with four recommendations:

1. Regional district boundaries should be reviewed and adjusted to assure that the Islands were in the most appropriate district. (This applied more to the northern islands such as Hornby and Denman.)
2. An Island Trust should be established.
3. No subdivisions until a Trust is established.
4. The ten acre freeze should continue on the northern islands. 39

The idea of a separate regional district for the Gulf Islands was considered and discarded as not being practical for a number of reasons, especially because available powers would be limited as outlined in the Municipal Act, and the regional tax base would be inadequate.⁴⁰

Hugh Curtis, MLA for Saanich and the Islands, urged the government to act on the completed report, claiming that "the Islands have been left in limbo since 1969."⁴¹ The Island Trust concept was the unique aspect of the report because there were few Trust areas in North America to use as criteria.⁴² As a consequence, the Trust would suffer many birth pains, including a lengthy test case in court, before receiving recognition and co-operation from provincial government departments who jealously guarded their authority.

While an Islands Trust was being formulated, the advisory councils on the outer Gulf Islands continued to work on community plans and zoning regulations. South Pender and Galiano Islands adopted their community plans in January, 1974, but North Pender and Mayne Island required more time, not gaining full community approval until 1976 and 1978 respectively. Both Saturna and Mayne concentrated their initial efforts on implementing zoning by-laws first--most crucial in Mayne Island's case--and these were put in force in June 1972. Subdivision by-laws came later for most of the Islands: South Pender and Saturna in 1977, North Pender and Galiano in 1978, and Mayne not until 1981.⁴³

* * * * *

The Islands Trust Act was introduced in the legislature on April 24, 1974, and given final approval June 5, 1974. The object of the Trust was to "preserve and protect, in cooperation with municipalities and the government of the province, the trust area and its unique amenities and environment for the benefit of the residents of the trust area and of the province generally." The Trust consisted of three government appointed general trustees, and two locally elected trustees from each of the thirteen islands involved: Bowen, Denman, Gabriola, Galiano, Gambier, Hornby, Lasqueti, Mayne, North Pender, Saltspring, Saturna, South Pender, and Thetis (making 29 trustees in all).

The trustees were empowered to:

...make recommendations to the cabinet on general development policy for the islands, make recommendations to the cabinet on the acquisition and use of Crown Land in the area, co-ordinate and assist in the determination, implementation and carrying out of municipal and provincial government policies for the Islands, and make decisions on specific developments or zoning by-laws. 44

The Trust would have veto power over any by-law passed by the regional district affecting the development of the Islands, including zoning, community development plans, and subdivisions. Municipal Affairs Minister James Lorimer stated that the Islands had been "a dump" on the regional districts and that provision for local trustees would give the Islands better representation.⁴⁵

One negative factor in the Trust proposal was the provision that appeals could be made only to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and not to the courts. Hugh Curtis was critical of this condition as well as the ratio of three appointed and two elected trustees on each Island committee: "It would be better to have three local trustees and two government appointed ones."⁴⁶

Jim Campbell of Saturna, regional director for the outer Gulf Islands and chairman of the CRD, also criticized the trustee arrangement. He strongly opposed the concept "that would introduce appointed people to second-guess elected people."⁴⁷ The fears of Campbell and Curtis were mollified somewhat when Hornby Island resident, Hilary Brown, was appointed chairman, and Marc Holmes of Saltspring, vice-chairman. David Brousson, former Liberal MLA from North Vancouver, was the third general trustee.⁴⁸

Local criticism of the Islands Trust came from residents who had managed to help organize water and hospital districts without the government's help and, therefore, did not feel it was necessary to have help with land planning.⁴⁹ When Hugh Curtis visited Mayne Island, the residents explained that they simply distrusted the imposition of another level of government, not knowing what the future would bring.⁵⁰

The provincial government had done its best to involve local people in the formulation, implementation, and administration of the new Islands Trust policies, but the cooperation between the Trust and the regional district between 1974 and 1977 was not always harmonious. The CRD did not like the fact that the Trust had a veto power over plans and bylaws that could involve many months of planning, yet the Trust could not implement land use plans of its own. Furthermore, the imbalance of representation on the Trust of three appointed and two elected trustees continued to be a sore point.

In the spring of 1977 amendments to the Islands Trust were introduced in Bill 25 to take away control of planning and land use from the regional districts and give them to the Trust. Hugh Curtis, by now Minister for Municipal Affairs under the reinstated Social Credit government, claimed that the bill would permit "greater responsiveness to local factors and would smooth a cumbersome approval process."⁵¹ He was immediately accused of not consulting with the regional districts before introducing this bill, and its passage was delayed until August 31, 1977, while the regional directors involved presented their suggestions to him and to Premier Bennett. Their criticism, plus that of the three opposition parties led to a further amendment

to allow all three general trustees (formerly government appointed) and the two local trustees from each of the thirteen islands involved to be elected from the Islands district. A further refinement in 1978 allowed residents of the smaller islands in the Trust area to vote in trustee elections, too.⁵²

With the passage of Bill 25, the Islands won control of their future as well as the administrative powers to back up their decisions. The local planning committee is responsible only to the Trust and not to the CRD. Any application for development or re-zoning is first considered by the five-member planning committee on each Island before it is placed before the Island Trust representatives. The two locally elected representatives of the Trust may sit in on planning committee meetings, but they may not vote. Many applications for rezoning get no further than this initial consideration. Applications that are approved and passed on to the Islands Trust are examined by a panel consisting of two locally elected members plus the three general trustees elected from the entire Trust region. Between first and second reading a public meeting is held on the island concerned so that further input may be obtained at the local level. New by-laws receive three readings before being passed to the Minister of Municipal

Affairs for final certification. The Minister still retains the power to refuse approval but to do so would be tantamount to political suicide.⁵³

* * * * *

A major test case for the validity of the Islands Trust commenced on Mayne Island in 1977, and was not resolved by the provincial Supreme Court until November, 1981. If the final judgement had been found against Islands Trust, local residents believed it would have meant the Trust's "death knell," and left the Gulf Islands wide open for exploiters.⁵⁴ The case involved Weldon Pinchin, owner of the Mayne Inn at Bennett Bay, and his attempt to build a large, commercial dock on the foreshore zoned for private use, adjacent to the best bathing beach on the island.

Because the foreshore was considered Crown Land, Pinchin applied to the Lands Management Branch for a foreshore lease in 1976 with the intention of operating a marina. After consulting Islands Trust, the CRD, and concerned provincial and federal services, the Lands Management Branch issued a letter of allowance--in effect a conditional approval for a lease--in September 1977. The letter clearly

stated that Pinchin must obtain rezoning from a private to commercial foreshore but before seeking rezoning application, he installed 21 pilings extending one hundred meters out from shore. The Lands Management Branch responded by issuing a stop-work order.⁵⁵ Visitors to the swimming beach at Bennett Bay that summer were given a foretaste of what might lie ahead when the surplus of boaters, unable to tie up at the small float Pinchin had provided, anchored and sometimes even beached their crafts in close proximity to bathers. Noise and garbage pollution were further detriments.

The Islands Trust turned down the application for rezoning of Pinchin Holdings Ltd. in September 1978, following a public hearing at which two-thirds of the presentations were against construction of a marina. Fearing that a change in Trust membership in the upcoming November elections would delay his project further, Pinchin sought permission from the Lands Management Branch for an amended lease application from marina use to private boat moorage. Without waiting for a reply from the Trust, the Lands Management Branch issued a letter of allowance for private boat moorage purposes in December 1978, thus replacing the September 1976 letter of allowance for a commercial enterprise. Islands Trust's legal advisors had recommended against Pinchin's new proposal, and the Trust notified the Lands Management Branch of this

decision in February 1979. Nevertheless, the Branch issued a lease to Pinchin on February 26, 1979, for the construction of a private dock.⁵⁶

Bob Skelly, NDP environment, critic challenged Lands Minister James Chabot concerning the right of the Lands Management Branch to overrule the Trust. Chabot replied that the Trust "had no authority over Crown foreshore leases," they could only make suggestions. Chabot had personally visited the Bennett Bay site, and because of his observations and the fact that the federal Fisheries Department had not raised any objections to Pinchin's plan, he supported the Lands Management officials. Chabot made himself unpopular with Mayne Island residents when he stated in a CBC interview that they were "split down the middle" on favouring Pinchin's dock, when in fact there had always been a clear majority of residents opposed to the plan.⁵⁷

The Islanders prepared for a fight. The Bennett Bay Preservation Committee gathered 250 members and many sympathizers. The small minority in favour of the dock appeared to be boat owners hoping for an increase in moorage facilities, or residents living several miles from Bennett Bay and unfamiliar with the impact that the dock would have on the landscape. At a lengthy eight-hour

zoning hearing in April 1979, the Trust read or heard 201 submissions, with the volume running two-to-one against building the dock. The Islands Trust once again rejected the zoning application and instructed their lawyers to obtain a permanent injunction.⁵⁸

Pinchin did not give in easily. Half of the \$50-\$60,000 project had already been completed, and he threatened to take his case to the Supreme Court, if necessary.⁵⁹ When pile drivers returned to Bennett Bay in August 1979, Islands Trust immediately applied to the B. C. Supreme Court for an interim injunction to halt work and begin demolition. The case was held before Mr. Justice J. G. Ruttan, August 31, 1979, who granted the injunction pending trial of the action.⁵⁹

The trial, scheduled for November 1979, was not heard until May 1980, when Mr. Justice F. C. Munroe declined to stop work, but held that the wharf must be kept for private use only. Pinchin Holdings Ltd. claimed victory, but the Islands Trust appealed and won. Mr. Justice Seaton found that, although the dock was private, it was attached to a commercial land zone:

I am satisfied that a dock serving a commercial enterprise situated on a contiguous lot is part of that commercial enterprise and further, that its use for access by guests and other persons visiting or having business with the respondent is not a use for private access. 60

The fight against the Pinchin dock was a long ordeal for the Trust and for the concerned residents of Mayne Island, but the outcome reassured many observers that the Trust's authority has been considerably strengthened. Ultimately, this strength lies in the co-operation of many government agencies and the active participation of Gulf Islands residents.⁶¹

* * * * *

A number of important issues may pose problems for the outer Gulf Islands region in the future. The Trust may play an advisory role, only, in matters dealing with the B. C. Ferry Corporation, Agricultural Land Reserves, Indian reservations, roads and highways, disposal of Crown Land, and the use of air space. Moreover, the entire water area of the Georgia Strait region, with the exception of the immediate foreshore area of each island, comes under the jurisdiction of numerous provincial and federal agencies.

Unless it needs to construct buildings on an island, the B. C. Ferry Corporation can introduce new ferry services to the Gulf Islands without reference to the wishes of the Trust. At present, communication between the Corporation and the Trust is very poor, which prevents the Trust from

being fully informed of new ferry projects. The Gabriola ferry terminal, for example, was recently reviewed behind closed doors before being placed in abeyance.⁶²

The Agricultural Land Act, 1973, froze important agricultural land in British Columbia, including 935 acres on Mayne Island. Authority for developments occurring in agricultural land reserves and air space are presently being tested by a group of Mayne Island residents who have objected to the proposed installation of a private airstrip at Village Bay which would serve five local residents. The ALR Commission has approved the application because it will not involve removal of the topsoil for paving, and the Federal Aviation Board can find no objections to the use of air space. After the B. C. Supreme Court dismissed the Preservation Committee's case, May 22, 1982, the Islands Trust sought the Attorney General's permission to carry on the challenge.⁶³

The small Crown Land reserve of 84 acres will not likely be developed on Mayne Island because it lacks public access, but the residents of Gambier Island are concerned about the possibility that an open pit copper mine may be introduced there by 20th Century Energy Corporation of Vancouver. Preliminary staking covers 12,000 acres, including Crown Land. Permission to develop the mine on Crown Land may be given

by the Ministry of Energy, Mines, and Petroleum, and once again, all the Islands Trust and the local advisory planning board can do is register protests. When the Trust attempted to gain control of Crown Land administration for the Gulf Islands several years ago the Lands Branch would agree to a protocol arrangement only.⁶⁴

Similarly, the Ministry of Highways has the authority to approve new roads (i.e. constructed into new subdivisions) and may or may not accept suggestions from Islands Trust. A development-oriented Highways Department conflicts with the conservation-oriented mandate of the Trust, and the Trust is presently attempting to define each agency's role in order to prevent future overlaps in authority.⁶⁵

The Saanich Indian Band and the federal Ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs share responsibility for administration of the Indian reserve on Mayne Island. This reserve of 323 acres enjoys a prime location at the southern entrance to Active Pass, and is presently occupied by one family only. In the foreseeable future it could be the subject of a major land development scheme over which local residents would have little control.⁶⁶

As the number of pleasure craft in Georgia Strait proliferate each year, the question of jurisdiction over marine pollution becomes crucial. Sewage contamination from

pleasure craft has already forced a number of shellfish closures during the summer at various marine locations in the Strait. The major difficulty lies in coordinating numerous levels of government and existing legislation. No less than 17 federal and 9 provincial acts contain relevant legislation which is shared by such government departments as the provincial Ministry of Health, and the federal Environmental Protection Service, and Fisheries and Oceans.⁶⁷

Each one of the foregoing exceptions to Islands Trust authority represents a threat to the regulated development of the Gulf Islands. A high level of cooperation between the Trust and the concerned government department, federal and provincial, is essential.

* * * * *

For problems in land use that do not involve outside authority, the Trust is guided by an island's community plan. Mayne Island's plan, approved in 1981, contains six legal zones: settlement and rural, commercial, industrial, public service, water, and recreation, each specifying densities and usage. Existing subdivisions, commercial operations, and agricultural zones were taken into account when the plan was formulated, which meant that the project was very time-consuming. The residents of Mayne are satisfied with

the present arrangement that protects upland forested areas from high density, thereby providing green belts to balance the more highly subdivided valleys. Since the land freeze in 1969 no small lot subdivisions have been permitted, and since 1974 the Islands Trust has approved very few 10-acre subdivisions. There are still more than 800 vacant lots on the island, and the potential exists for 215 more in the community plans. Given a population density of 2.5 people per lot, the eventual number of people living on Mayne Island could be 4,000.⁶⁸

The physical and commercial resources of Mayne Island are adequate for the population at the present time, but pressure will grow for more facilities as the population of the Georgia Strait region increases. Many of these demands will not be met because the island's natural resources are fragile and finite.

The most limited physical resource in the Gulf Islands is fresh water. The provincial Board of Health imposes strict regulations on the Islands regarding water systems and sewage disposal. Most of the subdivisions that were introduced since 1969 have public water systems rather than private wells, but two recent incidents of water pollution at Bennett Bay and Miners Bay, Mayne Island, in areas where there are older, private wells, have made the residents

very sensitive to the delicate ecology of the island. The Bennett Bay water pollution was solved, but Miners Bay residents may have to consider installing an expensive public system if that area's well pollution continues. In 1972 the Water Management Branch, Ministry of the Environment, drilled five monitoring wells on Mayne. To date their records show that water tables have not changed appreciably over the years, which is encouraging news for the owners of those lots still to be developed. Nevertheless, for decades many wells in certain areas of the island have gone dry in the summer, and waterfront property owners have discovered to their chagrin that drilling below sea level invites saline infiltration.⁶⁹

Future large enterprises planning to establish themselves on the Islands must prove to the Board of Health that they have adequate water and sewage disposal systems before their plans are considered by the Islands Trust. A proposed condominium (now cancelled), utilizing the Mayne Inn at Bennett Bay, considered installing a desalinization plant and a sewage treatment plant, both expensive facilities, to pass health regulations. The implications of applying advanced technology on a fragile environment merit **immediate** attention. For example, studies were not carried out on the Mayne Inn development to ascertain how marine life would be affected when thousands of gallons of salt water were drawn from Bennett Bay for the desalinization plant.

Not only must future requirements of the mainland population for recreational and residential facilities be weighed carefully against land and marine resources of the Islands, but the environmental wishes of permanent Gulf Islands residents demand consideration. At a recent general meeting of the Islands Trust on Mayne Island, residents stated that they did not want to act as maintainers of a park for outsiders. This defensive stance is related to the growing need for police protection on the Islands, and the increasing international awareness for nature conservation.⁷¹

Many retired people on Mayne and the other Islands near Active Pass enjoy fishing in that busy waterway. Their boats, combined with those of visitors who generally are unaware of the dangerous situation, contribute to congestion of the narrow entrances to the Pass during the summer months, posing a serious traffic hazard for the British Columbia ferries. It is now necessary for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to maintain a sea patrol during daylight hours in the summer to ensure that the entrances are kept open.⁷²

The need for more police services on land has also increased because of the steady demand for parks and public access in the Gulf Islands. Many residents are questioning whether conceding to these demands is wise, for experience has proven that a large number of trouble-makers are attrac-

ted to these Islands on which there are provincial parks, e.g., Saltspring, Galiano, and North Pender. Vandalism is another common problem in a region that has many unoccupied, seasonal dwellings in out-of-the way locations. These problems caused the RCMP to place an officer on Galiano during the summer months, and an officer on North Pender on a permanent basis. For the first time since 1905, Mayne Island will have a resident constable from May to August 1982. In addition to this protection, police must now ride the Gulf Islands ferry to Tsawwassen on long weekends to help curb rowdiness. 73

Neither Saturna nor Mayne Island have provincial parks for camping and thus do not attract large numbers of overnight visitors, but Saturna has an ecological preserve of 1,312 hectares and Mayne has several large, attractive, vacant properties known to local amateur naturalists. These locations are usually not shared with casual visitors. The Indian Reserve, for example, although posted with no trespassing signs, is used by many local residents for nature observations. Groves of cedar trees, bearing the marks of earlier strippings by the Indians, are interspersed with Douglas fir, red alder, and arbutus, and the ground area is filled in by a rich undergrowth of salal and swordferns. Attracted by the concentrated fish resources in Active Pass, a large group of stellar sea lions

congregate off Helen Point in the winter and spring, and an eagle colony nests in the tall fir trees nearby.⁷⁴

Mayne Island and the rest of the Gulf Islands are caught up in the land use dilemma now facing many regional districts in the province, especially in the heavily populated, southwestern sector: how much land should be subdivided, and how much should be preserved for recreational purposes? If the land is to be used for recreation, what guidelines should be followed? Ecologically, the Gulf Islands are more fragile than the mainland, with finite groundwater and land resources.

The provincial government agreed that the area was unique when it legislated the Islands Trust in 1974, but legislation can be amended or rescinded. In a surprise move on July 23, 1982, William Vander Zalm, Minister of Municipal Affairs, introduced Bill 72, a revised Land Use Act (that replaced the controversial Bill 9, withdrawn twenty-four hours earlier in the legislature), which included a section abolishing the Islands Trust. No provisions were made for a new form of local government; responsibility for administering planning and development on the Islands would revert back to the regional districts. Vander Zalm defended his action as part of the government's budget restriction program: "The main job for which the Trust was created has been completed....The burden on the taxpayer of operating an extra level of government should be eliminated."⁷⁵

Following a hastily called meeting of the Islands Trust Council in Nanaimo on July 24, Trust representatives returned to their respective islands to organize protest lobbies. These protests took the form of telephone calls to government officials, and demonstrations inside and outside the legislature from July 26 to July 29, on which date the House recessed. Bill 72 remained on the order paper, having received first reading, with second reading moved by the government. When the House reconvenes, the Bill may receive further consideration. With a provincial election due in the near future, the NDP have been quick to support retention of the Trust, claiming that "All that has been achieved so far is a stay of execution, most likely granted for tactical reasons to enable the Socreds to put a smoke screen around their intentions in the event an election is called in the autumn."⁷⁶

Once granted, local autonomy is difficult to rescind. The possibility exists that a new regional district could replace the Islands Trust in the future. Many land owners on the Islands pay full taxes because their principal residences are located elsewhere. Therefore, the necessary tax base for a regional district may soon be available. The growing support among all Gulf Island residents, from Saturna to Hornby, for retention of the Trust could likely be diverted to support for regional district status.

* * * * *

Interest in the preservation of the island environment has provided another focus for socialization on Mayne Island, with the cessation of boat and mail days. Having shared the rigorous travelling experiences on the Lady Rose, where any more than fifty people in the lounge constituted a crowd, and the long, round-about trips of the early 1960's when Coast Navigation no longer provided a mainland link to the Gulf Islands, many of the newcomers to the Islands willingly worked together for the improvement of community services. They served as officers on the various committees of the Mayne Island Agricultural Society, Mayne Island Ratepayers Association, and, later, on advisory planning committees for the CRD and the Islands Trust. Long-time residents were also voted onto these committees for they owned large pieces of property and would be most affected by an increase in regulations or taxes. This harmonious integration of new and old residents agrees with the evidence found in studies elsewhere in North America of the rural acceptance of exurbanites.⁷⁷

In 1966 the Mayne Island Ratepayers Association had accumulated enough money to purchase a fire truck from the Port Moody Fire Department for the nominal sum of \$1.00 and to build a fire hall. A volunteer fire brigade, with a paid fire chief, met for regular practices. Pender and

and Galiano had formed their own fire protection groups a few years earlier, and Saturna followed in 1979. Better fire protection resulted in reduced fire insurance premiums for local residents. The Ratepayers Association also assumed responsibility for obtaining a first aid station in 1965, which was soon followed by the purchase of an ambulance, manned by a volunteer crew.⁷⁸

The need for better health care for the increased number of senior citizens on the island led to the formation of a committee to initiate plans for a health centre in 1975. With the assistance of the provincial Health Department, the new centre opened in 1976, and a resident doctor and public health nurse now care for the health needs of the community.⁷⁹

Other community and social groups were formed as the population could support them: the Silver Maynes senior citizens group, the Lions Club, Art Society, and bridge and crib clubs. In addition, the Mayne Island Agricultural Society (which had taken over from the Maple Leaf Community Club of earlier years) cared for the community hall, restored the old police lockup into a museum, operated a thrift shop, and continued to sponsor the annual fall fair established in 1925.⁸⁰

Church bells were heard once again every Sunday morning at Miners Bay, for the island now had enough people to

support a visiting Anglican minister from Victoria. Even non-residents came to be married, or to have their children christened at the unique sandstone font in the picturesque church of St. Mary Magdalene. Services for Roman Catholic and other Protestant dominations were also held frequently in the community hall.⁸¹

By 1970 the population of Mayne Island was dominated by middle-aged, semi-retired and older, retired residents, but a number of younger people also found an adequate source of living on the island, too. During the Vietnam War a few American citizens came to the island to evade the draft. There were still numerous vacant properties that could be rented for a small sum and these attracted the "hippy" element in the late 1960's. The other young group of newcomers were middle-class families who wanted to raise their children in the country. The fathers in these families usually owned their own businesses on the mainland or had employment that allowed them to spend more than a weekend at their island home. This group became enthusiastically involved in the land planning processes for Mayne Island, reflecting the growing international awareness of environmental problems by the younger generation at that time.⁸²

Children from these young families swelled the school population until it was necessary to enlarge the facilities. From a basic one-room school in the 1950's, offering grades

one to eight, the Mayne Island school now offers kindergarten to grade nine inclusive, with home economics and industrial arts as part of the curriculum. Students in grades seven, eight, and nine commute from Galiano and Saturna daily to attend junior high school classes on Mayne, but senior high school students on all the outer Gulf Islands must either attend the high school at Saltspring, or elsewhere on the mainland or Vancouver Island.⁸³

Many of the new residents, young and old, are gifted artistically. Their talents support five local craft and art galleries, as well as an annual Christmas "faire." Quiet, secluded locations in natural surroundings provide the creative atmosphere for a number of writers as well.

Thus, from 1960 to 1980 the social community on Mayne Island evolved into a largely retired and semi-retired population, with a small, young-to-middle aged group who either worked locally in building and service trades, or commuted to Victoria and Vancouver. During holiday weekends and in the summer months the resident population of 553 people⁸⁴ more than doubles with visitors or newcomers developing their vacation/retirement properties.

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After almost a century of laissez-faire existence, the residents of the Gulf Islands gradually accepted government restrictions on their lives in the 1950's. Events during the last two decades of Mayne Island's history proved the most threatening to its rural, marine environment. Local government control, employing the unique concept of the Islands Trust, demanded patience and active participation from the residents before gaining wide acceptance, especially from other provincial government departments. Concern for the environmental protection of the island is a cohesive force in the community that is certain to remain, given the burgeoning population of the lower mainland, but the ready acceptance of newcomers, evident in the early 1960's, has now changed to a more guarded response. This attitude was underscored when Islands Trust introduced a "welcome without promotion" concept for tourist publicity in its new regional plan in April, 1982. There was little criticism of the policy on Mayne Island.⁸⁴

Footnotes: Chapter Four

¹ F. Bosselman and D. Callie, The Quiet Revolution in Land Use Control (Washington, D.C.: Council on Environmental Quality, 1971), pp. 1-4; Julia Mary Glover, "The Islands Trust Concept" (Master of Science thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974), 191.

² James D. McRae, The Influence of Exurbanite Settlement on Rural Areas: A Review of the Canadian Literature, Lands Directorate, Environment Canada, Working Paper No. 3 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1980), pp. 4-6.

³ Edward M. Gibson, The Urbanization of the Strait of Georgia Region, Lands Directorate, Environment Canada, Paper No. 57 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1976), p. 22; Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1951 Census of Canada, 6:86, and 1976 Census of Canada, 3:43-44.

⁴ The idea of a vacation home within easy commuting distance of the city is not new. European countries, especially Sweden and France, were enjoying this arrangement much earlier in the century, as well as the wealthy families of the eastern United States and Canada. See: Hugh D. Clout, "The Growth of Second-Home Ownership: an Example of Seasonal Suburbanization," in James H. Johnston ed., Suburban Growth (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), pp. 101-127.

⁵ Vancouver Province, July 4, 1963, p. 1.

⁶ Sidney Review, July 24, 1963, p. 1, and September 18 1963, p. 1.

⁷ Vancouver Sun, August 29, 1968, p. 12; communication from B. C. Ferry Corporation, Victoria, May 26, 1982.

⁸ Capital Regional District Planning Department, Gulf Islands Study (Victoria: 1970), p. 3.

⁹ Islands Trust, Some Basic Statistical Data for the Designated Islands (As of April, 1978) (Victoria, 1978), unpaginated.

¹⁰ Moira Farrow, "Gulf Islands Become a Gold Mine," Vancouver Sun, August 29, 1968, p. 12. Information about Village Bay subdivision was obtained from a newspaper clipping in the possession of Frank Cotton, Mayne Island, undated and untitled, and from an interview with one of the original owners of a lot in the subdivision, Mrs. Bertha Evans, Mayne Island, January 1982.

¹¹ Jim Hume, "Gulf Paradise Doomed--Islands Jammed Within 10 Years," Victoria Daily Times, November 1, 1969, pp. 1-2 and p. 40.

¹² Jess Odam, "Gulf Islands at the Crossroads; Water Wonderland or Just Another Suburb?", Vancouver Sun, December 7, 1951, p. 39.

¹³ Hume, Victoria Daily Times, November 1, 1969, p. 1; Victoria Daily Times, June 21, 1971, p. 17, and Vancouver Province, August 9, 1972, p. 4. Also, Islands Trust, Some Basic Statistical Data, unpaginated. By the time that the Islands Trust published their survey of land ownership in April 1978, only 398 parcels, or 1.5% of all the land in the 13 major islands, was owned by American investors. The Trust did not investigate ownership of the very small islets in Georgia Strait and quite possibly many of these were in American hands.

¹⁴ Robert W. Collier, "The Evolution of Regional Districts in British Columbia," B. C. Studies 15 (Autumn, 1972), 29-33.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁶ Capital Regional District, Corporate Structure of the Capital Regional District, 1961. (Small pamphlet, unpaginated.)

¹⁷ Ibid., and Michael Bennett, Planning Assistant, Capital Regional District, Victoria, interview, January 1982.

¹⁸Glover, "The Islands Trust Concept," p. 18, and Michael Bennett, interview, January, 1982.

¹⁹Glover, "The Islands Trust Concept," p. 19.

²⁰Glover, "The Islands Trust Concept," p. 20; Jess Odam, "Water Wonderland," Vancouver Sun, December 7, 1971, p. 39; Peter McNelly, "Campbell's 'Crude Tool' Works to Get Planning for Beauty Spots," Victoria Daily Times, May 2, 1970, p. 18.

²¹Campbell Hardens Line on Gulf Island Land Use," Victoria Daily Times, January 6, 1970, p. 13.

²²Ibid., Glover, "The Islands Trust Concept," pp. 21 and 23, Michael Bennett, interview January 1982; and Sidney Review, January 14, 1970, p. 7.

²³Sidney Review, January 14, 1970, p. 7.

²⁴Sidney Review, April 1, 1970, p. 1.

²⁵"Gulf Islands Said Main Issue Facing Capital Region Today," Victoria Daily Times, January 22, 1970, p. 19.

²⁶Sidney Review, April 1, 1970, p. 1.

²⁷Capital Regional District, Gulf Islands Options Victoria: 1971, .

²⁸Colonist, September 5, 1971, p. 13.

²⁹Gulf Islands Options.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

33 Capital Regional District, Summary of Gulf Islands Questionnaires Received to April 15, 1972 (Victoria: 1972).

34 Ibid.

35 Interview with Michael Bennett, January 1982.

36 Vancouver Sun, May 15, 1972, p. 10; and August 18, 1972, p. 11.

37 Glover, "The Islands Trust Concept," pp. 28-30; "MLAs Urge Stiff Clamps on Gulf Islands' Affairs," Victoria Times, September 25, 1973; and "Campbell Tees Off," Victoria Times, September 25, 1973, p. 2.

38 Vancouver Sun, July 4, 1973, p. 10.

39 "MLAs Urge Stiff Clamps," Victoria Times, September 25, 1973, p. 23; and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, September 24, 1973, pp. 2-4. See also Glover, "The Islands Trust Concept," pp. 31-32.

40 Proceedings, September 24, 1973, pp. 3-4.

41 Victoria Times, September 27, 1973, p. 16.

42 Glover cites only two in "The Islands Trust Concept," the U. S. Congress Nantucket Sound Islands Trust Bill 1975, and the Hawaii Land Use Law of 1961 as amended 1970, pp. ii-iii.

43 "Story of Island Plans Outlined at Meeting," Gulf Islands Driftwood, December 16, 1981, p. 14.

44 Vancouver Province, June 6, 1974, p. 11; Islands Trust Act, 4 (1) 1979 (R.S. Ch. 208).

45 Barbara McLintock, "Islands Trust Act Carries Big Stick," Vancouver Province, April 25, 1974, pp. 13-14.

46 Barbara McLintock, "Islands Trust Act," Vancouver Province, April 25, 1974, p. 31; and Vancouver Province, May 22, 1974, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁷"Plans for Islands Trust Paternalism--Campbell," Vancouver Province, April 26, 1974, p. 9.

⁴⁸"Gulf Islanders Pledged Voice in Future," Vancouver Province, September 12, 1974, p. 29.

⁴⁹G. S. Humphreys, Ganges, to Victoria Times, November 3, 1973, p. 23.

⁵⁰Observation of author at public meeting attended by Hugh Curtis, May 1974, Mayne Island.

⁵¹Victoria Times, May 20, 1977, p. 6, and June 22, 1977, p. 12; Vancouver Sun, March 12, 1977, p. 13, and July 15, 1977, p. 80; "Amended Bill Slammed by Opposition Critics," Vancouver Sun, September 1, 1979, p. 7; and Victoria Times, September 16, 1978, p. 6.

⁵²Victoria Times, September 16, 1978, p. 6.

⁵³Interview with Mary Lee, January 1982, and with Ed Williams, Mayne Island Trust representative, December 1981.

⁵⁴Moira Farrow, "Island Residents Upset by Dock Across Beach," Vancouver Sun, August 20, 1979, p. A9.

⁵⁵Laura Kathryn Porcher, "The Islands Trust: An Institutional Experiment in the Management of Scarce Natural and Social Resources (Master of Science thesis, University of British Columbia, 1980), pp. 123-129.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 130-139.

⁵⁷Victoria Times, March 8, 1979, p. 8; and Mr. Justice Seaton, Reasons for Judgment, Victoria Registry No. 119/80 and 142/81; and Porcher, "The Islands Trust," p. 140.

⁵⁸Porcher, "Islands Trust," pp. 144-146; interview with Mrs. Joan Sprague, Mayne Island, formerly co-chairman of the Bennett Bay Preservation Committee, now Mayne Island Trust representative, January 1982; and Farrow, "Island Residents," Vancouver Sun, August 20, 1969, p. A9.

⁵⁹"Islands Trust Defied Over Floats," Victoria Times, June 7, 1979, p. 19.

⁶⁰Seaton, Reasons for Judgment, Victoria Registry No. 142/81, p. 7; and Porcher, "Islands Trust," pp. 146-149.

⁶¹Porcher, "Islands Trust," pp. 161-162; and statement by John Rich at Islands Trust meeting, Mayne Island, May 15, 1982, attended by author.

⁶²John Rich, statement, Mayne Island, May 15, 1982; and William Miller, "Islands Trust Hits Secrecy on Route," Times-Colonist, December 16, 1981, p. 10.

⁶³John Rich, statement, Mayne Island, May 15, 1982.

⁶⁴Moira Farrow, "Gambier Open Pit Mine Project Draws Opposition," Vancouver Sun, September 25, 1979, p. 13A. The article states that "This company...has staked nearly three-quarters of Gambier in its first venture into mining exploration. Involved is a total of more than 17,000 acres," which suggests all this acreage is on Gambier. The acreage for Gambier is given as 14,400 in Islands Trust, Some Basic Statistical Data for the Designated Islands (As of April, 1978). Islands Trust, Victoria, has advised that 12,000 acres are involved. (John Rich to author, June 1982.)

⁶⁵Interview with Joan Sprague, May 1982.

⁶⁶Interviews with Ed Williams and Mary Lee, January, 1982; and T. R. Scott, District Superintendent, Reserves and Trusts, Nanaimo District, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Nanaimo, to author, February 19, 1982.

⁶⁷W. N. English, "Use Conflict in Marine Conservation in the Strait of Georgia," in Coastal Zone, 1, Selected Background Papers (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1972), pp. 33-36. Mike Humphries, "Is the Strait of Georgia Becoming a Toilet Bowl?", The Island, 1, January, 1982, 5.

68 Interview with Joan Sprague, January 1982; interview with David Strongitharm, planner for Mayne Island, Islands Trust, Victoria, January 1982; and Islands Trust Regional Background Report, April 1980, p. 85.

69 Interview with Ed Williams, December 1981; interview with Dave Potter, Health Inspector for the CRD, Victoria, May 1982; and telephone communication with Groundwater Division, Water Resources Branch, Victoria, May 1982.

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71 Islands Trust meeting at Mayne Island, May 15, 1982, attended by author.

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73 Ibid.

74 Ecological Reserves Unit, Ministry of Lands, Parks, and Housing, Securing Crown Land for Ecological Reserves (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1981), unpaginated.

75 "Islands Trust dies under revised bill," Times-Colonist, July 24, 1982, p. 11.

76 Times-Colonist, July 27, 1982, p. 9; July 29, 1982, p. 3; and July 31, 1982, pp. 4 and 5. See also John Mika to Editor, August 8, 1982, Gulf Islands Driftwood, August 18, 1982, p. 6.

77 McRae, The Influence of Exurbanite Settlement, p. 15.

78 Vancouver Province, March 19, 1966, p. 31; Sidney Review, May 27, 1965, p. 1; and "History of MIRA" on file at Mayne Island Museum.

79 "History of Mayne Island Health Centre," on file at Mayne Island Museum.

80 Marie Elliott, "Plumper Pass Lockup and Mayne Island Museum," (Victoria: Mayne Island Agricultural Society, 1981), pp. 8-9.

81 Interview with Miss Foye Miles, warden, St. Mary Magdalene Church, Mayne Island, January 1982.

82 Interview with Fred and Margaret Bennett, Mayne Island, November 1981.

83 Interview with Jeannine Dodds, school board trustee for Mayne Island, June 1982.

84 Statistics Canada, Vancouver, telephone conversation, August 26, 1982.

85 Islands Trust meeting, Mayne Island, May 15, 1982, attended by author.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

Professor H. P. R. Finberg, former head of the Department of Local History, University College of Leicester, has stated:

We may picture the family, the local community, the national state, and the supra-national society as a series of concentric circles. Each requires to be studied with constant reference to the one outside it; but the inner rings are not the less perfect circles for being wholly surrounded and enclosed by the outer. 1

While historical events on the Pacific coast swirled about them, the residents of Mayne Island and the outer Gulf Islands created their small community under adverse conditions more than one hundred years ago. They have played a small but important role in the development of the province ever since, especially in the Georgia Strait region.

Paradoxically, strong self reliance and neighbourly co-operation were essential attributes of the earliest Mayne Island settlers. In an island microcosm, ex-gold miners of diverse nationalities and their descendants easily integrated with later arrivals, the Japanese and British immigrants. The Islanders' rural life style required them to conquer not only the forests but also the sea, and the latter has proven to be the most dominant aspect of their landscape,

providing a link with outside civilization, an element of danger, and the means whereby the area could be eventually exploited. The growing population of the mainland regarded the Gulf Islands as a rural paradise even before 1900, but it did not constitute a threat to land resources of the region until two world wars had passed and the mode of ferry transportation improved in the late 1950's.

The impact of the large metropolitan areas of Vancouver and Victoria on the Georgia Strait urban area is presently gaining more attention from geographers and land planners. In this regard, Mayne Island's historical role is important as an example of how one community dealt with its vulnerability. The island initially supplied the mainland requisites of vacation facilities and fuel without difficulty, but the overwhelming demands for leisure property in the 1960's required government control. The provincial government's unique solution, the Islands Trust, is a concept never attempted before in Canada, and the residents of Mayne Island have played a decisive role in testing the Trust's viability. While it does not enjoy total authority, the Trust remains the major form of environmental protection for the Islands.

This study questions a number of accepted social viewpoints in British Columbia history, but much more work needs to be done before comparative studies can be made. Indian women in post-gold rush society were treated with

love and consideration on Mayne Island, just as the Japanese also found ready acceptance. The Japanese represented one-third of the island population, yet they were not feared or vilified there as they were on the lower mainland of British Columbia. In the past, British immigrants have been singled out as the ones who civilized British Columbia: "...'what we were in England or Scotland' was burnished and made the most of."² An examination of Mayne Island's cosmopolitan society reveals that not only English and Scots, but Indians, Germans, Japanese, and Portuguese initiated the socio-economic structure, and many of their descendants maintained it when the British pensioned families arrived after 1900.

Mayne Island is a very small rural community, yet its residents have made important contributions to the social, political and economic history of the province. Urban historians in Canada are presently making valuable studies of large metropolitan areas, but the small towns and rural communities that lie in the paths of these growing cities need to be considered, too, if we are to gain the greatest understanding of our past.

Footnotes: Chapter Five

¹H. P. R. Finberg, "Local History," in Local History, ed. H. P. R. Finberg and others (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, Ltd., 1967), p. 32.

²Ormsby, British Columbia, p. 107.

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