Farr

FERNWOOD AREA

In 1860 one of the coloured immigrants to B.C. from the U.S.A., Louis Stark, landed at Vesuvius Bay from the schooner Black Diamond. He brought with him his wife Sylvia (the daughter of Howard Estes), his son Willis and a small daughter. He sent an Indian friend to Begg's Settlement (now Fernwood) to get help to move his belongings to his land claim on Broadwell Mountain. In 1869 the Stark family moved to Fruitvale on the north side of Ganges Harbour, following two murders by hostile Indians of farm helpers who had lived in a cabin on his Broadwell property. (Bea Hamilton)

The first schoolteacher on Salt Spring Island was John C. Jones, a graduate of the University of Ohio with a first-class teaching certificate. He taught some 18 children in old sheds or barns until, in 1864, 100 acres were set aside by the government at Central for school and other public purposes. Then Jones taught at the new school and in an old log cabin at Begg's Settlement, on alternate days. In 1864 there were trails but no road from Begg's to Vesuvius, where the S.S. Fideliter had begun calling. (Bea Hamilton)

E.J. Bittancourt (or Betancourt as it is sometimes spelled) was a pioneer in the Vesuvius area. He opened the original store and post office on the site of the present Vesuvius Inn about 1886. One of his five sons became Brother Francis Joseph Betancourt, O.M.I., usually known as Brother Joe. He entered the Oblate novitiate in New Westminster in 1902 and was appointed supervisor of boys at St. Louis College. His seaside picnics for children became famous, and he had to hire two interurban trams to carry them all before the outings were discontinued. (Kay Cronin, Cross in the Wilderness, p. 188-190)

The salt springs which gave their name to the island are located a short distance north of Fernwood Road, on private land owned at present (1991) by Garnet Young. The native tribes who

used to visit the island in summer for shellfish and berries called it Klaatham, meaning salt.

The water that oozes from several mounds lying among a grove of firs contains mainly sodium chloride; other minerals dissolved in it are potassium silica, iron oxide (which gives the water a rusty colour), alumina, calcium oxide, magnesium oxide and sulphates. These chemicals inhibit plant growth and the mounds of brown clay and pebbles are bare, as are outcroppings of flat porous rock called bog-iron. Where nearby swamp grass appears the blades are covered with salt crystals in the summer as moisture is evaporated, giving a frost-like appearance. Another plant found here is the pink-flowered 'sea blush', whose normal habitat is the salty soil just above the high-tide line or among sand dunes. (Bea Hamilton)

In 1875 the Salt Spring post office was located in a shack at Central Settlement. T.C. Parry was postmaster and letter carrier, delivering the mail by mule. Sometimes the mule would not stop at a residence, or would choose a route of its own, in which cases the letters would be delivered on the next round. Joel Broadwell succeeded Parry, his tenure lasting from 1885 to 1900. He used a cancellation stamp comprising a six-pointed star with a dot in the centre. Between 1900 and 1907 Percy Purvis held the office. The last and most enduring postmaster at Central was J. Henry, who continued until the post office was transferred to Ganges in 1933.

A pioneer in the Fernwood district was Jonathan Begg, who gave his name to Begg's Settlement. He was one of the three first road commissioners and also returning officer in the first provincial election, in which the Salt Spring Island candidate, John Copland, was defeated. Begg's Fernwood store was listed in the Victoria Directory as "The Salt Spring Island Store", then changed to the classier sounding "The Balmoral Store". The proprietor barred the use of bad language, posting a notice "No cussing when ladies are present" and any man who broke the rule was helped through the door by the business end of Begg's broom.

Good quality sandstone was quarried from the cliffs just south of Vesuvius. This was one of the earliest, but short-lived, industries on Salt Spring. Five men (H. Elliott, William Senior, Robert Leech, E. Williams and John Lee) formed the Salt Spring Stone Company. During 1859 and 1860 they shipped their stone on scows to Victoria, where it was used in the naval drydock, and even to San Francisco, where the mint was built of it.

The small subdivision of Grantville, near Walker Hook, was once intended to be a second village centre. The site was marked out by Edward Mallandaine, Edward Walker (whose name is remembered in the nearby rocky peninsula) and others. John Grant was mayor of Victoria from 1888 to 1891, and a friend of Mallandaine. Walker owned and operated several ships for the Hudson's Bay Co. in 1851. However, nothing came of the plan to build a rival community to Ganges.

Fernwood Farm, one of the island's oldest agricultural endeavours, located on 300 acres west of North End Road at Fernwood Road, was founded by early postmaster and Justice of the Peace Joel Broadwell. It has changed hands several times, passing from Broadwell to Brian & Griffin, who set up a fruit tree nursery, and then in 1917 to P.T. James, who ran a notable seed farm. His sons incorporated the James Seed Company, later transferring the operation to the Cowichan Valley. The late Jack James propagated an early tomato suitable for the island's climate, the popular Salt Spring Sunrise. The Harkema family succeeded the James and were still running the farm in 1991.

Brown

SALTSPRING ISLAND
THE FIRST EIGHTY YEARS

NEW HORIZONS PROJECT

Political Development and Civic Services to 1939

PART I: 1859-1885

FOREWORD

The political development of Saltspring Island from 1859 to 1883 and the establishment of civic services during that period were dealt with in considerable detail and with skill, scholarship and perception by Mr. A.F. Flucke in his article entitled EARLY DAYS ON SALTSPRING ISLAND which appeared in the British Columbia Historical Quarterly (BCHQ) Vol. XV No. 3 & 4 (1951) pp. 161-202. Flucke's research appears to have exhausted the primary sources available at the Public Archives of British Columbia (PABC). It is interesting that in their British Columbia Chronicle 1847-1871 (Discovery Press, Vancouver 1977), G.P.V. Akrigg and Helen B. Akrigg provide little information about the history of Saltspring Island and no new sources despite their extensive research into archives, collections and documents in many countries. Surprisingly, they do not seem to have drawn on Flucke's work and they do not list it in their bibliography.

In what follows, there is little that adds to Flucke's admirable contribution to the story of the

settlement and early development of Saltspring Island. I have expanded on the results of provincial elections in the constituency of which the island was part, especially from 1871 on. Apart from that, I have drawn heavily on Flucke and wish to acknowledge my debt to his work of forty years ago.

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For the period from 1859 to 1885, "politics" on Saltspring Island evolved from the following circumstances which, in effect, summarized the story of the island's development at the time and influenced the future:

(a) Race relations were of importance because the early settlers, themselves of diverse racial origins, came into conflict with the indigenous Indians of the area;

(b) From the first, there was continual inter-action between the settlers and the administration in Victoria on matters such as land title, roads, wharves, schooling, public safety and boat service to the main island for passengers, mail and freight;

(c) Within months of the arrival of the first settlers, the island was represented in the colonial assembly and, for a decade after British Columbia entered into Confederation with Canada, the fact that a Saltspring resident sat in the provincial parliament gave the island a stronger voice than its tiny population jusitified;

(d) The island was incorporated as a municipality from 1873 to 1883 but the experiment failed so completely that, a century later, islanders would spurn calls to establish local government.

.....

At the beginning of 1858, there were only some 300 whites in Victoria which was still essen-

tially just a Hudson's Bay Company trading post. The discovery of gold on the bars of the Fraser River changed all this: in the summer of 1858, over a score of thousands - mostly American residents - passed through on their way to the gold bars and, by the end of that year, Victoria had a permanent population of over 3000. For the most part, the increase was based on commercial activity spawned by the gold rush. However, the rush also led to the creation of the sister colony of British Columbia on the mainland and the founding of New Westminster which was soon to provide serious competition to the merchants of Victoria. When the Fraser bars petered out in the spring of 1859, Victoria's boom ended; while most of the miners returned home to the United States, some remained to turn to the land and become colonists.

Those who arrived as settlers on Saltspring Island in the summer of 1859 to take up their claims to cheap land under the pre-emption system were all recent arrivals in the Colony of Vancouver Island. Most of the 1859 settlers were European - the majority English and Scots of humble origin. Many were illiterate. But a significant proportion of the settlers were members of the group of 400 blacks who had arrived in May 1858 in Victoria. While these former slaves were also largely unschooled, among them were a few who were well-educated, including John C. Jones who was to become the island's first schoolteacher. This multi-racial and multi-cultural corps of settlers depended on each other for labour and services. They also found themselves in none-too-harmonious contact with the aboriginal users of the island - the Chemainus Indians - and in fear and dread of the northern Indians who migrated annually to the Gulf Islands and Saanich area, attacking the local Indians and settlers alike. Even in this tiny, isolated farming community, all the ingredients were present from the outset for political life to develop and for demands on the colonial government to be formulated and presented.

Since 1856, Vancouver Island had had an elected legislature, new elections for which were to take place in January 1860.

Flucke records:

"No sooner had settlement taken place than the elections of 1860 gave the new arriv-

> als an opportunity of showing their political colours. Considering the financial straits of many of the settlers and the illiteracy of many others, it was almost inevitable that the man who had arranged the settlement, who was himself a landholder and who had become the unofficial champion of the inhabitants, should be the first person nominated to represent the island in the House of Assembly." (1)

The candidate was John Copland and the election involved Saltspring immediately in a political controversy, the first of many that were to enliven the island's story in the years to come.

Copland was the Victoria lawyer through whom pre-emption rights on Saltspring Island had been obtained by the first settlers without even the payment of an initial installment. When J.D. Pemberton, the Surveyor-General, declared that the settlers had no legal title and were mere squatters, Copland reminded him of his undertaking to permit the original group of 29 applicants to settle on unsurveyed lands before a survey had been conducted, deferring the required payment for the land until the survey was completed.

The state of land claims was not to be unravelled for another decade, but the controversy over it placed Copland firmly in the anti-government camp of Amor de Cosmos, the owner and editor of the British Colonist, who supported Copland editorially. The "government candidate" was J.J. Southgate, a Victoria merchant and "establishment" supporter, most of whose backing came from the Chemainus settlers who were included in the Saltspring constituency. Under the election procedure of the day, a register of voters had to be established. It was opened in Victoria but, without a postal service, the islanders were ignorant of the need to register and Edward Mallandaine was the sole person on Saltspring Island who was able to vote. A protest was made by fifteen settlers against irregularities including the manner in which the register and other details of the election were notified. Jonathan Begg, the Returning Officer on the island, was questioned by Governor Douglas regarding the circumstances of the election. His reply of 20 January 1860 - one of the oldest extant documents written by an island resident, now in the Provincial Archives - claimed that he had run

the election properly, a claim which Douglas evidently accepted.

The list of voters that was drawn up on 28 January 1862 for the voting district of "Salt Spring Island and Chemaynis" contained 38 names of whom 26 held property on the island and nine lived there. (2) When the colonial election was held in 1863, the list had undergone change because, among island residents, it now included one of the island's two Portuguese settlers, John Norton, and the first black to be enfranchised, the schoolteacher John Craven Jones. The Poll Book for the election, which took place on 27 July 1863, reveals that only seven islanders voted of whom three declared themselves for G.E. Dennes, a solicitor of Victoria, while four voted for J.T. Pidwell, a Victoria merchant. (3) Edward Mallandaine had also been a candidate but at the last minute he supported the winner, Dennes.

In the elections of 1866, won this time by Pidwell, there were 65 voters in the district of "Salt Spring Island and Chemainus" of whom half had a connection with Saltspring. Almost a third of these were black settlers who had by now qualified for the franchise by virtue of being male residents with British Subject status and property qualifications. (4) As far back as the election of 1860, blacks in Victoria had taken part in a colonial election after the Attorney-General, G.H. Cary, had made it possible for them to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown on the basis that the Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court had found them not to be U.S. citizens. Cary's ruling resulted in defeat of the editor of the Victoria British Colonist, Amor de Cosmos, in the Victoria riding, when the blacks showed their gratitude by supporting the pro-Government candidates. (5)

It was presumably on the basis of the Cary ruling that John Craven Jones was able to vote in 1863. The remainder of the Saltspring settlers had to wait until they had lived in the colony long enough (Governor Douglas had stipulated seven years when the American blacks arrived in 1858) to qualify to be British Subjects.

When the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia were united, on 19 November

1866, the Vancouver islanders not only lost their representative Assembly but found themselves with only four seats, one less than the mainland, in the new 23-seat Legislative Council whose majority consisted of appointed and ex officio members. Saltspring came within the Victoria District constituency which was won by the former Surveyor General, John D. Pemberton, and later by Dr. John C. Davie.

The main political topic of the day was now confederation with Canada which the Saltspring islanders favoured although the Governor and the Victoria establishment were opposed. In the face of this opposition, a Confederation League was formed in May 1868 which arranged for a Convention at Yale in September at which the representatives of the pro-Confederation forces would gather. The Saltspring Island representative was Mifflin W. Gibbs of Victoria, the colony's most prominent black and a member of the executive of the confederation League who had been an enemy of Amor de Cosmos years earlier but was now with him in support for Confederation. (6)

Elections for the Legislative Council following the Yale Convention once more showed Saltspring - and the Mainland - to be out of step with Vancouver Island, whose four seats went to anti-Confederation candidates. But the anti-Confederation forces were to fall apart in 1869 when their chief supporter, Governor Seymour, died and was succeeded by Governor Musgrave who represented the determination of the British Government to bring the colony into Canada. In that year - and again in the last colonial elections of early 1870 - Amor de Cosmos won the Victoria District seat with strong support from Saltspring.

When, on 20 July 1871, the colony became the Province of British Columbia, 25 seats were created for the new legislature. The franchise was limited to male British subjects, 21 years of age and able to read, who met certain property qualifications and had lived in the constituency for six months. The secret ballot was introduced only in 1873: until then, in colonial elections and the first provincial election in 1871, voters assembled before the returning officer to vote orally for the candi-

date of their choice.

Saltspring Island was included in the constituency of Cowichan where it was to remain until 1890 when the riding of The Islands was created. Except for the 1882 election, Cowichan had two seats. In December 1871, one of these was won by John Paton Booth, a “first wave” settler on Saltspring; although Booth was to be the dominant political figure on the island for the next three decades, he failed in bids for re-election in 1875 and 1878 and did not return to the legislature until 1890 when he won The Islands.

In 1871 Booth obtained 47 votes of the total of 196 recorded in the two-seat constituency, the other seat being taken with 58 votes by William Smithe, a farmer of the Cowichan District. Relations between the two men appear not to have been good but Booth had sound political instincts and did not hesitate to make requests on behalf of Saltspring when Smithe was in a position to grant them. That having been said, it is also true that Booth was to be in the role of supplicant for most of Smithe’s short but very successful career on the other side of the fence from Booth.

Booth supported Amor de Cosmos, the Premier from 1872 to 1874, and his successor, George Anthony Walkem (1874-76), while Smithe was in opposition to both. Though running as a “Government” candidate in the 1875 elections, Booth received only 42 of 248 votes and was replaced by Edwin Pimbury of Saltspring who, like Smithe, was labelled as “Reform”. Pimbury had trailed in the 1871 election with 24 votes but tripled that support in 1875 when Smithe led with 78. The change in Pimbury’s fortunes was probably due to the fact that he had led the battle against the incorporation of Saltspring Island as a municipality, a generally unpopular move which Booth supported, paying the price for that position in the election.

In the legislature following the 1875 election, Smithe - then only 33 years old - led the opposition to the Walkem government but gave that role up to Andrew C. Elliott who was to take over the premiership in 1876 and to give Smithe a cabinet portfolio. In the election of 1878, Smithe and

Pimbury again topped the polls in the Cowichan constituency as “Government” supporters, despite the fact that the Elliott government lost power to Walkem and his supporters. One of them was John Booth who failed in his bid for election, though he improved his standing over the previous election by obtaining 66 votes of the total of 292.

For the election of 1882, Cowichan became a one-seat riding which Smithe, as “Opposition”, had no difficulty in holding with 102 votes to 41 for his only opponent, Frederick G. Foord, a pro-Government Saltspring farmer and trustee of the Burgoyne Bay wharf property. Smithe became Premier of British Columbia in January 1883 - when the government of Robert Beaven, defeated in the election of July 1882, was voted out by the legislature - and remained in office until his death in 1887. Beaven remained in the legislature as the opposition leader, supported from outside by an increasingly unhappy Booth. Of the Beaven-Smithe years, Booth was to write later:

> “I supported Mr. Beaven until in the language of the old adage I found it useless to ‘try to make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear’. I have been more of a ‘freelance’ than an Oppositionist since Beaven destroyed his party. I saw that Beaven was a failure and the Govt after him [Smithe’s] was worse.” (7)

The Saltspring experiment in municipal government from 1873 to 1883 came after the island had made some effort to unify the scattered settlements into one community by the appointment of road commissioners (1860), the establishment of a local board of school trustees (1869) and a board of trustees for the Burgoyne Bay wharf (1871), and the appointment of a resident constable. In September 1872, a petition signed by the required two-thirds of the male property-holders was sent to the government asking that Letters Patent be issued incorporating the island as a municipality. This was done and the Government Gazette of 4 January 1873 carried the notice of incorporation of “The Corporation of the Township of Salt Spring Island” with a Council of seven members.

Almost immediately, as A.F. Flucke notes, controversy swirled on the island:

> "...the incorporation of the island brought to light a radical division of the island residents. On the one hand, there were the typical pioneer farmers, independent, self-sufficient, and, for the most part, lacking formal education, who had no wish to be organized, preferring to cultivate their wilderness farms in relative solitude and seeking no more Government gifts than a road or two to give them access to markets....On the other hand, there were the more ambitious settlers, sincere, if too hopeful, in their desire to forward the rapid development of the communities."

And, adds Flucke,

> "Their plans for the future of the island included the establishment of themselves in positions of authority and local eminence." (8)

Led by Edwin Pimbury and his brother, Henry - who owned a large property in the south end of the island - a number of settlers petitioned the legislature within a year to have the municipality abolished. In 1874, charges were made by Edwin Pimbury and a half dozen Fulford farmers that the Councillors had violated the law by voting themselves stipends and by failing to divide the island municipality into wards. The complainants were advised by the Attorney-General to take the matter to the Supreme Court; Flucke observed:

> "...this course of action was evidently beyond the means of the protesting group, and for the next seven years municipal affairs on the island went on in a state of watchful hostility." (9)

The municipal elections of 1881 precipitated the end of the municipal experiment. After the elections, charges of malpractice were brought before the court by nineteen settlers of Fulford and Burgoyne Bay against the Clerk of the Municipal Council and Returning Officer, Henry W.

Robinson, and his associates. When they failed to contest the charges, the election was declared null and void and the group of south-enders escalated their campaign against the "ambitious settlers" by sending a petition to the Cabinet in which they accused the Justice of the Peace, Frederick Foord, who was also a Councillor, and the Council Clerk of improper behaviour. The accusations included the charges that Foord and Robinson had run the affairs of the municipality almost by themselves and had concealed the state of the financial accounts from the taxpayers. Countercharges of tax evasion were laid by Foord to the Beaven government - which Foord and the Reeve, John Booth, supported - but nothing was done to resolve the differences.

Within a year, Booth would write to his erstwhile colleague in the Cowichan riding and Edwin Pimbury's leader, William Smithe - about to be sworn in as Premier - acknowledging that things were in "a mess" and continuing:

> "There seems to be an impression among some of the people here that you are going to wind the whole thing up and do away with it altogether. Should you have any such intentions and can see your way clear to do so, I do not think any one will object, providing the government take charge of and keep in order our wharves and roads.... Please give the matter your serious consideration as soon as possible because if we have to start things running again there is no time to lose." (10)

On 12 May 1883, assent was given to an act of the legislative assembly annulling the Letters Patent of 1872 which had granted municipal self-government to Saltspring Island. That experiment was never repeated.

PART II: 1886 - 1939

William Smithe had held the single-seat Cowichan riding in 1882 and, as Premier, was returned by acclamation along with Henry Croft in 1886 when the riding reverted to a two-seat constituency. In the by-election that followed the death of Smithe a year later, Government supporter Henry Fry won in a tight contest against William John Sutton, also declared as a Government supporter, and John Newell Evans, Opposition.

The return of John Paton Booth to provincial politics after the failure of the municipal experiment on Salt Spring Island was signalled in his exchange of letters with the Hon. John Robson before the election of 1890. Robson had taken over the premiership in the previous August when the government of Alexander Edmund Batson Davie, Smithe's successor, lost its majority in the legislature. Smithe and Davie had governed in the period of great development - known as the Potlatch era - that was associated with the arrival of the railway and the foundation of the city of Vancouver. Although formal party politics had not yet arrived in the province, Davie was known as a Conservative while Robson was a Liberal.

It is possible to deduce from the letter of 30 May 1990 (11) that Booth had written to Premier Robson to say that he was a candidate and that he supported the Government in its campaign for re-election, a gesture which the Premier responded to by expressing his good opinion of Booth's abilities. Booth had chosen well the moment to return to the provincial field for there had been a redistribution of electoral districts in 1889 together with an increase in the number of members from 27 to 33. One of the new constituencies was "The Islands", made up of the Gulf Islands of which Salt Spring had the largest community. Booth had two other factors in his favour. He was the pro-Government candidate when the Government was popular. And he was a supporter of the temperance movement which had become important in the province. He saw the local option amendment to the License Act, which Robson had introduced, as a move that was widely favoured. He was encouraged that the "prowhiskey faction" had decided to run Frederick Foord against him. Though Foord was also listed as a Government supporter, his entry made the election in The Islands a three-

way race. The third candidate, Horatio John Robertson, was listed as Opposition.

Booth's optimism was justified. Of the 387 voters registered for the election which was held on 13 June 1890, 115 cast ballots. Booth received 57 while Foord and Robertson split the remainder. He was to serve in the legislature for the rest of his life. It was a period that coincided with the conversion of Salt Spring Island from a simple farming community to one with a growing infrastructure of social and economic institutions which, though modest, were of increasing importance as the next century opened.

The elections of 1894, 1898 and 1900 found Salt Spring merged in the "North Victoria" constituency. In 1894, running as a supporter of Premier Theodore Davie who had succeeded Robson after the latter's death, Booth defeated Horatio John Robertson. He held the seat in 1898 in support of the government of Premier John Henry Turner, defeating Thomas William Paterson, but found himself on the opposition benches as the Conservative Charles Augustus Semlin became Premier. The 1900 election was his Booth's last. Styling himself an "Independent-Liberal" and supporting Premier Joseph Martin - who had upset Semlin in the legislature in the spring - Booth narrowly won over the "Government-Independent" candidate James Johnstone White, Horatio Robertson trailing as "Independent-Opposition". That election resulted in the victory of James Dunsmuir who, though a conservative in his political philosophy and practice, continued the old system of "group government" under which loose alliances were formed around a leader.

Booth was chosen as the Speaker of the new legislature in 1900, a distinction which he was to enjoy until his death twenty months later. The funeral of this pioneer Salt Spring settler was probably the most notable ceremony ever to have taken place on the island; certainly, as Bea Hamilton was to write 67 years later (12), it was "the most impressive funeral ever to be held on Salt Spring Island". The Premier and more than half of the members of the legislature as well as a contingent of notables had come from Victoria to Ganges that day aboard the steamer S.S. City of Nanaimo. The

Reverend E.F. Wilson had noted in his Journal for 15 November 1901 that "J.P. Booth, our M.P., had a paralytic stroke". He lingered on until 25 February 1902 and the funeral took place in 1 March. Wilson wrote:

> "The Bisohp and myself took the service. As he was Speaker of the House, Premier Dunsmuir and a number of Members of Parliament were present. He was buried near the centre of our little St. Mark's cemetery & later a tombstone was erected."

Though badgered by the Opposition in the legislature, the Dunsmuir Government put off the by-election to fill the vacancy in North Victoria even though a motion of censure was moved, on 10 April, by a former member of the Government, Richard McBride. That motion was defeated 18 to 16 and it was not until 23 December, more than four weeks after Premier Dunsmuir had resigned, that the by-election took place. Two of Booth's old rivals squared off, T.J. Paterson, running as "Independent", defeating H.J. Robertson, "Government", by 196 votes to 153. The temperance movement was still an issue: E.F. Wilson wrote in his Journal on 1 November 1902 that A.R. Bittancourt had proposed to open a saloon "but it was voted out". Two months later, Wilson wrote:

> "During the month of January my time was a great deal taken up with getting out and distributing temperance pledge cards."

In the spring of 1903, Dunsmuir's successor, E.G. Prior, was forced to resign over a charge of conflict of interest and Richard McBride formed the first British Columbia administration formed on party lines. This Conservative administration went to the people on 3 October in an election based on a new distribution of seats in which The Islands constituency had been restored. ("The Islands" was to exist for almost four decades until it was submerged, in 1941, in Nanaimo and the Islands".) Provincially, the Conservatives won by a

margin of one seat and they failed to take The Islands which returned T.W. Paterson who defeated Henry Wright Bullock by 221 to 154. A factor in Bullock's loss was the jailing of Collins of the Salt Spring Creamery in December 1900 as a result of a suit by Bullock to recover a debt. When Collins was later released, Wilson noted that there was "great rejoicing on the island".

The election of Paterson, who lived in Victoria, marked the beginning of a long period when Salt Spring Island was represented by a non-resident. Paterson lost in the decisive McBride Government victory of January 1907 to Albert Edward McPhillips, a lawyer of Victoria, who was re-elected to the seat in the Conservative sweeps that followed in 1909 and 1912, holding it until he was rewarded for his political services on 20 September 1913 with an appointment to the Appeal Court of British Columbia.

William Wasborough Foster (13) retained The Islands for the Conservatives in the by-election that followed in December 1913. A little over a year later, Foster was in the Army as a Captain and headed for France where he was to gain battlefield promotion and the award of the DSO and the CMG. In the 1916 general election, the Liberals broke the convention that the seats of members serving overseas should not be contested and ran Malcolm Bruce Jackson against Foster who lost by four votes, 354 to Jackson's 358.

Foster was probably the most distinguished member of the legislature that Salt Spring Island was ever to have. Educated at Wyclif College, he had emigrated to Canada in 1894 and been employed by the CPR at Revelstoke. In 1910, he became Deputy Minister of Public Works for B.C. and is credited with the design of the province's highway system. His expertise in roads must have made him attractive to islanders who, like E.F. Wilson's daughter, Nona, had written soon after the arrival of the first automobiles on the island:

"We can't go out on the roads now as motor cars are all over the place. The

> Blackburns drive up and down just looking as if they wanted to meet some more people & buggies to smash up." (14)

A keen mountaineer, Foster was on the first successful climb of Mount Robson in 1913 and, after the war and at the age of fifty, the first ascent of Mount Logan. Living in Victoria, he tried again in the 1933 general election as an Independent Conservative for The Islands but fell short in a five-way contest, placing a close second to Alexander McDonald, Liberal.

(In 1935, Foster became the Chief of Police of Vancouver. Active in the militia between the wars, he re-entered the Active Force in 1939 with the rank of Brigadier. He went overseas with the "first flight" in December to set up the auxiliary services for Canadian troops which were to be provided by national organizations through canteens, recreational facilities, concerts, movies and leave facilities. He returned to Canada to supervise the construction of the Canadian section of the A1-Can Highway and became a Major-General.)

Malcolm Bruce Jackson lived in Victoria where he was a member of the Board of Trade. In 1913, he had been the chairman of a special committee of the Board on proposed municipal legislation governing local improvements. (15) After winning the 1916 election against the absent Foster, Jackson was returned on the ruling Liberal side in 1920 in a three-cornered race with 581 votes out of a total poll of 1422. A lawyer and reputedly a wily politician, Jackson served in the cabinet of Premier John Oliver as Attorney-General, in which capacity he was involved in a spectacular murder case in Vancouver.

Jackson was defeated in 1924 despite the return to power of Premier Oliver's Government. Lt. Col. Cyrus Wesley topped the list of three candidates in that election, edging out the candidate of the short-lived protest group, the Provincial Party, by only two votes and third-place Jackson by 41 out

of a poll of 1706. Peck, who lived in Sidney but had close connections with Salt Spring Island through his transportation business, was on the Opposition side for four years. The Conservative Party was swept to power in the election of 18 July 1928 - in which Peck thumped Jackson in The Islands riding - and Simon Fraser Tolmie became Premier. Peck's business activity and his support of the Government resulted in the establishment of the first regular and frequent daily ferry service linking Fulford Harbour and Sidney. That service was in place when Peck accepted an appointment to the Canada Pension Tribunal and resigned his seat on 27 September 1930.

The only nomination put forward when the by-election was subsequently called was that of MacGregor Fullarton MacIntosh, like Peck a Conservative. He was also a war veteran who lived on a farm at Weston Lake on Salt Spring Island and was to found the Legion Branch on the island in 1931. He did not seek re-election in the 1933 general election which was won for the victorious Liberals of Thomas Dufferin Pattulo by Alexander McDonald with barely 35 per cent of the vote in a five-way contest. That election had also seen the attempt by W.W. Foster - running as an Independent Conservative - to return to the legislature after a 17-year absence and it also marked the first contest in The Islands in which the newly-formed CCF Party ran a candidate, Captain William Ellis of Vesuvius. Foster was a close second behind McDonald and the CCF candidate came third.

The Conservatives regained the seat in 1937 when MacGregor MacIntosh was returned despite the fact that the government of Premier Pattulo won in a landslide. MacIntosh received 953 votes to McDonald's 694 and 414 for the CCF candidate, Grace E.B. Martin, the first woman to run for the seat.

By the late thirties, The Islands was fast becoming a rotten borough. In the early years of the century, the constituency had on its rolls about 44 per cent of the average number of voters of all seats in British Columbia. By 1911, the percentage had declined to 34%, reflecting the slow growth of population in the Gulf Islands compared with elsewhere in the province and especially on the mainland. However, the number rose from then until 1924 when the riding approached 45 per cent

of the voting strength of the average seat. The decline over the next dozen years was dramatic and the 1937 poll showed that it was down to 32 per cent. Vancouver Island constituencies were also looking slim compared with those on the mainland and it is small wonder that the redistribution before the election of 1941 combined some seats. As part of "Nanaimo and the Islands", the old constituency accounted for less than 40 per cent of the poll. The days when Salt Spring residents could hope to be represented in the legislature by one of their own were probably over for good. To have influence in the future - and ensure a fair return on tax dollars - the community would have to play a smaller hand with greater cunning. But it would help that the charms of the island itself would lure the province's powerful to set up summer homes and discover at first hand of the island's needs for roads and ferries, hospitals and schools, parks and piers, courts and police, and cultural and recreational centres.

NOTES

1. Early Days on Saltspring Island by A.J. Flucke, BCHQ XV No. 3 & 4 (1951), p. 176.

2. Sheriff's Records,PABC - GR 1666 Box 1/1. The nine residents of Saltspring were Jonathan Begg, John Booth, Jonathan Elliott, George Mitchell, George Mills, Henry W. Robinson, Henry Simpson, John Tennant Usher and Edward Walker.

3. Sheriff's Records: Poll Book. PABC GR 1666 2/10. Begg, Mills and Sampson supported Dennes while Booth, Jones, Norton and Robinson favoured Pidwell.

4. Sheriff's Records, PABC: GR 1666 Vol. 1/10. The black voters of Saltspring on the list were Armstead Buckner, Abraham Copeland, Jacob Francis, William L. Harrison, William Isaacs, John Craven Jones, Peter Lester, William Robinson, Lewis (sic - correctly Louis) Stark and Hiram Wims (sic - correctly Whims).

5. De Cosmos became rabidly anti-black as a result of his defeat, carrying on a campaign against the blacks for several years. See Go Do Some Great Thing by Crawford Killian (Vancouver, Dougas and McIntyre 1978, pp 64-69) for an account of this campaign.

6. Mifflin Wistar Gibbs was a contractor in Victoria who was active in real estate and was a

member of the town council. He left British Columbia in 1870 to rejoin his wife and family who had returned to Oberlin, Ohio where he began a long and successful career in politics. In 1897, he became the first black to represent the United States abroad when he was appointed United States Consul in Madagascar, where he served for three years. He revisited Victoria in 1907 at 84 years of age.

7. Letter of 30 May 1890 from John Paton Booth to the Hon. John Robson; John Robson Collection, PABC - PABC Add MSS 525, Vol. 1, Folder 1 #166-9.

8. Flucke article in BCHQ (1951), pp 195-6.

9. Flucke, p. 197.

10. Letter from John P. Booth to William Smithe of 26 January 1883, quoted in Flucke, p. 199.

11. Letter of 30 May 1890, Booth to Robson, cited above.

12. Bea Hamilton, Salt Spring Island, Vancouver, Mitchell Press Limited, 1969; pp 171-2.

13. Foster was born in Bristol, England, in 1875 and died in Vancouver, B.C., in 1954.

14. E.F. Wilson, Journal entry 30 May 1911. "Our Life on Salt Spring Island", MS pp 38-9.

15. PABC NWp 352 V645.

Mouat

EARLY SETTLEMENT - 1859 - 85

Except for the flurry of activity at Nootka Sound on the west coast in the late eighteenth century, Vancouver Island was virtually unknown to anyone but the indigenous people. (1) The Hudson's Bay Company had established posts early in the nineteenth century near the mouth of the Columbia River. The company had become alarmed at the rapidly expanding settlement of Americans in the Oregon Territory and was uncertain as to the position of the as yet undecided Canadian-American border west of the Rockies. The Company therefore established posts in New Caledonia. This was an area roughly that of present day mainland British Columbia. (2)

Fort Langley was built by the Hudson's Bay Company on the Fraser River in 1826, but it was soon apparent it was not a suitable sea port. (3) In 1842 James Douglas, the Assistant Factor at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, chose Camosack on southern Vancouver Island to be the coastal depot of the Hudson's Bay Company. (4) Four years later, in 1846, the Treaty of Washington was signed by Britain and the United States, giving Britain all of Vancouver Island and the mainland north of the 49th parallel. (5) Britain had been largely influenced by political conditions when drawing up the proposal. She was fearful of a war with the United States, was short of money at home where the government was in danger of falling and her relations with France were strained. (6)

Fear of American takeover of all the Pacific Northwest was intensified by Mexico's loss of California in 1848. (7) Britain realized she must get colonists into what little of the area she had salvaged by the Treaty of Washington of 1846. The settlement had to be done quickly and with as little cost to the British taxpayers as possible. (8) With the Hudson's Bay Company already established on Vancouver Island, it seemed an appropriate colonizing agent to act for the Crown. An agreement between the British Government and the Company was signed in 1849. In return for

exclusive trading rights, the Hudson's Bay Company would encourage settlement in the colony of Vancouver Island and its dependencies, and defray costs of civil and ilitary needs by the sale of land and natural resources. If the Crown was not satisfied with the progress of colonization, the contract could be broken in five years. There was a stipulation that the settlers must be British subjects from Great Britain, Ireland, or the Dominions. (9)

Settlement did not proceed well. By 1853, the Colony of Vancouver Island had only 450 inhabitants, 300 of whom were in Fort Victoria (formerly Camosack). The rest were in Nanaimo where coal had been mined for a year, or in Fort Rupert. (10) Almost everyone was an employee or retired employee of the Hudson's Bay Company or its subsidiary, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. Below the border the number of American settlers grew rapidly. As early as 1850, the population of Oregon Territory was 13,294. (11)

J.P. Pemberton, the colonial Surveyor General of Vancouver Island at the time, listed five obstacles to the colony's growth: 1. The attraction of the Gold Rush in California. 2. The almost prohibitive level of wages. 3. The great distance from Great Britain involving either a tedious voyage of 5 months and 17,000 miles, or the expense of the overland route by Panama or the plains. 4. The price of land as compared to the price south of the 49th parallel in Oregon Territory. 5. Duties averaging 24% on British and Canadian goods entering American ports. (12)

In 1857, James Douglas, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Victoria, was shown a few grains of gold from the North Thompson River. (13) He alone of the officers of the Company seemed aware of the changes the gold could bring to the fledgling colony. Fearing an influx of non-British subjects, he went beyond his authority as Governor of Vancouver Island and issued a proclamation stating that gold found in the Fraser and Thompson Districts belonged to the Crown. (14) Any miner coming to the gold fields was to pay a $5.00 monthly mining fee to be obtained at Victoria. The following year at the request of the British Government, Douglas became Governor of British Columbia. (15) (A name chosen by Queen Victoria.) (16) As well as this

position, Douglas retained his governorship of the separate Colony of Vancouver Island. On accepting his new post, Douglas was to sever all connections with the Hudson's Bay Company. (17)

The first shipload of miners reached Victoria from San Francisco in the spring of 1858. Of the 450 men on board, only 60 were British subject. (18) This group was the forerunner of many more to arrive in the Colony that spring and summer. That ship also carried 35 blacks from California. Thirty thousand men, passing through Victoria on their way to the gold fields of the Fraser and the Thompson, created a tent city around the small stockaded fort on Victoria's Inner Harbour. (20) Land sales were brisk and Victoria's population rose to 5000. Overnight, 225 buildings went up, mainly stores, many owned by, or subsidiaries of San Francisco firms. (21) Some of the would be miners had previously been to Australia and then to California for the gold rushes there. They came to Victoria only to purchase their mining licences and what equipment they needed before crossing the Gulf of Georgia to ascend the Fraser River by any means available. (22)

With the onset of winter in 1858, miners, disappointed by the small amounts of gold recovered on the sand bars, and unable to work their claims in the cold weather, moved out to the coast. Many returned to the States. (23) A large number were indigent and could not afford to go further than Victoria. These men clamoured for land to 'squat' on, as was available in parts of Oregon Territory. A number of Europeans, mostly from France and Germany, as well as Australians, the Blacks, and men from Britain and eastern Canada, wished to stay in the colony. (24)

With the exodus to the U.S. of many of the miners, Victoria faced its first depression. The population dwindled to 1500 in 1859. (25) The newly established Victoria merchants were anxious to stop the southward flow of would be settlers and Douglas wanted the problem of unemployed people around the fort settled quickly. (26) He was also anxious to create an agricultural component to the island colony, not only to supply the town but also to decrease the imports from the United States.

Public meetings were held and petitions drawn up calling for cheaper or free land. The situation was duly reported by Douglas to the Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward B. Lytton, in London. At the time Douglas had no option but to charge all those wanting land, one pound sterling an acre, the price set by the Crown. J.D. Pemberton, the Colonial Surveyor, responding to public pressure for available agricultural land, had created several rural districts on Vancouver Island. He was subdividing land in Cowichan and Nanaimo Districts into 100-acre blocks as quickly as possible. He told Douglas that much of the land was not worth a pound an acre and should be sold more cheaply. The colony at this time was in the process of reverting from the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Compay to the Crown, and Douglas could not make any changes to the price set by the British Government. He did tell one group of potential colonists that his only power lay in adjusting the method of payment. He was willing to let settlers go on unsurveyed land with a down payment of a shilling an acre. Even this amount was too much for many of the indigent newcomers. (27)

One group of men appointed a young Scottish lawyer, John Copland, recently arrived from Australia, to intercede on their behalf for land with no money down. (28) Some of the group were from Australia, others were Blacks. The latter group had gone to California from the southern or eastern states, because California was a free state, i.e. no slavery. The newcomers to California found black and mulatto immigration there was actively discouraged. California schools were segregated and state laws did not allow Blacks to testify against whites. The Oregon constitution forbade admission to Blacks. Mifflin Gibbs, in his autobiography, stated that the group came to Victoria for liberty and the attraction of the goldrush. (29)

Copland's group wanted land in Cowichan District, but there the land had already been surveyed and therefore required payment. (30) It is not known who suggested that land was available for pre-emption in Chemainus District, of which Saltspring was a part. Governor Douglas, writing in the British Colonist on August 2, 1859, stated that the sovereignty of San Juan and the whole of the A___ Archipeligo (of which Saltspring was a part) was British. It is interesting that settlement of Saltspring was being encouraged at a time when the United States was flexing its muscles over the

boundary dispute and was sending troops to San Juan. Certainly, none of the district had been surveyed, nor was it one of the areas mentioned by Douglas when he offered to change the method of payment. What is known is that Copland and some members of his group chartered the "Nanaimo Packet" on July 18, 1859, and sailed up to Chemainus District. (31) The delegates liked what they saw and reported back to the other members in a positive way. Two hundred and forty-one men immediately applied for pre-emption, 29 of whom wished to settle on Saltspring Island. (32)

Saltspring Island had caused some excitement in 1852 when officers of the Hudson's Bay Company had inspected the salt springs there. (33) The Company had probably heard of the springs from the Indians who certainly knew of them. (34) Douglas had high hopes for the commercial use of the salt for the fish trade on the Fraser River and the domestic market. On analysis, the springs were found to have more impurities than similar springs in nanaimo (35), so the latter were developed and no further mention was made of the Island salt springs by the Company.

Douglas, on a map accompanying an article published in 1854, called the Island "Chuan". "Chuan" was a Anglicized version of the Salish word for the south east part of Saltspring. (36) The Colonial Surveyor used the names "Tuan" and "Saltspring" during his tenure. In 1856, Captain W.C. Grant, the colony's first independent settler, used the name "Saltspring". (37) A marine survey of the area, commenced in 1857, officially changed the Island's name to Admiral Island, in honour of Rear-Admiral Baynes, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Station of the Royal Navy. The change to "Admiral" came too late, Saltspring was the name already in common usage and so it remained. Eventually, the Geographic Board of Canada changed the name officially to "Saltspring" in 1906. (38) It is now more commonly written as "Salt Spring".

In a letter dated July 26, 1859, Pemberton gave permission for the 29 people to settle on Saltspring (or Tuan as he called it then). It was made clear that the settlers would have to pay for their land at the going rate after survey. No date was set for survey. (See Appendix A). Of the number, 17 were ready to leave at once. They sailed the following day, July 27, 1859. (39) Check-

ing through the list of first applicants, several names appear on later survey or pre-emption maps. The following 17 names are probably the most likely to have been in the first boat:

1. James Stephens
2. Edward Mallandaine
3. Thomas Henry Lineker
4. George Richardson
5. William Isaacs
6. P.J. Adams
7. F.P. Gerry
8. Jonathan Begg
9. Joseph Frontin
10. Sain Francis Stephens
11. George Copland (probably Abraham Copeland or John Copland)
12. Armstead Buckner
13. E.A. Booth
14. Fielding Spott (sic)
15. James Gascoigne
16. R.P. Dombraine
17. Edward Walker (or Watkins)

(Appendis A). The list of 29 applicants named in Pemberton's letter written July 26, 1859.

James Stephens' name is not shown in the public notice in the British Colonist of May 18, 1861, (Appendix B) although his name appears on a copy of the pre-emption register as having property in Ganges Harbour. (Appendix C). Mallandaine is shown as a registered owner in May, 1862. The Lineker name does not appear on either list but it is well documented that he was living in Ganges in July 1860. (40) William Richardson is listed as a pre-emptor in 1861 in Ganges Harbour. Isaacs, a Black, had given his occupation as farmer when he arrived in Victoria (41) and was

issued a pre-emption certificate in March, 1861. Mallandaine recorded in 1861 that Gerry had Lot #5 at Begg's Settlement where he raised hogs. (42) Begg opened a store near present-day Fernwood in December, 1859. (43) He was still operating a nursery in Victoria as late as September 24, 1859. (44) Frontin is shown as a pre-emptor in 1861, but Cusheon says in a letter to the Surveyor-General in 1861 that Frontin had left his property within a month of arriving on the Island. (45) His name does not appear on the 1862 Voters' List. George Copland, the name in Pemberton's 1859 letter (46) was either John Copland or Abraham Copeland. The latter arrived in the early days of settlement and remained for twenty-five years. However, John Copland is shown as an owner of 100 acres on Saltspring in the 1862 Voters' List. (47) There is no evidence that he ever lived on the Island. Armstead Buckner, a Black like Copeland, pre-empted the land where the Golf Course is now located. He stayed for many years, his property eventually being sold to Reverend E.F. Wilson. E.A. Booth was identified as one of the black settlers by James Pilton, but his name does not appear again. It is often written that J.B. Booth was one of the first group, but in a letter to Pemberton in August, 1862, Booth said he came in early 1860. (48) Fielding Spotts, another black settler, a cooper by trade (49) is recorded as one of the nominators of John Copland for member of the House of Assembly, December, 1859. He abandoned his claim within a year. (50) Spotts was for many years a well-known settler of early Saanich. Gascoign returned to Australia soon after applying for pre-emption. (51) Dombraine's name appears on the pre-emption list and he is mentioned in Robson's diary of 1861. (52) Walker, or Watkins as it sometimes is written, appears on the 1862 Voters' List. (53)

The second of Copland's groups was granted pre-emption rights in August, 1859. Most of this group were believed to be from Australia. (54) Their stay was brief, many going on to the Cariboo goldrush. (55) J.D. Cusheon was believed to be one of this group. His stay too was short, but his name is remembered in Cusheon Lake and Cusheon Cove. He spent $3,000.00 clearing land, erecting buildings, fencing and clearing three miles of road to Ganges Harbour. This effort took four months and necessitated the hiring of 16 men. (56) In 1861, he informed Pemberton that he wished to buy 1,000 acres, as he had acquired the pre-emptions of Frontin, S.T. Stephens, J. Stephens, and

Adams. Cusheon told Pemberton that Governor Douglas had said that he could purchase the land for $1.25 an acre. This, of course, was refused as the limit of pre-emption was 200 acres per family. (57) Cusheon is mentioned as an inn-keeper in Camerton Town near Barkerville in October, 1863, in a diary kept by John Cheadle. (58) Cusheon's father-in-law, Dr. Hogg, stayed on the Island in Ganges Harbour. According to Mrs. Margaret (Shaw) Walter, Dr. Hogg was a retired English physician "said to be peculiar in some way but trustworthy professionally". (59) He is chiefly remembered in a touching account by Sylvie Stark when he treated her husband for a very severe reaction to a small pox vaccination. The doctor's successful treatment of Lewis Stark's grossly swollen arm was the use of cold compresses made of mud from the bottom of their spring. (60) Dr. Hogg died not long after upbraiding Willie, a native man, for stealing the doctor's garden produce. Murder was suspected by the settlers but was never proved. (61) Also in the second group were five early businessmen, John Lee, William Senior, Robert Leech, and Henry Elliott, and E. Williams. Their venture, Saltspring Island Stone Company, quarried stone north of Vesuvius. It could be purchased at $8.00 a ton in Victoria and was advertised as suitable for general building purposes and sidewalk material. (62) The Victoria British Colonist reported that the group who operated the quarry were in the Cariboo in 1861. (63) The 1862 Voters' List shows them as still owning property on Saltspring Island but all living in Victoria. (64)

A third group applied for pre-emption in December, 1859. On receipt of these additional names, Pemberton, suspecting land speculation, added two more conditions to settlement. Firstly, if occupancy ceased, title would not be granted. Secondly, no settler could sell his pre-emption without first obtaining a licence. (65)

A total of 117 pre-emptions had been issued on the Island by the end of 1859, with no money down and without prior survey. because of the lack of survey, many property boundaries were in dispute for years. More than a decade later, Mr. A.H. Green who surveyed much of south Saltspring, reported that extensive acreage of land had no existence and many boundary conflicts would have to be solved at a later date. (66)

There were enormous problems for those first settlers on Saltspring Island. There was no cleared land, no regular transportation to and from the Island, no roads, no wharves, no labour pool, few settlers with farming experience, little or no money, wretched mail service, and the constant fear of disgruntled local Natives and those passing to and from Fort Victoria using local waters.

In Sylvie Stark's reminiscences, she told of her first home on the Island. It was an unfinished log cabin surrounded by trees and thick underbrush, with a quilt hung across the entrance. Neighbours came and helped her husband put on a roof to keep out the rain. (67)

Eliza Griffiths, the daughter of the first white woman on Saltspring, recounted the hardships of her family, the Linekers. Their first home in the Colony had been hastily sewn-together Hudson's Bay blankets. That shelter had been in Victoria where every available space was crowded with miners on their way to the Fraser gold fields. (68) On Saltspring, the family built a log cabin with an earth floor, their only light in the evening being a wick dipped in oil. Eliza and her brother dug clams and netted herring, often their only food for days at a time. (69) The severe winter of 1862-63 killed their cattle because of lack of feed and adequate shelter. According to Mrs. M. Walter, Mr. Linketer was "of a very unadaptive nature". (70) He is not shown on the Voters' List of the Island in 1862. (71) The Victoria Directory of 1866 shows the family back in Victoria. (72)

The lack of transportation was a great trial for the first settlers. The packet running from Victoria to Nanaimo called in once a week, but there was no wharf to help in the off-loading of passengers or freight. Livestock were lowered over the side and allowed to swim ashore. There were no roads, causing isolation and privation. In an interview in the Colonist, Mrs. Griffiths (the daughter of Mrs. Lineker) said that, during her years on Saltspring, she never visited Begg's Store at Fernwood. (73) In an 1870 letter, after eleven years of settlement, Stark wrote to the Commissioner of Land and Works, and I quote in part: "A sentral road is all we ask for and let us make little roads and pigtrails to come to it by our own labour." (74) A Road Act had been passed in the colony in

1860 which required every adult male to work 6 days a year on the roads in his district. Within six months, Begg, one of Saltspring's 3 road commissioners, wrote to Victoria complaining that the other 2 commissioners, John Tait and Cusheon, hadn't been on the Island for a year and no road work had been done. (75) The local residents complained that absentee landowners were not doing their share of the road work and the farmers themselves were pushed to the limit just doing their own clearing and trying to make some money so they would be able to pay for their pre-emptions when the survey was done. After Confederation, 1871, Saltspring's first representative, John Patton Booth, again asked for an island road. He asked for $1,000.00 for a road "connecting the different settlements together; some portions of the inhabitants being entirely debarred from all use of the steamer as a means of conveying freight for want of a road." (76)

The lack of experience in all aspects of pioneering and farming is mentioned in much of the early writing. Edward Mallandaine, writing about his father's early days on Saltspring, says: "my best father very early in the 60s was one of many unqualified and non-practical who thought that farming would pay in the Colony. Accordingly, he and others pre-empted Gov't land on an Island - splendidly isolated for course from any civilized settlement - this island was called even then Saltspring Island." (77) An abortive attempt to build a boat, and near starvation caused him to abandon pioneer farming and return to civilization, said his son.

Robert Brown, the leader of the Vancouver Island Exploring Expedition, was not impressed with the settlers he encountered in Cowichan, Chemanus (sic), Saltspring and Comox. He wrote: "most of the settlers being men with no business and totally unacquainted with farming: Men who came here attracted by the gold fever and got their eyes jaundiced by their Cariboo failures, prodigal sons who are just waiting to get reconciled with their families, or to go home having mistaken their vocation." (78)

Financial difficulties had driven most of the settlers to Saltspring Island. (79) Flucke, writing about the early Saltspring settlers, says "their limited resources would supply them with nothing

better." (80) Sylvie Stark mentions a Mr. Overton who, when he arrived on the Island, had only 75 cents to his name. (81) This lack of funds was probably the reason for the large number of letters in the Government Records requesting six months leaves of absence by almost all the settlers at one time or another. (82) Many tried their luck in the Cariboo, often coming back to the Island to find their pre-emptions inhabited by new settlers. (83)

The poor mail service was another source of great hardship. As early as September 19, 1859, J. Begg was calling for a branch Post Office on Saltspring. At that time it was necessary to go to Victoria Post Office although there was weekly steamer service, weather permitting. (84) In the 1860 Victoria Directory Begg's advertisement for his Saltspring business lists "Post Office" in conjunction with his store, the First on the Island.

Fear of the native people was another problem. Begg, in an article in the New Westminster Times in 1859, said that the Islanders were constantly harassed and insulted by the Penalichar (sic) tribe. These Indians complained that the Island was theirs and that Governor Douglas had "cap-swallowed" or stolen it from them. (85) It was not only the local tribes that frightened the settlers. Canoe loads of natives travelling up and down the coast to trade at Fort Victoria were known to steal from the farmers' fields. (86)

The settlers were appalled at an event which took place a year after their arrival. It is generally referred to as the "Ganges Massacre". Many variations of the event have been told but the story, as written by Mr. Lineker, one of the few witnesses, is presumed to be the most accurate. His letter to Governor Douglas on July 9, 1860, reads as follows:

"Sir

At a meeting of the settlers of this place I was deputed to address your Excellency on the subject of the Indians.

I beg therefor to acquaint Your Excellency that on the 4th of July last, at noon, a canoe with

nine men, two boys and three women of the Bella Bella tribe came in here with a person named McCauley who had business with some of the settlers. While he was talking to me, the Cowichians (sic) numbering some fifty, who were encamped here & who on the arrival of the Bella Bellas manifested an unfriendly spirit, but afterwards appeared friendly, a general fight ensued which lasted about an hour, and ended in the Cowichians (sic) killing eight of the other, and carrying off the women and boys as prisoners, this fight occurred so close to my house, that I sent my wife and family into the woods for safety, during the night one of the Bella Bellas came to me wounded. I pointed out a trail which would lead him to the northern part of the island, hoping he might get away. I felt I could not give him shelter without being compromised in this murderous affair. Two men have just arrived here from the other side of the Island, who inform me that a week since some Northern Indians took two of another tribe out of their boat and cut their heads off.

The Indians have all left here, probably anticipating an attack, in such an event we should be anything but safe, especially should they in any way molest the Settlers. We number here twenty-six men, scattered over about two miles square, considering their defenseless position the Settlers trust that Your Excellency will deem it expedient to afford them such protection as you in your wisdom may think necessary."

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's obedient humble servant

Thos. H. Lineker." (87)

In 1861 Begg's Store at the North End was broken into and blankets and provisions were stolen. The culprits were believed to be Haida Indians. The British Navy ship "Forward" was sent in pursuit and caught up with the offenders at Willow Point on Vancouver Island. Only after a gun battle in which two Haidas were killed, did they surrender. Five natives were taken to Victoria where it was learned that, prior to the burglary, the Haidas had bought some alcohol from the crew of the schooner "Laurel". The whiskey had been diluted with salt water. When the natives discovered the hoax, they returned to the "Laurel" and stripped her of everything they could, before moving on to rob Begg's store on the Island. When the cupidity of the ship's crew was revealed, the natives

were released. There is little doubt alcohol was the cause of some of the Native problems. Unscrupulous whiskey traders cheated the Natives, then cried for protection when there was retaliation. (88) The daily British Colonist reported on March 28, 1867, that American natives were bringing canoeloads of whisky to Cowichan. (89)

The Saltspring Islanders were anxious to have a Justice of the Peace, but Douglas refused to appoint one. The reasons he gave were that there wasn't a suitable candidate on the Island, and that one official would be powerless in such an incidence as the Ganges Massacre. (90)

An uneasy peace was disrupted when two men were attacked on a nearby island in 1863, one of whom later died of wounds. (1) Within a few days, a double murder took place on Saturna Island, when a settler by the name of Marks and his daughter were murdered while camping on the beach. (92) This tragedy was supposedly the work of Indians from Kuper Island. Sylvie Stark recalled hearing the gunfire after the murders. The British naval ship "Forward" was shelling the village of Penellekut (sic) but the settlement was later found to have been deserted by all but one old blind lady. (93)

The Marks murder set off a renewed hue and cry in the Colony for better protection and Douglas finally appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1863. (94) Unfortunately for Saltspring, the officer, John Peter Mouat Biggs, lived at Chemainus rather than the Island. An Indian was arrested shortly after Biggs' appointment, but there was a general feeling that the arrest was an act of expediency, not justice. (5)

Thefts continued, and especially hard hit were two settlers in Burgoyne, Maxwell and Lunney. Five head of cattle were stolen from Maxwell's farm in one month in 1867. (96)

The following year, yet another murder took place. (97) This time the victim was a Black man named William Robinson who had intended to go back to the States because his wife wouldn't come

west. (98) When he failed to turn up to teach his Sunday School class, other settlers went to his cabin. They found him shot to death as he sat at his table. Eight months later, Giles Curtis, another Black man, was also found murdered, this time with his throat cut. The local residents threatened to leave the Island or form a vigilante group. (99) No action was taken by Victoria for some months after the murders. Then the Justice of the Peace, John Morley, who had replaced Biggs, made an arrest of a Native. The arrest was considered by some to be without validity. (100).

There was a feeling that the Indians did not respect the Black community or possibly they feared the power of the white settlers more. R.C. Mayne, writing in 1862, felt that the Native people discriminated against visible minorities. (101) Whether or not this was true on Saltspring, the fear of the native population disappeared as the settler population rose and no further murders were attributed to Native people.

In spite of the enormous problems, settlement continued. The Victoria British Colonist reported on August 23, 1860 that nearly 70 resident landowners were busily clearing and fencing. The 1862 List of Voters (102) records 27 registered names on the Island. Only nine of this number give Saltspring as their "Place of Abode". Their qualifications to vote vary from owning 20 acres to 400 acres freehold land. The Pool Book of 1863 records 3 voters. (103) By 1866, 34 names are listed, with only 6 of the probable first settlers still recorded. Reverend W.S. Reece was appointed to Cowichan Parish, of which Saltspring was a part in 1866. Visiting the Island that year, he was surprised that there were more children than in the larger settlement at Cowichan (p.13 Pioneer Parish). On this list Begg's name is missing as is Cusheon's Others such as Mallandaine's are still on the list, but give Victoria as place of abode. By 1875, the Voters' List has 47 names, all but three giving their occupation as "farmer". On this list Kanaka names appear for the first time. (104)

It is difficult to assess population from these lists as there are often wide gaps between time of first settlement and pre-emption registration. The Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia had become a single colony in 1866 (105) and in the year 1871, the Colony became a Province of

Canada. (106) In that year the Federal census was based on 1870 colonial estimates. (107) Reece estimated the Island's population in 1871 to be 91 (p. 45 Pioneer Parish). The 1881 Federal census in which the Island was included showed that the Island population had climbed to 283 people, 120 of whom were 16 years or younger. (108) This amazing jump from the 1875 Voters' List shows Saltspring Island growing at a rapid pace and just entering into its hay day as a prosperous agricultural community.

EARLY SETTLEMENT FOOTNOTES

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APPENDIX A

G.R. Add Ms 817
as reproduced in Pilton's M.A. thesis

VANCOUVER ISLAND COLONY
Land Office Victoria July 26, 1859

To John Copland Esq.

Sir I acknowledge to have received from you the names of 29 persons, list of whom is hereto annexed for whom you are agent and who apply through you for permission to settle on the unsurveyed lands of Tuan or Salt Spring Island, their reason being want of funds to settle on surveyed lands elsewhere in which cases an immediate instalment is required, the permission asked for I am empowered to give and am further to state distinctly, that after the survey of the lands in question shall have been made, pre-emptive right in those of the number stated, who shall have effected most improvement in the way of Buildings, fencing or cultivation on any Government Section shall be recognised [sic] and that the sections shall be laid out continuously with and as portion of the same network which extends over the adjoining country of Cowichan. I am further empowered to delay the survey of that portion of Tuan Island on which these persons shall settle until the expiration of -- years or until requested at an earlier period to survey and issue Titles by the majority of the holders at the future time alluded to. Provided that as soon as the lands are surveyed, immediate payment at the rate and on the terms that shall then exist or immediate forfeiture of the same and improvements shall ensue.

Provided further that none of these persons shall occupy or allow other persons to occupy lands in any way improved, fenced or cultivated, or at any time occupied by Indians, which likewise would entail forfeiture similar to that above stated.

Provided lastly that Government will have the right to resume any portion of these lands required strictly for a Government purpose, such as Dockyard, Light-house, Church, School, Jail, ec, paying to the occupiers the actual value of improvements effected thereon.

(Sd) Joseph D. Pemberton

List of Settlers for whom Certificate Papers are wanted.

James Stephens
Edward Mallandaine
Thomas Henry Linieker [sic]
Edward Henry Linieker b. 1852
William Isaacs
George Richardson
P.J. Adams
F.V. Gerry
Jonathan Begg
Joseph Froutin
Sam Francis Stephens
George Copland
Fielding Spott [sic]
William R. Brown
George Richardson
Armstad Buckner [sic]
E.A. Booth
James Chambers
James R. Gascoigne
George Kirkess
R.P. Dombrane
Charles Rennals
Thomas W. Herron
Daniel McLean
James Tenny
John Tomkins
Edward Walker
James B. Peterson
E. Hammond Ring - King

4 Joseph D. Pemberton to John Copland, Esq., July 26, 1859, in Vancouver Island, Lands and Works Department, Survey Branch, Correspondence Book, 20th Oct. 1857 to 29th Sept. 1864, p. 38. Identified as negroes are: William Isaacs, Fielding Spotts, Armstead Buckner, and E.A. Booth.

IMouat

HISTORY OF SALT SPRING ISLAND

1859 - 1885

S C H O O L S

Concern for the instruction of non-native children in Rupertsland was such that "resolution Third" from the minutes of the Northern Department of Rupersland (H.B.CO.) urged

> . . . the father be encouraged to devote part of his leisure hours to teach the children their ABC and catechism, together with such further information as time and circumstances permit. (1)

Years later Governor Douglas voiced much the same concerns when he indicated to the Colonial Office that some funding should be available for schools, ". . . to give moral and religious training to the children of settlers who are at present growing up in ignorance. . ." (2)

It was not until 1865 that the Common School Act was passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Vancouver Island. It was ratified by the Legislative Council, and received Royal Assent from Governor Kennedy. Among its many provisions, the Act set up a General Board of Education, authorised the appointment of a Superintendent of Education with powers to appoint persons to be teachers in common schools and required to visit and report on Common Schools. All schools were to be non-sectarian, and open to children of all denominations. Books of a religious nature were strictly excluded from schools. The clergy were permitted to visit and instruct adherents of their particular persuasion.

A year prior to the passing of the Common School Act, the first school was established on Saltspring Island. One hundred acres had been set aside for public use. The 100 acres was located at Central Settlement on the east side of North End Road and extending from the present site of the Golf Club to St. Mark's Church. The school was erected by the government in 1863 and 1864, aided by settlers. It was located about 75 yards north of the present Central Hall, near the present Williamson family residence. It was named Salt Spring Island School and records indicate that it was opened in 1864. A year later Mr. G. Baker gave an acre of land on the southeast side of the intersection of Fernwood Road and North End Road, for school purposes. A shed on the property

was used for the school room. These were the two schools that were served by Saltspring's first teacher, Mr. John Craven Jones. Mr. Jones was a Black who arrived on the island as one of the first settlers in July, 1859. He had obtained a degree from Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. He served as teacher without pay for about eight years, until the Colony became a province of Canada in 1871. Doubtless his effort and his dedication were appreciated by the early settlers, but the school inspector was not overly impressed by his work.

> Mr. J.C. Jones is teaching under a temporary arrangement until the end of the year. Salary $40. per month. Visited the Island on 27th/28th of June (1872). Found the teacher engaged at the Northern or Begg's Settlement, where shcool had been kept for the three months previously. The 28th was examination day, but there were only three pupils in attendance, 2 girls and a boy. The boy was working in Latin Grammar, having become such a proficient in English Grammar and Geography that these two subjects were dropped a year ago and Latin substituted! So the teacher reported. An examination in these branches and Arithemitc did not by any means establish the fact of former proficiency. Teacher's time comparatively wasted by itinerating between Middle and Northern Settlements. Circumstances do not warrant it as none of the children are more than three miles from the school house and the road is improving year by year. There are 25 children of school age in the two settlements above referred to, of whom 7 reside in the northern settlement and 16 in the middle settlement. (3)

The Salt Spring Island School District was created on July 30th, 1870 and described as "All that piece of land known on the official map as Salt Spring Island or Admiral Island." In the annual Public School Reports the island schools were reported under "Salt Spring Island - (North Settlement Branch and Central Settlement Branch".

The Public Schools Report of 1874-75 stated that the school had suffered on account of the scarcity of qualified teachers. The report had further comments about the situation, and the problems of two schools and one teacher.

> The school has not been satisfactorily conducted either before or since the inauguration of our present school system. Attendance has been small during the past year, and in order to improve it a house has been built and a school opened in the northern settlement, and the teacher giving daily instruction in this and the middle settlement. Some parties in the latter neighbourhood have taken offence at such an arrangement, being determined to have an all-day school or none. The Trustees are proposing to try the effects of a compulsory By-Law.

However, the report for 1875-76 stated, ". . .great improvement noted . . . local animosities have subsided . . . nearly all children enrolled, most attending one school or the other . . ." Evidently the new school house at the northern settlement did improve matters. There was certainly a much greater local interest shown in the school for the record shows 75 visits to the school by parents and others. By the school year 1879-80 enrolment had increased at the Northern Settlement to 20 and at the Central Settlement to 21. There was a teacher employed full time at each school: E. Clark at the northern school and C.D. Rand at the central school. However, this enrolment was not maintained, for the 1880-81 report states (of the Northern Settlement) ". . .ten pupils of 1879-90 have left . . ." The previous one teacher, two school system was reinstated. The 1881-82 report states, "These two day-about schools have now been merged into a single school, and the attendance has risen to a daily average of over 16."

The Central Settlement school became the Vesuvius School when the Vesuvius School District was created in August, 1885. In April, 1892, the Vesuvius North School District was created and operated with its own school board for the next 48 years.

The Burgoyne Bay School District was formed on October 2, 1873. It comprised "All that tract of land within a line commencing at a point about midway between the head of Ganges Bay and Beaver Point, on the south side, thence running westerly along the summit of Otter Range, to the seashore, thence following the shoreline, southerly, to the point of commencement and including Moresby and Portland Islands." This description is approximately the same as the present "South Division" show on land maps prepared for the Land Titles Office.

Mr. John Sparrow gave an acre of land and the school building was erected by the government with help from the settlers. The first trustees were Theodore Trage, W. Purser and George Mitchell. Mrs. T.R. Holmes was the first teacher. She was unqualified and her salary was $40. per month. The school was across the road from the present site of the old Burgoyne United Church.

The Beaver Point School District was formed on August 18th, 1885, being defined as "Commencing at the point in which the western boundary of Section 88, Salt Spring Island reaches the sea; thence easterly and along the sea shore to the point of commencement, and including Russell, Portland and Morseby Islands." The school was erected on 40 acres of land given by Mr. Spikerman. The building is still standing and is located a short distance southeast from Beaver Point Hall. It was in continuous use as a school for 67 years and is currently being used by a private group for school purposes. The following is from "Special Reports on Common Schools" in 1886-87 Public Schools Report.

Beaver Point

Teacher, Miss Margaret Jackson, until June 30th, 1886; present teacher, William Sivewright.
Salary, $50. per month.
No inspection.
Enrolled during the year, 10 boys, 14 girls; total, 24
Average monthly attendance, 22.
Average actual daily attendance, 18.58.
Expenditure, $505.
Cost of each pupil on enrolment, $21.04.
Cost of each pupil on actual attendance, $27.18.
This school was opened in September, 1885.
The average attendance has surpassed expectations, and the number of visits made by trustees and parents shows the lively interest taken in educational work in this newly establish district.

Tsmouat

TRANSPORTATION - SALTSPRING ISLAND - 1859-85

Saltspring Island's earliest known transportation was carried out by mariners with a vast knowledge of weather conditions, tides and safe anchorages in the area. These were the coast Salish people who moved freely among the islands and as far afield as the Fraser River and western Washington. They travelled in canoes, each hewn from a single cedar log. (1)

Salish canoes were used by the newcomers to the area in the mid-nineteenth century. First by the Hudson's Bay Company at Victoria, and later by the colonists of Vancouver Island of which Saltspring Island was a dependency. (2) It was by canoe that Governor James Douglas explored the east coast of Vancouver Island as far north as Nanaimo in 1852. (3) The coal mining had just begun in Nanaimo and a shorter safe passage was needed for transportation of the coal and associated shipping to Victoria. In 1852, marine charting was limited to the route east of Galiano Island. Douglas was appalled at the inaccuracies of the existing maps of eastern Vancouver Island and urged the British Government in London to conduct a marine survey of the Canal de Arro (now Haro Strait). (4) This task was carried out by Capt. G. Richards, R.N., commanding H.M.S. PLUMPER. The waters adjacent to Saltspring Island being survey in 1858-59. (5) Express canoes were used by the Hudson's Bay Company to carry mail and company business between Victoria and Nanaimo. Salish canoes were a vital aspect of transportation for the first settlers on Saltspring Island when they arrived in 1859. The sloops and schooners that passed Saltspring Island going to and from Victoria and Nanaimo were unable to offload directly as there were no docking facilities on the Island. For a number of years, if weather permitted, such vessels would whistle for canoes to come alongside and pick up mail, passengers, or freight. It was by Salish canoe the family of Lewis Stark came ashore to Saltspring in 1860. Their livestock was lowered over the side of the schooner by means of ropes. (7) The Akerman family and their belongings used Salish canoes and paddlers to make the seven-mile trip from Saanich Peninsula to the mouth of the Fulford Creek in 1866. (8) Mrs. Griffiths, who with

her husband and father, operated an early orchard and nursery (Griffiths and Brinn) at the north end of the Island (present day Fernwood), regularly travelled by canoe to Victoria and Nanaimo with Captain Verygood, a Salish seaman. Captain Peatson, a brother of Capt. Verygood, paddled from Saltspring to Galiano once a month with settlers' mail. (9)

Edward Mallandaine, writing about his father's early days on Saltspring, noted that the occasional sailing schooner would call but the calls were very casual and not to be depended upon. (10) The lack of wharves and roads meant that early settlers acquired a canoe, skiff, raft, or dugout as quickly as they could. The poor transportation on-island and out to meet the steamers, or to reach Vancouver Island remained an enormous problem for many years.

Few of the first residents were seamen. Mallandaine's only effort at boat building ended with the craft sinking as soon as it was launched. (11) The Beddis family also had little boating experience when they arrived in the colony. They were blown off course and landed on San Juan Island only to be ordered off immediately by U.S. Customs officials. (12) The Norton brothers and later the Bittancourt brothers were all from Portugal. Probably all had some knowledge of the sea.

We know that Estalon Bittancourt had been freighting lumber by sea from a mill to Victoria before pre-empting on Saltspring. He owned one of the early sloops on the island, and regularly sailed to Vancouver Island with produce and later for stock for his store at Vesuvius Bay. (13)

Of the sloops and schooners in the early coasting trade, Captain John Walbran wrote the following: "the crews often experienced on their lonely voyages hairbreadth escapes from Indian attacks, and at other times, the attacks were lamentably successful. They often originated from the effect on the Indians of the ardent spirits which some of the coasters traded to them, in spite of all warnings, and many a white man's death can be directly traced to this illicit traffic." (14)

Several of the Hudson's Bay Company steamers were engaged in the coasting trade during

early years of settlement, namely, the BEAVER, the OTTER, LABOUCHERE, and ENTERPRISE. (15) The privately-owned sloop, ALARM, was another of the coasting traders. This vessel, 15 tons register, was built in Victoria in 1860. (16) She was owned by Capt. Hollins, whose father was one of the pre-emptors on Ganges Harbour. (17) The Victoria newspaper, The British Colonist, on March 12, 1864, recorded in the shipping section that the ALARM arrived from Nanaimo with coal, as did the sloop, EMILY HARRIS. Leaving for Nanaimo were the schooners, DISCOVERY and ROYAL CHARLIE. Also on that date, an announcement was made that the FIDELATOR was ready for sea. She had been built in England and had made the trip to the Pacific Northwest under sail in one hundred and seventy-five days. She became a famous coasting and jobbing steamship. In her next few years she was sunk off Clover Point, was raised and refurbished, and subsequently served under the British, American, and Russian flags before she was wrecked on a trip out of San Francisco in 1876. (18) In 1865 she was calling regularly at Vesuvius. Begg and Mallandaine approached their member in the House of Assembly in Victoria with the request that the FIDELATOR call at Beggsville (Fernwood) as well as Vesuvius. The matter was referred to officials of the Vancouver Coal Company at Nanaimo, who suggested that the residents cut a road through to the quarry north of Vesuvius. (19) The Vancouver Coal Company had bought out the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company's coal mining division in 1862. (2)) Possibly at that time, the FIDELATOR was under contract to the new owners. The Governor had no help for road building but he did suggest he might be able to arrange that the FIDELATOR call more often during the summer months. (21) The FIDELATOR was not long on the Victoria-Nanaimo run. In 1866 she plied the Victoria-Portland route and in 1867 she was on the Alaska run. (22)

A group of Nanaimo men owned and operated a coasting company. Their vessels were the schooners, NANAIMO PACKET, VICTORIA PACKET, ALPHA, and the sloop FLORA. (23) The ALPHA was the first boat to be built in Nanaimo; she was a trading schooner of 58 tons. She was often commanded by Edward Walker, one of the Nanaimo men that owned the company. He had come out to the Colony with the Hudson's Bay Company's marine division. He was quite likely the man of the same name who was an original pre-emptor at Beggsville. (24) Jack Dolholt, also of

Nanaimo, took passengers to and from Saltspring on his trips up the east coast route. (25) He was part owner of the LANGLEY and the VICTORIA PACKET.

Captain Joseph Spratt of Victoria operated the East Coast Mail Line. His steamers, WILSON G. HUNT, CARIBOO AND FLY, and MAUDE were among the early coastal traders serving the island. (26) It was on the MAUDE that the Stark family sailed to Nanaimo to their new home in the early seventies. "A mere tugboat but strong and seaworthy, carrying many a head of livestock as well as passengers." said Sylvie Stark. (27) The schooners ISABEL, SURPRISE, ALERT, REBECCA, and LEONADE also traded north of Victoria. (28) Reading the "Marine Intelligence" section of the early 1860's, one rarely sees Saltspring Island mentioned. Sometimes the steamer THAMES will arrive or the schooner REPORTER will be sailing. The canoe McLUTE cleared Victoria for Saltspring Island on June 24, 1864, two days after the ROYAL CHARLIE arrived from the Island. Much of the Victoria shipping came from Port Townsend, San Juan, Sooke, or Nanaimo.

The SIR JAMES DOUGLAS was launched in 1865 and was engaged in coastal freighting, carrying the mail, (29) and as an early lighthouse tender. (30) This vessel was in government service along the coast. She also carried settlers into new areas, and transported products to market. She helped many ship-wrecked vessels during the period 1865-73. (31) There was an immediate protest in July, 1867 when her fare was increased to $4.00 return -Victoria to Nanaimo, and the number of sailings were reduced. She was lengthened by twenty feet in 1883 and eventually replaced by the QUADRA. (32) The EMMA ran as a passenger boat on the same route in opposition to the SIR JAMES DOUGLAS in 1881. (33) She was built in Victoria and had a close association with Saltspring as her skipper, Captain Lucky, was a son-in-law of James McFadden, an early north end settler. It was the EMMA in 1874 that reported the loss of the PANTHER, an American clipper ship, off Narrow Island (now Wallace Island). (34)

In 1862 the Pioneer Shipping Line had been formed by Captain William Irving. (35) Mainly involved with the movement of men and supplies for the gold rushes of the Fraser and the Cariboo

until 1866, it survived the decline in shipping in the Pacific Northwest when the gold rushes slackened. (38) The company moved into the coastal trade. By 1883, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway again created a demand for shipping in British Columbia, now a Province of Canada. That year Capt. Irving's son, Captain John Irving, merged the Pioneer line with the marine interests of the Hudson's Bay Company. (37) The new organization also absorbed the East Coast Mail Line operated by Capt. Spratt of Victoria. The new shipping venture was named the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company. Its ships were the ENTERPRISE, PRINCESS LOUISE, and the OTTER from the Hudson's Bay Company, the R.P. RITHET, WILLIAM IRVING, RELIANCE, and the YOSEMITE from the Pioneer Line. The WILSON G. HUNT and the MAUDE came from Capt. Spratt's East Coast Mail Line. Later on the PREMIER, the ISLANDER, DANUBE, SARDONYZ and AMUR were added to the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company fleet. (38)

Opposition on the east coast route soon sprang up. The People's Steam Navigation Company was formed by investors from Victoria, Chemainus, and Nanaimo in 1884. (42) The group purchased the AMELIA for the run. She was a wooden sidewheel steamer built in 1863 for the Sacremento River trade. (43) The AMELIA was put in opposition to the ENTERPRISE. (44) The ENTERPRISE couldn't keep up to the AMELIA so she was replaced by the newer R.P. RITHET, another wooden sternwheel steamer which had been built for the Pioneer Line. (45) The stiff competition dropped the Victoria-Nanaimo return fare to 25 cents. The price war continued for a year until the C.P.N.C. withdrew from the route in return for 25% of the gross receipts of the AMELIA. Business fell dramatically when the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway commenced operations in 1886. The AMELIA struggled on until 1889 when her walking beam broke with extensive damage. (43) She was put up for auction, sold for $1,800.00, and added to the C.P.N.C. fleet shortly after, only to prevent her running in opposition. She never sailed again. (44)

The lack of wharves on Saltspring was a great hardship for the early settlers. It was not until 1872 that the Government wharf was built at Vesuvius Bay. (45) Another was built at Burgoyne Bay at about the same date, as these are the only wharves mentioned in the municipal by-laws which

were in effect on Saltspring from 1873-83. Roads were almost non-existent. As late as 1871, John Patton Booth, a member of the Provincial Government for Cowichan riding, of which Saltspring was a part, asked for $1,000.00, “to make a road connecting the different settlements together, some portions of the inhabitants debarred from all use of the steamer as a means of conveying freight for want of a road”. (46)

Great changes were in the offing in 1885. The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed and the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway was completed the following year. Vancouver was to replace Victoria as the major port in western Canada. All these events were to change transportation patterns affecting Saltspring forever.

FOOTNOTES - TRANSPORTATION - 1859-85

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Smouat

NATIVE PEOPLE

Two boys of the Tsimshian tribe, living at the mouth of the Nass River, saw an eagle circling overhead. They tried to shoot the bird with their bows and arrows but were not successful. Some men came to help the boys. Unbeknownst to the tribe, this bird was the King of the Eagles. He circled lower and lower, and was still not harmed. Suddenly he grasped the biggest in his talons and lifted him into the air. The second man reached up and clutched the ankles of the one being carried aloft. He, too, was lifted up. So it was repeated, as spectators tried to pull back their companions. Soon the eagle, with his human chain, was flying into the sun. When the King of the Eagles was over the ocean, he flipped his captives free. As they fell, they formed a chain of islands. The largest became Saltspring, the next one was Galiano, and so on. Finally, the smallest boys became rocky islets. (#1)

This is a Salish legend of the formation of the Gulf Islands. For these indigenous people, the Islands were part of their territory for hundreds, if not thousands, of years.

Geologists tell us otherwise. Their interpretation of the formation of the Gulf Islands shows a somewhat slower process. The Islands, they say, are the peaks of a partially submerged range of mountains in the Coastal Trench, lying between Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia. Like much of North America, the islands have been scoured by a succession of ice ages. The last glaciation receded about 11,000 to 12,000 years ago. (#2). Without the weight of ice, the land rose. Marine deposits on the Island are found 100 metres above the present coastline. Erosion has exposed much of the bedrock at higher elevations and left mixed glacial till in the terraces and in the narrow valleys. (#3)

Saltspring is approximately 26 km long and has an average width of 9 kms, comprising an area

of 18,555 ha (#4). The Island is roughly divided into thirds by deep bays. The southernmost third is the most mountainous. The Island's highest peak, Mt. Bruce, 698 m., is in this area, as is Mt. Tuam, 630 m. The central third of the island has Baynes Peak, 595 m., more commonly known as Mt. Maxwell. The largest number of lakes are in this central portion. The northernmost third is generally much lower in elevation, and has the largest lake, St. Mary, 182 ha in size. It also has the salt springs for which the Island was named.

Saltspring lies south of the forty-ninth parallel in the rain shadow of the Olympic Peninsula and the mountains of Vancouver Island, creating a cool, Mediterranean climate of generally dry summers and mild, humid winters. (#5)

The depth of some of the 130 registered middens on Saltspring give an indication of the great length of time native people have tapped the resources, and the wide variety of food they harvested both from the sea and the land. There was an incredible diversity of food-gathering activities around the island until the end of the 19th century. Herring were raked, herring spawn collected, ling cod, halibut, clams, sea urchins, oysters, seals, and sea lions were taken by both the Saanich and Cowichan bands of the Coast Salish people. (#6) Deer and grouse were plentiful, and in Fulford Harbour duck hunts were an annual event (#7). Vegetable foods were obtained on the Island too. Camass beds belonged to different family groups and the roots were dug each May. The camass season only lasted three weeks, but an energetic family could fill 10 to 12 bags with the roots during that period. (#8) Berries were gathered here and fern roots dug for winter food. Some food gathering by Salish people still continues, as Cowichan Band members come to various sites for clams. Rushes from St. Mary Lake for weaving baskets and mats (#8A) have been gathered by Cowichan people in "living" memory.

At one time all the Gulf Islands had villages of greater or lesser size according to Diamond Jenness. (#9). A more recent authority on Coast Salish life, Wayne Suttles, gives the following information: "A Salish man, half Active Pass, half Semiahmoo, gathered the people from Fulford

Harbour, Ganges Harbour, Active Pass, Pender Island, and Stuart Island and formed a new village in Saanichton Bay on Saanich Peninsula. This village (called "Tsa-aout" by Indian Affairs) was established early in the nineteenth century." (#10) His informant said this happened before the building of Victoria (1843). One Saanich Indian, about forty years ago, told Suttles that his grandfather had a longhouse at or near the head of Ganges Harbour. (#11)

Why the Island villages were abandoned is not known. Sudden Indian depopulation by disease was not uncommon with the coming of the Europeans. A possible cause of Island village abandoment could have been a smallpox epidemic known to have occurred as close as Saanich in 1780. (#12). Venereal disease, tuberculosis, and typhus had also been introduced by the newcomers, with devastating results. (#13). An anthropologist in 1972, when interviewing Cowichan Indians, was given another reason. He was told that the exposed Gulf Island settlements had been abandoned because of fierce inter-tribal wars. These battles between Salish and Kwakiutl people dated from about 1790 to 1850, and resulted in many deaths, kidnappings, and taking of slaves. (#14).

Before the dissolution of Gulf Island villages, there appears to have been an, as yet, unexplained population shift about 1500 years ago. At that time there was a dramatic change in body ornamentation. This could have been the result of any number of factors, such as another tribe moving into the area, disease, famine, natural catastrophe, etc. (#15)

Relatively little archeological work has been done on Saltspring Island. One fairly extensive dig at Long Harbour was directed by Dave Johnstone of Simon Fraser University in 1987 and 1988. The oldest cultural components dated from 3970 +/- 60 to 2300 +/- 50 B.P. (B.P. stands for "Before Present"). Hearth features and post holes were apparent at the greatest depth but not at higher levels of a later date. Post holes would indicate long house construction rather than the more temporary seasonal shelters. (#16) An archeological salvage excavation was carried out in 1973 on a property in Ganges Harbour, prior to house construction. This dig was carried out under the auspices of the Archeological Sites Advisory Board of B.C. The site was estimated to date from 2400 B.P. to 1690

B.P. (#17)

A number of pre-historic artifacts remain on Saltspring Island. The petroglyph at Drummond Park in Fulford Harbour was one of three brought up from low tide mark during construction of the Cudmore Log Dump in 1963. Local tradition has it that these boulders stood on the seaward side of a now-submerged village site in Fulford Harbour. (#18) Saanich informants told Suttles there were two villages in Fulford Harbour at one time. (#19) At Parminter Point on the west coast of the Island is a petroglyph boulder which would appear to have stood upright at one time. The ten-foot column has been storm-damaged and now lies in three pieces. (#20). Jenness reported seeing stone circles on open rocky areas of the Island. (#21) Local Salish people interviewed by Jenness had no knowledge of their use or origin. There are a number of extensive private collections of artifacts held by local residents. These were recovered in routine farm cultivation, road work, house excavation, or were exposed by wave action over the years. (#21A)

No effort was made to obtain title of the land from the Salish people before the first settlers arrived in 1859. (#22) A small reserve of 43 acres was established at Fulford Harbout in 1877. (#23). For many years a Coast Salish man by the name of Zalt Zalt lived there. He made his living selling fish to the C.P.R. ships when they docked at Beaver Point. Some mystery is attached to his and his wife's disappearance and presumed drowning while on a canoe trip. At the time he was saving for a potlatch and was thought to have valuables in his canoe. The empty canoe washed up on Portland Island and neither body was ever recovered. (#24)

NATIVE PEOPLE

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Perry

SALT SPRING ISLAND HISTORY

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT - 1859 - 1885

Although not officialy recorded, it is probable that the first act of public worship on Salt Spring Island occurred on the first Sunday in August 1859. A group of 30 black people from the United States had been offered a place of refuge on this unhabited Island. They camped on the beach at Vesuvius Bay and here they spontaneously asked God's blessing on their endeavours. (#14.p.3)

Sponsored by the first Governor of B.C., James Douglas, the next group to arrive on the Island contained Mr. John Patton Booth, who was to become the Island's Member of the Legislative Assembly Parliament, and Mr. H. Sampson, formerly an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Rupert. Also in this group were Henry Lineker, John Copeland, J.D. Cusheon, Jonathan Begg, and two more black men, John Jones and his brother. They arrived on the Island on a schooner called the Nanaimo Packet which was sailing between Victoria and the newly discovered coal mines at Nanaimo.

In those early days, the first ministers came to the Island from Nanaimo, which was the centre for the Methodist Mission District. On the evening of February 21, 1861 Reverend Ebenezer Robson preached a sermon "in the house of a coloured man to about 20 persons, all coloured except 3 and one of them is married to a coloured man". (#29.p.127)

Rev. Robson left a precious legacy of his diary, in which he records the difficulties and rewards of his experiences on the Island. He travelled the 40 miles from Nanaimo by Indian canoe and spent his nights and had his meals at various settlers' homes. Walking about 18 miles a day, Rev.

Robson visited most of the houses at Central Settlement, of which 4 were inhabited by white people, and the rest, 17 in all, by coloured people. He was a humble man who loved the people he served. Louis and sylvia Stark, who were among the first of the coloured settlers, recalled that when he stayed with them he helped with the farm chores and slept on a straw mattress on the floor. (#16.p.5) He also visited the 7 houses on the East side of the Island, going around to them by canoe.

During his first trip around the Island there were gale winds and torrential rains, forcing the Reverend and his frightened Indian crew on shore. There they camped for the night with only mats to sleep on, and a shawl for cover. (#29.p.128)

From the beginnings of settlement the need for regular religious services had been keenly felt by many of the settlers, especially those with wives and children. (#26.p.189) The first public meeting house was an old log cabin situated at Central Settlement on 100 acres set apart by the Governor of the Province for schools and other public purposes. The first service was held here by Reverend Robson about June 22, 1862. (#27.p.8) this cabin was used until it was no longer fit for public worship, and the congregation had outgrown it, after which they moved into the larger and more comfortable original schoolhouse.

For the next few years Reverend Robson continued to hold services on a “when possible” basis, averaging about once a month, with Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians all worshipping together. After he moved to another mission the Methodist preachers from the Nanaimo mission district carried on the difficult task of ministering to the Island. These men were Edward White, 1863-66 and 1868-71, Ephraim Evans, 1866-68, Cornelius Bryant, 1871-71, and Thomas Derrick, 1873-74 (#29.p.126)

In 1875 a far reaching change was made when the Salt Spring mission field was separated from the Nanaimo district, joined with Cowichan and Maple Bay and called the Cowichan & Salt Spring Island Circuit. This made the canoe trips much shorter, for instead of coming from Nanaimo,

they could now come across Sansum Narrows from Maple Bay to Burgoyne Bay. Services were now being held twice a month in the original schoolhouses at the North End, Burgoyne Bay and Beaver Point. This continued until 1887 when the first Methodist church was built down at Burgoyne Bay.

In 1859, to enable the new colony of Columbia, as it was then called, to be ministered to by the Church of England, a society known as the Columbia Mission was formed in London, England. The Reverend George Hills was consecrated as Bishop of the new Diocese, which extended over the whole province for the next 20 years when the Vancouver Island diocese was separated from mainland B.C.

At about the same time as the Methodist missionary, Ebenezer Robson was conducting services in the log cabin around 1862, the Church of England added Salt Spring Island to the Ecclesiastical Diocese of Saanich as an "occasional mission" under the direction of the Reverend R. Lowe. He visited the Island under difficult conditions and held church services whenever the opportunity arose, and under any available shelter.

In 1869 the Church of England directed Reverend W.S. Reece, resident missionary to Cowichan, to hold monthly services on Salt Spring Island. (#33.p.23) Reverend Reece visited the Island and found 3 principal settlements, Vesuvius Bay, Beggsville, and Burgoyne Bay. (#13.p.6) He also met 10 British subjects and many children. While on the Island, he conducted a service for 16 persons, many of whom expressed a keen desire for a weekly service, and to have a resident minster. For the time being, however, they had to be content with quarterly visits to the Island by Rev. Reece, Rev. Holmes, Rev. Gregory and other ministers from the Diocese. (#20.p.29) Although transportation and communication difficulties presented some real hardships, the religious needs of the settlers were ministered to in all seasons of the year. It was not until many years later, in 1891 that the first Anglican clergyman, 23 year old Reverend J. Belton Haslam, came to live on the Island to minister to the growing population. It was in this year that it was decided to build St. Marks

Anglican Church, which was dedicated on May 15, 1892 by the Right Reverend Dr. Hills, first Bishop of British Columbia.

The first regularly appointed Catholic missionary to the Gulf Islands was Father Donckele, who was based at the Saanich Mission. His burning desire was to bring to God those that were most remote from the established churches. He visited his flock by rowboat from Cowichan - the arduous trips sometimes lasting for two weeks. He was helped and enocuraged in his new mission by Father Peter Rondeault, a missionary who worked among the often hostile Cowichan Indians.

Father Donckele said the first Mass on Salt Spring Island in 1878 in a private chapel located in a top floor room in the E.J. Bittancourt home. A Portuguese family, the Bittancourts were the first storekeepers, with a store at Vesuvius. The priest visited here about once a month, even after the dedication of St. Pauls in 1885. (#18.p.61) In 1898/99 the Bittancourts built a family chapel at Vesuvius. This building, now a private residence, still stands.

Most of the Catholic population, at that time a mixture of Indian, Kanakas and white, lived at the south end of the Island in the Fulford area where more people lived than in any other place on the Island. For that reason, it was decided to build the first Catholic church down there. A non-Catholic, Mr. Sheppard, donated approximately 5 acres of land for this purpose.

The building of St. Paul's Church began in 1880, and much of the work was done by members of the community, both Catholic and non-Catholic. Some of the materials such as stained glass windows, the door and the bell, came from a church in Cowichan called the Stone Church, or the Butter Church. This had been built by Father Peter Rondeault of the pioneer Cowichan Mission, partly from the proceeds of selling butter from his farm. When his church was no longer being used, he gave some of the materials from it to his colleague, Father Donckele. These welcome gifts were transported across stormy Sansum Narrows by Indian canoes to Burgoyne Bay and thence to Fulford over crude roads by stone boat drawn by a team of oxen. (#6.p.60) The local joke had it that the

church was built by robbing Peter to pay Paul, when the fittings from Father Peter Rondeault's church were put into St. Paul's at Fulford.

Under the direction of James Mahoney, a pioneer of Genoa Bay, some of the people who worked hard on st. Paul's during those early years of the 1880's were the E.J. Bittancourts from Vesuvius, Joseph and Ted Akerman, John Pappenburger from Beaver Point, John King, John Maxwell, Dick Purser, Michael Gyves, Sr. of Burgoyne Valley, some of the Cowichan Indians who had helped to build the Stone Church, and some of the Kanakas of the Fulford community.

It was a proud day on May 10, 1885 when the Right Reverend John Baptist Brondel, then Bishop of Victoria, solemnly blessed and dedicated the Church of St. Paul at Fulford Harbour. (#19.p.61) Several inter-marriages between the early male settlers and Indian women were celebrated here and blessed by both the church and the community.

As well as serving as a place of worship and a place where friends could gather, St. Paul's was placed on the early nautical maps. Its strategic location at the foot of Fulford Harbour made it a nautical landmark, guiding seamen through the Gulf Islands.

The much loved Father Donckele was sent to a new ministry in 1890, but remained in the hearts and minds of his flock. In later years, St. Paul's was faced with rock, inside and out. A mural of the resurrected Christ is now behind the altar and covers the stained glass window which was brought with such difficulty from the "Butter Church".

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A HISTORY OF AN ISLAND CALLED SALT SPRING

AGRICULTURE: Farms, Farmers and Farming

1859 - 1885

Morton B. Stratton
August 15, 1991
537-5896

I. HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE ON SALT SPRING ISLAND-- GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Edward Mallandaine in his British Columbia Directory, 1887 says of Salt Spring Island: "It will be always remembered as absolutely the first agricultural settlement in the then Colony of Vancouver [Island]." (1) The pioneer farmers of the Saanich Peninsula and the Cowichan Valley might have quibbled with this assertion but in any case from the day the first party (including Mallandaine) set foot on shore at Vesuvius (2) until after World War II Salt Spring remained almost exclusively a farming community. There was some fine sandstone exported from the northwest coast of the island between Vesuvius and Southey Point. (3) And several farmers dreamed of striking it rich from gold, silver, coal and even salt. (4) But it was not to be. Nor in fact were any real fortunes made from farming. Eighty per cent of Salt Spring is rugged, rocky mountainside and the twenty per cent of the land suitable for agriculture was mostly scattered in little pockets in low-lying areas under one hundred metres where soil had accumulated since the retreat of the glaciers. (5) Farming on a large scale was simply not possible. Given the limitations set by the environment, pioneering especially was not easy. Reverend Wilson was quite right in commenting in 1895: "For a long time life on the island was of a very rough character, and they had much to contend with." (6)

In a perceptive essay on "Early Days on Saltspring Island" A.F. Flucke perhaps best sets the tone for a discussion of agriculture and the farming life on our rugged, wooded island.

> "Saltspring Island is simply the story of pioneer agricultural settlement, from the first somewhat unenthusiastic pre-emptions of unsurveyed land by would-be settlers whose limited resources would supply them with nothing better through long years of struggle with a rugged terrain that yielded only grudgingly to the axe and plough, and an insecurity of life and livelihood that gave rise to many tensions and frictions to an island community, self-respecting and in many ways self-sufficient. It is the story of determined farmers, in a period when contact with the outside world meant a struggle of a day or more over trackless hills to the nearest boat-landing and governmental authority was distant and not too interested in a polyglot of squabbling settlers and their problems, who seized their little parcels of land, endured solitude, sometimes privation, and not infrequently danger from animal and human enemies, and who finally established themselves in a firm agricultural security....Taken as a whole, the natural resources of the island symbolize solid mediocrity. There was a little of this and a little of that--a few minerals, a few fertile areas, a little building-stone, a little marketable timber--but no outstanding blessings that could bring rewards disproportionate to the labour involved. The story of Saltspring, like that of many another pioneer settlement, is the story of sheer hard work, redeemed only by the equable climate and the natural beauty of the island." (7)

And for the first two or three decades there was very little time even for the enjoyment of the

climate and scenery. But by the 1880's a few farmers who were either more tenacious or who had hit upon the more favoured locations were well established. Markets were opening up for their produce, neighbours were moving in and a sense of community was building. If ever there were "good old days" on Salt Spring it was in the years from about 1885 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Immigrants, many well heeled, moved in, agricultural output expanded rapidly (for a time Salt Spring was the third most important fruit producing area in the province), the amenities of life developed--roads, schools, churches, agricultural societies, a resident doctor, frequent steamer service to the outside world. Log houses gave way to more comfortable and stylish frame dwellings; big barns were erected, some farm machinery was imported and the Ganges Creamery laid the basis for a profitable dairy industry. The Jersey herds scattered through the island must have been a pretty sight indeed. But it was not to last.

The departure of the younger men to serve their country in World War I disrupted the relatively prosperous rural economy. Normal routines were broken. The two agricultural societies almost suspended their activities and felt obliged after the war to join forces in order to survive. The dislocations caused by war, the advent of mechanization (tractors, the automobile), the introduction of improvements like electricity, the opening of easier contacts with the outside world and, of course, the trauma of the Great Depression of the 1930's and World War II combined to profoundly alter the character of life on the island. The pioneer days were perhaps gone by 1920; (8) what was left of the "good old days" disappeared forever during the Depression and World War II. What emerged was vibrant and exciting but very different--it was no longer the semi-isolated rural farm community of the years preceding.

II. SETTLEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL - 1859-1885

1. Areas of Settlement - The Farmers Move In

The basic pattern of settlement on Salt Spring was quite apparent by the 1880's. Almost

simultaneously clusters of farms developed in the North End and the South End, quite isolated from each other. Farmers, seeking the richer bottom lands, almost entirely avoided the plateau area between the top of Lee's Hill and Ganges Hill. But even within the North End and the South End discrete communities developed, separated by hills or mountains covered with dense and almost trackless forest. In this early period communication between these isolated areas of settlement was usually easier with the outside world (Victoria, Sidney, Cowichan, Nanaimo or the mainland) than with each other.

It was the collapse of the Fraser River gold boom which brought the first settlers almost in desperation to the isolated and rugged Gulf Islands, including Salt Spring. Many were in semi-indigent circumstances and with no farming experience or equipment. Having failed to make it in the gold fields, perhaps they could at least survive by farming. The years after 1858 were traumatic ones for Victoria and its hinterland. A sleepy little town of three hundred people had been ununddated in 1858 by nearly twenty-five thousand men of many nationalities--British, Australian, Canadian, German, etc. From their makeshift tent city they poured over to the mainland avid to make their fortune in gold. But the bonanza was short-lived and there was an exodus in 1859 back to Victoria and down to the United States. A few, however, chose to remain and attempt a go at farming in the Saanich peninsula, the Cowichan and Chemainus valleys, and the Gulf Islands. Those who could afford the official price of 1 pound per acre for land settled nearer Victoria; those who couldn't put pressure on the government to establish a makeshift pre-emption system which permitted them to settle without even an initial payment on unsurveyed land at Chemainus and Salt Spring. It was understood that when the land was properly surveyed they would be expected to pay the going rate (as it turned out land on Salt Spring in the 19th century cost just $1.00 per acre.) (9)

The first of this rag-tag band included some negroes who, unlike the others, were not on the rebound from the gold rush but rather were seeking escape from discrimination and segregation in California in the freer air of the Colony of Vancouver Island. Possibly because the North End was more readily accessible, through Vesuvius Bay, via the established steamer service between Victoria

and the coal mining and agricultural centre of Nanaimo the very first of these settlers arrived in the northwest of the island rather than in the South End. Most pre-empted land in the deep-soiled and fertile Vesuvius-Central Settlement-Ganges Harbour upland corridor. Louis and Sylvia Stark (1860), ex-slaves, settled for a decade on the higher land north of Vesuvius Harbour. John Patton Booth, a young bachelor from the Orkneys, in time Salt Spring's leading citizen, chose land along either side of Booth Canal (1859). Many of the negro families were scattered around St. Mary's Lake from near Broadwell mountain on the west (Abraham Copeland 1860), to south of the lake (W.L. Harrison (1860), and east of the lake (Armstead Buckner 1859). John Norton (1860), one of four Portuguese who came to Salt Spring, developed a fine farm on the gentle slope leading down toward Ganges Harbour. On the harbour itself the only early settler was Henry Lineker and his wife (the first white woman on the island) 1859. John C. Jones (1860), never much of a farmer, but much respected as the first school teacher, took land just south of John Norton. Parting from the others a few of the first group of settlers struck out over the mountain ridge north of St. Mary's Lake and established the detached but for many years rather flourishing Begg's Settlement on the gentle northeast facing slope above Trincomali Channel. The leader was Jonathon Begg (1859), accompanied by Henry Sampson (1859), an ex-Hudson Bay Co. employee at Fort Rupert, Edward Walker and others. Between this area, later called Fernwood, and Long Harbour on the ridge dividing them Hiram Whims (1860), one of the negro group, established an upland farm in an area later settled also by Willis Stark and his mother, Sylvia. In the late 1860s the initial settlement on the North End was pretty well established after Estalon Bittancourt (born in the Azores) developed a farm, stone quarry and store on Vesuvius Bay, Louis Stark and family moved to the northeast shore of Ganges Harbour opposite Goat Island (1869) and the Kanaka (Hawaiian), Daniel Fredison, pre-empted on Mansell Road at the head of Long Harbour. (10) For several decades access to the outside world for all of these settlers, difficult though it was for the Fernwood farmers, was by way of Vesuvius.

The success of these early arrivals in ferreting out the best potential farm land in this heavily forested island, crossed only by deer tracks and Indian trails, seems in retrospect almost uncanny. But those who moved onto the South End from the early 1860s to the mid-80s seemed equally as

fortunate as those to the north. Of course all of the island was covered with old-growth forest and on the deep alluvium of the Burgoyne Valley stretching from Burgoyne Bay to Fulford Harbour, where giant trees 6'-7' in diameter were not unusual, (11) the aspect must in fact have been rather open, not unlike Cathedral Grove on Vancouver Island today.

The first settler in the Burgoyne Valley, John Maxwell (1860), unlike most of the other first generation pioneers, both made and saved money on the gold fields. It was to the almost flat west end of the valley at the foot of Mt. Maxwell that he and his partner, John Lunney, brought their herd of Texas Longhorns and established the first and only cattle ranch on Salt Spring Island. Coming from Victoria a couple of years later the young bachelor market gardener, Joseph Akerman (1862), chose his pre-emption on either side of Fulford Creek about midway up the valley. Just down from him in 1864 a fellow countryman of John Maxwell, the young Irishman, Michael Gyves, pre-empted among the giant cedars. In that same year Fred Foord was attracted to the pretty basin surrounding the lake bearing his name up on the plateau at the head of Fulford Creek. Influenced perhaps by the mild southerly exposure of the south shore of the island, Theodore Trage (1860), future orchardist and graduate in horticulture of the University of Heidelberg, Germany, established his pre-emption between Reginald Hill and Fulford Harbour. About a decade later Henry Ruckle (1872) appropriated the Beaver Point area for himself and established what has become the oldest family farm in British Columbia. Equally isolated was the farm established in the same year to the west of Isabella Point by Paul Kahana (later Tahouney), the first of the Kanakas who moved up from San Juan Island. And a world unto itself, connected only by sea to the Cowichan Valley, was the sheep ranch established by the Pimbury brothers (1874) on the rocky western flanks of Mt. Bruce and Mt. Tuam. (12)

In conclusion, mention should be made of some important pioneer families who moved onto Salt Spring late in the early formative period--the Alexander McLennan family (1882) down towards Beaver Point, Charles Horel on Lee’s Hill overlooking the Maxwell property, and in the North End, William and Henry Caldwell (1884) in the Walker Hook area and on Mansell Road, Joel Broadwell

(1882), west of St. Mary's Lake, Henry Steens (1884) north of Central and Samuel Beddis (1884), quite isolated from everyone, well down the south shore of Ganges Harbour near the outlet of Cusheon Creek. (13) By 1885 much of the best land with a potential for agriculture had been pre-empted. Which is not to say, however, that it had been developed. In fact, as of a decade later, only about 6% of the area claimed had been cleared. Which led the Minister of Agriculture to complain 1892: "there is too great a disposition on the part of farmers and others to acquire large tracts of land and keep them locked up." (14) And again in 1897, "There is very little government land available for pre-emption." (15) But that is another story; for the time being it was first come, first served as Salt Spring pioneer families laid claim to areas which they then, through endless labour, slowly fashioned into farms.

2. Clearing the Land and Getting Established

"It meant slow hard work to clear a homestead from the forest," says Margaret Shaw Walter, daughter of a Galiano pioneer, "felling trees, burning them, digging among the stumps to plant potatoes, with vegetables and different grains; getting some fowls and later on, cattle by degrees." (16) Having picked a site for the cabin, often at the bottom of a hill near a spring or stream on the edge of a future field, work began. As described by the Caldwells some years later: "The first step was to cut a circular clearing out of the forest. This clearing was near a water supply and was three hundred feet in diameter so the cabin could be erected out of danger of falling trees. In some cases the tree trunks were seven feet in diameter, making the use of a saw impractical. In a case like that the settlers drilled two wide holes in the log [tree] with an auger, these holes enabled them to set fires inside the trees and burn them into sections that were then piled around the stumps and burned leaving a deposit of ash." (17) This same technique was in general use. On Mayne Island for example, the early pioneers reported, "Without expensive saws, the easiest method to clear land was to bore holes with an auger into the centers of the large fir and cedar trees, then fill the holes with hot coals." (18) Of course, saws were used too. Young John Beddis in his Diary makes repeated references to both methods. "Sawed down trees," "Sawed trees," "Sawed and bored trees," "Bored logs."

And of course, almost everything that came down had to be burned. Only a little was saved for houses, barns and snake fences. A heavy pall of smoke must have drifted over Salt Spring Island for generations as this same slashing and burning to clear the forest is described by Philips in a pamphlet published in 1902 by the Farmers' Institute. "The felling of timber...is done in winter and the trees being left to dry through the summer, a fire is run over them in the fall; the logs that remain being cut up, piled and burnt, the land is then seeded down to grass or broken up for a first crop of potatoes." (19) Only in the mid-20s at a time when young Charles Horel helped Jim Akerman "slash and burn" a field on the island, was this method made illegal. (20)

Having cleared an area of trees, farming among the stumps could at last begin. The first crop grown was usually potatoes or peas. An early pioneer on North Pender recalled: "The first ploughing was awful ferny; there was an awful lot of bracken in the fields. So the first ploughing we'd sow peas and we'd feed them to the pigs in the pods." (21) Or potatoes could be planted, even if the farmer had too many stumps in the field for it to be ploughed or he could not yet afford the cost of oxen and a plough. We are told that Louis Stark on his pre-emption above Vesuvius "grafted and planted fruit trees among the stumps" and "soon had enough land cleared to raise grain for their own use." (22) Grain was grown for the cattle, chickens and turkeys needed for survival in the early years.

Clearing the land was an endless task and one shared by the wives who were soon brought into the wilderness. Joseph Akerman worked for a year on his pre-emption and then went to Victoria and found his bride newly arrived on a "bride ship". Henry Ruckle had thirty acres cleared within two years but waited another three before marrying. Trage, Maxwell and Gyves all soon married Indian girls. In modern parlance this was an equal opportunity society. We are told by Bea Hamilton that Michael Gyves and his Indian wife worked together to clear the land, with oxen and stone boat hauling off tons of rock and pulling stumps. A modern historian, discussing the exploitation of immigrant women in Canada has this to say: "Even worse was the life of the immigrant women homesteading in the West. Often she worked side by side with her husband, clearing the land,

removing stumps, building fences, seeding, threshing or milking. While she alone was responsible for the children and the household chores." (23)

The clearing of stumps, so often referred to, was a task that spread over many years; even, as early photos show, after more modern frame homes stood among the stumps. In the earliest days (until the 1880's) there were no horses on the island, but every farmer, when he could afford it, had a yoke of oxen. Valued incidentally for their milk, but also because they were better suited to the job as Margaret Walter explains: "Then when stumps of trees were fewer, a yoke of oxen to plough between them, a task quite unsuited to horses, which when brought up suddenly by buried roots might make even a panicky effort to carry on, which, likely as not, would mean an overturned or broken plough, whereas the patient oxen would halt till matters were adjusted." (24)

Although statistics are not available, clearing the land and establishment of relatively self-sufficient farms must have proceeded fairly rapidly. The Victoria British Colonist reported in 1860 that seventy resident landholders were hard at work clearing, ploughing and fencing. Many had a considerable acreage planted with barley, oats and potatoes, and were engaged in raising cattle, pigs and other smaller stock which would be likely to find a ready sale in the Victoria market. (25) In 1864 the Colonist "guessed" the number of cattle on the island would exceed five hundred. (26) And a decade later Ashdown Green, who had just completed a preliminary survey of the South End for the government, noted in his Diary that in the course of his work he had seen 225 cattle and 148 pigs. The largest cattle herd was Maxwell's (100 head), but the Sparrow brothers had 66, Henry Ruckle 17, Theodore Trage 13, and Meinersdorf 12. The Pimbury brothers on the west side had 350 sheep--the only sheep he noted. (27)

The reference above to the Victoria market is important--for almost from the beginning the homesteaders were obliged to look beyond their lonely claims to the outside world. None were

entirely self-sufficient. Staples such as flour, sugar, tea and salt had to be bought, as did some hardware and hand tools. So too initially with seed potatoes and peas and the almost indispensable oxen. Items as different as nails, coal oil, otameal, flower seeds, shoes and blankets had to be purchased from the store. (All these items are mentioned in young John Beddis' Diary). Bea Hamilton rightly remarks": "The virgin land had to pay for the labor put into her, and it had to make returns almost immediately to enable the farmer to carry on." (Emphasis mine). (28) Fortunately for Salt Spring farmers, almost unlimited markets existed in Victoria and Nanaimo for all the surplus they could produce. Apparently the cities grew faster than the agricultural infrastructure around them.

For most farmers, sale to the markets was a small-scale business--some small fruits, vegetables or potatoes, perhaps some chickens and pigs. At the South End, we are told, some tobacco as well, and beef. John Maxwell, the only real capitalist at the time, was shipping about twenty head of cattle a month. In the early 60s he had imported 100 Longhorns, bringing them up from Oregon to Victoria, then over the newly cut 5' wide Goldstream Trail (1861) to Cowicahn and by boat and a swim to his beach on the bay. (29) But Maxwell was an exception. More typical was Theodore Trage who rowed his strawberries and other small fruits over to Victoria. (30) Michael Gyves has the distinction of being the first exporter of an industrial commodity from the South End--cedar shakes made from the huge 7' diameter trees that had attracted him to his pre-emption in Burgoyne Valley.

Missing from the list of early exports are the tree fruits which by the 1880s and 1890s became the mainstay of the island economy. But fruit trees to produce fruit for home consumption certainly were planted from the earliest days. Recall the reference to Louis Stark planting fruit trees among the stumps. Perhaps he was one of the first customers of Jonathan Begg. The year after settling in the Fernwood area in 1859 Begg not only opened a store and post office but also advertized that he had "commenced a Nursery of Fruit and Ornamental Trees," an operation carried on soon by "Brinn and Griffiths" (in some sources "Brian and Griffin"). (31) Demand must have been good on the island. The Colonist in 1864 reported: "The nursery for fruit trees, now in the hands of Brian and Griffin, may safely be set down as the largest in the whole colony of Vancouver Island." (32)

The same notice in the Colonist also reported that "everything was progressing very favorably on the Island." Perhaps so, but it might be well to qualify this by considering some of the pests and problems with which the farmers had to contend. Some of the pests of the 1860s and 70s were not unlike those of the 1890s or even the 1990s. One of many complaints registered about deer was that to the Department of Agriculture by George Dukes when he reported: "Deer are troublesome, destroying everything, even digging potatoes." (33) In the days before wire fences they could be much more damaging than at present. Samuel Beddis, for example, reported five hundred young fruit trees destroyed by deer in five years. (34) Farmers were still complaining about deer at the turn of the century, as we are today.

The same with the loveable but pesky birds. Speaking of robins and jays, Rev. Wilson commented later: "They consume the cherries, pick apples off the trees and the potatoes out of the ground and do all the damage they can to the grain crops." (35) The pheasants were even more damaging to the grain.

The predations of cougars (panthers), wolves and bears were both more unbearable and more short-lived than the problems with birds. Unbearable, because they not only kept Martha Akerman awake at night but also because they threatened the farmers' livestock. Summarizing and perhaps exaggerating the problem later, Wilson wrote in 1895: "Panthers and wolves in those days swarmed on the island and prevented any attempt at keeping cattle or sheep ... There were also a few bears at that time on the island, and they would come around the ranchers' log huts and kill their pigs at their very doors ..." (36) Perhaps the Starks had told him how the bears preyed on their young pigs at the Vesuvius farm. But the problem was relatively short lived simply because it was so serious. Again in Wilson's words: "... a determined war was waged against them by owners of livestock, and by shooting and trapping and the use of poison they were after awhile exterminated ..." (37) And if a panther swam over, farmers took up a collection and the government paid $7.50 and the hunters soon dispatched it. In his Parish & Home magazine for September 1897 Wilson says that the last wolves

disappeared in the late 70's and that the last bear, a big fellow that had killed 6 fat hogs, was shot by J.P. Booth about 1883. (38)

But the matter of pests was the least of the farmers' problems. Marauding and mischievous Indians were especially troublesome in the 1860's; inadequate facilities for transportation of produce to market was a perennial source of complaint for decades, and there was, of course, the weather. To read the promotional literature and other testimonials from the nineteenth century one could hardly imagine weather to have been a problem. As early as 1865 Matthew Macfie, five years a resident on the coast and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, wrote in his book Vancouver Island and British Columbia that the climate was "genial, productive, and solubrious .... Showers are rare during the summer, and when they do fall they are accommodating enough to come at night when noone is inconvenienced by their descent .... In Vancouver Island spring is later [than in England], summer drier, autumn longer, and winter milder." (39) Macfie's opinion on the climate was echoed by farmers a generation later on Salt Spring. But for the newcomers to the island, living in poorly heated, drafty, leaking log cabins, and, we are told, in a generally low state of health with no medical services, a succession of two very severe winters in 1861 and 1864 was a time of severe testing. The winter of 1861-62 killed off nearly one hundred head of cattle and many settlers were dangerously low on provisions. After the second severe winter in 1864-65 the Columnist reported that over half the island livestock had been lost through a combination of bad weather, wolves, cougars, bears and Indians. And we are told the severe weather reduced the number of residents by one-third. (40)

Actually more people probably left the island in the 1860's because of the Indian problem than because of the occasional bad winter. Though few, if any, Indians lived on the island year round, it was a part of the hunting, fishing and clamming grounds of both the Saanich bands to the south and the Cowichans to the west. And it was on the annual migration routes of the Haidas and other northern tribes. Understandably, they regarded the newcomers as intruders, their hostility only aggravated by resentment against the itinerant whiskey traders on the coast. (41) The negroes suffered most from their resentment because as Flucke observes, the Indians insisted on regarding the negroes as

inferior to themselves, with no claim to the respect normally shown to the whites. (42) Was this because the whites were associated with the gunboats and rather summary and arbitrary justice of the government down in Victoria? In any case, the whole of Salt Spring was shocked by the murder, eight months apart, of two negroes, William Robinson and Giles Curtis - both shot in the back and Curtis with his throat cut. (43) It was the fear created by these murders on his property which caused Louis Stark to transfer his pre-emption over to Ganges Harbour in 1869 and it helps to explain also why of the fifteen negro families on Salt Spring in 1861 only a few remained a decade or so later. (44)

The Indians also created a sense of uneasiness everywhere on the island because of a certain amount of pilfering and petty thievery. This was no doubt based in part on a different concept of property rights. (45) Annually complaints arose over thievery as the Indians on the way north from a winter around Victoria stopped to raid the farmers' gardens. The story is told of how young Decie Beddis kicked the shins of Indians found in the family vegetable garden, sending them away laughing. Or how in 1861 Jonathan begg, clad only in his nightshirt and sleeping cap, found a number of Haidas helping themselves to blankets and groceries in his store. (46) But more serious for the settlers was the slaughter of their livestock. This became especially serious for John Maxwell down at Burgoyne until he and a posse of neighbours caught a party of Bella Bellas in the act led by a white man, McCawley. Retreating hastily, the Indians murdered McCawley, thinking he had led them into a trap. This turned out to be the end of Maxwell's problems. (47) And in fact the threat from the Indians was pretty well gone by the time the government in 1871, after British Columbia joined Confederation, appointed Henry Sampson as the first resident constable on the island.

In considering the problems and the obstacles that challenged the first generation of settlers on Salt Spring surely one of the most persistent was that of developing adequate communications between the separated communities on the island and between the farmers wherever they were located and their markets and sources of supply in Victoria and Nanaimo. In the period to 1885 only a beginning was made in meeting these needs. Unfortunately the documentation apparently doesn't

exist to properly discuss the development of roads on the island. It has been mentioned earlier that from the very first the farmers needed access to Victoria or Nanaimo both to sell their excess produce and to buy essential supplies. At the North End the only wharf was at Vesuvius, which was regularly served after 1864 by the steamer Fideliter on her run from Victoria to Nanaimo. A rough road from the St. Mary's Lake area to Vesuvius was probably the first on the island. But the farmers at Begg's Settlement were still isolated. In 1865 Edward Mallandaine and Jonathan Begg requested, unsuccessfully as it turned out, that the Fideliter call at Fernwood too. They pointed out in their petition to Governor Douglas that land communication across the mountain from Fernwood to Vesuvius was extremely difficult, hauling produce being a well nigh impossible task. (48) When Louis Stark moved to the east side of Ganges Harbour he too felt the need for a road to Vesuvius. The government was sympathetic to his need but his neighbours, John Norton and Armstead Buckner, perhaps due to some local personal feuding, blocked Stark's efforts. Rather pathetically, he wrote the Chief Commissioner of Land and Works, "A sentral road is all that we ask for and let us make little roads and pigtrails to come to it by our own labour." (49)

Actually, the legislation providing for road construction had been in place since 1860 but almost nothing had been done. Under the provisions of the Road Act of that year three commissioners for roads for Salt Spring were appointed, but only Jonathan Begg was resident on the island. By law every male above 18 years of age with a landed interest in a road district was bound to perform six days' labour on the highways each year. But on Salt Spring many of the early pre-emptors were in fact non-resident and those who weren't, the Ruckles, Akermans, Nortons and others were at this time, as Begg pointed out to Governor Douglas, too poor to be able to devote their time at road making. So little was done until after British Columbia joined Canada in 1871 when John Patton Booth was elected as Salt Spring's first representative to the provincial parliament. One of his first actions was to request from the Provincial Secretary $1,000 "to make a road connecting the different settlements together; some portions of the inhabitants being entirely debarred from all use of the steamer as a means of conveying freight for want of a road." (50) Just how this money was spent is not on record.

At the South End the first public wharf was at John Maxwell's property on Burgoyne Bay about 1869. Until then, says Bea Hamilton, sloops, schooners and Indian canoes carried farmers and their produce to the markets in Victoria. When Maxwell's cattle business demanded a better wharf he offered three acres of land to the government provided it entrust the land and the wharf to a group of trustees for the mutual benefit of the settlers. Thomas Williams, Frederick Foord and Maxwell himself were appointed. (51) But there still was no steamer calling at the South End. A road linking the farms the length of Burgoyne valley must have existed already. But the farmers on the south coast, Ruckle, Trage, Kahana, and in time McLennan, King, Pappenburger and others were still probably not served into the 1880's by either adequate roads or a steamer service. It was not until 1895 that Henry Ruckle built a wharf on his property and steamboats began regularly to serve the Beaver Point area. (52)

4. Community Building - The Transition to a New Era

But in spite of inadequate communications and the almost never ending toil on their land, there were indications that by the mid-80's island farmers were beginning to feel less isolated and that there was beginning to develop some sense of community. A premature and ill-fated experiment at political integration, the creation of "The Corporation of the Township of Salt Spring Island" from 1873 to 1883 only aroused and exacerbated some of the divisions among island residents. It would appear that in this case the divisions were less a matter of sectional rivalry and more one of personal resentment and mistrust leading to charges of abuse of power, the latter stemming especially from differences of opinion on how much should be spent on public improvements such as roads. (53) Although the attempt to create a unified local system of government failed, it did at least arouse an awareness of the island as a unity and brought varying groups of neighbours together briefly in a common effort to oppose this or that abuse of power as they saw it. The Corporation left a bitter memory but at least left the islanders much more aware of one another! There were, however, less political developments that also worked in the direction of community building. Some, such as the

creation of schools and the missionary outreach from Nanaimo and Cowichan, though not specifically linked to the history of agriculture and hence outside the scope of this essay, should be mentioned here. The farmers of the North End had erected a log school house by 1864 on a 100 acre parcel of government land at Central Settlement set aside for public use. Teaching at the school was a much respected negro, John C. Jones, a graduate of Oberlin College in northern Ohio. Jones also travelled regularly to Begg's Settlement (Fernwood) to instruct the few children in that community. (54)

Itinerant missionaries likewise moved among the families on Salt Spring, bringing them together after the mid 60's in monthly meetings held in private homes or, later, in schoolhouses. Both the Anglicans and the Wesleyan Methodists were active in this work travelling first from Nanaimo and later from Cowichan and Maple Bay. (55)

It was in fact as a result of the community building work of the Anglican missionary, the Rev. Wm. Reece of Cowichan, whose circuit in 1865 included both the Chemainus area and Salt Spring Island, that there came into being the first significant organization open to Salt Spring farmers as farmers. This was a society dedicated both to sociability and to the improvement of agriculture. It is true that in 1860 the Colonist had announced that a meeting of interested parties had been held and that the farmers of Salt Spring Island had formed "The Salt Spring Island Agricultural Association." Officers included J. Begg, J. Lineker and J. Booth and three others, all from the North End. (56) But no more is heard of the group. So it was really the work of the Rev. Reece that led to the first permanent agricultural organization in the area--the "Cowichan, Salt Spring and Chemainus Agricultural Society." It was organized in 1868 and was continuing to hold its agricultural exhibitions after World War II. (57)

This cooperative venture, which included Salt Spring farmers, originated with a social get-together at Reece's home. He had called his parishioners together for a first Harvest Festival in 1866. At the time of the third festival in 1868, also held at the parsonage, "Mr. Reece suggested that

the farmers bring their best animals, as well as samples of their produce, to the church. The cows and calves and oxen, pigs and sheep were tethered or penned in the field adjoining the parsonage barn, the sheaves of grain, the potatoes and turnips were laid out on trestle tables." The pattern of the agricultural fall fair was obviously well established by the mid-19th century. It was on the prompting of Mr. Reece at this third festive social event that the agricultural society was formed. A poster advertising the twelfth annual exhibition of this organization in 1887 indicates that ladies work had also become an important part of this community event. (58) The records do not reveal how many Salt Spring farmers participated but it was open to all and at least some remained active in the society until the last decade of the century. (59)

In so far as there was developing a sense of community and common interests on Salt Spring it was certainly facilitated by a certain social homogeneity and lack of social prejudice. There is much evidence indicating that there was in fact little racial animosity. This was both encouraged by and reflected in the frequency of intermarriages between whites, negores, and, in the earliest days, Indians. James Pilton, in his interesting M.A. thesis, Negro Settlement in British Columbia, suggests that at the time of the Indian troubles "any neighbour, regardless of his colour, was a decided asset." Furthermore, he adds, "most of the settlers were far too busy working their lands to be concerned about complexional differences. As time went on the differences in race became less marked, for whites married negroes, negroes married Indians, and several whites kept Indian common law wives. In time their offspring intermarried, and the Island became such a melting pot that discrimination because of colour could hardly flourish." (60)

By 1885 this society of sturdy farmers of many races and social backgrounds was coming to a certain maturity. The years ahead were to see many changes. There was an influx of new and often wealthier immigrants. Farming for many became more of a capitalist enterprise geared to the large-scale export of products to the nearby city markets and beyond. Notably, there was a dramatic growth in the production of fruit on the island. And in time, with the opening of a creamery, dairying would become a major farming activity. Machinery too would revolutionize routines and take

some of the back breaking labour out of the farmer's life. By the mid-80s the most difficult years were coming to a close.

III. AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION AND MATURITY 1885 - 1914

1. Population growth and changes in the social climate of rural Salt Spring.

The development of a mature and relatively prosperous farm society on Salt Spring was in part a product of the rapid population growth in the decades before World War I and the accompanying changes in the social climate on the island. And these were only the local manifestation of broader developments affecting the whole of Canada and especially theCanadian West. For the whole of the West the period from 1885 to 1914 was one of rapid growth and almost incredible optimism. Scanning the pages of Man to Man, British Columbia's most popular monthly magazine, at that period, one is struck by a society on the move. The articles describe the rapid development and vast potential of the land and the advertisements are crowded with offers of land for sale.

'Therapid population expansion in BritishColumbia, which Salt Spring Island shared in part, reflected the natural physical advantages of the province (temperate climate, vast resources of land, timber, etc.) but was more particularly due to two aspects of Federal Government policy. One was the pushing to completion of the transcontinental railway. With the coming of the Candian Pacific Railway to Vancouver in 1885 settlers poured into British Columbia from Ontario and the Maritimes. This influx from eastern Canada was swelled by new arrivals from theBritish Isles enticed into settling inCanada by an active program of advertising designed to attract into the West the agricultural settlers needed to produce the raw materials and foodstuffs required in Ontario and Quebec. Posters were everywhere in the Old Country enticing young couples to come to Canada.(1)

This spirit of boosterism and turning out of propaganda literature designed to attract settlers and promote development operated at the local as well as the national level. The Reverend E.F. Wilson had only just settled into his duties as Rector of the Anglican community on Salt Spring

when he turned his mind in November 1894 to writing a pamphlet on the island.[2] "The people generally seemed to approve,"{ he wrote, "thinking it would help to bring settlers to the island." The local government gave $100 toward it and it was sold throughout the islands and elsewhere for 25 cents a copy. An extraordinary amount of useful information on the island, its physical character, farm life and osical institutions was highlighted by very optimistic assessments of its potential as a home for new settlers. "There appears to be an air of comfort and contentment about the place," he wrote. "Whatever is put into the ground is sure to grow." With an eye to the competition from the Prairie Provinces he added, "Ten or fifteen acres with an orchard and poultry yard and a cow or two, in British Columbia, has probably greater sustaining power than a hundred acres of land in the prairie region." Reverend Wilson buttressed his arguments with testimonials from some of the island's leading farmers. Joseph Akerman: "Any one with a family coming from the Old Country, could not strike an easier place to live in. Crops are always sure." Theodore Trage: "Every man on this island who was able and willing to work has got along well." Fred Foord: "For fruit growing I consider there is no place in British Columbia to equal it. Winter weather only lasts a short while." Henry Ruckle: "A man who understands farming and has a little capital will do as well or better here than any place in North America. Dairying and poultry I consider pay the best, and fruit growing is also very profitable."

Perhaps to gain broader support for his message on the island Wilson ran a regular ad in his parish magazine for his pamphlet for intending settlers. And as an agency for dealing with inquiries which came from as far afield as the Prairies and eastern Canada he organized in the fall of 1896 a sort of proto-Chamber of Commerce. A news item in the Salt Spring Island Parish and Home for September 1896 announced: "A club has been set on foot having for its object the progress and improvement of Salt Spring Island."[3] Well known local farmers such as Henry Bullock, Joel Broadwell, John Collins, W.E. Scott and others joined "The Salt Spring Island Club." Members met monthly in one another's homes for dinner and a social evening. For several years the Parish and Home featured an ad directing intending settlers desiring information on the island to contact the Secretary of the Club, Edward Walter, The Maples, Ganges.[4]

The two principal organizations, before the end of the century, were also active in promoting Salt Spring to potential farmers. Another example was the pamphlet written in 1902 by F.M. Philips, local writer and artist and a member of the Salt Spring Island Club, who wrote another pamphlet under the auspices of the Farmers' Institute which outdid evenWilson's effort of 1895 in describing the allurements of life on the island.(5) In an Introduction, Edward Walter, Secretary of the Insitute explained that the pamphlet was published "in the belief that there are many, having but a moderate income coupled with a love of country life, who would be glad, untrammelled by conventions, to make a home for themselves by work, bring up their children to a healthy independent life, and gratify those tastes for shooting and fishing which their means will not permit in the Old Country." Like Wilson's pamphlet, Philips' little booklet provides a wealth of information on Salt Spring with perhaps more attention to the opportunities for the sprotsman - "Lovers of the Rod and Gun."

The movement on the island to press for more settlers carried right on through into World War I. As late as 1915 the Island's Agricultural and Fruit Growers' Association in its catalogue for the 1915 Fall Exhibition ran a full-page message: "Salt Spring Island offers special facilities for the rancher andpoultryman. Genial climate the whole year round. Choice fruit lands, fishing and boating. Bring the family, spend a delightful holiday and look around."

Salt Spring's farm community certainly didn't suffer from the fact that one of its most successful orchardists, Mr. W.E. Scott, became Deputy Minister of Agriculture for British Columbia from 1910 to 1916. Scott was an enthusiastic booster for agriculture. "We can grow in our glorious province," he wrote in 1910, "the finest fruit in the world . . . We have room for many thousands of settlers, where everything is conducive to success . . . The province is on the eve of a great expansion. . . A spirit of optimism prevails everywhere" and will make of British Columbia "the banner province of our glorious Dominion of Canada."(6)

In explaining the steady and rapid growth of population on Salt Spring Island one must set alongside of all this deliberate propaganda and boosterism a lot of quiet word-of-mouth advertising, particularly among the more affluent "better classes" of English and Irish society. In increasing numbers the island was attracting, especially from the 1890s on, settlers of some means - those known earlier as "gentleman emigrants" but by the 1890s usually as "remittance men".[7] They added a needed boost of capital for development but also a new social class in society. Writes Jean Barman in her new history of British Columbia: "A desire for companionable surroundings encouraged residence in Victoria or some other area amenable to a genteel lifestyle. Favorite places evoking the English countryside were the Cowicahn Valley, the Gulf Islands, the Okanagan Valley and the Kootenays. Often buttressed by a pension or other small income, the newcomers genteely farmed or grew fruit."[8] This new social element had not been entirely lacking earlier, the Pimburys in the 70s and the Musgraves and Mahons in the 80s, but became much more numerous in the 90s. Families such as the Croftons, Tolsons, Hamiltons and best known of all, the bachelor, Henry Bullock, came to play an important part in insland life. Farm society became more complex. Social distinctions, conspicuously lacking in the early pioneering days, began to appear. Bea Hamilton speaks amusingly of the differences between ranchers and farmers. The "ranchers" had "homesteads" or "ranches" owned by gentlemen sons of the "good families" who owned a dress suit and could afford servants. [Many were English or Irish and Church of England]. The "farmers" owned "farms" and wore good sturdy denim overalls and bought ready-mades [Many were Scots and frequently Methodist]. But, she adds, "They were good neighbors . . . They respected each other and poked fun at each other."[9] These feelings are reflected in Lyn Bittancourt's memories of growing up in Ganges at the turn of the century. Part of the community was very English, he said. They had their shindigs and felt better than anyone else. And theredefinitely were class distinctions. Many were sent out with their remittances because "they were no good back there." But, he concluded, there were more of the "ordinary people" in Ganges that "the English."[10] These "ordinary people" were among the most creative contributors to island life - either as farmers or in commerce - families such as the Ruckles, Mouats, Caldwells and Pattersons come to mind.

It appears there never was complete agreementon what type of settler Salt Spring should seek to attract. The correspondent on the island for the Sidney and Islands Review commented in 1913 that some ads say the islandis especially adapted to gentlemen types with capital who could enjoy the scenery, sport, etc. and "supplement their capital if they desired by gentle efforts at fruit and poultry raising." But, says the correspondent, evidently one of the "farmers", if the idea is to develop island resources then it needs "men who must carve their way first to a living and then to whatever wealth they are capable of attaining."(11)

The facts of population growth on Salt Spring are difficult to document with figures that can be compared over the period 1885 - 1914, and many figures are simply guesses, but the trend is clear.(12) The one accurate count is in the Census of Canada for 1891 which enumerated a total of 393 persons on the island. Of adult males, listed as to profession, 88 were farmers, 5 farm labourers or coolies. In other words about 2/3 of the residents were farmers and their families. These figures are not too different from those of the Minister of Agriculture who estimated in 1892 "that nearly 100 farmers live on the island." And incidentally the preponderance of well-established settlers from the British Isles is well documented by the Census figures, too. Of a sample of 28 well-known farmers, mostly active in community affairs, twelve had come from England, five from Ireland, and four from Scotland. (There were two fromPortugal, two from eastern Canada, and one each from the U.S., Germany and Norway).

The Rev. Wilson appears to have done a careful canvas on the ground in 1894/95 and estimated the current population at 450. In 1902 Philips stated "There are 100 occupied farms with a settled population of 430." Four years later the Agricultural Association put Salt Spring's population at "over 500", in 1912 W.E. Scott suggested 900, and in 1913 an article in Saturday Sunset reprinted in the Sidney and Islands Review stated the island then had about 1000 people.

Other evidence corroborates the fact that Salt Spring was growing. Reverend Wilson's monthly parish journal over a twelve year period from 1895-1906 announces the steady arrival of

new families. This is reflected in the expansion of the Voters List, for example, which grew from 128 in 1894 to 213 in 1911. And, not to be ignored is internal population growth. This was an era of large families as is documented in the 1891 Census. Of the 28 farm families earlier referred to, 25 couples had a total of 122 children or nearly 5 per family. In conclusion this comment from Wilson on steamboat days in 1905: "It is no unusual thing now to see as many as twenty or more farmers' wagons, buggies and other equipment assembled under the trees at Ganges Wharf when the steam-boat comes. in. Rather different to ten years ago when there might be seen tethered to the same trees half a dozen or so saddled ponies and perhaps two or three ox teams."(13)

The population growth during the three decades preceding World War I and the economic expansion that accompanied it (to be discussed later) resulted in the steady enlargement of the cultivated acreage of older farms, sometimes by the original owners or their heirs, sometimes by new owners who brought in an injection of capital and energy. In some cases parts of the undeveloped acreage of older holdings were split off, sold and developed into farms by new arrivals. Or the newcomers took over old preemptions that had been neglected and improved them.(14)

As a result of all this activity the easily accessible and farmable land from one end of the island to the other had been pretty well taken up by 1914 (Not that it had all been improved, that took many long years, for the sound of blasting powder blowing stumps from the fields was heard everywhere right through into the 1920s). Farms were no longer all isolated in clearings in the forest. Surveying his first eleven years on Salt Spring Rev. Wilson noted in his Diary: "The road from my house to Ganges Harbor was in those early days almost all thickly wooded. Mr. Norton's large house was newly built, Mr. Purvis and Mr. Cundell were building. Now the road is clear and has fields nearly all the way."(15) In son areas farms stood in fairly close association with one another - along Trincomali Channel, around St. Mary Lake, around the head of Ganges Harbour; more scattered down Beddis Road and over the Divide and then close together again up the Cranberry and on either side of the road down Burgoyne Valley to Fulford. More isolated were farms along or off the road to Beaver Point. The southwest flank of Mount Tuam was a world unto itself - oriented toward

Cowichan.

One of the last areas on the island open to preemption was the Cranberry Marsh which by 1894, when Rev. Wilson visited this "wild district in the centre of the island," had already attracted foruj or five families and was "now being gradually settled up." In 1903 a road was put through and extended right up to Maxwell Lake. After the Ward farm was subdivided to form the nucleus of the Ganges townsite, Rainbow Road was extended in 1913 to connect with Col. Layard's road above Booth Canal. This also threw open a large tract of hitherto inaccessible bush land. But the very last preemptions before the war were on the hills to the west of Fulford Harbour. In 1914/15 seventeen families sought to homestead up the slopes of Mt. Tuam, still inaccessible except over a difficult trail terminating on the summit at the Hill-Brantford ranch.(16)

An example or two from each district will serve to illustrate the rapid changes that were transforming Salt Spring Island into a relatively close-knit agricultural community by 1914. On the North End the fine property facing Trincomali Channel once owned by Jonathan Begg and developed into a nursery by Brinn and Griffiths passed through various hands, including those of Joel Broadwell, before becoming the James seed farm in 1917. About 1905 James "Dun" Halley bought and developed the Hampton farm on North Beach Road. Between Fernwood and Ganges the Caldwell brothers, earlier referred to, opened up property in the 1880s from Walker's Hook to Mansell Road. The latter took its name from Thomas Mansell who sold his ranch in Ganges to Frank Scott in 1896 and bought the undeveloped acreage owned by the Kanaka family of Daniel Fredison. On the ridge between Fernwood and St. Mary Lake Mr. LePage from Victoria bought property in 1905. On the lake itself three major blocks of land held by black families were developed into prosperous farms. In 1885 Thomas W. Mouat bought the Abraham Copeland property on Tripp Road, built a new house and operated a dairy and poultry farm until his premature death in 1898. His widow, Jane, rented out the farm when she moved to Ganges in 1907. On the east side of St. Mary Lake the old Levi Davis preemption was purchased in 1895 by John Collins, recently arrived with his family from England. He became a dairyman, being very active in the Farmers'

Institute. Just a year previously the Reverend Wilson had bought the Armstead Buckner property where the golf course now stands and with the help of his sons operated a small mixed farm. Other properties changed hands at the turn of the century in the area of Central Settlement. John Paton Booth sold to Arthur Walter of Bristol and moved to his wife's property at Fernwood. Joel Broadwell, who owned a sheep ranch on Broadwell mountain west of the lake as well as the property surrounding his house, Post Office and store at Central, retired and moved to Vancouver in 1901, leaving his property to his son who soon moved off island. Theproperty was sold the year after the deaths of both Joel Broadwell and his son in 1909.

Down in the Ganges area property was changing hands rapidly by the 1890s and "ranches" developed, so-called because the newcomers in this area were from better off English and Irish families. One of these newcomers was the young bachelor, Henry Bullock, who came to Salt Spring in 1892 and developed a 300 acre estate. He became noted for his elegant and sometimes eccentric lifestyle but was in fact an innovative and very successful farm operator. The four Scott brothers had also arrived from England in the same year as Mr. Bullock. The oldest brother, W.E., bought the former Louis Stark preemption on the east side of the harbour and developed one of the largest and most successful orchards on the island. His brother, Frank, who sold off the acreage on which Mahon Hall stands, shared frontage at the end of the harbour with Jack Scovell from Ireland (who in 1903 sold off 100 acres to Fred Crofton) and Charles Tolson (who sold to brother Leonard in 1897 who sold to A. Ward in 1903). These new farmsteads were bordered on the west by the well-developed property of one of the early settlers, John Norton. The latter retired in 1903, selling his farm to A.J. Smith and partners. Smith soon developed one of the finest Jersey dairy herds on the island, serving the Ganges area with fresh milk for years.

South of Ganges development occurred in three directions. Down Beddis Road, a mere track when Samuel Beddis homesteaded on the harbour in 1884, his brother-in-law, Raffles Purdy, bought property, gave up his teaching at Central (1885-1897), and developed an orchard of 900 trees. On down Beddis Road Mr. Cartwright bought up the Monteith property. Just above Blackburn Lake

where the Ganges-Fulford Road crossed the Divide a Vermont Yankee, Socrates Tobias Conery, purchased an undeveloped property around Blackburn Lake (named for the Blackburns from Ireland who purchased the farm in 1907) and converted it into one of the model dairy farms on the island.[17] In the same period settlers beganpushing further up the valley into the Cranberry Marsh District. What had been a wild and uninhabited area was settled before the war by the Gardners and Rogers families (both had been neighbours on the same street in Stratford-On-Avon), the Nobbs families, the Toynbees and Browns and several others. Perhaps the best known of these settlers was John Rogers who had preempted 800 acres in 1902 or 1903 and operated a successful sheep and dairy farm until the mid-1950s.[18] The limit of settlement up the Cranberry was reached when the Demaine family homesteaded on property bordering Maxwell Lake.

Down in the Valley, where settlement had occurred earlier in the century, changes were fewer. Edward Lee about 1887 had moved onto a belt of property spanning the valley from Musgrave mountain to below the Horel property. Just to the west the Furness family was still busy "slashing" in the winter of 1899. At Burgoyne Bay early pioneer, John Maxwell, died in 1897 and his fine farm passed to his oldest son, James (and when James was lost in World War I to James' brother, Dick). In the Fulford area two professional men turned farmers of sorts became well-known residents of Salt Spring. One, Wm. J.L. Hamilton, son of the Archdeacon of Londonderry, bought from Ted Akerman in 1897 66 acres located on the waterfront half way down the west side of Fulford Harbour. Having invented earlier in life one of the first incandescent light bulbs, he turned horticulturist on Salt Spring and developed a new variety of apple from the Wealthy and King which he appropriately named Millionaire.[19] The other former professional was John Shaw, an engineer-architect who had worked in the shipyards in Glasgow and Nagasaki. On having his employment terminated, he fell in love with Fulford Harbour which reminded him of the Scottish lochs, bought the Alexander Wilson farm across from Fulford Hall and on January 1, 1909 began farming, "an occupation about which he knew absolutely nothing."[20] Another newcomer to the Fulford area about the same time (c.1911) was John Hepburn who with the help of two Indians cleared a farmon the hill above Fulford where the square silo was built which stands today as a familiar landmark. There were also changes

along the south coast of the island where two other pioneers died early in the century. Theodore Trage's fine orchard and sheep farm passed on his death in 1902 to his son, Adolf, who sold it to Weaver Bridgman. A portion on the waterfront became the summer home of Mr. Longstaff, but the farm continued in operation by the Bridgman family until after World War I.[21] And at Beaver Point itself, after Henry Ruckle's death in 1913, what became in time the oldest family farm in British Columbia continued to develop its productive capacity under the above management of his sons, Alfred and Daniel Henry.[22]

From these selected but somewhat random examples it should be apparent that Salt Spring was indeed on the move from 1885 to 1914. New families were moving in and new areas were opened up for farming. And, significantly, farming for many families was moving beyond mere subsistence agriculture to often large scale commercial production. From a community of subsistence farms there was a major shift to production for profit, which put the island farmers at the mercy of often uncertain off-island markets reached by steamer services that were usually inadequate at best.

2. The Mature One Family Subsistence Farm

Although a growing specialization and production for profit came to characterize many of the most successful farmers on Salt Spring before World War I it would be well to emphasize first the fact tha probably for a majority of the farmers in this period operations were still geared to basic survival. What excess was produced for sale was mostly incidental to raising the foodstuffs needed to support their usually large families. Due to the constraints of nature (the limited areas or arable land) and population pressure farming was for most a small-scale enterprise. Though the exceptional family, such as the Ruckles, might accumulate up to a thousand acres, or in the case of the wealthy Irish family, the Musgraves, several thousand, these were the unusual cases. And in any case these larger holdings were mostly in bush or sheep runs. The cultivated acreage of most small family farms was probably in the range of 20 to 30 acres. Wilson reported that in 1900 only about 1700 acres were under cultivation.[23] Philips in 1902 states there were about 100 settled farms - this works out to 17 acres under cultivation per farm. Thismay be on the low side. But even in the case

of a selected group of the largest farms discussed in Wilson's 1895 pamphlet the average acreage under culviation, including several large orchards, was only 40 to 60 acres. apparently this is about the size that a farm family could manage working with oxen or horses and employing occasional casual labour. but if the family farm on the island was small as compared for example to the ranches of the Okanagan or the Cariboo it was extraordinarily versatile. Every farm had an orchard and garden, usually one or more milk cows, pigs and chickens to drink the skim milk left over from making butter, perhaps turkeys, ducks and geese, and sheep to forage on the hills. Basic field crops included hay, grain, and roots by the ton to feed the stock. Very little cash traded hands amongst these mainly subsistence farmers.(24) But, as mentioned earlier, there was always an attempt to raise some surplus to generate the money needed to buy staples for the household like flour and sugar, and clothes for the family. For the farm operations, too, there was an increasing need for cash. Nursery stock, livestock, seed grain, fertilizer, and basic equipment such as plows, mowers, rakes and harrows still required cash. Up to about 1900 island farmers imported hay from the mainland as well as for winter feed.(25) To pay for these necessities farmers sold as available their excess fruit, vegetables and eggs. Potatoes were marketed in large quantities, some farmers shipped lambs and wool, and farmers' wives marketed small quantities of homemade butter. Most farmers had to be content with breaking even at the end of the year. Even the more prosperous farmers of this period accumulated very little, passing on to their heirs real estate that was increasing in value but very little cash.(26)

Examples of the small family subsistence farm are legion but one of the few for which some records are available was that of the Rev. E.F. wilson.(27) In the sixteen years he lived at "Barnesbury" he converted a tract of bush and forest with only a small shack and one or two other broken down buildings into a well-equipped family farm producing enough after a few years to actually turn a profit.(28) Like many others he bought up an old preemption that had been lived on but not really developed. He paid $900. cash for the 100 acre property of the late Armstead Buckner - one of the original black settlers of 1859. Most of it was still virgin bush and unfenced. With the help of his three sons and a steady stream of casual labourers (young boys from England, itinerant men oke the Swede, Eric Ericson, and an occasional Japanese or Chinese) the land was cleared, barn,

poultry and sheep houses built, and farming operations commenced. Wilson had a large family to feed; his clerical stipend was only $500/600 a year so he hoped to supplement this "by some profit of the farm, but it was some years before any profit showed itself." fortunately, and in this he is not atypical of Salt Spring, the family received a small legacy from England in 1895 which covered the cost of the land and stocking the farm. Ever the meticulous record keeper, Wilson noted in his diary each New Year's Day the number of livestock on the farm. Typical of the early years is 1896 when he recorded one horse, three cows, one calf, one hundred and ten chickens, three pigs and one duck. Numbers fluctuated over the years but a decade later the farm supported three horses, six cows, 3calves, 250 chickens and 2 pigs. On three occasions rabbits are recorded and there was one apparently ill-starred venture raising pigeons. With his son, Llewellyn (usually off to the Klondike gold fields), he built a silo for green clover in 1901 but it didn't work out. "Our silo not satisfactory, so turned the upper part into a pigeon house," he wrote in February 1902. Rev. Wilson was more successful as an orchardist and even invented an apple picking machine which he put on display at the farm.

There were some small changes to the acreage over the years. Wilson had sold 14 acres to Mr. Lundy in 1899 and had given his sons small blocks of about 10 acres each. He rented Hudson's orchard and hay field at the North Rd. in 1899 and, in 1910 Norman's wife, Ethel, bought 30 acres of Purvis land to the south of them with a splendid crop of hay on it. By the time Wilson deeded the farm to son Norman in 1909 and retired to California the farm was actually making small profit. The figures reported by Norman to his father in 1910 after his first year of operating the farm alone are instructive, particularly since there are no other statistics of this sort available.

Norman Wilson Farm Accounts November 1909-November 1910

	Receipts	Payments	Net Profit
Poultry & eggs	$523.61	$320.10	$203.51
Dairy	925.79	183.81	741.98
Fruit	451.20	62.55	388.65

Pigs	180.70	51.21	129.49
Garden & field	49.10	Team 44.87	
		Hay, seed 223.05	
		Wages, board 273.90	

(It should be noted that by 1909 Norman had a herd of ten cows and in 1910 reported he expected to ship 300 boxes of apples. Hence the profit for the year of nearly $1,000 is understandable. What his net profit for the year was, after paying for his livign expenses, is not known).

3. Small Farm Specialization - Potatoes

However, not all farm operations on Salt Spring remained at or near the subsistence level. There was a growing specialization and production for the market, first of all in the development of orchards, then, after the opening of the Ganges creamery in 1904, in the dairy industry, but also in some other complimentary specialized activities such as the poultry industry and the raising of small fruits and potatoes. Although in aggregate an outstanding volume of produce was shipped to market, the development must be kept in perspective for farming was always small business on Salt Spring compared to the more favoured parts of Canada or the adjoining regions of the United States and even those lines that did best (such as fruit and butter) had their problems and did not survive past the Depression of the 1930s and World War II.

In the years while their fruit trees were coming into full production and right up to 1914 farmers were generating considerable cash income from the sale of potatoes and other root crops. Of course from the earliest days settlers had planted potatoes for home use and it was soon recognized that all root crops did well on the island. By 1894 Henry Ruckle was harvesting a crop of six tons and in 1899 Mr. S. Conery took 19 tons off of two and three-quarter acres.[29] An invoice of December 9, 1913 indicates that Alfred and Henry Ruckle were to ship 20 tons of potatoes to the wholesale grocer, Simon Leiser & Co., in Victoria at $20 per ton.[30] The price of $20 per ton held good all through the two decades before the war, perhaps for the reason suggested by the Salt Spring correspondent of the Cowichan Leader in 1910: "The excellence of the island-grown potatoes is steadily

making itself known, and in most instances dealers are only too glad to pay a few dollars per ton more to secure them."[31] Even after their orchards came into full production and dairy herds were developed, farmers like the ruckles continued to export major quantities of potatoes. They were a dependable relatively disease-free crop with a large yeild per acre and stored well.

4. Small Farm Specialization - Tree Fruits (Orchards)

The major agricultural development in British Columbia in the 1890s was the development of commercial orchards. The province soon began to acquire the reputation of being a major fruit growing region in North America which it retains today. In the Okanagan commercial development of orchards on a large scale began rather suddenly after 1892 when the C.P.R. extended its railway line from Kamloops to Okanagan Landing near Vernon. The following year it launched a new, modern ferry, the "Aberdeen", on Okanagan lake with a regular schedule of runs down to Penticton. The Okanagan valley was soon transformed from ranching to intensive settlement utilizing irrigation for growing fruit.[32] On Salt spring the development began at least a decade earlier and here orcharding remained generally only a part, in some few cases a specialized part, of the family farm. Until shortly before World War I the fruit growing areas of British Columbia (the Okanagan, Saanich Peninsula, and Salt Spring Island) were not in serious competition with each other. Rather, together they made British Columbia a major exporter to the East. The volume was sufficient by 1903 to warrant a daily fruit train from Victoria to Winnipeg. And when construction of the Panama Canal began in 1904 it was optimistically predicted that this would open up the European market to fresh fruit from British Columbia.[33]

Most of the big orchards on Salt Spring were planted out in the 1880s or early 1890s and were in full production by the late '90s. Henry Ruckle and Theodore Trage in the Beaver Point area and Samuel Beddis and Raffles Purdy on Beddis Road had their orchards established by 1890. In 1892 the Scott brothers came out from England and developed on the earlier Louis Stark preemption on Ganges Harbour the largest and most successful orchard on the North End. In the same year Henry Bullock bought his estate north of Ganges and developed a fine orchard of apple and cherry trees.

John Pappenburger, Ed Lee and others planted large orchards on the south End at the same time, followed a decade later by J.H. Monk, remnants of whose fine orchard still stand down Stevens Road. And there were many others. Probably the largest orchard on the island was that of Trage with 1600 trees. W.E. Scott with 1200 was not far behind; Raffles Purdy had 900/1000 and Henry Ruckle 600. Fruit growing by the end of the century was big business[34]

Statistics on the production of island orchards are fragmentary but the few which are available are suggestive.[35] Henry Bullock is said to have shipped 2-3,000 boxes (40 lbs. each) in a good year and Ed Lee up to 2,000 boxes. Trage was shipping from 1800 to 2400 boxes of apples per year between 1898 and 1902. Rev. Wilson reports in his Church Monthly that the Scott brothers were harvesting big crops of prunes from their "Fruitvale" orchards - in 1902 up to 20 tons were to be put through the evaporator. Not every year was a good year, however. In 1905, due to wet weather the Scott's harvest, instead of 3,000 crates as anticipated, was "almost nil". Three years earlier, due to drought, Trage's harvest of apples was reduced from an anticipated 3,000 boxes to about 1800. But the total tonnage of fruit shipped from the island was probably much greater than that represented by the output of the few major orchardists. And there is no way to put a really accurate dollar value on the harvest though we do know that apples, pears, and plums were all bringing about 2 1/2 cents a pound in the 1890s. There is reason to believe also that apples were worth about the same in 1913 when an article in the Sidney and Islands Review reported: "A conservative estimate places 20,000 boxes of apples as the annual shipment of that fruit alone from the island."[36] Assuming 40 lb. boxes of apples worth 2 cents a pound the annual harvest would have been worth $16,000 in 1913. The problems associated with agriculture onSalt Spring will be discussed later. Let it just be mentioned here that two of the principal problems for orchardists were finding sufficient seasonal labour and getting their crops moved to the off-island markets. The first need was usually met by the employment of Japanese or Chinese migrant workers. Getting the harvest to market relied heavily at first upon the somewhat undependable and changing steamboat service. In the 1890s Salt Spring's major ports (Burgoyne and Vesuvius on the west side; Fernwood, Ganges, and Beaver Point on the east) were generally served at least once a week by ships plying from Victoria to Nanaimo. After 1900

service was generally twice a week to Nanaimo and four times weekly to Victoria, sometimes more, and at times there was a direct srvice to Vancouver. To meet the growing needs of island farmers the government replaced older wharves with new ones at Ganges in 1902 and at Beaver Point in 1910. At Fulford a totally new 1000 foot long wharf built in 1914 gave this harbour a deep water landing at all tides.(37)

But the steamers in service before 1900 were not sufficient to meet the needs of the island's burgeoning economy. A growing crisis was averted when the Malcolm and Purvis Store was built in 1904 in Ganges. It gave the island farming industry a boost by opening up an exporting business, using its 30' Nomad, soon replaced by the 60' Ganges. Gilbert Mouat worked on the Nomad hauling produce to market at night to Ladysmith and soon after, in 1907, he dropped out of Columbia College and with his mother bought out Percy Purvis (Joe Malcolm had died). The Mouat Bros. Store took over Purvis' export business.(38) But competition developed in the export business when W.E. Scott and Henry Bullock, who both had large volumes of fruit to move, joined with T.F. Speed in opening the Gulf Islands Trading Co. in 1912. Much fruit also went to market direct from the farm. Will Scott had his private wharf at Fruitvale where his apples, pears and plums could be taken by scow to market. And the Ruckles were shipping from their private wharf at Beaver Point after about 1889 (1895?). Fruit from the Burgoyne valley went out by the public wharf at Burgoyne Bay.

5. Small Farm Specialization - Dairying and the Ganges Creamery

Dairy cattle were raised on virtually every Salt Spring Island farm from 1860 on and a few beef cattle were kept for oxen or for home consumption. Shorthorns and Herefords were the preferred beef breeds. (Only the Maxwell family on Burgoyne Bay are known to have specialized in raising beef cattle commercially - first John Maxwell, then after his death in 1897, his son, James, right down to World War I.(39) Dairy products were a necessity for survival. Louis Stark is credited with importing the first animals in 1860. By the 1880s and 1890s farm families were earning some spare cash by selling butter from time to time. But it was not until the Ganges Creamery was opened in 1904 that dairying became a major commercial component of the small family farm. Herds were

small, however. There never was the same degree of specialization such as marked the tree fruit industry.

Reports from island farmers to the Ministry of Agriculture as late as the mid-1890s concurred that "dairying was not prosecuted to any extent."[40] It had been recognized from the beginning that cattle would thrive on the island. Winters were mild; shelter was needed for only a short period; and grain, hay and root crops for winter feed all did well. But until the opening of the creamery in 1904 provided a satisfactory market for their butter. Cows were kept primarily for milk for the family, the chickens and pigs. Some butter was marketed directly by individual families in the 1890s. Farm wives churned butter for sale at times when cows were fresh and there was more milk than could be consumed. But as Mr. Trage reported in 1892: "There are only a few settlers who make the manufacture of butter a special business, prices ranging from 25 cents to 40 cents per pound. Cheese is not made at all."[41] One of the very few who did was Mr. Conery, who grew up in a mining camp in Butte, Montana and came to Salt Spring in the early 90s. He bought the Blackburn Lake valley below W. Dukes, and, even before the opening of the creamery, developed a model dairy farm. It was certainly he who was reported by Rev. Wilson in 1895 to be "marketing as much as 1,000 lbs. of butter in a year." Perhaps it was processed in the creamery plant Mr. Cundell was reported to have bought from Malcolm and Purvis in May 1896. Conery's herd of a dozen cows in 1895 had increased to "21 good milkers" in 1901 and was up to 31 cows by 1904 when the creamery opened.[42] While Mr. Conery was the exception there were enough farmers with Jersey cows producing their rich milk to prompt Mr. John T. Collins, recently arrived with his family from England and living on the farm of his friend, Henry Bullock, to try opening a creamery. An old bar on Bullock's property was converted in 1896 into a small butter factory, the "Salt Spring Island English Creamery Co." However, it was not successful. Rev. Wilson notes in his diary May 15, 1897: "Mr. Collins, this Spring, has opened a creamery on Mr. Bullock's land. It did not answere very well, and people complained of his keeping a pig yard close to it. We began sending cream to him May 25th, but quit Oct. 6th."[43] The Colonist reported in 1898: "The Salt Spring Island Creamery has quit making butter for a short time on account of an accident to some of the machinery." Apparently it never re-

opened.

But the need remained for a facility to process island cream and Mr. Bullock was again active in establishing within a few years a most successful and long lasting agricultural enterprise, the "Salt Spring Island Creamery Association." For over fifty years (it closed its doors in 1957) it was a mainstay of the island economy. It was organized in July 1903 as a cooperative, one of several in the province, under the Dairy and Livestock Association Act. As early as 1893 the government was sending out expert lecturers "to enlighten the farmers upon the necessity of making a uniform quality of butter if they wished to compete with the importations from the East and elsewhere."(44) In 1895 a creamery company was formed in Duncan with government support and this was in the minds of Bullock and others as they moved to make butter making on Salt Spring Island a viable enterprise. In the March 1903 issue of his Church Monthly Mr. Wilson advised his readers: "Dairy farmers and their wives are asked to attend a meeting at Central Hall (notice will be given of a date) to discuss the matter of establishing a permanent creamery on Salt Spring Island on the same lines as the Cowichan and Victoria creameries. Mr. A.H. Gardam is the prime mover in the matter, and he hopes that all interested in butter making will attend."

By June, 1903 the Salt Spring Island Creamery Association had been organized with a capital of $5,000 divided into 500 shares worth $10.00 each which were offered for sale to island dairymen.(45) Henry Bullock was elected President and Edward Walter, Secretary. Directors included such well-known farmers as S.T. Conery, W.E. Scott, Ed Lee and James Horel. In July the Association let out a contract to A.R. Bittancourt (who was just completing construction of Mahon Hall) and Robert Mason to construct of local stone the creamery building which still stands today as the west side of a bakery building at the foot of Ganges Hill. On August 1 the cornerstone was laid by Mrs. W.E. Scott. And in October Wilson could report in his Church Monthly: "The new stone creamery looks very picturesque at the foot of the long mountain road, and will soon be in operation." Actually, due to delay in the arrival of machinery, it did not open its doors until early 1904 but by February it was in full production with Mr. Knight as its first butter maker.

During the early months of operation butter production was at an abnormally high level. The Victoria creamery was installing new equipment early in 1904 and was sending its cream by ferry to the Ganges Creamery. Butter production from the milk of Ganges area farmers, the only local farmers to supply the creamery at first, averaged about 750 lbs. per week during the first year. Output peaked at about 1400 lbs. per week in the spring and dropped to about 550 lbs. in the winter months. (Apparently producers became more sophisticated over the years as the Cowichan Leader reported in 1911: "The majority of farmers in these parts arrange to have their cows in full milk during the autumn and winter months when cream is high in price and when they are able to give more time and care to their dairy stock").[46] The value of butter sold in the year beginning in May 1904 was $8,244.77. The small scale, even almost incidental, production of milk for the creamery is revealed in this remark by Rev. Wilson in May 1904: "The patronage keeps increasing; and farmers who at present have but two or three cows talk of increasing their stock to five or six."

Although no figures are available, the Ganges Creamery apparently continued to prosper. Mr. Geoff Scott soon replaced Bullock as President of the Association and is reported to have continued in that position until after World War II. Buttermakers came and went until Arthur Drake took over in 1912, holding that responsibility until 1949. Even before Mr. Drake, who is so closely associated with the creamery in island memory, the reputation of Salt Spring butter for quality was growing under reputation of Salt Spring butter for quality was growing under buttermakers Cundell and Derby to the point where the creamery had great difficulty supplying the many demands for its product. In only one thing did the Creamery Association fail. It had built a feed shed along the side of the creamery building. But the feed store apparently failed to meet the competition from the Malcolm & Purvis Store and in 1906 Rev. Wilso refurbished it and held Anglican services there for his Ganges parishioners![47]