

LIKE “A THOUSAND MOSQUITO BITES”:

Forest Conservation as Social Movement on British Columbia’s Salt Spring Island, 1999–2001

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ONE SURVEY OF CANADIAN environmental history claims that “environmentalists were forced to go global to have their voices heard.”¹ This statement is based on the fact that, until recently, it has been the “Green Giants” such as Greenpeace and the Sierra Club that have dominated historians’ attention. We have begun to realize, however, that a deeper understanding of the growth in popular environmental consciousness requires detailed analysis of locally organized protests against large-scale economic development projects as well as against unsustainable logging and fishing.² Local protests designed to preserve green spaces, water supplies, air quality, landscape views, and traditional ways of life have led to a greater ecological awareness.³ Consequently, in the late twentieth century the sharp distinction made between human and nonhuman nature began to give way to what became known as biocentrism or ecocentrism – namely, the philosophical belief

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¹ Laurel Sefton MacDowell, *An Environmental History of Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 243.

² For Canadian examples, see Mark R. Leeming, *In Defence of Home Places: Environmental Activism in Nova Scotia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017); Jonathan Clapperton and Liza Piper, ed., *Environmental Activism on the Ground: Small Green and Indigenous Organizing* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2019); J. I. Little, *At the Wilderness Edge: The Rise of the Antidevelopment Movement on Canada’s West Coast* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019); and several of the chapters in Colin Coates, ed., *Canadian Countercultures and the Environment* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2017).

³ In a similar vein, Adam Rome argues that it was the expansion of suburban tract housing that led to the growing popularity of the US environmental movement. See his *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6–7.

in the moral equality of all the planet's inhabitants.⁴ The result was the revival of the wilderness preservation movement, with major BC protests between 1975 and 1995 resulting in large protected areas at the Valhalla Wilderness, Stein Valley, Clayoquot Sound, Carmanah Valley, and Tatshenshini River.⁵

Four years later, another anti-logging campaign was launched, this one on a much smaller but nonetheless protracted scale on Salt Spring Island. As revealed by the two local weeklies, the *Gulf Islands Driftwood* and the *Barnacle*, organizers resorted to many of the same tactics that had drawn public attention to the large-scale protests, but with major differences. First, because the area in question was not an expansive old-growth "wilderness," it did not attract large numbers of protesters from elsewhere, nor did it involve outside environmental organizations.⁶ Second, the land in question was privately owned rather than being leased from the government, as remains the case for most of the province's forestland. It was therefore necessary to raise a substantial amount of money in order to convince state agencies, as well as conservation societies, to provide essential funding for the land's purchase. Third, and finally, there was no concerted local backlash, in sharp contrast to the West Coast areas where community members viewed anti-logging campaigns as a threat to their livelihoods.⁷ Indeed, the few who were still involved in small-scale

⁴ See Keith Makoto Woodhouse, *The Ecocentrists: A History of Radical Environmentalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), ix–x, 2.

⁵ Graeme Wynn with Jennifer Bonnell, "Activists and Advocates," in *The Nature of Canada*, ed. Colin M. Coates and Graeme Wynn (Vancouver: On Point Press, 2019), 309–10. According to Jeremy Wilson, the province's conservation movement began to emphasize the protection of biodiversity and representation of diverse ecosystems in the late 1980s. See Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965–96* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 240. For an account of earlier anti-logging protests in the province, see David Brownstein, "What Is the History of Logging Protests in British Columbia?" *Otter / La Loutre*, 22 December 2021, niche-canada.org.

⁶ According to archaeologist Chris Arnett (telephone conversation, 21 December 2021), campaign organizers did not invite the Cowichan Tribes of Vancouver Island to join the protest campaign. On the traditional cultural and economic value of the Burgoyne Bay area for the Cowichan Tribes, see Chris Arnett, "Cultural and Historic Values of Hwaqwum – Burgoyne Bay, Salt Spring Island, BC," Appendix 1 in *Background Report for Burgoyne Bay Protected Area on Salt Spring Island*, prepared by Friends of Salt Spring Parks Society for the Environmental Stewardship Division, BC Ministry of Water, Land, and Air Protection, 2003. The Stqeeye' Learning Society was recently established with the aim of co-managing Xwaaqw'um (Hwaqwum – Burgoyne). See Joe Akerman, "First Wetland Restored at Xwaaqw'um Village," <https://saltspringexchange.com>.

⁷ See, for example, Lorna Stefanick, "Baby Stumpy and the War in the Woods: Competing Frames of British Columbia Forests," *BC Studies* 130 (Summer 2001): 41–68.

logging on Salt Spring were not about to defend the rapid deforestation of a large area by outside interests and workers.

Although relatively few members of Salt Spring's population of retirees, artisans, artists, back-to-the-landers, tradespeople, service workers, and telecommuters had deep roots in the community,⁸ most of those who moved to the island were drawn by its mild climate, natural beauty, and rural ambience. Some, indeed, viewed it as a retreat from the consumer culture that had engulfed North America.⁹ As a result, the 1999–2001 Salt Spring campaign was a broad-based social movement with a wide-ranging strategy that spokesperson Briony Penn – a local naturalist, writer, and co-founder of The Land Conservancy of British Columbia (TLC) – likened to “a thousand mosquito bites.”¹⁰ It stimulated sociability by featuring town hall meetings, protest marches, music and art festivals, street theatre performances, publicity “stunts,” political lobbying, court challenges, and direct-action tactics such as road blockades, lock-downs, and tree-sits. As for the fundraising campaign, it was obviously not a threat to the company's logging activities, but it did attract widespread negative attention to those activities and to the company's two owners as well as their financial backers.

Some of those who supported the anti-logging campaign were concerned about the threat that large-scale logging posed to the tourism industry, which employed approximately 20 percent of the island's working residents.¹¹ There was, however, little reason to be alarmed on that score because Salt Spring's location between the province's two largest metropolitan areas, and the relative scarcity of its tourist accommodations, ensured that demand would always outstrip supply. A more

⁸ Charles Kahn, *Salt Spring: The Story of an Island* (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1998), 298–304. The Canada Census Reports recorded 7,871 residents in 1991 and 9,279 in 2001.

⁹ See J.L. Weller, “Living on ‘Scenery and Fresh Air’: Land-Use Planning and Environmental Regulation in the Gulf Islands,” *BC Studies* 193 (Spring 2017): 89–114. The same can be said for many of the inhabitants of the other Gulf Islands. See, for example, Sharon Weaver, “Back-to-the-Land Environmentalism and Small Island Ecology: Denman Island, BC, 1974–1979,” in *Canadian Countercultures* ed. Colin M. Coates, 29–54.

¹⁰ The quote is from Gail Sjuberg, “Town Hall Meeting Rocks,” *GulfIslands Driftwood* (hereafter *Driftwood*), 11 April 2001, 1, 4 (this newspaper can be viewed on the Salt Spring Archives website: <https://saltspringarchives.com>). Paul S. Sutter argues that US environmental historians should focus more attention on the social movement notion. See Paul S. Sutter, “Foreword,” to Darren Frederick Speece, *Defending Giants: The Redwood Wars and the Transformation of American Environmental Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), ix.

¹¹ The estimate for 2009 was 22 percent. See “Salt Spring Island Tourism Development Plan 2010–2013,” Community Tourism Foundations, December 2009, 3, https://www.crd.bc.ca/docs/default-source/salt-spring-island-ca-pdf/cedc/tourism_plan.pdf?sfvrsn=2. On local attitudes, see, for example, Susan Berlin, “Islanders Must Consider Economic Impact of Logging,” *Driftwood*, 27 September 2000, 6.

important motivating force for the protesters was the biocentric desire to preserve one of the rare ecosystems found within the geographically limited coastal Douglas-Fir Biogeoclimatic zone.¹² In the year 2000, only 2.6 percent of that zone had protected status within British Columbia, as compared to 11.4 percent for the province's forests as a whole.¹³ Relatively small though the area in question on Salt Spring was, by attracting widespread public attention the campaign to protect that land did demonstrate how a local community could unite to challenge the right of a privately owned company to damage an exceptionally scenic and ecologically important environment.¹⁴

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Commercial logging has deep roots in Salt Spring. The island began to attract settlers as early as the 1850s when the colony's fur trade era was drawing to a close, but because its arable land is very limited, farmers had to log part-time in order to supplement their incomes. Unprocessed logs were shipped off-island until shortly after the turn of the twentieth century when a sizable sawmill was erected; by the mid-1930s, Salt Spring's first-growth forests had been nearly eliminated.¹⁵ The fact that most of the island's land had been pre-empted or purchased in the nineteenth century meant that there were no Crown timber leases, in contrast to most of the province.¹⁶ Logging companies nevertheless amassed large acreages on the southern half of the island through private purchase during the 1950s and 1960s.

One of those three companies, Weldwood of Canada, bought 743 acres (301 hectares) on the slopes of Mount Bruce from Canadian Collieries in 1964. It then managed the property as a tree farm. When Weldwood contracted a small company to begin clear-cutting part of its holding in 1990, however, it sparked the island's first major anti-logging protest.

¹² This zone is limited to a narrow strip of southeast Vancouver Island, portions of the Gulf Islands, and pockets along the province's south coast mainland. "What Is the Coastal Douglas-Fir Biogeoclimatic Zone?" <https://www.cdfcp.ca/about-the-cdfcp/>.

¹³ Gail Sjuberg, "Rainshadow Forest More Endangered, Speaker Says," *Driftwood*, 22 March 2000, 7; John Innes, "On the Subject of Old-Growth Forests: A Personal Message from the Dean to the UBC Forestry Community," <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2021/07/16/What-Should-Forestry-Dean-Say-Old-Growth-Logging/>.

¹⁴ For another example of local community involvement in British Columbia, see Jenny Clayton, "Human Beings Need Places Unchanged by Themselves': Defining and Debating Wilderness in the West Kootenays, 1969-74," *BC Studies* 170 (summer 2011): 93-118.

¹⁵ Kahn, *Salt Spring*, 144, 201-11.

¹⁶ R.W. Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space: Land Policy and Practices of Resettlement on Saltspring Island, 1850-1891* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 129.

As with the largely peaceful War in the Woods that had taken place in Clayoquot Sound three years earlier, the Mount Bruce protest featured public demonstrations and passive resistance, such as a protest camp on the logging site and logging road blockades.¹⁷ Going further, however, unknown persons were inspired by the radical “ecotage” tactics of US-based Earth First! to funnel sand into the engines of fifteen heavy-logging machines, including two bulldozers.¹⁸ As lead organization in the campaign, the group known as Green Islands condemned the destruction, but the case remained unsolved despite the \$20,000 reward offered for evidence leading to conviction.¹⁹

In the meantime, having accumulated 6,000 acres (2,428 hectares) in the nearby Burgoyne Bay area during the 1960s, the Texada Logging Company had practised selective cutting with the aim of harvesting only one-third of its mature timber every twenty years.²⁰ The owner was Bavaria’s eleventh Prince Johannes von Thurn und Taxis, one of the wealthiest men in Europe, but when he died in 1990 he left a deeply indebted estate.²¹ Salt Spring conservationists had been hoping to acquire a sizable part of the property, which represented roughly 10 percent of the island’s landmass. With that end in mind, island-based societies met in 1996 with representatives from the four levels of government to establish the South and West Salt Spring Conservation Partnership.²² Having purchased the Weldwood property on Mount Bruce in 1997, Texada Logging agreed to sell it to the community for recreational and conservation purposes if funds were raised within a year.²³ Meeting

¹⁷ Kahn, *Salt Spring*, 213; *Driftwood*, 11 April 1990, A1, A3; 9 May 1990, A1, A3; 30 May 1990, A1, A3. On the War in the Woods, see Dan Lewis, “War in the Woods 1.0,” *Watershed Sentinel*, 4 October 2021, <https://watershedsentinel.ca/articles/war-in-the-woods>.

¹⁸ Speece, *Defending Giants*, 143, states that “Earth First! and direct action exploded on the North Coast after 1985.”

¹⁹ Bill Webster, “Logging Sabotage May Spark Island War,” *Driftwood*, 1 August 1990, A1; Susan Dicker Lundy, “\$20,000 Reward Offered for Evidence,” *Driftwood*, 22 August 1990, A1, A7. The protest campaign appears to have effectively ended at that point.

²⁰ “Prince Johannes von Thurn und Taxis,” *Gay Influence: Gay and Bisexual Men of Importance*, 29 June 2021, <http://gayinfluence.blogspot.com/2015/06/prince-johannes-von-thurn-und-taxis.html>; Catherine McEwan and Chris Ling, “Community Action on Salt Spring,” *Case Studies: Interactive Case Studies in Sustainable Community Development*, 21 May 2008, <https://www.crcresearch.org/community-research-connections/crc-case-studies/community-action-salt-spring-island>.

²¹ “Johannes von Thurn und Taxis, Banker, 64,” *New York Times*, 15 December 1990, <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/12/15/obituaries/johannes-von-thurn-und-taxis-banker-64.html>; “Castle Talk: The Curious Case of the Thurn und Taxis Inheritance,” <https://www.castleholich.com/2017/03/castletalk-curious-case-of-thurn-und.html>.

²² Briony Penn, Elizabeth White, Cate McEwan, and Melanie Furman, “Background Info Provides Burgoyne Context,” *Driftwood*, 17 February 2021, 8.

²³ Kahn, *Salt Spring*, 213.

that deadline was obviously infeasible, however, and the prince's young widow (who had converted from glamorous socialite to ultra-conservative Catholic),²⁴ chose in 1999 to sell the entire Salt Spring property to two Vancouver developers who created the Texada Land Company. Undeterred by the earlier anti-Weldwood protest, the new company announced that it would harvest all the timber within two to three years, then sell much of the land for real-estate development.

The main reason that the owners of the Texada Land Company, Robert Macdonald and Derek Tretheway, felt compelled to log their property so quickly was that the \$30 million mortgage to the previous owners had to be paid off within three years, and the \$16 million secondary mortgage to Manulife within only two years.²⁵ The purchase included part of the fertile Burgoyne Valley and the entire shoreline of ecologically productive Burgoyne Bay, with its approximately two kilometres of tidal mud flats as well as extensive eelgrass beds that play a vital role in the marine food web.²⁶ As for timber, on either side of the Burgoyne Valley the Vancouver company had acquired substantial parts of Mounts Sullivan, Bruce, and Maxwell, and, farther south, a large area on Mount Tuam. Growing on the slopes of these mountains was one of the largest stands of second-growth Douglas fir in the Gulf Islands, not to mention the most expansive Garry oak meadows in Canada (see Figures 1 and 2).²⁷ Among that meadows' rare plant species are patches of camas, Easter lilies, shooting stars, and chocolate lilies.²⁸ In short, one study concluded, the new company's purchase encompassed "the highest concentration of sensitive ecosystems and rare and endangered species in the region."²⁹

²⁴ Bob Colacello, "The Conversion of Gloria TNT," *Vanity Fair*, 4 June 2004, <https://archive.vanityfair.com/article/2006/6/the-conversion-of-gloria-tnt>.

²⁵ Tanya Lester, "\$46 Million Mortgages on Texada Property," *Driftwood*, 23 February 2000, 1, 2. Tretheway was discovered to have substantial debts, including \$270,000 to Desert Palace in Las Vegas and \$10,000 to two California businesspeople. See Tanya Lester, "Texada Players Tangled in Legal Case," *Driftwood*, 9 February 2000, 1–2. In the words of one journalist, Macdonald would become "one of the biggest developers Vancouver has ever produced." See Lucy Hyslop, "Why Developer Rob Macdonald and Vancouver Don't Mix," *BC Business*, 4 March 2016, <https://www.bcbusiness.ca/why-developer-rob-macdonald-and-vancouver-dont-mix>. The hard-living Tretheway died suddenly at the age of fifty-seven in 2015. See Malcolm Parry, "Town Talk: Friends Mourn Derek Tretheway and a Life Lived at Full Throttle," *Vancouver Sun*, 21 May 2015, <https://vancouversun.com/opinion/columnists/town-talk-friends-mourn-derek-tretheway-and-a-life-lived-at-full-throttle>.

²⁶ *Background Report*, 18–19.

²⁷ Peggy Abrahams, "Texada Negotiating with TLC," *Barnacle*, 6 February 2001, 2.

²⁸ For a detailed list of the area's wildlife and birds, see *Background Report*, 13–16.

²⁹ McEwan and Ling, "Community Action."

URGENT APPEAL

January 2000

Help Protect Southwest Salt Spring

This news sheet has been produced by the Land Conservancy of BC and the Salt Spring Island Funding Appeal Committee.

Research and writing: Shella Harrington, Gary Holman, Nora Layard, Judy Norgat, Briony Penn, Elizabeth White.

Photography: Jonathon Grant, Tamar Griggs.

Map: Jacky Booth, David Denning, and Briony Penn.

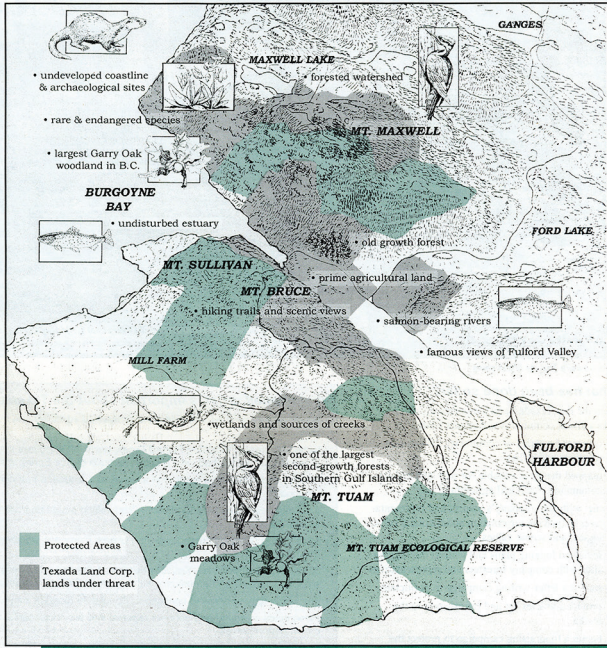
Layout: Elizabeth White. Production & Printing: the Barnacle. Thanks to everyone who helped produce this newsheet. If you would like further information please call: Elizabeth White, Salt Spring Island Funding Appeal Coordinator, at (250) 537-2616.

see:

www.savesaltspring.com

This map is of the southwest area of Salt Spring Island—the largest undeveloped area left in the southern Gulf Islands. This land is a precious ecological, recreational, and economic resource and must be protected before these values are lost. To find out more, please read on.

map by Jacky Booth, David Denning, and Briony Penn

**What's happened?**

On November 1, 1999 almost 5,000 acres—over one tenth—of Salt Spring Island was purchased by the newly formed Texada Land Corporation. This area is in the southwest part of the island and is the largest undeveloped area of the Southern Gulf Islands. It includes the forested hills along the Fulford Valley, parts of Mount Tuam and Mount Maxwell, and both shores of Burgoyne Bay—all part of the magnificent picture-postcard views that visitors from around the world come to see. Ninety percent of these lands contain sensitive, rare, or endangered ecosystems. Texada Land Corporation also has logging and development rights to a large portion of the Maxwell Lake watershed. Salt Spring Island's last relatively undisturbed drinking water source.

The new owners are logging heavily. As logging on these lands is unregulated, they have a legal right to do so. The scale and speed of this unregulated logging operation seriously jeopardizes future parks, community forests, and tourism. The rate of cut is estimated to be ten to fifteen times the sustainable harvest rate. One hundred acres next to the Buddhist monastery on Mount Tuam were clear cut between November and Christmas of 1999. When Texada's loggers have finished cutting on Mount Tuam, they will be moving on to Mount Bruce and Mount Maxwell, where they will be clear cutting three to five acres each day. At this rate, by the end of the year 2000, over 1,000 acres of forest will have disappeared. Try to visualize a clear cut the size of 500 soccer fields—is this what we want for our island?

Why does it matter?**What makes these lands so special?**

The southwest area of Salt Spring is a special place—a diverse environment with rare and endangered Garry oak meadows, rocky arbutus bluffs, eighteen kilometres of undeveloped coastline, four of the highest mountain peaks and the largest expanse of Douglas fir forest in the Southern Gulf Islands, lush red cedar wetlands, outstanding outdoor recreation and scenic areas—many of which can be viewed from as far away as the Malahat.

And our governments agree that this area of Salt Spring is a special place. Mount Maxwell Provincial Park was created back in 1938. Two ecological reserves were created in the area in the 1980s by the provincial Ministry of the Environment. In 1999, southwest Salt Spring was identified as a priority area for park acquisition as part of the Capital Regional District Parks Master Plan of regional parks and trails.

Southwest Salt Spring is earmarked for protection, but the clear cutting continues.

Figure 1. "Help Protect Southwest Salt Spring." Map by Jacky Booth, David Denning, and Briony Penn. Source: *Barnacle*, 18 January 2000, 13.

The Texada Land Company's strategy ran counter to the fact that Salt Spring, like other Gulf Islands, lies within the bounds of the oversight agency known as Islands Trust. Created as a provincial agency in 1974, its role is to protect designated areas of "high recreational, scenic or ecological importance."³⁰ To that end, government policy declared that "on each island in the Trust area, the rate of forest harvesting should

³⁰ Quoted in Little, *At the Wilderness Edge*, 83.



Figure 2. Hikers in Garry oak meadow on the upper slope of Mount Maxwell looking towards Vancouver Island, 2019. Photo by Lynn Thompson.

not exceed the rate of re-growth.”³¹ The Texada holdings, however, were within the province’s Forest Land Reserve,³² and Reserve policy trumped that of the Islands Trust. As a result, Salt Spring’s Official Community Plan and bylaws, which were in line with the more restrictive Trust policy, did not apply to the Texada property. The editor of Salt Spring’s *Gulf Islands Driftwood* advised, nevertheless, that “the wise investor has some knowledge of the community in which he is risking his capital. To date it appears that Texada’s new owners have limited knowledge of the level of environmental concern that exists here. And that would lead us to conclude they are unaware of some recent history as well.”³³

³¹ Quoted in Peggy Abrahams, “Rate of Cut Decried,” *Barnacle*, 15 February 2000, 2. On the mandate and structure of Islands Trust, see Peter Lamb, *The Islands Trust Story: To Preserve and Protect* (Salt Spring Island: self-published, 2009).

³² The Private Managed Forest Land Program was launched in 1988. Its aim was to encourage responsible forest practices on privately owned land by reducing its taxation rate. See Private Managed Forest Land – Province of British Columbia, ww2.gov.bc.ca/private-managed-forest-land.

³³ *Driftwood*, 10 November 1999, 8.

DIRECT ACTION AND PUBLICITY

The fact that Salt Spring Island did not have municipal status, but only limited representation on the board of the Capital Regional District (CRD), was an incentive for citizens to organize in order to make themselves heard.³⁴ The same week that the Texada land sale was made public, nearly eighty residents gathered to create a committee designed to deal with what one member referred to as “a subtle, veiled and extremely dangerous attack on local environmental sensibilities.”³⁵ In contrast to the 1990 protest campaign, the new committee did not create a formal organization or adopt a name, instead deciding upon a loose coalition form of organizing by creating what were referred to as affinity groups. In doing so, the organizers, who were inspired by the massive protests in Seattle during the World Trade Organization meeting of that year,³⁶ reduced their vulnerability to being attacked as an exclusive group of radicals. The affinity groups operated independently of each other but with one group serving as a coordinating body. There was also ample opportunity for public input, with, on occasion, regular open meetings attracting more than two hundred attendees.³⁷ As a result, there were no open rifts during the protracted campaign despite the fact that, as organizer Gary Holman informed me, different people had different priorities and favoured different strategies.³⁸

Texada’s owners got off on the right foot by agreeing in early November 1999 to defer logging on land adjacent to the main road to Fulford Harbour at the south end of the island. This was encouraging news for the eighty protesters gathered near the village in the pre-dawn November chill.³⁹ Logging did, in fact, initially proceed at a relatively slow pace, with only four fallers at work on the island.⁴⁰ Of greater concern at the time was the potential for a subdivision at Burgoyne Bay where there were still only a few small cottages on the shoreline. The zoning at that time provided for more than one hundred building lots, a marina, and a seaplane base.⁴¹ In mid-December, however, Macdonald again attempted

³⁴ See the editorial in *Driftwood*, 9 February 2000, 8.

³⁵ Mike Levin, “Protests Gear up as First Trees Fall,” *Driftwood*, 10 November 1999, 1, 3.

³⁶ Email from Briony Penn to author, 16 May 2021.

³⁷ See, for example, Mike Levin, “Texada Reveals Little,” *Driftwood*, 1 December 1999, 1.

³⁸ Author’s interview with Gary Holman, 2 August 2021. Holman served from 2002 to 2008 as the CRD representative for Salt Spring and as an NDP member of the Legislative Assembly from 2013 to 2017. He is again the island’s CRD representative.

³⁹ Peggy Abrahams and Shelagh Plunkett, “Clear Cut About Face: No Immediate Logging on Lee’s,” *Barnacle*, 9 November 1999, 3.

⁴⁰ Levin, “Texada Reveals Little,” 1.

⁴¹ Mike Levin, “Texada Delays Release of Plans for Salt Spring Island Holdings,” *Driftwood*, 24 November 1999, 3.

to alleviate concerns when he made it clear that his company had no interest in a residential development.⁴² That, of course, did not mean that the shoreline would not be sold to other developers.

At a public meeting held on Salt Spring a couple of weeks later, a motion was passed by 197 votes to three in support of a “non-violent civil disobedience approach” – namely, peaceable direct-action tactics against what was referred to as Texada’s clear-cut logging.⁴³ Texada’s forester insisted that the subcontractor was only “patch cutting,” but these were still clear-cuts according to the definition of the Forest Practices Branch of the Ministry of Forests, namely the removal of “an entire stand of trees from an area of one hectare or more and greater than two tree heights in width, in a single harvesting operation.”⁴⁴ Logging operations soon began adjacent to the Buddhist retreat centre on Mount Tuam, where, according to a local newspaper reporter, “dynamite blasts and the buzz of chainsaws” interfered with the attempts of visitors and residents to sleep and meditate.⁴⁵ In response, a roadside cross (see Figure 3) was erected for every logging truck that left the mountain, and a camp for non-violent civil disobedience was planned for late January.⁴⁶

The aim of such tactics was to attract media attention that would keep the campaign in the public eye well beyond Salt Spring, thereby pressuring state as well as privately funded conservation agencies to acquire much of the land for conservation and public-use purposes. Organizers were clearly aware that the success of the blockades that had been resorted to in the Clayoquot campaign was, in the words of geographer Bruce Braun, “measured in terms of publicity.”⁴⁷ In response to the planned civil disobedience, Macdonald claimed in a letter to the *Driftwood*: “We have publicly published our plan and our principles and are trying to work with the community and the Capital Regional District in a constructive manner which will hopefully result in more park land

⁴² Mike Levin, “Texada Says No Development,” *Driftwood*, 15 December 1992, 1.

⁴³ Tanya Lester, “Logging Halted over Christmas: Locals Consider Options for Action,” *Driftwood*, 22 December 1999, 5. On the origins of direct-action practices in the California redwood forest during the 1980s, see Woodhouse, *The Ecocentrists*, 136–39.

⁴⁴ Peggy Abrahams, “Not Such a Clear-Cut Issue,” *Barnacle*, 18 January 2000, 7. The quotation is from “How about It, Mr. Macdonald?” *Barnacle*, 21 November 2000, 4.

⁴⁵ Peggy Abrahams, “As the Trees Fall on Tuam, Prayers Are Said at Buddhist Retreat,” *Barnacle*, 28 December 1999, 3.

⁴⁶ “Texada Opponents Choose Direct Action Approach,” *Driftwood*, 22 December 1999, 4. The cross-planting was repeated in mid-January. Photos of them taken by a local wildlife photographer were to be used in promotional materials directed at national media outlets. See Tanya Lester, “Crosses Honour Texada Clear-Cut Trees,” *Driftwood*, 19 January 2000, 1, 4.

⁴⁷ Bruce Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada’s West Coast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 69.



Figure 3. Roadside cross planting. Photo by Derrick Lundy. *Source: Driftwood*, 22 December 1999, 1.

for Salt Spring Island.⁴⁸ In the same vein, local resident Bruce Smith’s letter to the editor insisted that the direct-action committee “does not speak for all the people on Salt Spring and certainly not for all Salt Spring land owners ... To suggest that legal activities on private lands should and could be stopped by civil disobedience is contrary to the principles of law.”⁴⁹

The great majority of the correspondents to the newspaper editors were, nevertheless, of a contrary opinion.⁵⁰ Thus, another local resident, Uri Cogan, responded by insisting that Smith did not speak for the silent majority but for “a greedy, insatiably hungry, value-challenged and profoundly ignorant minority that stubbornly clings to ideas and ways of doing things whose time has passed.” Cogan then added: “When you buy a piece of land, society grants you and your heirs permission to use it, but in a way that will not infringe on the commons.”⁵¹ A third

⁴⁸ Robert J. Macdonald to editor, *Driftwood*, 5 January 2000, 9.

⁴⁹ Bruce Smith to editor, *Driftwood*, 5 January 2000, 10.

⁵⁰ Excluding those from lead organizers, I counted twenty-six letters to the *Driftwood* editor in 2000 that were in favour of the protest and only two that were opposed. *Barnacle* readers tended to be even more hostile to the Texada company.

⁵¹ Uri Cogan, “Greedy, Ignorant’ Minority Holding Tight to Old Ideas,” *Driftwood*, 12 January 2000, 9.

correspondent, Larry Shetzer, noted that the Salt Spring Chamber of Commerce website described the island as “an ecological gem, a wonderland for hikers and kayakers,” populated by “off-beat, laid back” residents who “are passionate about the environment and quality of life, alternative and organic, community-minded, independent, eclectic and eccentric.” If the majority “are just the regular, good old North American suburban folk,” Shetzer added, “perhaps Salt Spring in future could stop hyping itself as being something that it is not.”⁵²

The company took a measured response to the first public act of civil disobedience, a road blockade, when operations manager Brent Kapler told the RCMP officer who was standing by: “I’m not into confrontation. They can stand in front of the truck all day if they want.” One overly enthusiastic protester was arrested after he unhooked the airlines to the truck’s brakes, but a collection was taken to compensate the driver for work time lost.⁵³ The journalist covering the event ended his story by enthusing, “only on Salt Spring could a protest turn into a love-in of sorts.”⁵⁴

Texada continued to cultivate public relations later in January 2000 by placing a conservation covenant on the watershed of Fulford Creek as well as by working with the Island Stream and Salmon Enhancement Society to build fish ladders in three critical places on the creek. The company also agreed to pay \$5,600 towards hiring two ecologists from the BC Conservation Foundation to identify sensitive ecosystems throughout its holdings.⁵⁵ Finally, Texada published a number of full-page “community reports” in the local press. Claiming in the early February report that the Provincial Code of Practices did not apply to lands within the Forest Land Reserve,⁵⁶ the company stated that it had nevertheless “implemented several actions as a part of our work, that meet or exceed provincial requirements.” In addition to contacting local

⁵² Larry Shetzer to editor, *Driftwood*, 12 January 2000, 10.

⁵³ David Shebib, retired forester and filmmaker, was found guilty and sentenced to one-year probation and two hundred hours of community service. “Guilty Verdict Nets Texada Protester Community Service,” *Driftwood*, 20 September 2000, 6.

⁵⁴ Mike Levin, “Protest Helps Shift Texada Conflict into Clearer Focus,” *Driftwood*, 12 January 2000, 1, 5, 8.

⁵⁵ Mike Levin, “Texada Vows to Add Covenant to Important Creek Watershed,” *Driftwood*, 19 January 2000, 5.

⁵⁶ Inspection in May by a forest practices officer from the Ministry of Environment found that logging on the Texada land complied with the Private Land Practices Regulation (Texada Land Company Report to Community, *Driftwood*, 24 May 2000, 13), but the regulations were quite weak and the situation remains much the same today. See Peggy Abrahams, “Amendment to Forest Land Reserve Act Becomes Law,” *Barnacle*, 4 April 2000, 3; and Shauna Doll and Chris Denovali, “Strong Forest Protection Needed,” *Driftwood*, 28 October 2020, 8. On the province’s Forest Practices Code, see Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 314.

groups in order to determine where conservation initiatives might “meet mutually acceptable goals,” it had approached the office of the CRD and other public bodies about their possible purchase of certain parcels, including the western slope of Mount Maxwell with its undisturbed Garry oak landscape. What Texada had in mind was the sale of 929 acres (376 hectares), equivalent to one-fifth of its holdings, as a single block for a park or ecological reserve. The company was not promising a bargain price, Macdonald added, but it would negotiate on the basis of appraised values.⁵⁷

Meanwhile the pace of logging increased, and members of the protest campaign were inspired to further action by a visit from Joe Foy of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, which had played a leading role in the War in the Woods and which reportedly had twenty-seven thousand members. According to the *Driftwood* reporter, Foy declared: “What I’m seeing is a rush to log. They are hurting the environment and jacking up the price of the land.” He advised that there were “lots of ways to bring them to the table, such as a government threat of expropriation, where we can make it so there is too much pain for Texada (to continue). Let’s just say it’s up to (activists) to make them act with enlightened self-interest.”⁵⁸ There was little chance of expropriation, but, not long afterwards, two local residents – including a woman with paraplegia known as Sally Sunshine (see Figure 4) – chained themselves to a logging truck that had been stopped by thirty-eight protesters. Sunshine told a reporter: “This has nothing to do with me being disabled. I am doing this with my heart and soul. I have no other choice. This clear-cutting has to stop.”⁵⁹

After four hours, the two protesters agreed to free themselves without police intervention, but a week later the blockade affinity group barricaded an access road leading from Mount Tuam. The road lay outside the company land boundaries and, as pointed out by the members of the protest encampment that was established on the road (among whom were a lawyer, a physician, and two owners of a local business),⁶⁰ its use required a permit from the Ministry of Environment, Lands, and Parks. To obtain such a permit the company would need to make road upgrades

⁵⁷ Texada Land Corporation, “Community Report to Salt Spring Island,” *Driftwood*, 2 February 2000, 14.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Mike Levin, “Anti-Clear-Cutters Visited by WCWC Heavyweight,” *Driftwood*, 9 February 2000, 4 (parentheses in original).

⁵⁹ Mike Levin, “Chaining Protest Blocks Truck, Has Peaceful Ending,” *Driftwood*, 16 February 2000, 1.

⁶⁰ Tanya Lester, “Island Business Owners Rally to Protest Texada Clear-Cuts,” *Driftwood*, 1 March 2000, 4.



Figure 4. Sally Sunshine locked to logging truck. Photo by Uri Cogan. Source: *Barnacle*, 15 February 2000, 1.

that would cause a month-long delay in operations.⁶¹ This was not good news for Texada, given the financial pressure to pay off its short-term mortgages at the substantial interest rates of 7.5 percent to the German princess and 10 percent to Manulife.⁶²

⁶¹ Tanya Lester and Mike Levin, "Camp Protests Texada Road Use at Mt. Tuam Site," *Driftwood*, 23 February 2000, 1, 3.

⁶² Lester, "\$46 Million Mortgages," 1.

Logging had presumably resumed by mid-March, however, when an open letter signed by twenty-eight Salt Spring residents claimed that not only had the harvest exceeded the annual rate of regrowth “by 100 percent or so,” but the company had already clear-cut four lots, thereby “ripping the heart out of the biggest contiguous Douglas-fir stands remaining in our lovely islands.”⁶³ Direct-action initiatives continued and tensions increased. Angered by their inability to work, six to eight men in two pickup trucks, evidently owned by the logging contractor hired by Texada, attacked the protest camp set up on company land. They physically assaulted one person, cut the rope holding a tree-sitter’s platform, and tore the campsite apart.⁶⁴ Later the same night, someone also assaulted the person who was locked to a piece of company machinery.⁶⁵ The contractor firm, Dorman Timber, then secured a court injunction to remove protesters from the blockade, thereby enabling the workers to move the machinery to other sites on the island.⁶⁶

Soon afterwards, Texada itself named ten individuals plus a John and Jane Doe in a lawsuit seeking a cease and desist order on protest activities at or near its operations. Claiming that 10,000 cubic metres of wood with a commercial value of over \$1 million were lying on the ground, the company stated that delays would expose the logs to ambrosia beetles, thereby creating a stain that would lower their market value. In addition, Texada sued the publisher of the *Barnacle*, Jeff Outerbridge, its editor Shelagh Plunkett, and one of its columnists, Shelagh Plunkett, for articles criticizing the “business and personal styles” of Macdonald and company employees.⁶⁷ The aim of such an action, known as a Strategic Lawsuit against Public Participation (or SLAPP suit), was to intimidate and silence critics by burdening them with the cost of a legal defence.⁶⁸

In retaliation, John Davies – the lawyer representing approximately fifty concerned community members – presented the Vancouver court with a counter-injunction backed by a videotape and an affidavit signed

⁶³ “Salt Spring Group Responds to Texada Report,” *Driftwood*, 15 March 2000, 9.

⁶⁴ Beginning in the mid-1980s, the dangerous practice of tree-sitting rapidly became a standard feature of environmental protests in the Pacific Northwest. See Woodhouse, *The Ecocentrists*, 139.

⁶⁵ Tanya Lester, “Night Action Heats Up Protest,” *Driftwood*, 15 March 2000, 1, 3.

⁶⁶ “TLC Takes Legal Step,” *Driftwood*, 22 March 2000, 1.

⁶⁷ “Texada and Macdonald File Suits against Islanders,” *Barnacle*, 4 April 2000, 2; Mike Levin and Tanya Lester, “Texada Controversy Moves into Legal Realm,” *Driftwood*, 5 April 2000, 1, 2.

⁶⁸ Stefanick, 55–56. The anti-SLAPP legislation passed by the NDP government in 2001 was overturned by the Liberals the following year, but a new anti-SLAPP law was enacted in 2019. See Mark Leiren-Young, “David Eby on British Columbia’s New Anti-SLAPP Law,” <https://www.freedomtoread.ca/articles/david-ebay-on-british-columbias-new-anti-slapp-law/>.

by a local school principal claiming that logging trucks were travelling at high speeds, failing to halt at stop signs, and threatening the safety of children at school bus stops. The company's lawyer then withdrew the anti-protest injunction, leading the judge to refuse to grant the counter-injunction against the truck traffic. Dissatisfied with this decision, Davies announced his intention to proceed with an injunction against Dorman Timber concerning the violence committed by its loggers.⁶⁹

On a less confrontational level, the protest campaign had printed one thousand postcards featuring a photograph of a clear-cut forest. Members of the public were encouraged to send messages on these cards to the offices of Manulife Financial, as Texada's second mortgage holder.⁷⁰ In early April, publicity and fundraising events included a well-attended public tour to view the clear-cut logging sites on Mount Tuam and Hope Hill. The tour leader, local forest geneticist Sally John, claimed that the company had not, as promised, stayed out of areas in which the CRD had expressed interest, that old-growth trees had been cut down (see Figure 5), as had large-diameter trees within riparian zones, and that many of the seed trees left behind were of marginal quality.⁷¹

The publicity campaign was now gaining steam, with the calendar for the week of 12 April including the Unchain the Islands Trust demonstration on the grounds of the legislature (over two hundred attended) (see Figure 6); the Prayers for the Forest gathering at which islanders could "silently pray or vocalize their prayers by speaking aloud or presenting them as poetry, song, dance or instrumental music for up to five minutes"; and the Logging on Salt Spring Forever dialogue and beach barbeque to which members of the local logging community were "warmly invited" to express their views. (Texada co-owner Tretheway arrived by floatplane and purchased a \$100 bar of Keep Salt Spring Green soap). Finally, there was the "Howe Now?" media conference and public demonstration outside Macdonald's office on Vancouver's Howe Street.⁷² At that event, fifty to sixty people (including members of the Raging Grannies) delivered a mock eviction notice to the Texada office before walking seven blocks to the Manulife building where a young girl accompanied by her father was given permission to visit the

⁶⁹ Tanya Lester, "Hearing Attempts to Turn the Tables," *Driftwood*, 12 April 2000, 1, 3. A Dorman truck driver, who had three previous assault convictions, was fined \$1,000 plus twelve months' probation and \$340 restitution to the victim for lost wages and medical expenses. See "Dorman Man Fined \$1,000 for Assault," *Driftwood*, 10 January 2001, 7.

⁷⁰ Tanya Lester, "Manulife in Ethical Funds," *Driftwood*, 8 March 2000, A4.

⁷¹ Anastacia Wilde, "Texada Tour Stresses Need for Law Change," *Driftwood*, 12 April 2000, 4.

⁷² Lester, "Hearing Attempts," 4.



Figure 5. Filmmaker Mort Ransom standing beside a freshly cut old-growth stump, 13 March 2000. Tamar Griggs Photography.



Figure 6. Unchain the Islands Trust demonstration, steps of provincial legislature, 12 April 2000. Tamar Griggs Photography.

seventeenth-floor office in order to deliver a letter condemning the company's granting of the Texada mortgage.⁷³

The next step in the protest campaign was to broaden publicity. Andrea Collins – Salt Spring resident and former wife of rock superstar Phil Collins – took the lead in reaching well beyond Salt Spring. Interviews with Collins appeared in several newspapers across the country as well as in London's *You Magazine*, which boasted 6.5 million readers. In addition, plans were made to pay the airfare for a delegation to meet Princess Gloria in Germany, though she declined to do so.⁷⁴

Collins also signed her proxy vote over to a supporter who attended Manulife's annual general meeting of shareholders in Toronto in early May. Declaring that "it is not chain saws that are desecrating our beautiful island, it is Manulife money," Ken Lee asked the insurance company to use its leverage to persuade Texada to drop all its lawsuits and to impose an immediate two-month moratorium on logging "so that community groups can negotiate fair and equitable land purchases." Clearly concerned about his company's public image, Manulife's chief executive officer stated that he had met with Texada officials and had asked company lawyers to examine the loan agreement to see if it would be possible to "force or coerce" Texada to "behave" in a more responsible manner. The lawyers' response, however, was that Manulife could only intervene if Texada were breaking the law.⁷⁵ As a result, protesters continued to hound the company with negative publicity, launching what they referred to as their Manulife, or Manudeath, campaign. In mid-June they took advantage of the Manulife Literary Arts Festival in Victoria to present a short morality play that dramatized the company's involvement in the logging of Salt Spring. They repeated the performance the following month at the Manulife-hosted International Insurance Society seminar in Vancouver.⁷⁶ In response, Manulife sent staff members on a tour of the Texada land two weeks later.⁷⁷

Meanwhile, between January and June 2000, the protest campaign was the focus of several sympathetic, if sometimes whimsical, articles

⁷³ "Vancouver Protest Hits Offices of Texada and Manulife," *Driftwood*, 19 April 2000, 4.

⁷⁴ "Salt Spring Rock Star Connection Spawns Fundraising Campaign," *Driftwood*, 10 May 2000, 3. Collins was also interviewed by Canada's *National Post* and the Canadian Press. See Tanya Lester, "Save Salt Spring Fund Organizes Big Concert," *Driftwood*, 21 June 2000, 7.

⁷⁵ Karen Howlett, "Manulife Chief Calls for End to Whining," *Globe and Mail*, 5 May 2000; Tanya Lester, "Local Crashes Manulife Party," *Driftwood*, 10 May 2000, 4.

⁷⁶ "Mortgage Burned in Manulife Event," *Driftwood*, 17 May 2000, 2; Tanya Lester, "Fundraising and Frustration Highlight Town Hall Meeting," *Driftwood*, 28 June 2000, 4; "Manulife Skit in Vancouver," *Driftwood*, 12 July 2000, 4.

⁷⁷ "Manulife Staff Tours Texada Land," *Driftwood*, 26 July 2000, 4.

in Toronto's nationally circulated newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*.⁷⁸ Also on a national level, popular CBC radio personality Arthur Black, who was a resident of Salt Spring, held forth in June as keynote speaker at the National Forest Millennial Conference in Thunder Bay, Ontario. Titling his address "Not Illegal – Neither Is It Right," Black told the 550 conference attendees: "People have chosen to live on Salt Spring – and hundreds of thousands of people visit Salt Spring each year – because it looks like an unspoiled Eden. When you've fallen in love with a place because of its unspoiled beauty, it is small comfort to be told by government experts to 'cheer up' – it'll look like this again. In about 30 years." He then added: "Texada has no idea what a puma's den it's wandered into. The fight for Salt Spring will make Temiskaming, Clayoquot Sound and Stein Valley look like a powder puff of pantomimes."⁷⁹

Exaggerated though Black's warning was, direct-action activities had, in fact, been intensifying. Three protesters had locked themselves onto a Dorman logging truck in late May,⁸⁰ and their arrest for contempt of court did not prevent subsequent defiance of the court order. A Vancouver resident was arrested for locking down on a logging truck later the same week, and a few days later four other protesters – including an eighty-seven-year-old woman – were arrested for blocking passage of yet another logging truck.⁸¹ The obviously frustrated Texada owners decided to increase their pressure, in turn, by applying to have the charges against nine protesters changed from civil to criminal contempt of court, an application that was granted by the judge on the grounds that the acts were public rather than private in nature.⁸² At an ensuing blockade, attended by eighty people, no logging truck appeared, but violence did erupt when a young protester jumped in front of a pickup truck and the

⁷⁸ Elizabeth Nickson, "Facts of Life," *Globe and Mail*, 20 January 2000; Elizabeth Nickson, "Children Donate Their Allowances ... The Entire Island is on the Warpath," *Globe and Mail*, 2 March 2000; Sid Tafler, "Whose Woods These Are, I Think I Know," *Globe and Mail*, 1 May 2000; Kim Lunman, "B.C. Protester Chains Himself to Logging Truck," *Globe and Mail*, 12 May 2000; Jane Armstrong, "Saltspring Galvanizes Against Logging," *Globe and Mail*, 12 June 2000.

⁷⁹ "Not Illegal – Neither Is It Right," *Barnacle*, 20 June 2000, 9. The author of many humorous books, Black was host of a weekly CBC radio show with more than 600,000 listeners as well as a columnist with the *Barnacle*. See "Arthur Black (humorist)," [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur_Black_\(humorist\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur_Black_(humorist)).

⁸⁰ Gail Sjuberg, "Firefighters Grind Protesters Off Logging Trucks," *Driftwood*, 17 May 2000, 1, 5.

⁸¹ "Lock-Downs Resume at Triangle," *Driftwood*, 24 May 2000, 5; "Protest Planned for Trust Office," *Driftwood*, 31 May 2000, 5.

⁸² Gail Sjuberg, "Zoning Prohibits Log Dump," *Driftwood*, 7 June 2020, 1; "Sting Taken Out of Protest Charges," *Driftwood*, 21 June 2000, 4.

enraged driver began chasing him, striking a *Vancouver Sun* photographer and a video cameraman while doing so.⁸³

The sense of urgency increased still further in July when Texada shifted its logging operations from Mount Tuam to Mount Maxwell, raising concerns about the watershed for Lake Maxwell, which served approximately half the central water district's requirements.⁸⁴ On his own initiative, the manager of North Salt Spring Waterworks, Mike Larmour, arranged the purchase of the forty-eight-acre (19.4-hectare) Texada lot adjoining the lake for \$437,500.⁸⁵ Concerns remained, however, about the possible impact of logging the secondary watershed that lay beyond the lake lot.

Furthermore, negotiations between Texada and the CRD for the purchase of potential public parkland at Burgoyne Bay had stalled in July, with the CRD charging that the company was asking two to five times more than the land was worth.⁸⁶ Company co-owner Macdonald claimed, in turn, that the CRD appraisers had valued the timber at only eleven dollars per cubic metre while he was currently selling it for approximately sixty dollars per cubic metre.⁸⁷ Texada offered to give the CRD three months to reach a deal once the logging was complete, adding that it was willing to go to arbitration if necessary, but negotiations were still at a standstill in late fall.⁸⁸

Although the "peace camp" had been dismantled during the summer, tensions increased again in October after the logging contractor, Dorman, stated that sand had been placed in the gas tank of a feller-buncher and that there had been earlier incidents of vandalism to an excavator and a rock drill.⁸⁹ Such tactics (for which no group claimed responsibility) obviously went beyond the civil-disobedience strategy advocated by the campaign organizers, as did the letter Dorman claimed to have received a couple of weeks later from the "Salt Spring Island Spiking Club" informing him that it had spiked trees in the Mount Tuam, Mount Bruce,

⁸³ "Violence Erupts at Burgoyne Triangle," *Driftwood*, 14 June 2000, 3.

⁸⁴ "Protecting the Water," *Driftwood* (editorial), 12 July 2000, 8.

⁸⁵ The Salt Spring Water Preservation Society contributed \$100,000 and the Salt Spring Conservancy \$34,000, leaving \$303,500 for the water district ratepayers, representing a 9 percent increase in their annual rates. See Anastacia Wilde, "Rally Urges Watershed Protection," *Driftwood*, 26 July 2000, 1; Anastacia Wilde, "Land Cost Details Released," *Driftwood*, 2 August 2000, 1-2.

⁸⁶ "Texada-CRD Talks Break Down," *Driftwood*, 5 July 2000, 2.

⁸⁷ "Rally Precedes Finalization of Texada-Maxwell Agreement," *Driftwood*, 19 July 2000, 5.

⁸⁸ Robert J. Macdonald, "Texada Responds: No 'Bad Faith' in CRD Negotiations," *Driftwood*, 9 August 2000, 7; "National Park Addition Plan Gains Momentum," *Driftwood*, 25 October 2000, 3.

⁸⁹ "Dorman Logging Equipment Vandalized," *Barnacle*, 10 October 2000, 10.

and Mount Maxwell areas.⁹⁰ The potential for such an action to result in serious injury to fallers and sawmill workers was so great that it had been renounced a decade earlier by the organization that had initiated it, Earth First!⁹¹ But the letter (assuming it existed), was obviously a hoax for no police investigation or spiked trees were reported in the press and the supposed group was never mentioned again. The logging company, nevertheless, beefed up security, disallowed further public access to its property, and implemented random patrols. These actions, in turn, led to environmentalists' concern that it would be more difficult to monitor adherence to Forest Land Reserve Commission regulations, a concern that was understandable given that Texada had been fined \$13,000 the previous month for destabilizing and damaging a stream bank on Mount Tuam.⁹²

Intense negotiations had, meanwhile, resumed behind the scenes. In early November, Texada suddenly announced that it had reached an agreement with the federal government to grant a forty-day moratorium on all logging in what were defined as areas of public interest.⁹³ Definition of those areas appears to have been limited, for Briony Penn charged: "They have cut right up to the edge of the Garry oak ecological reserve on Mount Maxwell, into a patch of old growth, including 200-year-old Douglas fir trees. They have barged a road into the open mossy rock bluffs."⁹⁴ Macdonald replied rather cavalierly: "We'd like to make our visit on Salt Spring as short as possible and we think that our expediting the process is in everyone's interest." He also claimed that, because the main bone of contention was the value of the timber, cutting it should accelerate the deliberations.⁹⁵ As a result of this provocation, another direct-action protest erupted a week later, this one within the central village of Ganges. More than a hundred people blocked a fully loaded logging truck, and a local resident locked herself to its underbelly for six hours. With adolescent anti-protesters shouting obscenities, a squadron of off-island RCMP Quick Response Team members surrounded the truck and averted violence.⁹⁶ No doubt realizing that such actions were

⁹⁰ Peggy Abrahams, "Security Tightens on Texada Lands," *Barnacle*, 24 October 2000, 2; "Spiking Threats Uttered," *Driftwood*, 25 October 2000, 1.

⁹¹ Woodhouse, *The Ecocentrists*, 221–27.

⁹² Anastacia Wilde, "\$50,000 Donation Kicks Off Community Meeting," *Driftwood*, 1 November 2000, A2; "Texada Fined \$5 for Breach of Regulations," *Driftwood*, 4 October 2000, A5.

⁹³ Anastacia Wilde, "Texada Grants 40-Day Moratorium," *Driftwood*, 1 November 2000, A1.

⁹⁴ Anastacia Wilde, "Maxwell Logging Cuts Close to the Heart," *Driftwood*, 22 November 2000, 2. There was already a sixty-five-hectare ecological reserve and a 199-hectare provincial park on Mount Maxwell. See *Background Report*, 4.

⁹⁵ Wilde, "Maxwell Logging," 1.

⁹⁶ Anastacia Wilde, "Logging Conflict Erupts in Ganges," *Driftwood*, 29 November 2000, 1, 2.

attracting negative publicity for the fundraising campaign, organizers subsequently turned to less divisive tactics.

The first such tactic, attracting attention from the national press and beyond, was Penn's chilly semi-nude re-enactment in late January 2001 of Lady Godiva's horseback ride flanked by bare-breasted women proceeding down Vancouver's Howe Street (see Figure 7).⁹⁷ Anticipating objections from moral conservatives, Penn spoke to the media: "I've got a PhD and no one listens. I take my clothes off and here you all are. So thank you."⁹⁸ As for the feminist stance about the objectification of female bodies, Penn and the bare-breasted women who accompanied her referred to themselves as eco-warriors, thereby appropriating the term first used to describe the all-male members of the Greenpeace expedition to Amchitka.⁹⁹

The following month, when the nine protesters who had been arrested the previous year were tried in Victoria, a crowd of some one hundred marched to the courthouse where the public was entertained with street theatre, the Raging Grannies' musical singalongs, and some rousing speeches.¹⁰⁰ After a two-week trial, one arrestee (a forty-one-year-old independent filmmaker), pleaded guilty to criminal contempt and was sentenced to fifteen days in jail. Five of the eight who pleaded not guilty to the same charge received sentences varying from one day in jail and 120 hours of community service (a single mother of two) to six months imprisonment (a forty-seven-year-old carpenter who was the father of three). The latter had refused to apologize for his actions, as did a twenty-eight-year-old jack-of-all-trades (and father of one) who was sentenced to thirty days imprisonment, and two youths who were sentenced to ten days and fifteen days, respectively. A third youth apologized and received only six-months' probation. Finally, an elderly woman was given a suspended sentence; and a man who had simply crossed the road in

⁹⁷ Caroline Alphonso, "Logging Protester Bares All," *Globe and Mail*, 23 January 2001; Peter Gzowski, "That Buck-Naked Saltspringer Fits the Bill," *Globe and Mail*, 27 January 2001; Nicholas Russell, *Morals and the Media: Ethics in Canadian Journalism*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 176.

⁹⁸ Glenn Bohn, "'Lady Godiva' Protest Assails Saltspring Logging," *Vancouver Sun*, 23 January 2001, www.savesaltspring.com/godiva.html. Penn earned a PhD in geography from the University of Edinburgh. For one moral objection, see A.J. Gibson, "Does Battle for Burgoyne Stack Up against Need for Temperate Rainforest?" *Driftwood*, 14 February 2001, 9.

⁹⁹ See Willeen G. Keough, "Sea Shepherds, Eco-Warriors and Impresarios: Performing Eco-Masculinity in the Canadian Seal Hunt of the Late Twentieth Century," in *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place*, ed. Robert Allen Rutherford and Peter Gossage (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 220.

¹⁰⁰ Anastacia Wilde, "Rally Supports Protesters as Trial Begins," *Driftwood*, 21 February 2001, 1. On the history of the Raging Grannies, see Carole Roy, "The Original Raging Grannies: Using Creative and Humorous Protests for Political Education," <https://raginggrannies.org/herstory/>.



JOHN LEHMAN/REUTERS

Briony Penn, (un)dressed as Lady Godiva, conducts a cellphone interview yesterday during a demonstration in downtown Vancouver. She was accompanied by topless protesters and a contingent of police.

Figure 7. "Logging Protester Bares All." Photo by John Lehman. *Source: Globe and Mail*, 25 January 2001, A3.

front of a logging truck was acquitted.¹⁰¹ What the trial reflects, then, is not only the determination of some of the Salt Spring protesters but also the cross-class and cross-age nature of the direct-action campaign.

Meanwhile, the publicity campaign expanded in late March with the national television broadcast of *Ah ... the Money, the Money, the Money*: *Battle for Salt Spring*, a film directed by Mort Ransen, a local resident with a long career at the National Film Board.¹⁰² According to the *Driftwood* editor, Ransen's film – which was shown on the popular CBC weekly program *The Nature of Things* – may have turned the tide as far as federal funds were concerned.¹⁰³ Ottawa now promised another \$10 million towards future acquisitions for the Gulf Islands park being created by the joint federal-provincial Pacific Marine Heritage Legacy Fund.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately for Salt Spring, however, Parks Canada would ultimately decide to exclude the island from that park. But that did not deter the campaign organizers from continuing to push for negotiations to acquire a sizable portion of the Texada Land Company's holding.

FUNDRAISING AND NEGOTIATIONS

It was understood from the start that fundraising would play a crucial role in the Salt Spring campaign to acquire as much of the Texada-owned land as possible. Thus was born the Salt Spring Island Appeal Fund, under the able direction of Elizabeth White, who had a background in "green" businesses (see Figure 8). TLC, The Land Conservancy of British Columbia, served as the lead agency and fundraising body, and other interested associations included the Nature Conservancy of Canada, the Salt Spring Island Conservancy, and the Salt Spring Island Water Preservation Society. The initial goal was to raise \$500,000 by May 2000, and the first step was to open an information and fundraising centre in the island's central village of Ganges, managing the website, www.savesaltspring.com.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Peggy Abrahams, "Trial Ends, Protesters Sentenced," *Barnacle*, 6 March 2001, 3; Anastacia Wilde, "Jail Sentences Vary for Logging Activists," *Driftwood*, 7 March 2001, 1, 4.

¹⁰² Gail Sjuberg, "Salt Spring People Are the Heroes in Ransen's Ah, the Money Film," *Driftwood*, 28 March 2001, 7.

¹⁰³ Tony Richards, "Never Under-Estimate Nina Raginsky," *Driftwood*, 4 April 2001, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Gail Sjuberg, "Island Hears Magic Words: \$20 Million," *Driftwood*, 4 April 2001, 1.

¹⁰⁵ Lester, "Logging Halted," 5; Sheila Harrington, "Islanders Invited to Help Save Special Salt Spring Lands," *Driftwood*, 22 December 1999, 6; McEwan and Ling, "Community Action."

A20 • WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 2000

GULF ISLANDS DRIFTWOOD

What would you do with 5,000 acres?



THE 5,000 ACRES THAT THE TEXADA LAND CORPORATION BOUGHT IN NOVEMBER IS OVER ONE-TENTH THE LAND BASE OF SALT SPRING.

- As a mixture of publicly and privately owned parkland, community forests, and organic farms those 5,000 acres could provide islanders with long-lasting jobs from tourism, sustainable forestry, and organic farming. They can enrich island life for generations to come.
- That's why we're working hard to raise enough money to buy as much land as we can, and protect the rest through covenants and stewardship agreements with private buyers. That's why we've entered into cost-sharing partnerships with regional, provincial, and federal agencies.

And that's why we're asking for your help.



Parkland

Tourism is already the back-bone of Salt Spring's economy. Many islanders depend on it for most, if not all, of their income. The Texada lands abound with wildlife and unspoiled beauty. They are a natural magnet for eco-tourists, the fastest growing segment of the tourist industry.

Most of Canada's largest Garry Oak woodland meadow lies within those 5,000 acres. So does the largest contiguous Douglas-fir forest left in the southern Gulf Islands. The land is home to river otters and mink, long-toed salamanders and red-legged frogs, peregrine falcons and great horned owls, phantom orchids and the rare dusky wing butterfly. Porpoise and orca swim in the bay.

As protected parkland, these unique ecosystems will attract new visitors to Salt Spring from all over the world.

Community Forests

Several parcels are just right for a sustainable community forest where logs would be only one of many possible products.

Cascara and yerba buena for herbal medicines and teas; resins for perfumes and soap, mushrooms and berries for the natural food market; willows for crafts — these are just a few of the products a responsibly managed forest can provide.

The logs that are harvested will stay on the island, providing jobs in value-added activities like specialized milling and the manufacture of finished products. Fast-maturing alder, ignored by industrial logging, could serve a thriving island furniture-making guild while slower growing trees are allowed to reach their full potential.

Managed sustainably, these forests will still be providing island jobs a hundred years from now.

Organic Farms

Lee's Hill and the Burgoyne Valley are perfect for small organic farms and orchards. Working with a community land trust, farmers can have secure, affordable, long-term leases, and the farm land will be protected for future generations.

Salt Spring is already linked with a healthy, rural lifestyle. Farm fresh organic food from Salt Spring Island has an instant year-round market, on and off-island.

And just like the community forest, the land trust farms will support a multitude of value-added enterprises. Dried fruits and fruit leathers, juncos and teas, packaged soups and mixes, organic sauces and salsas are just a few examples. Demonstration gardens would add to the island's tourist attractions; as an added bonus, we would preserve our rural views and open vistas.

That's our vision for the Texada lands.

Groups like the Land Conservancy of BC, CRD Parks, the Salt Spring Island Conservancy, and the Salt Spring Water Preservation Society are already pitching in. We CAN acquire the land. **But we need your help.**

To volunteer your skills or make a donation to invest in Salt Spring's future, visit our new fundraising and information centre, above Barb's Buns and the Mobile Market. We're open Tuesday to Saturday, from nine to five. Or call us at 538-0337.

And visit our website, at www.savesaltspring.com

And come to the next Town Hall meeting, at 7pm Thursday, March 30 at Fulford Hall

This ad is sponsored by the following businesses: Ganges Floor Coverings, Volume 2 Books, Ganges Stationery, Skin Sensations, Apple Photo, Blue Dragon Naturals, Warren Langley Signs, Flowers and Wine Shop, Acoustic Planet Music, Allresco's Restaurant, Island Star Video, Andrew Lewis Design, Penn & Gunn Associates, The Wardrobe, and these individuals: Sharon Kowal, Heather and Brian Gooding, Geoff Swift.

Figure 8. "What Would You Do with 5,000 Acres?" Source: *Driftwood*, 8 March 2000. (Note the number of local business sponsors listed at the bottom of the page.)

Half a million dollars was a tall order for a community of little more than nine thousand, but they included experienced environmentalists, high-profile entertainment artists, and relatively affluent retirees as well as a number of wealthy seasonal residents. A concert on 18 February 2000 featured widely known local residents Bill Henderson (formerly of the rock band Chilliwack) and Valdy, followed later in the month by the Woodstop Festival with twenty-five bands and solo performers.¹⁰⁶ Such activities, in addition to large individual donations, ensured that the fundraising campaign surpassed its 1 May goal by raising \$648,000; it then set an ambitious \$1 million target for Labour Day.¹⁰⁷

July brought a T-shirt sale and silent art auction, among other fundraising events, and in August there was a rock concert in Vancouver's expansive Commodore Ballroom featuring another well-known Salt Spring resident, Randy Bachman, as well as Chilliwack, the Grapes of Wrath, and others.¹⁰⁸ Attracting much wider attention, however, was the publication the same month of the Preserve and Protect calendar produced by professional photographer Howard Fry, who had recently retired to Salt Spring. Inspired by the recent calendar marketed by the Yorkshire Women's Institute for their anti-cancer campaign, it featured thirty-three local women, aged eighteen to seventy-four, posing tastefully nude in various outdoor sites (see Figure 9).¹⁰⁹ The first print run of five thousand copies sold out quickly at twenty-dollars each, and a second run of ten thousand was picked up by a major distributor. By the beginning of the year, sales had expanded to the United States, Australia, Austria, Germany, Ireland, England, and throughout Canada, netting over \$100,000 for the cause.¹¹⁰ The calendar also provided excellent publicity, including a two-page feature in the weekend edition of the *Globe and Mail* and an article on Salt Spring in *Harper's Magazine*.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Woodstop raised \$6,000. See Peggy Abrahams, "Dance Raises \$6000 for Trees," *Barnacle*, 29 February 2000, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Peggy Abrahams, "What's Next after Reaching May Day Fundraising Goal?" *Barnacle*, 2 May 2000, 2.


¹⁰⁸ *Barnacle*, 8 August 2000, 19; Sheila Harrington, "Here's a Golden Opportunity to Save Precious Habitats," *Driftwood*, 12 July 2000, A9. Bachman had been a member of the Guess Who as well as Bachman-Turner Overdrive.

¹⁰⁹ "Au Natural [sic] for Nature," *Barnacle*, 29 August 2000, 10.

¹¹⁰ "Calendar Nets over \$100,000," *Driftwood*, 17 January 2001, 2.

¹¹¹ Gail Sjuberg, "Salt Spring Women Catch International Eye," *Driftwood*, 30 August 2000, 1; Tony Richards, "Of Calendars, Names and Newts," *Driftwood*, 30 August 2000, 6; "Second Calendar Print-Run Ordered," *Driftwood*, 6 September 2000, 7; Elizabeth Nickson, "Where the Bee Sucks: A Northwestern Island Doth Suffer a Sea Change," *Harper's Magazine*, January 2001, 67-73. The Nickson article was reprinted in Frances Mayes, ed., *The Best American Travel Writing 2002* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 229-44.

save saltspring
CAMPAIGN FUND



CALENDAR LAUNCH
Thursday, Sept. 7
Salt Spring Books
12 Noon

**Salt Spring Island Women's
Preserve and Protect Calendar**

Available at these local businesses:
et cetera • Blue Dragon Naturals • Salt Spring Books • Salty Shop
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Also available at Fall Fair 2000

Calendars may be purchased by mailing a
cheque or money order for \$20.00 plus \$3.00
for shipping and handling, to:
140 Lee Road, Salt Spring Island, B.C. V8K 2A5

ALL PROCEEDS GO TO THE SAVE SALT SPRING CAMPAIGN FUND

Figure 9. Advertisement for Preserve and Protect Calendar. *Source: Barnacle, 5 September 2000, 2.*



Figure 10. South slope of Mount Maxwell and northern edge of Burgoyne Valley, ca. 2000. Photo by Briony Penn. *Source:* Salt Spring Island Archives, Briony Penn collection.

Three months after the calendar was first printed, the ten-day “Where Art and Nature Meet” event featured speakers such as renowned environmentalist David Suzuki, raising \$24,082. Added to a private anonymous pledge of \$50,000, the Salt Spring Appeal Fund had now reached almost \$800,000.¹¹² Furthermore, Andrea Collins had launched the Save Salt Spring Campaign Fund to raise money for campaign expenses and to increase environmental awareness through film, music, and art.¹¹³ Finally, internationally renowned photographer Nina Raginsky initiated a campaign in January 2001 to pay Texada \$200,000 for the preservation by covenant of a 200-acre (eighty-one hectares) stand that included old-growth trees bordering the road to Burgoyne Bay (see Figure 10). Ambitious as the target was, she raised the full amount by the end of March.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Elizabeth White to editor, *Driftwood*, 15 November 2000, 9.

¹¹³ “Save Salt Spring Society to Advocate Island Health,” *Barnacle*, 5 September 2000, 2; Elizabeth White, “Update from the APPEAL,” *Barnacle*, 5 September 2000, 2.

¹¹⁴ Raginsky, who had founded Salt Spring’s Waterbird Watch Collective, was admitted to the Order of Canada in 1984. See Danielle Siemens, “Nina Raginsky: Portraits,” *National*

Meanwhile, conservation agencies were beginning to make progress with negotiations. In January, BC Nature Trust announced an agreement to purchase over eighty acres (32.4 hectares) of Burgoyne Bay's waterfront for \$465,000, with Salt Spring Appeal chipping in a quarter of the money.¹¹⁵ Increasingly anxious to divest itself of its Salt Spring holdings, Texada agreed the following month to sell an additional 1,396 acres (565 hectares) in the Burgoyne Valley to TLC, The Land Conservancy of British Columbia, with a refundable deposit due by 31 March.¹¹⁶ In addition, TLC delivered a non-refundable deposit of \$10,000 for an option to purchase a block on Mount Bruce (lot 57), with an upper limit of \$500,000 placed on the timber value. If successful, the deal would close at the end of September.¹¹⁷ There was a major setback, however, when TLC announced in April that it could not carry through with its conditional offer because the price arrived at by the third-party arbitrator was beyond its reach.¹¹⁸

More encouraging progress was made on the Garry oak meadow, for the non-profit Nature Trust of BC agreed in June to purchase the 690 acres (278 hectares) on the slope of Mount Maxwell, with funding coming from the Private Forest Biodiversity Programme of the Crown corporation Forest Renewal BC.¹¹⁹ The following month, Salt Spring Island Conservancy and the Salt Spring Island Water Preservation Society joined forces with a commitment to raise \$100,000 each to help purchase the 270-acre (110-hectare) secondary watershed on Mount Maxwell. The Watershed District would pay the additional \$350,000 required for the bare land by levying taxes and tolls as well as deferring other projects.¹²⁰ The next step was to prevent the land from being logged, but the company demanded an additional \$1.15 million for the

Gallery of Canada, *Magazine*, 7 June 2019, <https://www.gallery.ca/magazine/your-collection/at-the-ngc/nina-raginsky-portraits>; Peggy Abrahams, "Waterbird Watch Negotiates to Save Old Growth Stand," *Barnacle*, 23 January 2001, 3; Anastacia Wilde, "Raginsky Proposal Halts Burgoyne Logging," *Driftwood*, 24 January 2001; Anastacia Wilde, "Groups Poised to Buy Off Texada Land," *Driftwood*, 31 January 2001, 1; "Saving the Trees," *Driftwood* (editorial), 31 January 2001, 8; "Tree Adoption Project Thriving," *Driftwood*, 7 March 2001, 6; Sjuberg, "Island Hears Magic," 1.

¹¹⁵ "Nature Trust to Acquire Parcel," *Driftwood*, 17 January 2001, 1; "Parcel 3 Purchase Finalized," *Driftwood*, 31 January 2001, 1.

¹¹⁶ Anastacia Wilde, "Texada Halt Gives Chance to Breathe," *Driftwood*, 7 February 2001, 1, 2; Anastacia Wilde, "Determination May Save Texada Land," *Driftwood*, 14 March 2001, 1, 3.

¹¹⁷ "Logging Operations on Hold While Agencies Vie for Land," *Driftwood*, 14 March 2001, 1.

¹¹⁸ Gail Sjuberg, "Conservancy Hands Ball to Province," *Driftwood*, 25 April 2001, 1, 3.

¹¹⁹ "Burgoyne Bay Bash Celebrates Purchase," *Driftwood*, 20 June 2001, 1.

¹²⁰ Mitchell Sherrin, "2 Groups Work Together to Buy Maxwell Watershed," *Driftwood*, 18 July 2001, 1.

standing timber.¹²¹ Manulife promised to contribute \$150,000 towards that goal, and various local stakeholder associations collectively pledged over \$500,000. With the \$100,000 offered by Rob Macdonald himself, the campaign was at least within striking distance of its goal.¹²²

Further progress came to a halt, however, when the province pulled out of negotiations with Texada on 24 August. In an open letter, the Ministry of Water, Land, and Air Protection, the CRD, TLC, The Land Conservancy of British Columbia, Save Salt Spring Society, the North Salt Spring Waterworks District, and Islands Trust complained jointly that Texada had made four separate sales offers during the previous five months, “each one at a higher price per parcel than the last.” The partners had agreed to purchase at the mid-range of the appraisals, but Texada had insisted that they buy another parcel that they did not need or want, thereby raising the selling price by \$400,000. Furthermore, at the last minute the company had withdrawn its offer to proceed with a legally obligated environmental cleanup. In short, the collective letter concluded, it “seems that every time the partners agree to a further demand of Texada, the company increases its demands.”¹²³ The Ministry also rebuffed Macdonald’s efforts to have it drop its partners from the discussions, but negotiations did finally resume in early September.¹²⁴

Shortly afterwards, TLC, The Land Conservancy of British Columbia, representing the Salt Spring Appeal Fund, announced that it was working to purchase additional Texada lands in the Burgoyne Valley and Mount Tuam and Mount Bruce areas. Salt Spring Appeal would have to commit to paying \$200,000 a year for the next three years. The plan was to apply conservation covenants to ensure that future logging would be sustainable, that sensitive areas and viewsapes would be protected, and that there would be provision for public trails and greenways. Other sections would be resold to private buyers or community groups. Expressing interest were the local school district, a food cooperative, the community forest society, the local salmon enhancement society, and Island Pathways, which advocated for safe active transportation options on the island.¹²⁵ The aim was therefore not simply to set aside the land

¹²¹ Gail Sjuberg, “Texada Evicts Tenants,” *Driftwood*, 1 August 2001, 29.

¹²² Mitchell Sherrin, “First Target Met: Funds Now Go to Timber Purchase,” *Driftwood*, 29 August 2001, 13.

¹²³ “Open Letter to the Residents of Salt Spring Island,” *Driftwood*, 29 August 2001, 14.

¹²⁴ “Talks Resume between Texada and Government,” *Driftwood*, 5 September 2001, 3.

¹²⁵ “Open Letter from the Salt Spring Appeal Concerning the Texada Lands,” *Driftwood*, 19 September 2001, 18; Gail Sjuberg, “Community-Oriented Use Planned for Texada Lands,” *Driftwood*, 26 September 2001, 1.

as parkland and ecological reserves but also to serve community needs and desires.

Finally, in mid-October the press announced that the land deal was “in the bag.” Texada would be paid an impressive total of \$15.9 million, with \$13.4 million coming from the federal/provincial Biodiversity Package, \$1.5 million from the CRD, and \$1 million that had been raised and donated by Salt Spring Appeal to the Salt Spring Land Conservancy.¹²⁶ In return, Salt Spring secured a CRD park, an adjoining provincial park,¹²⁷ and the Garry oak meadow purchased by Nature Trust BC as an ecological reserve. Furthermore, the secondary Maxwell Lake watershed was about to have all its trees preserved thanks largely to Texada’s surprising and sudden gesture of waiving the more than \$1 million it had been asking for the timber.¹²⁸ An explanation for the sudden act of generosity was not discussed in the press. The eruption of the softwood lumber dispute with the United States may have been a factor, though Macdonald claimed that his company’s logs were being manufactured into veneer, which was not targeted by the new US tariffs.¹²⁹ Perhaps, as Vancouver businessmen rather than a multinational company, he and Tretheway simply wished to salvage their tarnished reputations rather than to endure more anti-logging protests and negative publicity.

A last-minute hitch did emerge. Because the CRD was not legally allowed to pay the financing cost for borrowing the \$1.5 million that was its share of the purchase, the Salt Spring Land Conservancy had to contribute an additional \$200,000. Furthermore, the pledges made to Salt Spring Appeal during its fundraising campaign had to be called in by 30 November, and they were up to two years old.¹³⁰ As of 7 November there was a shortfall of \$350,000. Organizers then arranged for fifteen local men to balance the gender divide somewhat by posing for a “Hunks for Habitat” website with the aim of raising \$150,000. In contrast to the women’s calendar, they were photographed with each of their bodies covered in one hundred leaves; donors were invited to pay \$100 for each leaf either subtracted or added. Perhaps not surprisingly, given donor

¹²⁶ Gail Sjuberg, “Texada Land in the Bag,” *Driftwood*, 17 October 2001, 1; Gail Sjuberg, “\$350,000 Needed for Texada Deal,” *Driftwood*, 7 November 2001. Federal funds were from the Georgia Basin Ecosystem Initiative. See *Background Report*, 4.

¹²⁷ The Burgoyne Valley Provincial Park was formally opened as a Class A park of 334 hectares in 2004. The CRD’s 190 hectares were added to the provincial park in 2007, <https://vancouverisland.com/things-to-do-and-see/parks-and-trails/vancouver-island-bc-islands/burgoyne-bay-provincial-park/>.

¹²⁸ Elizabeth White, “Making Sense of the Texada Land Deal,” *Driftwood*, 21 November 2001, 8.

¹²⁹ Pat Burkette, “More Texada Land to Be Bought,” *Barnacle*, 25 September 2001, 2.

¹³⁰ “Land Pledges Called In,” *Driftwood*, 17 October 2001, 1.

fatigue and the short amount of time needed, the \$36,115 raised was far from the goal that had been set.¹³¹

Enough of the original pledges were finally collected, however, to close the deal in the first week of December 2001.¹³² In total, 2,428 acres (983 hectares), or half the Texada Land Company's land, was purchased through these complex arrangements.¹³³ Assuming that the company's owners had paid somewhere between the appraised value of \$30 million and the \$35 million price advertised by the German proprietors, Macdonald and Tretheway had clearly made a tidy profit. In addition to the \$15.9 million received from public agencies and private donations, there was the millions in undisclosed revenue from the many truckloads of timber they marketed, not to mention the sale of the other half of their landholding to private interests.¹³⁴

CONCLUSION

Despite the rallying cries of "Save Salt Spring" and "The Battle for Salt Spring," the future of the island was not at stake in the turn-of-the-century campaign, nor did the logging at its south end result in a major change to the lives of the people who lived there. Growing environmental consciousness nevertheless ensured that the clear-cuts were an affront to those who valued the island's natural beauty and ecological integrity. Featuring what, in Penn's words, was an "extraordinary outpouring of community artistic/theatric involvement from art shows, choirs, schools, [and] impromptu groups,"¹³⁵ not to mention the direct-action tactics, public protests on and off the island, and highly successful national and international fundraising initiatives, the campaign to have the land preserved from industrial logging and property development took the form of a social movement. With local women playing a leadership role,¹³⁶ and in sharp contrast to the 1990 protests against Weldwood,¹³⁷

¹³¹ Gail Sjuberg, "Hunks Line Up to Save Habitat," *Driftwood*, 14 November 2001, 1.

¹³² Gail Sjuberg, "Parkland Deal Squeaks Through," *Driftwood*, 6 December 2001, 3.

¹³³ Sjuberg, "Texada Land in the Bag," 3.

¹³⁴ Levin, "Texada Says No," 2. The \$46 million in mortgages was presumably required to cover the additional cost for the 7,200 acres (2,914 hectares) surrounding Horne Lake on Vancouver Island that was included in the purchase, plus the cost of building logging roads as well as hiring consultants, engineers, inspectors, managers, and so on.

¹³⁵ Briony Penn, email to author, 9 December 2021.

¹³⁶ For parallels elsewhere, see Speece, *Defending Giants*, 21; Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 50; and Little, *At the Wilderness Edge*, 12, 18, 27, 52, 116, 129–30.

¹³⁷ See "Crisis Review Shows Leadership Gap," *Driftwood* (editorial), 4 July 1990, A4.

the campaign strengthened social ties within what was a somewhat shallow-rooted community.

Reflecting the general attitude, the two local newspapers were sympathetic to the campaign, but the *Driftwood* editor did complain in one editorial that the movement had “no precedent in Clayoquot or any of the other recent battles over logging for the way in which it casually discarded the issue of private property rights.”¹³⁸ That statement ignored the fact that British Columbians had begun to challenge large-scale private property developers as early as the 1960s,¹³⁹ and that direct-action tactics had been used by the previous anti-logging protest on Salt Spring itself. Furthermore, there was no suggestion during the 1999–2001 campaign that the Texada Land Company’s holding should be expropriated. The campaign had, nevertheless, resulted in the preservation of a vital watershed, an ecologically important shoreline, and a rare Garry oak ecosystem, not to mention the creation of a sizable public park with spectacular views from the mountain slopes. As for broader significance, even if Salt Spring Island did not become, like Clayoquot Sound, a site of global struggle,¹⁴⁰ its Texada campaign did attract national and even international attention. Furthermore, it reflected how – even in a time of growing political conservatism – the conservation movement in British Columbia was moving beyond campaigns to protect publicly-owned old-growth forests to challenge the longstanding assumption that private property rights trumped the preservation of other ecologically endangered and socially important environments.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ *Driftwood* (editorial), 14 March 2001, 8.

¹³⁹ See Little, *At the Wilderness Edge*.

¹⁴⁰ The phrase is from Warren Magnuson, “Introduction: The Puzzle of the Political,” in *A Political Space: Reading the Global through the Local*, ed. Warren Magnuson and Karena Shaw (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 4, 8.

¹⁴¹ Ian McKay has argued that Canada’s distinctive “liberal order” is historically based on the sanctity of private property rights. See Ian McKay, “The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History,” *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (2000): 617–45.