CREATING TEXTUAL COMMUNITIES:
ANGLICAN AND METHODIST MISSIONARIES AND PRINT CULTURE
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1858-1914

by

GAIL EDWARDS

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1980
M.A., Rosary College, Florence, Italy, 1983
M.L.S., The University of British Columbia, 1994

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Department of **Educational Studies**

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date **April 18, 2001**
Throughout the second half of the long nineteenth century, from the 1850s through 1914, Anglican and Methodist missionaries in British Columbia were actively involved in the reproduction and transference of Eurocentric cultural and religious norms in their remote communities. Missionaries were charged with preaching the Word, translating the Word, and encouraging their convert communities to adopt particular norms of behaviour and ways of presenting and representing the self. They were particularly concerned with inculcating literacy and creating textual communities of worshippers who would engage directly in the Protestant practice of reading and meditating on the Scripture. At the same time, they were also responsible for reporting on their work in the mission field to a metropolitan readership in order to stimulate interest and support for the work. In this study, I first locate Anglican and Methodist missionaries within the broad frameworks of denominational theology, missiology, and ecclesiology, and within the space, time and place of British Columbia between the late 1850s and 1914. I consider the structural differences between Anglican and Methodist missionary societies, and explore the differences within each denomination that shaped missionary practices in the field. I examine the critical role of education in the formation of missionaries, and identify the ways in which their educational trajectories shaped their interaction with print culture. I then explore three different areas of the missionaries’ interaction with print culture and the artefacts of print. I first look at writing practices of missionaries, and the denominational structures that encouraged particular textual relationships, considering the role of missionaries as creators of text, and the role of missionary publications in the dissemination of information about the mission field. I then examine the role of missionaries as promoters of particular forms of textuality among Native convert communities, and consider the role of missionaries in the creation and dissemination of translations into Native languages. I next turn to the consumption of print and the role of missionaries in promoting reading and textuality as a means of reordering social relations. Finally, I raise questions for further research.
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Institutional

CMS Church Missionary Society (Anglican)
SPG Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Anglican)
SPCK Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (Anglican)
WMS Woman’s Missionary Society (Methodist)

Archival

ADBC Archives of the Diocese of British Columbia, Victoria
AEPBC Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and the Yukon, Vancouver
BCA British Columbia Archives, Victoria
NAC National Archives of Canada
UCCA United Church of Canada / Victoria University Archives, Toronto
UCCBC United Church of Canada, British Columbia Conference Archives, Vancouver
A Note on Language

Throughout the dissertation, I have used the term “Indigenous peoples” when referring to Aboriginal groups outside Canada, and “Aboriginal peoples” when referring to the Indian, Métis and Inuit peoples of Canada as a group. I have used the terms “First Nations” and “Native peoples” when speaking generally of Aboriginal tribal groups. Whenever possible, when speaking of individual tribal groups and peoples, I have used the heritage language name of the group, following the orthography recommended by the Encyclopedia of British Columbia (Madeira Park: Harbour, 2000) and the British Columbia Geographical names website, http://www.gdbc.gov.bc.ca/~bcnames/g2_index.htm. I’ve also used the phrase “the indigenous language of an area” when speaking generally, and the name of that language, when speaking specifically.

I have used the somewhat awkward terms “Native converts” and “Native convert communities” both when speaking specifically of Native peoples who had moved to one of several intentional Christian communities founded by missionaries, and more generally of Native men and women who had professed beliefs in Christianity, or were counted among the inquirers and catechumens of a mission. While not every Native convert was a baptised Christian, missionaries made a clear distinction between “heathen” and “Christian,” when speaking of the peoples they sought to evangelise, and I have retained that distinction, without intending to reproduce the dichotomous discourses of the missionary literature.

I have made no attempt to regularise the variations in the spelling of the names of people, places and tribal groups when directly quoting missionary sources. Individual writers sometimes used variant spellings of places and personal names within a single document, and I have retained those variations in order to reproduce as accurately as possible the specificity of the documents.
Throughout the researching and writing of this dissertation, I have been helped immeasurably by many people, to whom I am greatly indebted. Thanks must go, first of all, to my dissertation supervisor, Donald Fisher, whose support and encouragement has been unwavering from the first day that we met. I have benefited from his patience and good humour, and his intellectual and professional guidance have been invaluable. His insights on professionalisation and the work of theory were particularly helpful as I sought to make meaning from the vast accumulation of material from the far recesses of the archives and the library stacks. Special thanks are also due to the committee.

Throughout the process of researching and writing, I have looked forward to notes from Donald Wilson, which have led me to the latest publications in a wide variety of disciplinary areas. His instructive comments on the manuscript helped me to extend and clarify my arguments. Ronald Hagler initially stimulated my interest in the field of library and book history, and provided meticulous copyediting and criticism of the manuscript. His own scholarship has been a reminder to me that bibliography is both exacting and rewarding. Jean Barman’s professional mentoring and unwavering personal support of graduate students is exemplary, and her generosity with time, ideas and ways to conceptualise historical research has contributed to my professional formation and my growth as a scholar.

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I have also benefited from the help and advice of the archivists at the British Columbia Archives in Victoria, the National Archives in Ottawa, and the United Church Archives in Toronto. Philippa Bassett, archivist in Special Collections at the University of Birmingham in England, Amanda Hill, archivist in the Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Lesley Hall, archivist at the Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine, Stephanie Malmros, Registrar, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, and Jennifer Peters, Archivist for Research and Public Service, The Archives of the Episcopal Church, all took the trouble to answer my email and telephone research queries and provided invaluable information that otherwise would not have been available to me. The librarians at the libraries of Trinity College and Wycliffe College at the University of Toronto, the subject specialist librarians at UBC, and the patient and
helpful staff of Resource Sharing Services, (formerly known as Interlibrary Loans) have enabled me to access a wide variety of historical resources. Mary Barlow at the Archives of the Diocese of British Columbia provided me with encouragement, a plug for my laptop, and welcomed me to worship with the cathedral staff. And without the knowledge, support and fellowship of Doreen Stephens, Archivist of the Diocese of New Westminster and the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and Yukon, and Bob Stewart of the United Church of Canada British Columbia Conference Archives, my research would never have begun, nor would the dissertation have taken its final form. They have made me welcome, provided expert advice, enriched my historical knowledge, and shared the minutiae of missionary history over coffee and lunch breaks. Through them, I had unparalleled access to unique and important collections of documents critical to the history of the Anglican and Methodist churches in British Columbia.

Particular thanks to Sheila Martineau, with whom I have shared ideas and coffee since my earliest days as a doctoral student; John Hudson, who has graciously shared his professional knowledge of typography and type design; Roger Stokes and Tom Rightmyer, my email correspondents on sticky issues of church history and doctrine; and John Conway for insightful comments and criticism of various drafts of the work. His question, “What makes missions in BC different from other places?” led me to rethink the place of my research within the broader history of missions.

Finally, the support and love of friends and my family has sustained me through the long and unpredictable path towards the completion of my research. I want to thank Gordon and Florence Glen and my sisters Colleen and Sue, who have welcomed me into their lives and hearts. My late aunt, Alixe Hambleton was my lifelong role model for scholarship, and taught me the power of story. Special thanks to Martha Gambrel and Frank Avery, whose gifts of friendship and love have enriched my life. My family in Toronto, Donald and Sheila Hambleton have housed me on my research and conference trips, and provided moral support and encouragement throughout. My mother, Sheila Glen, has nurtured, encouraged, exhorted and cheered me on from the very beginning, and taught me by example to persist in the face of obstacles. She has inspired me by her integrity, made my life better in countless ways, and has always encouraged me to attain my dreams. And thanks, most of all, to my husband, Douglas Edwards, who is my partner in bad times and good, my strength and my friend. His understanding, and patience with the demands of graduate school life, have been amazing. His support and encouragement made this dissertation possible.

I dedicate my research to the memory of my grandmother, Ada Hambleton, who was my first teacher and who believed in the importance of education. Her careful preservation of her own historical record first inspired my interest in the past, and her dignity, kindness and unfailing love continue to influence my life.
CHAPTER 1

THEORIZING THE MISSIONARY

Throughout the second half of the long nineteenth century, from the 1850s through 1914, Anglican and Methodist missionaries in British Columbia were actively involved in the reproduction and transference of Eurocentric cultural and religious norms in their remote communities. Missionaries were charged with preaching the Word, translating the Word, and encouraging their convert communities to adopt particular norms of behaviour and ways of presenting and representing the self. They were particularly concerned with inculcating literacy and creating textual communities of worshippers who would engage directly in the Protestant practice of reading and meditating on the Scripture. At the same time, they were also responsible for reporting on their work in the mission field to a metropolitan readership in order to stimulate interest and support for the work.

Historiographical Questions

This permeation of a particular manifestation of print culture from the metropole to the hinterland, and the textual recreation of the hinterland for the metropolitan reader is a significant aspect of missionary history and missionary practice that has remained unexamined within the historiography of British Columbia.¹ Many historians writing on

¹ The idea of religion as a causative force in British Columbia history is not particularly well represented in the historical literature. In part, this may be due to the perception that British Columbia was predominantly secular, and that religion had a minor role to play in the development of the province. Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), is the only general history of British Columbia that includes a specific index entry for “religion”. The only way to access references to religion in Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Toronto: The Macmillans in Canada, 1958) is to check the index under the surnames of priests and ministers. The same is true of the index in George Woodcock, British Columbia: A History of the Province (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990). Furthermore, there is no British Columbia equivalent to the studies of religious life in Ontario by John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1988) and William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989). Neil Semple, The Lord’s Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism (Montreal and
missions in the province, and in the wider sphere of Canada are harshly critical of the missionary enterprise, placing all missionary endeavours exclusively within the framework of colonial conquest of Native people. These historians construct missionaries as oppressors, and Native peoples as innocent victims. Differences in lived missionary experience brought about by space, time and denominational approaches to mission are elided in favour of a totalizing view of missions, in which missionaries, as willing collaborators with the State, exerted social control through harsh regimes of discipline over Native peoples. For these historians, Christianity and the goal of evangelisation are instruments of oppression, Native converts the product of false consciousness. For other historians, particularly the authors of denominational histories, the history of missions in British Columbia is a triumphalist progress of modernity, in which Euro-Canadian missionaries bring enlightenment to a childlike and childish group of people otherwise doomed to extinction. Both interpretations of missionary history share an unwillingness

2 Historians who are highly critical of the missionary enterprise include Forrest E. LaViolette, The Struggle for Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890, 2d. ed. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992) and John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984). This approach also informs most of the literature on residential schools. See, for example, J.R. Miller, Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

to engage seriously with both the historically contextualised cultural, social and religious beliefs and specific missionary practices that shaped the missionary enterprise. The historiography of missionaries as colonial oppressors sees little value in exploring the nuances of the denominational religious beliefs and practices that informed and directed missionary activity, while the denominational historiography of missionaries as bearers of modernity and superior Christian beliefs sees little value in situating religious activity within a broader social and cultural framework, or in exploring the ways in which missionaries constructed hegemonic Christian discourse and enforced unequal relations of power with the Native peoples they sought to convert. Both groups of historians effectively erase Native agency from the historical record by situating Native peoples as passive recipients of the missionary enterprise and as groups of peoples acted upon, rather than acting or interacting with missionaries, settlers and the State.

There is, however, a small body of scholarly research that considers both the Euro-Canadian missionary enterprise in British Columbia and Native responses to evangelism within a nuanced exploration of colonialism, religious beliefs, Native agency, and the work of gender in inscribing difference. These scholars situate missionary narratives within particular denominational discourses and missiological standpoints, and articulate the ways in which missionary praxis was shaped by broad theological and socio-cultural frameworks and specific practices of the various missionary groups. The responses of Native peoples to evangelisation and Native agency are reinscribed in the Euro-Canadian privileges Anglicans, and posits a Whiggish “great men” interpretation of church development.

For an extended discussion of this unwillingness to take the religious impetus of missionaries into account in historical narratives, see Gail Edwards, “Writing Religion into the History of British Columbia: A Review Essay,” *BC Studies*, no. 113 (Spring 1997): 101-104.
missionary narratives, creating a dialogic rather than monologic exploration of the lived experience of both missionaries and the Native peoples they sought to convert.³

Many of the histories of missions in British Columbia have utilised the body of missionary literature produced by the sponsoring missionary societies as evidence of missionary attitudes and practices. However, there has been little consideration of the ways in which these publications were deliberate and conscious textual productions, and little attempt to place the literature of the British Columbia mission field within the broader literature of missions in other colonial spaces. Similarly, the differences in missionary practices between denominations, and within denominations has been elided by the neat dualism of “Protestant” and “Catholic,” in which a monolithic and unindividuated Protestantism is placed against an equally unindividuated Roman Catholicism.⁶

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⁶ For example, the monographs issued by the University of Alberta Press in the series The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the Canadian North West are excellent resources for Roman Catholic
Parameters of the Research

My research explores a particular space and time within the larger sphere of Christian missionary endeavour, and examines the relationship that nineteenth-century Anglican and Methodist missionaries saw between evangelism, the promotion of Eurocentric civilisation, and the role of print culture and the artefacts of print in the civilising process. I have chosen to study the missionary enterprise of two Protestant denominations, the Church of England and the Methodist Church. Both denominations sent successive generations of missionaries to British Columbia, beginning in the 1850s, both had missionary societies that funded and supervised work in the mission field, and both extended their mission work beyond a particular ethno-cultural group to evangelise both Native peoples and Euro-Canadian settler communities. By attending to the differences between the denominations, and within the denominations, I hope to deconstruct the notion of a singular and consistent Protestant missionary practice, and illuminate the mission history, but make little attempt to place Oblate activity in the wider sphere of Christian missionisation. For the volume on British Columbia, see Vincent J. McNally, The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, and Western Canadian Publishers, 2000). Robert Choquette, The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest, Religions and Beliefs Series, no. 3 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995) explores anti-Catholic Protestant responses to Oblate missions, while focusing primarily on the expansion of Roman Catholic missions throughout Western Canada.

Other Protestant denominations with a missionary presence in British Columbia had a more limited sphere of influence. The Presbyterians initially served their own ethno-cultural and religious communities, and only began work among Native peoples late in the nineteenth century. The Salvation Army, which attracted significant numbers of Native converts in the last twenty years of the century, was limited in the number of locations to which their missionaries were sent. As well, the Anglican and Methodist missionary presses developed a more robust and extensive missionary literature than the other Protestant denominations active in missionary work in British Columbia. The Ultramontane and Tridentine Catholicism of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (the primary Order of male Catholic missionaries in British Columbia) and the various teaching and nursing orders of women religious has been the focus of several recent dissertations and monographs on Roman Catholic missions. The differences between Protestant and Catholic missionaries in theology, language, structures of support for missions, and commitment to textual literacy and Bible-reading meant that while a detailed and comprehensive comparison of Protestant and Catholic textual practices would further illuminate the particular linking of theology, religious practices, and textuality, it would also make the dissertation a multi-volume work.
critical role of denominational theology and missiology in the shaping of missions in British Columbia. The explicit articulation in the missionary literature of denominational rivalries and the discourses of difference between denominations helps me to situate the competition between groups of missionaries in the mission field of British Columbia within the wider concerns of nineteenth century Christian missions. Locating the theological constructs that informed missionary practice also helps to deconstruct the idea that missions in British Columbia were shaped primarily by the personalities and interpersonal rivalries between missionary leaders. At the same time, by exploring the construction of difference in denominations that identified themselves as “Protestant” (in distinction to Roman Catholicism), the ideological work of print in the construction and maintenance of religious identity is brought into sharper focus.

I have deliberately chosen not to discuss the development of residential schools for Native children, or the complex political and ethical issues that arise from the residential school experience. The literature on Native residential schools is extensive, and much of it concentrates on the later phase of education in the wake of changes to the Indian Act in the 1920s, which made education for Native children compulsory. While I consider the pedagogical strategies employed by the missionaries to inculcate literacy in Native convert communities, and make passing mention of the day and small boarding schools established by both Anglican and Methodist missionaries, my focus has remained on the general issues of textuality and literacy in informal settings rather than in the institutionalised structures of the residential and industrial schools.⁸

⁸ See, for example, Jean Barman, “Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia’s Aboriginal Children.” in Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia, ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland and J. Donald Wilson, 57-80 (Calgary: Detselig, 1995); Jean Barman, “Separate
I have chosen the second half of the long nineteenth century, from the first sustained Anglican and Methodist missionary presence in the colonies in the 1850s, through the critical disruption to missionary work brought about by the First World War for the temporal framework of my study. Missionary activity in British Columbia was necessarily responsive to demographic changes in the population. As Euro-Americans and Canadians arrived with the first gold rush of the late 1850s, the missionary societies of the Anglican and Methodist churches responded by funding missions to the miner and settler communities. At the same time, they developed an active interest in evangelising the Native peoples of British Columbia. Mission work subsequently expanded and contracted in response to fluctuations in the local and global economies, changes in the pattern of settlement, and the availability of metropolitan recruits willing to serve in the British Columbia mission field. The First World War brought an abrupt change to the availability of recruits, funds and support from the missionary societies, and marked a decisive break from the patterns of missionary deployment that characterised the second half of the nineteenth century.
Making Disciples of All Nations

My research focuses on a group of men and women who called themselves Christian missionaries. A few of the men, and all of the women were lay people, while most of the men were ordained. Their specific work can be described within the teachings of Christianity and within the expansion of the British imperial State in the nineteenth century. Missionaries were those Christians who responded to the Biblical injunction to go out into the world to make all nations disciples of Christ. While all Christian adherents are enjoined to witness to their faith and to pursue opportunities for evangelism, missionaries believed that they had a particular vocation or calling to evangelism among the unchurched. They were explicitly dedicated to the work of spreading Christianity to individuals and groups of people who had not previously been exposed to the faith, or who were indifferent to its teachings. Both denominations sponsored work among groups of people in foreign lands outside the direct sphere of British control, among Indigenous peoples of colonised lands under British control, and among European settler communities in colonised lands. A missionary might serve in a foreign mission field, like China or Japan; in an Indigenous mission in colonial spaces like Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, or British Columbia; or in a mission to Euro-settlers in colonial spaces. In British Columbia, the work of some missionaries was restricted exclusively either to Native peoples or Euro-settlers, while other missionaries evangelised both communities simultaneously, or alternated between the two groups.

Both the Anglican and the Methodist churches had official societies that funded and supervised the work of missionaries in the field, and promoted the work among interested

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Matthew 28:19
groups of supporters. The missionary societies of both denominations were metropolitan enterprises, which directed and controlled the missionaries in the hinterland. Missionaries thus both derived their economic support and authority from outside the colonial space of British Columbia, and represented metropolitan authority within the colonial space. And as representatives of metropolitan authority, missionaries were charged with modelling and reproducing particular forms of normative behaviour and discipline in both Native and non-Native communities. Missionaries brought a mixture of Christianity and Eurocentric culture to the hinterland, and were heavily invested in inculcating not only Christianity but Eurocentric norms of social relations, behaviours, practices, modes of consumption, and discipline among the communities they sought to evangelise.

The audience for the missionary enterprise was often interpreted to be any and all people encountered by the missionary who did not adhere to the denominational norms of Christian belief. For the Anglicans, the subject for missionary activity was any person who was not a “churchman,” that is a baptised adherent of the Church of England, familiar with its liturgy and pattern of worship, and a regular participant (where possible) in Anglican public worship, although direct poaching from other Protestant denominations was considered by some missionaries to be excessive. For some of the Anglican missionaries, the focus of the work of evangelism was divided equally between non-Christian Native peoples, and non-Christian or indifferently-Christian Euro-settlers, with a concomitant responsibility for the pastoral care of Christians, and more explicitly, Anglican Christians within their particular geographic sphere of responsibility, while others focused explicitly on either Native peoples or Euro-settlers.

For the Methodists, the subject of the missionary enterprise was anyone who had not
undergone a personal conversion experience in which an active and willed decision was made to follow the tenets of Christian (and more particularly Methodist) belief. Like their Anglican counterparts, some Methodist missionaries served both Native and Euro-settler communities, while others served one or the other community exclusively. The Methodist missionaries were particularly concerned with rekindling the faith of those who had grown indifferent to religious belief and practice, or had fallen into habits considered to be sinful and thus detrimental to salvation. For the Methodists, conversion was an ongoing process in which believers continuously worked to more closely conform their actions, beliefs and will to the particular expectations of the denomination’s interpretation of Christianity.

**Some Key Theoretical Concepts**

My research is situated within a diverse body of theoretical literature, and explores the intersection of literacy and textuality, reading practices, educational and social structures, cultural norms and religious beliefs. Central to my understanding of the history of the book\(^{10}\) and print culture is Roger Chartier’s call for a history of print in which reading practices are situated in their social and historical contexts, while at the same time, the physical manifestation of print culture, that is, the objects created by the printing press are considered objects worthy of serious study.\(^{11}\) In attending to the ways that

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missionaries created, distributed and consumed print, I also draw on the model of the communications circuit, developed by Robert Darnton, and the adaptation of Darnton’s circuit by Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker. Darnton’s circuit describes the cycle of print material from author to publisher to printer to shipper to bookseller to reader and back to author, while Adams and Barker focus on the life of a book from publication, through manufacture, distribution, reception and survival. The Darnton and Adams-Barker models, which focus on the ways that both ideas and material objects circulate, are helpful in attending to the commonalities and the differences between the sphere of commercial publications, and the sphere of missionary publications, which were often heavily subsidised by the sponsoring society and distributed through non-commercial channels like subscribers’ lists.

The history of the book provides a lens through which the materiality of print culture can be examined. The work of Pierre Bourdieu provides a lens through which the cultural capital acquired by owners of books and readers of printed texts in the colonial space of British Columbia can be theorized. Bourdieu explores the class status that accrues sense of their existence, and this sense, this meaning is inscribed in their words, their acts, and their rites...Describing a culture should thus involve the comprehension of its entire systems of relations – the totality of the practices that express how it represents the physical world, society, and the sacred."


13 For the tension within religious publishing over the issue of free distribution versus distribution at minimal cost to the purchaser, see Leslie Howsam, “The Nineteenth-Century Bible Society and ‘The Evil of Gratuitous Distribution,’” in Free Print and Non-Commercial Publishing Since 1700, ed. James Raven, 119-134 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000). Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., Spreading the Word: The Distribution of Networks of Print 1550-1850 (Winchester: St. Paul’s Bibliographies; Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1990), vii, note that a focus on the physical distribution of printed material provides “a fresh view of the developing relationship between print and society,” by positing questions about the consumption of print.
through educational formation, which he defines as academic capital, and the status that accrues through participation in and appreciation of particular high-status cultural activities and practices, which he defines as cultural capital. While Bourdieu argues that there is nothing inherently superior about high-status cultural activities and practices, they are formed by and derive from the habitus of the dominant class, and therefore reinforce and reproduce particular social hierarchies and relations of power between classes.\footnote{See Pierre Bourdieu, \textit{Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste}, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), originally published as \textit{La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement} (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1979), especially chapter 1, “The Aristocracy of Culture.” See also Pierre Bourdieu, and Jean-Claude Passeron, \textit{Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture}, trans. Richard Nice, Sage Studies in Social and Educational Change, 5 (London and Beverley Hills: Sage, 1977), 71-106.}

For many of the missionaries, whose educational and religious formation emphasised the critical role of participation in particular textual practices, the cultural capital that was conferred by ownership of books and participation in the norms of print culture reinforced their own feelings of privilege in relationship to both Native convert communities and Euro-settler communities.

Throughout the dissertation, I refer to concepts drawn in part from the literature of colonialism and postcolonialism to make explicit particular relations of power between missionaries and the convert communities. Through careful attention to the language of missionary discourse, it is possible to explore the modalities of knowledge/power that missionaries brought to their encounter with the Native peoples of British Columbia, and explicate the nuances of class and race that shaped their interaction with both Euro-settlers and Native communities.\footnote{The formulation of knowledge/power was articulated by Michel Foucault, in \textit{Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews}, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and}
As a colonial space, British Columbia was inextricably linked to Britain. For Britain, British Columbia was a place to be conquered, tamed, settled, exploited, ruled and controlled. Power flowed from the metropole of London to the hinterland of British Columbia, albeit somewhat attenuated by space and time. The flourishing of British imperialism in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in a system of economic exploitation of areas within the orbit of British control. The colonial space of British Columbia was a place from which raw materials could be extracted, finished goods sent for consumption, and settlers located in order to reproduce the familiar culture of "home." At the same time, patterns of transportation and communication dictated by the geography of the province linked British Columbia to the United States, and to a republican culture at odds with British imperialism. British Columbia was a space of conflicting and competing ideologies, in which British, Canadian and American identities


16 For the distinction between metropole and hinterland see Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973); and Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 1-56 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). I am using the term "hinterland" as defined by The Canadian Oxford Dictionary (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), "a remote or fringe area; backcountry." Through out the dissertation, I use "hinterland" to refer to both the colonial space of British Columbia, in distinction to the metropolitan space of London and Toronto, and to distinguish between the urban space of Victoria and New Westminster and the remote areas of the North Pacific Mission.

and loyalties were contested, negotiated and hybridized.

Colonialism inscribed new relations of power on the communities that pre-existed the introduction of colonial rule. It operated in part through the application of raw force, the power of the gunboat and the gallows, and in part through a series of textual practices and organisational structures that codified, classified, placed in hierarchies and separated into discrete spatial segments the subjects of colonial power.\textsuperscript{18} The British colonial State was bureaucratized, administered by agents whose authority derived from the metropole, and who in turn were responsible to the metropole for their actions and decisions.

Critical to the operation of the colonial State was the ability to classify the inhabitants of the colonial space through categories based on race, gender, ethnicity and religion. These categories were at once arbitrary and essentialised. Knowledge about the colonial space circulated in the metropole through textual productions that quantified colonial subjects into census returns, spatially located them through mapping, and constructed their identities through narratives that placed them in opposition to the metropolitan normative self.\textsuperscript{19} The texts produced by the colonial administration, and by groups

\textsuperscript{18} For the rule of law in British Columbia see Barry M. Gough, \textit{Gunboat Frontier: British Maritime Authority and the Northwest Coast Indians} (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 184); and Tina Loo, \textit{Making Law, Order, and Authority in British Columbia, 1821-1871} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). The control exerted by the classifying practices of colonial authorities can be explored against the exploration of modalities of power and discipline in Michel Foucault, \textit{Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison}, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), originally published as \textit{Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la prison} (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1975). Foucault argues that the science of discipline, developed in institutions like the factory and hospital relied on spatialisation; minute control of activity and timetabling; repetitive exercises; detailed hierarchies; and normalising judgements. See also Anne McClintock, \textit{Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest} (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 16, “Imperial power emerged from a constellation of processes, taking haphazard shape from myriad encounters with alternative forms of authority, knowledge and power.

\textsuperscript{19} For the circulation of texts in the metropole and attitudes about the colonial hinterland shaped by textuality, see Edward Said, \textit{Orientalism} (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
deriving authority from colonial power, re-produced the world into binaries of self and Other, each a mirror image of its polar opposite. These binaries served the process of inscribing essentialised difference on Indigenous colonial subjects and naturalising the unequal relations of power in the colonial State.  

Through the production of texts, maps, forms and reports, specific discourses of colonial power circulated within the metropole and back into the colonial space. Through discourse, knowledge is formed and hegemonic control is produced through the exercise of particular relations of power within the textual space. Discourse lays the ground rules for what can be said, and shapes what is said. Discourse is both a product of and is formed by ideology. Through discourse analysis, it is possible to explore the ways in which language and culture work to circulate ideas, power and commonsense

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20 For the operation of binaries in colonial discourse, see Homi K. Bhaba, “The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism,” in The Location of Culture (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). Bhaba is critical of Said’s focus on the metropole, and shifted his attention to the ways in which colonial discourse became hybridised and decentred in colonial settlings. See also Gail Ching-Liang Low, White Skins / Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism (London: Routledge, 1996); and James Duncan, “Sites of Representation: Place, Time and the Discourse of the Other,” in Place / Culture / Representation, ed. James Duncan and David Ley, 39-56 (London and New York: Routledge, 1993)

21 Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, “Introduction: The Textuality of Empire,” in De-scribing Empire: Postcolonialism and Textuality (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 3, note that “Imperial relations may have been established initially by guns, guile and disease, but they were maintained in their interpellative phase largely by textuality….Colonialism (like its counterpart, racism), then, is an operation of discourse, and as an operation of discourse it interpellates colonial subjects by incorporating them in a system of representation.”

22 For the concept of hegemony, through which the state and dominant groups maintain control through organised consent rather than direct and forced coercion, see Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, ed. Quintin Hoare and Gregory Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), especially 55-60 and 160-161. Hegemony works through both material practices and the negotiation of social relations.

23 For discourse, see Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, especially Part 2, The Discursive Regularities; and Hayden White, Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). White, 3, makes the point that “discourse is intended to constitute the ground whereon to decide what shall count as a fact in the matters under consideration and to determine what mode of comprehension is best suited to the understanding of the facts thus constituted.”
understanding. In the colonial space of British Columbia, colonial discourse shaped Native-European relations, and informed the ways in which Eurocentric missionaries approached their Native convert communities. Colonial discourse worked within missionary texts to produce narratives of obligation and dependency, in which the White Christian community was paternally responsible for the care, control and direction of Native non-Christians and Christians alike. The confluence of Christianity and colonial discourse powerfully shaped the expectations of metropolitan readers and the practices of missionaries in the field.

The inevitability of the classificatory system of binary oppositions inherent in colonial discourse, which gave justification to the rule of the Imperial (inherently superior, advanced, modern, scientific, evolved) State over colonial (inferior, primitive, barbaric, degenerate, childlike) subjects had profound implications for missionary work in colonial spaces. Native converts were always marked as both Native and convert, different from White, Christian-born missionaries. Even within the specific conversion narratives of Methodism, in which the intensity of the conversion experience was characterised by the depth of the depravity which preceded it, Native converts could not entirely escape the taint of mimicry, the categorization that makes the colonial Other almost like/not quite like the coloniser Self. In missionary narratives, the Native convert was always a

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24 Morag Shiach, *Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, Gender and History in Cultural Analysis, 1730 to the Present* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989), 14, drawing on the work of Raymond Williams, articulates a definition of culture as ways of perceiving and representing social relations, and as a set of material forms and practices.


26 For mimicry, the process by which colonial control is exerted by the metropolitan coloniser to remake the
palimpsest, in which the former text had been erased and a new text overwritten. To the discerning missionary eye, the underlying text remained faintly visible a reminder of that the Native convert was almost like/not quite, an imperfect mimicry of the Christian brother or sister of the White missionary.

Sources for the Study

Missionary records, in the form of diaries, correspondence, reports, biographies and autobiographies, missionary magazines, and promotional and educational literature form the main textual sources for my research. This material is a mixture of private and public, official and informal.

Anglican and Methodist missionaries were expected to correspond regularly with their sponsoring societies, and it is in the archives of these sponsoring bodies that the most extensive record of missionary activity in British Columbia can be found. The original papers of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) are held by the Rhodes House Library at Oxford; those of the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Special Collections at the University of Birmingham; those of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in the Methodist Missionary Society Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; and those of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada at the United Church / Victoria University Archives.
in Toronto. The SPG, CMS and Wesleyan Missionary Society papers have been microfilmed, while most of the Methodist Church of Canada papers are available only as manuscript originals. While the quality of the microfilming is variable, and some documents difficult, if not impossible to read, necessity dictated that I worked with the microfilmed papers for all the missionary society papers, apart from those held at the United Church archives in Toronto.

The papers of the sponsoring societies can be supplemented by private missionary correspondence, diaries and memoirs. These records survive in several archives, most notably the British Columbia Archives in Victoria, and the archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and Yukon, and the British Columbia Conference of the United Church of Canada, both in Vancouver, although the breadth and variety of diaries and private correspondence is somewhat limited.

Print missionary sources are varied and extensive. The monographs and serials available on microfiche from the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreprography represent a broad spectrum of primary sources, including description and travel literature, directories, almanacs and annuals, as well as denominational missionary literature, including extended runs of denominational missionary magazines and annual reports. In many cases I was able to access long runs of missionary periodicals on microfilm or in the original, while in other cases, only a limited number of volumes from the entire run of a missionary periodical were available. Wherever possible, I have examined at least a few issues of each missionary magazine in paper copies, believing that the materiality of the print sources is best appreciated by engaging with the original, rather than the
The survival of missionary literature in libraries and archives is unpredictable, and in some cases, the only evidence of a specific missionary title is the microfilmed copy of a single issue of a periodical printed in British Columbia, which was sent to the sponsoring society, and preserved in the papers of the society, or a single pamphlet retained in a bound collection of missionary ephemera.

This body of public and private missionary literature was further supplemented by the various professional clergy directories, and the alumni lists of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. However, the erasing of the details of the personal life of the missionary from these public records is intensely frustrating for the researcher who is looking for the private, as opposed to the public traces of mission work. The extent to which the private life of the clergy was excised in even official biographical sources was made clear by the anonymous editor of *Crockford’s Clerical Directory*, who wrote:

A suggestion was made lately that the interest of the work would be greatly increased by the insertion of the publications of the wives of the Clergy. It may be fairly inferred that this correspondent was of the number of those who “shine in a reflected light.”

Another correspondent writes: “Dear Sir, I think it would add to the usefulness and popularity of your book, and not enlarge its bulk much, if you would insert the name of

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27 On the importance of examining the original rather than a microfilmed copy, see Margaret Beetham, “Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre,” in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden, (London: Macmillan, 1990), 23. Lyn Pykett, “Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context,” in the same volume, 11, posits the question “What is a text in the field of periodicals study? Is it the individual essay? The issue? The volume? A run defined in some other way – say by the period of a particular editorship?” Wherever possible, I chose to examine the entire run of a periodical for the period within the time frame of this study, that is, from the mid 1850s through 1914.

28 J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds., *Periodicals of Queen Victoria’s Empire: An Exploration* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 12, note that “the role of missionaries and the religious press is a vast and almost totally neglected area for periodicals research.” Jamie S. Scott, “Colonial, Neo-Colonial, Post-colonial: Images of Christian Missions in Hiram A. Cody’s *The Frontiersman*, Rudy Wiebe’s *First and Vital Candle*, and Basil Johnston’s *Indian School Days*,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 3 (1997), 141, similarly notes that there are no sustained examinations of the portrayal of missions in Canadian literature. The difficulty of locating long runs of missionary periodicals, and the ephemeral nature of much missionary literature may in part explain why the study of this aspect of the missionary endeavour is underrepresented within the growing field of the history of the book and print culture, and within the field of missionary studies.
the lady whom the clergyman married, as is done in the Peerage, Baronetage, &c. Though not ecclesiastical information, it would to many be both useful and popular.” I might be urged to go further and insert the number and names of the children of the clergy, and state whether they had had measles, whooping cough, scarlatina, &c. There may be some who would like to hunt up these little details concerning the arcana of family life, but the “usefulness” would be nil and the “popularity” ruin to the work.  

It is questionable whether private correspondence is innocent of the deliberate construction and shaping of narrative for the consumption of the private reader. Other researchers working with missionary records have problematised the use of public missionary narratives, seeing in them the careful construction of fictive narratives, imbricated by colonialism, imperialism and racist discourses, rather than the record of lived experience. It is, of course, the construction of missionary discourse for a metropolitan audience that is one of the subjects of this study. These records are necessarily silent about Native peoples, and provide only one voice of the dialogic encounter between the missionaries and the missionised in the colonial space of British Columbia. However, a serious consideration of the ways that metropolitan readers consumed missionary discourse, and were drawn into the textual recreation of the colonial space is critical to a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of the missionary enterprise.

The Organisation of the Text

The dissertation is divided into two sections. In Part 1, “Foundations” I locate the missionaries within the broad frameworks of denominational theology, missiology, and ecclesiology, and within the space, time and place of British Columbia between the gold

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29 Crockford’s Clerical Directory For 1880 (London: Horace Cox, 1880), vi-vii:

30 See, for example, Blake, 16, who refers to missionary literature as missionary propaganda aimed at a European audience, and Rutherdale, 14-18.
rush of the late 1850s and advent of the First World War in 1914. I consider the structural
differences between Anglican and Methodist missionary societies, and explore the
differences within each denomination that shaped missionary practices in the field. I
examine the critical role of education in the formation of missionaries, and identify the
ways in which their educational trajectories shaped their interaction with print culture.

In the second part of the dissertation, “The Materiality of Print Culture,” I explore three
different areas of the missionaries’ interaction with print culture and the artefacts of print.
I first look at writing practices of missionaries, and the denominational structures that
encouraged particular textual relationships, considering the role of missionaries as
creators of text, and the role of missionary publications in the dissemination of
information about the mission field. I then examine the role of missionaries as promoters
of particular forms of textuality among Native convert communities, and consider the
role of missionaries in the creation and dissemination of translations into Native
languages. I then turn to the consumption of print and the role of missionaries in
promoting reading and textuality as a means of reordering social relations. Finally, I raise
questions for further research.
Figure 1 Map of British Columbia
Figure 2 First Nations language groups in British Columbia
PART 1

FOUNDATIONS
CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF ANGLICAN AND METHODIST MISSIONS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Missionary activity in nineteenth century British Columbia took place within a framework of particular internal constraints imposed by the geographic isolation and vast size of the province, and external constraints imposed by inadequate funding and rigid policy setting by the funding bodies in England and Ontario. Both the Anglican and Methodist churches struggled to find a secure financial base in a province with a fluctuating economy, and a highly mobile and unstable population. The lack of a basic infrastructure for the easy transportation of goods and people made the deployment of missionaries difficult, and funding from a variety of sources external to the province was critical to the ongoing work of missionaries in the field.

In order to explore the history of Anglican and Methodist missions in British Columbia, it is critical, therefore, to understand the institutional structures that governed the missionaries, and the particular denominational expectations and pressures that shaped missionary activity. It is equally critical to place the discourses of mission into their specific denominational context, and tease out the ways that differences within denominations affected ecclesiastical polity and shaped interpersonal relationships between missionaries. An un-nuanced construct of a monolithic and unindividuated “Protestantism” fails to acknowledge that the two denominations had different theological beliefs that informed their missionary practice and public discourse, and different organisational structures and funding policies that affected how missionary practice was carried out in the field.
The Church of England and Colonial Missions in the Nineteenth Century

Colonial missionary activity in the Church of England in the nineteenth century was shaped in part by the complex historical interrelationship between Church and State that results from the church's official status as the Established Church in England. All clergy are required to swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown when ordained, and again when installed in a new position. Furthermore, the election of bishops is subject to royal appointment, as is the appointment of many of the deans of cathedrals, and other positions within the church to which the Crown has the right of patronage. In turn, bishops of English sees are seated in the House of Lords.

Within the Anglican church, bishops are charged with the authority to administer their dioceses, and lead and guide their clergy and lay people. They also have a distinctive and exclusive role: only bishops can confer the sacraments of ordination and confirmation.

31 The Act of Supremacy of 1534 (repealed in 1554 and restored in 1558), required clergy to swear an Oath of Allegiance, in which the oath-taker promised to be faithful and bear true allegiance to the monarch, and to the monarch's heirs and successors; and an Oath of Supremacy, which acknowledged "the Sovereign as Supreme Governor in matters spiritual or temporal." Although the Oath of Supremacy was abolished in 1868, the Oath of Allegiance was reaffirmed by the Clerical Subscriptions Act of 1865, and the Promissory Oaths Act of 1868. See "Allegiance, Oath of" in The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 42 [hereafter ODCC]; and "Supremacy, Acts of," ODCC, 1560.

32 The election of bishops to a vacant see within the Church of England is equally complex. Candidates must be at least thirty years of age, ordained to the priesthood, and of sound doctrine. The process begins when the names of two candidates recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury are submitted by the Prime Minister to the Crown for approval. The Crown then issues the congé d'élire, which gives permission for the dean and chapter of the cathedral to hold an election. The election is then confirmed by royal assent, and the new bishop is duly consecrated. In areas where there is no organised diocese, the bishop is named by the Crown by a Royal Letter Patent. See "Bishop," ODCC, 209-210; and Owen Chadwick, "The Bishop and the Diocese", chapter 6, The Victorian Church, vol. 2 (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970).

33 Before the creation of the new dioceses of Ripon and Manchester in 1836, all English bishops held seats in the House of Lords. The Bishoprics Act of 1878 limited the episcopal seats to twenty-six bishops. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of London, Durham and Winchester automatically held seats, while a further twenty-one bishops were selected in order of seniority by the date of their consecration to the episcopacy. See Edward L. Cutts, "Bishops in Parliament," A Dictionary of the Church of England, 3d ed. (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1908), 93.
The importance of bishops for the right ordering of the Church was a source of debate from the time of Elizabeth I. High Church theologians of seventeenth century argued that bishops were the esse of the Church, deriving their authority from direct and continuous succession from the apostles. In their view, the Church of England, although reformed from medieval accretions, was part of the Catholic church. High Church theologians also emphasised the importance of the Early Church, the centrality of the sacraments in Christian worship, and the theology of Incarnation. Other theologians argued for a presbyterian form of church government, and believed that while bishops had a role to play in the ecclesiology of the Church of England, they were of the bene esse of the Church, rather than the esse.

The responsibility of bishops for ordination and confirmation was critical to the development of Anglican missions. By an order-in-council of 1634, British subjects in foreign parts were placed under the spiritual authority of the Bishop of London, who, as a result, was responsible for the licencing of clergy to preach in the colonies. However, before the late eighteenth century, there was no provision within the Church of England for the consecration of bishops for the colonies, although the need for colonial bishops


35 On the importance of apostolic succession for High Church theologians, see Kenneth Hylson-Smith, High Churchmanship in the Church of England: From the Sixteenth Century to the Late Twentieth Century (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 54-65. See also Cnattingius, 19.

36 This view of the Church of England as the via media, both Catholic and reformed, is perhaps best expressed by the final words of Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who in 1711, as he was dying, said “I dye in the Communion of the Church of England as it stands distinguished from all Papall and Puritan Innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.” Cited in John R. H. Moorman, A History of the Church in England, 2d ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1967), 234.

was recognised as far back as 1638 by William Laud. Priests who served in the colonies in British North America, therefore, were either ordained in England before travelling to the colonies, or had to make the long journey back to England: there was no provision for local ordination. Changes to legislation governing the Church of England required an Act of Parliament, and there was political resistance to making the changes necessary for the creation of a colonial episcopacy.

In the wake of the American Revolution, the Church of England rethought its position, and came to argue that a resident colonial bishop presiding over a strong and well organised diocesan structure was a means to ensure social stability and loyalty to the Crown. The consecrations of Charles Inglis in 1787 as first bishop of Nova Scotia and the first colonial bishop of the Church of England established the subsequent pattern for the expansion of missionary work in British colonies. Like bishops in England, Inglis was responsible for ordaining and supervising the missionary priests in his diocese, while unlike his English counterparts, he remained dependent on missionary societies in

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38 Laud, a High Churchman, was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 to 1645. See Cнатtingius, 16.

39 Ibid, 98-99. For the history of the Church of England in the American colonies, see Thompson, chapter 3, “The Church in America: 1701-1783,” and chapter 4, “The Church in the American Revolution.” Thompson, 98, notes that a result of the absence of bishops in the American colonies, “There was no responsible person on the spot to assess the needs of the several colonies and their many parishes, to deal with vacancies and transferences, or to dispose the available manpower to the best advantage: no one to visit, praise or censure, reward or discipline the clergy.”

40 See, for example, C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the SPG: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900, vol. 2 (London: The Society, 1901), 751-752. See also the explicit statement by T. E. Yates, Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad: The Missionary Policies of Henry Venn and Their Repercussions Upon the Anglican Episcopate of the Colonial Period 1841-1872 (Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research; London: SPCK, 1978), 196, “To many Anglican churchmen the lesson of the loss of the American colonies was plain. The steady deprivation of the American church of the bishops it required, through the procrastination of Hanoverian governments in the eighteenth century, had been an important factor in the break-away.”
England for funding the work. Although missionary activity to British colonies was increasingly seen as an important priority by the Church of England, the number of new colonial bishops increased slowly: despite the rapid expansion of British colonial power, only ten new dioceses were established from the founding of the diocese of Nova Scotia in 1787 to 1840. The expansion of missionary activity by the Church of England in the early nineteenth century was hindered by the lack of ordained clergy who were willing to put themselves forward as candidates for missionary service. Legislation introduced into Parliament in 1819, which authorised the ordination by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London of clergy “for the colonies” partially remedied the shortage, but the small number of volunteers continued to limit the size of colonial missions.

Missionary activity rapidly increased after the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was established in 1841 to provide endowments for new colonial bishoprics. Twenty-nine new dioceses were established between 1841 and 1860. However, unlike their English counterparts, colonial bishops did not necessarily preside over a diocese in an Established church. Various different relationships between Church and State existed in the colonies.

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41 Inglis was issued with Royal Letters patent constituting the Diocese of Nova Scotia, and giving him “all manner of jurisdiction, power and coercion ecclesiastical.” See Pascoe, 753. He was not, however, the first bishop ordained for an overseas diocese: Samuel Seabury had been consecrated in 1784 as first bishop of the post-revolutionary Episcopal Church in the United States. Seabury, who was unable to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, was consecrated in Scotland by bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, where the Oaths were not legislated. Further consecrations for the Episcopal Church were enabled by an Act passed in 1786 (26 Geo. III, c. 84), which allowed for the consecration by the Church of England of bishops for foreign states, that is, for service outside British colonies. See Cnattingius, 27.

42 On the 1819 Act, see Cnattingius, 67. The right of a colonial bishop to ordain indigenous candidates to the priesthood was established by an Act of Parliament (4 Geo. IV, c. 71), which stated that the Bishop of Calcutta had the right to ordain any person whom he found suitable. See Cnattingius, 113.

43 Pascoe, 753.
and local legislatures varied in their willingness to grant State privileges to the Church of England. In many cases, the Church of England found that it was accorded no special status, and became merely a denomination among a multiplicity of other Christian denominations.44 And unlike their English counterparts, whose dioceses were supported by a complex system of endowments, tithes and taxes, most colonial bishops had no regular source of income beyond the endowments generated by the Colonial Bishoprics Fund and grants from the Church of England missionary societies. Many colonial bishops found it necessary to engage in fundraising to support new missions and continue existing missions and programs.

Despite the enabling legislation and the creation of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, the ecclesiastical tensions in the mid-century Church of England posed challenges to many of the colonial bishops, and complicated the expansion of missionary endeavour in British colonies. Bitter doctrinal differences had developed between the two major factions within the Church, differences that informed basic approaches to liturgy, to personal piety, and to the very language of religious experience.45

The Evangelical movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries within the Church of England focused on the need for repentance, conversion and personal holiness. Squarely identifying themselves within the traditions of the Reformation, the Evangelicals preached an atonement theology of justification by faith alone, the complete

44 Yates, 93.

depravity of humanity, and the centrality of the cross. While the Book of Common Prayer was important to the Evangelicals, their emphasis on extempore prayer, and the centrality that they assigned to reading and preaching the gospel, rather than celebrating the liturgy, tended to moderate the place of the printed word in Evangelical worship.

The Tractarian Movement (also known as the Oxford Movement) took its name from the ninety *Tracts for the Times*, published between 1833 and 1841, which brought the Movement to public attention. The authors of the *Tracts* turned new attention to patristic theology, and drew on the body of seventeenth century High Church writings in support of their call for the restoration of a full Catholic theology of orders within the Anglican Church. The Tractarians placed particular emphasis on the legitimacy of the Anglican episcopacy through the doctrine of apostolic succession. Like their High Church predecessors, the Tractarians articulated an ecclesiology in which bishops were the esse of the church, and in which the church superseded the state. They reasserted the centrality of sacramental worship structured through the liturgy as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and placed a new emphasis on the importance of personal devotion.

These theological differences between the Tractarians and the Evangelicals directly affected the ways that new missions were created and funded. The major support for

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47 The Tractarians were also known, derisively, as “Puseyites,” followers of Edward Bouvier Pusey, one of the chief authors of the *Tracts*. It is important to distinguish between the early states of the Oxford Movement, when the *Tracts* were being issued, and the later stages, which emphasised the reintroduction of Catholic liturgical and ceremonial practices, including Eucharistic vestments, incense and altar lights, and ceremonial during worship. This latter phase, often referred to by opponents as “Ritualism,” was the focus of the Royal Commission in 1867, and the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874.
missionary activities within the Church of England in the nineteenth century was provided by two societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands (the SPG), and the Church Missionary Society (the CMS). The two societies had, in theory, different mandates. The SPG, formed in 1701, was primarily responsible for the pastoral care of English people overseas, with the additional responsibility of evangelising the non-Christian peoples living under British rule. The CMS, founded in 1799 and originally called the “Society for Missions in Africa and the East,” had as its sole purpose the evangelisation of the “heathen.” In practice the boundaries of responsibility were permeable, as a quote from the SPG magazine the *Mission Field* makes clear:

> The difficulty and toil which accompany the planting of the Church in a new, thinly-peopled, and poor colony are brought before us in a letter from the Bishop of Rupertsland: yet the difficulty of founding and maintaining the institutions needed for the religious welfare of the colonists does not deter Christians either in Rupertsland or elsewhere from attempting the conversion of the adjoining heathen; the two works are carried on almost pari passu; they act and re-act upon one another - each helping the other.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the SPG’s approach to missions to the colonies was firmly rooted within a High Church understanding of the role of bishops as the esse of the church and thus critical to the missionary expansion of the Church of England, while the CMS argued that bishops, while a bene esse were not critical to missionary endeavour

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49“Summary,” *The Mission Field* 14 (1869): 93. See also the comment by the Secretary of the SPG, Ernest Hawkins, in correspondence with Bishop Hills regarding the appointment of John Booth Good to the diocese of Columbia, “Will you kindly bear in mind that he is sent by the Society with the definite object of labouring as a Missionary among the Native tribes of Vancouver.” Letter from Ernest Hawkins to Bishop Hills, dated Dec. 14, 1860, File 1, 1859-1867 Correspondence, SPG-Bishop Hills, Box 2, Text 56, Hills fond, Archives of the Diocese of British Columbia (ADBC).
and the planting of new churches.\textsuperscript{50} The SPG sent missionary bishops to establish diocesan structures, plant churches and nurture the development of the Church in the colonies, while the Evangelical-influenced CMS argued that not every mission needed a bishop at its head to be successful.\textsuperscript{51}

The SPG made block grants available to colonial bishops, who then were responsible for administering the grants for missionary work within their dioceses.\textsuperscript{52} Bishops receiving block grants were required to report regularly to the Society on the progress of the SPG-supported missionaries in the field. In contrast, the CMS provided direct grants to individual missionaries, who in turn were responsible to their diocesan bishop, if they were stationed within an organised diocese. The CMS argued that bishops should be sent to a mission only when that mission had grown and become stable, believing that, ideally, bishops should rise up from the mission. Both societies placed particular emphasis on the need for missions to become self-supporting. The SPG had a policy of gradually withdrawing grants to missions in the expectation that effective missionary work would result in the creation of parishes able (and willing) to support a resident clergyman.

Similarly, the CMS encouraged increased participation by the Indigenous Christians of a mission (the former "heathen" that the missionaries had been sent to convert), a policy that Henry Venn, Secretary of the CMS, referred to as the "euthanasia of a mission."\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{50} For the CMS position on bishops as a \textit{bene esse}, see Cnattingius, 61. For the revival of High Church theology within the SPG, see Cnattingius, 69. See also Yates, 97, on the acceptability to the Evangelicals of Erastian church limitations to the authority of bishops.

\textsuperscript{51} Cnattingius, 59. See also comments by Eugene Stock, vol., 2, 19-20, on the debates among Evangelicals about the merits and necessity of appointing a bishop to head a new mission.

\textsuperscript{52} Cnattingius, 207-208.

\textsuperscript{53} Item ten of Venn’s "Minute Upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers," issued in 1851,
The CMS anticipated that as Indigenous participation in a mission increased, local giving would also increase, resulting in a gradual diminution and eventual cessation of financial support from the Society.

**Anglican Missions in British Columbia**

The earliest official presence of the Church of England on the west coast arrived in 1836 when the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) appointed Herbert Beaver to the chaplaincy of Fort Vancouver on the Columbia. Relations between Beaver and John McLoughlin, chief factor of the fort, were disputatious, and Beaver returned to England in 1838. A replacement was not sent from England until 1849, when Robert Staines, the new HBC chaplain and schoolmaster arrived in Fort Victoria. He in turn fell out with chief factor James Douglas, was dismissed from the school in 1854, and died en route to England to lay his case against Douglas before the HBC governors in London. The HBC then appointed Edward Cridge to be the chaplain to the Fort. Cridge and his bride arrived

makes the policy of the eventual self-sufficiency of a mission clear: “Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native Church, under native pastors, upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, ‘the euthanasia of a mission’ takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to “the regions beyond.” Reprinted in Wilbert R. Shenk, *Henry Venn: Missionary Statesman* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1983), 118-120.


in Victoria in 1855 and settled into life in Victoria as part of the tight-knit colonial society.\textsuperscript{56}

Anglican missions to Native peoples began in 1856, when Captain James Prevost of the Royal Navy urged that a missionary be sent to the North Pacific, to evangelise the Native peoples around Fort Simpson.\textsuperscript{57} The cause was taken up by the Church Missionary Society, who chose William Duncan, a fervent young Evangelical who was then studying at the Society’s Highbury Training Institution for schoolmasters.\textsuperscript{58} Duncan sailed from Plymouth in December 1856, and arrived at Esquimalt the following June. After some months delay in Victoria, during which time he lived with the Cridge family and began his study of Tsimshian, Duncan finally obtained permission from the HBC to go to north, and arrived at Fort Simpson on Oct. 1, 1857.\textsuperscript{59} Duncan immediately began to hold Sunday worship services and continued his study of Tsimshian in preparation for preaching to the Native peoples living near the Fort in their own language. He also established a small day school for the children and a night school for the adults in order to

\footnote{56}{For a detailed account of Cridge’s appointment to the HBC chaplaincy, see Edward Cridge papers, Vol. 6, Cridge Diaries, 1853-54; 1858, Add. Mss. 320, British Columbia Archives (BCA). For a brief summary of Cridge’s background, see Peake, 18-21. See also Russ Brown, “Judgments of Solomon: Law, Doctrine, and the Cridge Controversy of 1872-1874,” in Essays in the History of Canadian Law, vol. 6, British Columbia and the Yukon, ed. Hamar Foster and John McLaren (Toronto: Published for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History by the University of Toronto Press, 1995), 322. For details of the Cridges’ arrival in Victoria, and a description of worship at Fort Victoria, see N. de Bertrand Lugrin, The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island 1843-1866, ed. John Hosie (Victoria: The Women’s Canadian Club of Victoria, 1928), 30-32.}

\footnote{57}{Stock, vol. 2, 612-613.}

\footnote{58}{For Duncan’s diaries, see William Duncan fonds, Microfilm 1852-1927, 1945, 20 reels M2315 to M2334, National Archives of Canada (NAC), especially Correspondence, 1852-1918, reels M2315 to M2326; and Journals and notebooks, 1853-1917, reels M2326 to M2329. Peter Murray, The Devil and Mr. Duncan: A History of the Two Metlakatlas (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985); and Jean Usher, William Duncan at Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in British Columbia (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974) both provide biographical information and detailed histories of Duncan’s career.}

\footnote{59}{The British Columbia Mission, or, Metlakatlah (London: Church Missionary House, 1871), 7.}
inculcate English language skills and basic literacy and numeracy among his first converts. In 1862, Duncan and approximately three hundred and fifty converts established a model Christian Tsimshian community at Metlakatla, south of the Fort.

In 1858, as word spread of the gold rush on the Fraser, Edward Cridge wrote to England to plead for more missionaries to serve the rapidly expanding population of Victoria. In response to Cridge's pleas, the Colonial and Continental Church Society sponsored the Rev. W. Burton Crickmer, who went first to Derby (Fort Langley), and then to Yale, as the importance of the Fort declined. The SPG also responded to pleas for assistance by funding Richard Dowson, who arrived from England early in 1859 to serve with Cridge in Victoria, and James Gammage, who joined Crickmer on the mainland later that same year. The first year, Gammage travelled up the Fraser River as far as Lillooet, mostly by foot before settling at Douglas, at the head of Harrison Lake, on the main route into the Cariboo.

60 Ibid., 10.

61 The contemporary literature on Metlakatla is extensive. Duncan was widely praised in missionary literature, and the work at Metlakatla was reported on in great detail. See, for example, Metlahkatlah: Ten Years’ Work Among the Tsimshien Indians (London: Church Missionary House, 1869) [four editions by 1871, under the title The British Columbia Mission, or, Metlahkatlah]; Edward Cridge, Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Metlahkatlah, in the Diocese of British Columbia (London: Church Missionary House, 1868); Stock, vol. 2, 611-622; and the letters and reports to the CMS by William Duncan, published in the Church Missionary Intelligencer. See also the discussion of Duncan and the Tsimshian converts at Metlakatla below, chapter 5.


In England, concerns were expressed that the influx of miners from California to the gold fields would lead to the Americanisation of the colony. In response, the Church of England created the diocese of Columbia, which encompassed the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, under the charge of a new colonial bishop. In keeping with their prevailing High Church ecclesiology, the SPG argued that the new bishop would provide a steadying British presence in the colony, and oversee the missionaries who would be sent from England to minister to the spiritual wants of the colonists.\textsuperscript{65}

The creation of a new diocese was made possible by a substantial endowment given by Angela Burdett Coutts,\textsuperscript{66} who personally selected George Hills to be the first bishop.\textsuperscript{67} Hills was consecrated in Westminster Abbey in 1859, and spent the rest of the year in England raising support and funds, and recruiting missionaries for the new diocese.

The first two priests selected by Hills, Robert James Dundas and John Sheepshanks

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 75.

\textsuperscript{66} Angela Burdett Coutts, later Baroness Burdett Coutts provided £15,000 for the endowment of the diocese, and £10,000 for the endowment of two archdeaconries. See H. W. Tucker, \textit{The English Church in Other Lands, or, The Spiritual Expansion of England}. Epochs of Church History, ed. Mandell Crighton (London: Longmans, Green, 1886), 51. Burdett Coutts had already provided the money for the endowment of the dioceses of Cape Town and Adelaide. See Edna Healey, \textit{Lady Unknown, The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts} (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1984) for detailed information on Burdett Coutts’ support of the colonial episcopacy.

\textsuperscript{67} No complete biography of Hills has been published, although there are unpublished manuscripts by Horace P. K. Skipton, “A Life of George Hills, First Bishop of British Columbia,” [commissioned by the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society in 1912], Harold Eustace Sexton fonds, and by Cyril Williams, “Christian Pioneer and Evangelist,” Cyril Williams fonds, Archives of the Anglican Provincial Synod of British Columbia and Yukon (AEPBC). Hills, the son of a British naval officer, was born in England in 1816. He attended Durham University, was ordained to the diaconate and priesthood in 1840, and served curacies at Tynemouth, Northumberland and Leeds, under Walter Farquhar Hook, the Dean of Leeds. At the time of his elevation to the episcopacy, Hills was vicar of St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, then the largest parish in England. In 1865, while in England, Hills married Maria Philadelphia Louisa King, the daughter of Rear Admiral Sir Richard King. Mrs. Hills died in 1888 in Victoria, and Hills died in 1895 in England. For biographical information on Hills, see G. H. Cockburn, “The Founder of the Church in British Columbia,” \textit{Across the Rockies} 29, no. 4 (1937): 3-7; Roberta L. Bagshaw, “Introduction: Jottings Made at the Time,” \textit{No Better Land: The 1860 Diaries of the Anglican Colonial Bishop} (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1986), Brown, 324-325; and appendix 5. For Mrs. Hills, see Lugrin, 288-289.
arrived in Victoria in the summer of 1859. Dundas remained in Victoria to become the rector of the new parish church of St. John's, while Sheepshanks travelled to New Westminster, where he established the parish of Holy Trinity and served as its first rector. Hills arrived in Victoria in January 1860 and immediately started to reorganise missionary work in the diocese. Between 1860 and 1865 a total of twelve missions funded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were added to the diocese on Vancouver Island and the mainland.

In the early years of Anglican missions in British Columbia, Bishop Hills struggled to deploy his missionaries adequately. On Vancouver Island, missionary activity was concentrated first in the Victoria area, then Nanaimo, and then the Cowichan Valley. On the mainland, missionaries established parishes in New Westminster and in towns on the major transportation corridors to the Cariboo. However, the SPG seemed not to recognise that the transitory nature of the gold-mining population made it almost impossible to establish settled and self-supporting parishes: land was purchased in newly-settled towns, and churches and mission houses built, only to see the population of the area decline.

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68 They were soon joined by Alexander St. David Francis Pringle, who established the parish of Christ Church, Hope; Alexander Charles Garrett who remained in Victoria as the Principal of the Indian Mission and assisted Cridge at Christ Church; and Richard Lomas Lowe, who established the parish of St. Paul's and a Native mission at Nanaimo. See Peake, 28. For the biography of John Sheepshanks, see D. Wallace Duthie A Bishop in the Rough (London: Smith, Elder, 1909). For early missionary activity in Victoria, see Stuart Underhill, The Iron Church, 1860-1985 (Victoria: Braemar Books, 1984).

69 The Mission Field, the missionary periodical of the SPG, and the annual Columbia Mission reports published extensive portions of the letters and reports detailing the development of missions in Columbia during this period. See also the manuscript letters and reports to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, particularly Series D-39, Letters received from dioceses in Canada, Columbia 1860-1864, SPG papers, microfilm reels A28 and A29, NAC. See also J. J. Halcombe, ed., “Mission Work in British Columbia: Chiefly from the Journals of the Rev. R. J. Dundas,” in The Emigrant and the Heathen: or, Sketches of Missionary Life (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [1870?]), 185-240; and Pascoe, 181-186.
While some of the Anglican missionaries travelled extensively, in actual practice itinerating in a manner similar to that of Methodist missionaries, they were also expected to reproduce the Church of England’s parochial structures by acquiring glebe lands, collecting pew rents, establishing endowments for ministerial salaries, and nominating churchwardens. The funds sent from the SPG in London were often inadequate to cover the higher cost of living in the colonies, a situation that the Society seemed unwilling to recognise. The tensions between the familiar patterns of the Established Church in England, and the new realities of the unestablished Church of England in the colonies were negotiated in the correspondence between Hills and the SPG, as the bishop sought to remind the Society of the different nature of the work in British Columbia, and the considerable difficulties that he faced in building a self-supporting church. In his letters and reports to England, Bishop Hills continually felt it...
necessary to remind his readers of the geographic challenges of a diocese that was the size of England and France combined.\textsuperscript{73}

Relations between Hills and Cridge, the former HBC chaplain, were initially cordial. Cridge was named as a trustee of Maria Hill’s marriage settlement, and in 1866, Hills appointed Cridge as Dean of Christ Church Cathedral. However, there were serious tensions between the strongly Evangelical Cridge and Hills, whose ideas of the episcopacy were shaped by his High Church theology. Although Hills is usually described as a moderate Tractarian, his beliefs on the role of the episcopacy seem to have been shaped primarily by pre-Tractarian High Church theology and ecclesiology.\textsuperscript{74}

The growing dispute between Hills and Cridge came to a head at the consecration of the new cathedral on December 5th, 1872. During the service, Cridge rose to his feet to publicly and vocally express his disapproval of a sermon preached by William Reece, the

\textsuperscript{73} Typical of Hills’ correspondence is a letter to Ernest Hawkins of the SPG, dated June 29 1864, “In acknowledgment of your letter of June 25 I regret the Society have reduced their aid to the Diocese of Columbia...Considering the early stage of the Colony, the alien character of the population and the high price of provisions in some places the limit of £100 to each Clergyman will be a difficult arrangement with the Europeans while it will be impossible in missions to the Heathen, I will however endeavour to carry out as far as I can the wishes of the Society.” File 1, 1859-1867 Correspondence, SPG-Bishop Hills, Box 2, Text 56, Hills papers, ADBC.

\textsuperscript{74} At Durham, Hills studied under Hugh James Rose, an influential High Church theologian who was both sympathetic to and critical of the Tractarian movement. See Cockburn, 3; Brown, 324; and “Rose, Hugh James,” \textit{ODCC}, 1418. On visits to England, Hills noted with some concern examples of ritualism that he encountered during his preaching tours. See, for example, George Hills diary, “Ch[rist] Ch[urch] Clapham, ‘All the Vestments’,” September 11, 1864: “I do not know whether the doctrines taught [at Christ Church, Clapham] are twisted with error, I suppose not. Tonight no word was uttered except out of the Scriptures and Prayer Book and my Sermon. There is much to make one anxious in these ultra ritualisms. I pray God to deliver His Church from all departure from the truth as it is in Jesus.” George Hills, diary, typescript transcript of manuscript original, George Hills papers, AEPBC (hereafter Hills diary)
Archdeacon of Vancouver [Island], in which Reece was said to have made comments in favour of the reintroduction of ritual into the Church of England. The ensuing dispute between the Dean and the Bishop over episcopal authority dragged on for more than a year, and was widely publicized in the local newspapers.

The Hills-Cridge affair, which is often described as a personality clash between the bishop and the dean needs to be set within several broader contexts. Cridge’s public denunciation of ritual in the Church of England was shaped not only by his personal Evangelical theology but by the intense debates in England over the legality of ritual and ceremonial. Cridge, as an Evangelical, subscribed to a “Low Church” understanding of the role of bishops, and was deeply suspicious and resentful of any attempts to enforce episcopal authority on the clergy of the diocese. His objections to Hills’ High Church views, focused, in part, on the rights and responsibilities of bishops, and specifically on Hills’ right to visit the parishes of his diocese. Cridge’s position also reflected another debate then current in the Church of England: the place of diocesan synods in the governance of the church, and the appropriateness of lay participation in those synods.

Although Hills defended Archdeacon Reece against Dean Cridge’s denunciation of ritualism, he was sharply critical of subsequent attempts to introduce into the diocese of Columbia some of the Six Points of ritual passed by the English Church Union in 1875 (the Eastward Position during the Consecration; Eucharistic Vestments; the Mixed Chalice; Altar Lights; Unleavened Bread at the Eucharist; and Incense), which were ruled illegal by a series of trials in the Ecclesiastical Court in England, and by the Regulation of Public Worship Act of 1874. See Hills’ diary, “The Altar at Nanaimo,” April 24, 1877, in which he commented that the six altar lights introduced by George Mason, the rector of St. Paul’s were unlawful. For details of the anti-ritualist court cases in England, see Cutts, “Ritualism,” and “Ritual Judgments,” 516-524; and James Bentley, Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Attempt to Legislate for Belief (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978). See also Brown, 320-322.

See, for example, his letter to Hills of October 14, 1873, folder 4, vol. 5, Edward Cridge fonds, BCA: “It was a contract, and not a bond of servitude under which we entered into the relation of Bishop and Presbyter.”

Chadwick, The Victorian Church, vol. 2, 359-366. Part of the general dispute focused on whether the calling of a synod violated Article 21, “Of the Authority of General Councils,” of the Articles of Religion.
Hills was required to establish a diocesan council or diocesan synod as a condition of receiving the diocesan SPG block grants, and the SPG pressed him regularly to report on his progress towards the requirement. Cridge was vehemently opposed to the establishment of a synod, and questioned the Bishop’s legal right to do so under the clauses of Hills’ Letters Patent. He placed his objections before the Archbishop of Canterbury, who upheld Hills’ actions. Cridge then took his objections into the public arena, and wrote an open letter to Hills, which was published in the Victoria newspapers.

His continued public denunciation of Hills eventually resulted in the Bishop charging Cridge with breaches of the Church Discipline Act. In April 1874, the Bishop summoned Cridge before an ecclesiastical court that proved sixteen of the eighteen which stated that “general councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes.” The Evangelicals were comfortable with Erastian imposition of the State over the actions of the Church, while the Tractarians, inspired by their High Church predecessors, argued that the Church superseded the State and that bishops had the right to call synods without royal assent.

78 See the SPG to Hills, July 22, 1865, “Resolved that a sum of £2000 (being an increase of £900) as a block grant for the diocese of Columbia be placed at the disposal of the Bishop for the year 1866, and for the years 1867 and 1868 at the disposal of the Bishop and some body to be associated with him, which he is to be requested to suggest per the approval of the Standing Committee.”; Hills to the SPG, July 27, 1865, “I have been unable to form a Diocesan Society or to take steps towards Synodal action on account of rival local feeling between sections of the diocese. The formation of a second Diocese I hope is near at hand which will cure this difficulty.”; the SPG to Hills, November 3, 1866, “The Society has not authorised its Treasurers to accept any bills on account of 1867 until we are informed of a Committee of a Diocesan Society or some similar body being associated with the bishop in the administration of the grant.”; Hills to the SPG, January 9, 1867, “I hope before the end of next quarter to report the names of some Committee such as the Society very properly requires to be associated with myself in the administration of the grant, but the peculiar and distressing circumstance of the Colony have rendered it for the last two years impossible to organize either a Diocesan Society or a Diocesan Synod, the latter of which I should much prefer.”; SPG to Hills, July 7, 1867, “1. I am desired to acknowledge your letter dated 5th April which has been under the consideration of the Standing Committee. They were glad to hear that you have obtained the cooperation of a Committee; although it would have been more in accordance with our usual practice if that body had been the representation of a Synod or Church Society. 2. We hope that the Secretary will send us regular minutes of the meetings of that Committee in which the Society’s funds are disposed of by that body and your Lordship. The conditions stated in my letter of July 22, 1865, have not yet been fulfilled. I refer particularly to paragraph 1.I., paragraph 2 (d). He will also doubtless inform us who are present at such meetings. File 1, 1859-1867 Correspondence, SPG-Bishop Hills, Box 2, Text 56, Hills papers, ADBC.

79 See also George Hills, Synods, Their Constitutions and Objects: A Sermon Preached in Christ Church and St. John’s, Victoria, January 1874 (Victoria: Daily Standard Office, 1874). See also folder 18, vol. 1, Edward Cridge fonds, BCA.
charges laid against the Dean, and in September 1874 Cridge's licence to preach was revoked. The case then moved to a civil trial in the Supreme Court, the judge finding in favour of the Bishop. Following the Supreme Court decision, Cridge, followed by many of the parishioners of the cathedral, left the Church of England for the Reformed Episcopal Church, where Cridge subsequently was made a bishop.  

The Hills-Cridge controversy was profoundly divisive for the diocese, and had long-felt repercussions. Many Anglicans felt compelled to choose between the Bishop and the Dean, and found their denominational loyalties severely tested. The loyalties of the diocesan clergy were tested, and some, who clearly took Cridge's side in the debate, found that their relationship with their Bishop became strained.

As early as 1862, Hills had argued for the division of the Diocese of Columbia (390,344 square miles in size). In 1865, plans for division of the diocese extended to the

80 Brown, op. cit., provides a clear examination of the legal issues surrounding the Cridge trials. For the Reformed Episcopal Church, see Allen C. Guelzo, For the Union of Evangelical Christendom: The Irony of the Reformed Episcopalians (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), particularly chapter 5, “True, Simple Episcopacy.”

81 A measure of the animosity can be gauged by the concluding paragraph of a biographical sketch of Maria Hills, written in 1928, long after the court case: “It was during Bishop Hills' time that the schism occurred in the Cathedral, and many of the congregation of that church followed Dean Cridge to the new church at the foot of the hill. The old bitterness of those days is passing away now, as the actors, too, have passed long since, and only the kindest memories remain of little Mrs. Hills, her books and her sweet garden, and dear old Bishop Cridge, whom everybody loved.” Lugrin, 289.

82 The dispute over the legality and propriety of synodical government continued even after the departure of Edward Cridge from the Church of England. John Booth Good, writing to the SPG in 1877, indicated that he had just returned to Lytton from the second session of the synod of the diocese of Columbia, and that Archdeacon Charles Woods of Holy Trinity, New Westminster and Percival Jenns of St. John's, Victoria were “doing what they can to render the respective congregations inimical to synodical action, [which] is a great source of wretchedness.” The Archdeacon evidently opposed the inclusion of laity in the Constitution of the synod, and the way that synod had been called together. See John Booth Good to the SPG, July 31, 1877, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-242, NAC

selection of a bishop-elect. However, the Church of England was in the middle of the trial of John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal in South Africa, and was reluctant to create any new colonial bishops until the issues of episcopal oversight, raised by the Colenso case, were resolved. The plan to divide the diocese of Columbia was put in abeyance. In 1878, Hills returned again to England to discuss his proposal for division

84 Hills was in England from 1863 through 1865, to raise additional funds for the diocese and to prepare the groundwork for the division of the diocese. Hills diary, “Meeting of the Col. Bishoprics Committee,” July 15, 1864, reported that the Colonial Bishoprics Council had declared the importance of dividing the diocese as soon as funds for the endowment had been secured. In preparation for the division of the diocese, John Postlethwaite had been designated bishop-elect. Hills had earlier stayed with Postlethwaite, who was rector at Coatham, in August, 1864. In his diary, Hills noted that Postlethwaite had previously offered himself for missionary work in British Columbia, and that he in return had offered Postlethwaite the “North West of Columbia and the Isles as Archdeacon.” Hills subsequently proposed to withdraw the offer of the Archdeaconry in place of a recommendation that Postlethwaite be named bishop of the new diocese created by the division of Columbia. See George Hills diary, “Mr. Postlethwaite,” August 30, 1864. For reports on the planned division, see also “Division of the Diocese,” Sixth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission For the Year 1864 (London: Rivingtons, 1865), 56-57; “Division of the Diocese,” Eighth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission For the Year 1866 (London: Rivingtons, 1867), 9-15. The designation of Postlethwaite as bishop-elect caused considerable tension in the diocese between Hills and Archdeacon Henry Press Wright, who had expected to be offered the bishopric at division. See George Hills diary, “The Bishopric Division,” May 1, 1865, and “Archdeacon Wright and the New Bishopric,” May 23, 1865. In the end, the division was put in abeyance until 1879, in part because of the disastrous financial reverses in the colonies.

85 John William Colenso, appointed first Bishop of Natal in 1853, published a series of pamphlets and monographs on Old and New Testament exegesis that were critical of traditional church teaching on subjects like eternal punishment, sacramental theology, and the historical accuracy of the Bible. He was declared deposed from his position as Bishop of Natal in 1864 by Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, on charges of heresy. Colenso appealed to the Privy Council, which found Gray’s sentence null and void. On the decision of the Privy Council Colenso then successfully sued the Colonial Bishoprics Fund for the restoration of his stipend. However, Gray excommunicated Colenso in 1866, and appointed a new bishop in his place in 1869. A series of court cases followed, in which Colenso eventually secured the endowment and church property of his former diocese. For the SPG, in 1865, the question of Gray’s authority to depose fellow bishop Colenso, who held valid Letters Patent, was a serious obstacle to the creation of further colonial bishops. Hills clearly took an interest in the Colenso case, and made repeated comments about the case in his diaries while he was in England in 1863-1865. See George Hills, “Error,” June 25, 1863; February 12, 1864; June 17, 1864; “Bishop of Natal,” June 30, 1864; October 3, 1864, George Hills diary. For detailed analysis of the Colenso case, see P. Hinchliff, John William Colenso: Bishop of Natal (London: Nelson, 1964); J. Guy, The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso 1814-1883 (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press; Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1983); and John Wolffe, ed. “Rethinking the Missionary Position: Bishop Colenso of Natal,” in Religion in Victorian Britain, vol. 5, Culture and Empire, 135-176 (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press in Association with the Open University, 1997). For the SPG’s reluctance to appoint new colonial bishops until the Colenso case was settled, see a letter, marked private, from W. T. Bullock of the SPG to George Hills, January 2, 1865, File 1, 1859-1867 Correspondence, SPG-Bishop Hills, Box 2, Text 56, Hills papers, ADBC. Cridge cited the Privy Council’s decision regarding Colenso during his trial, in support of Cridge’s assertion that his suspension and dismissal from office was not a matter of episcopal authority. See Usher,
of the existing diocese of Columbia into three dioceses: British Columbia, Caledonia, and New Westminster. British Columbia encompassed Vancouver Island, Caledonia included all land north of Prince George, and New Westminster included all the rest of the province, from the Fraser river to the Rocky Mountains. Two new bishops were appointed: William Ridley for Caledonia, and Acton Windeyer Sillitoe for New Westminster. The CMS agreed to fund the work of Caledonia, while the SPG took on responsibility for some of the funding of work in New Westminster. At the same time, the SPG made it clear that they expected the older and well-established diocese of British Columbia to become self-supporting, and reduced the annual grant. The complete elimination of the SPG grant in 1882 forced Hills to seek, unsuccessfully, for alternative sources of funding for missionary activity. The withdrawal of the grant resulted in an

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86 Hills' renewed campaign for the division of the diocese seems to have been, in part, a way of defusing the growing tensions between Hills and William Duncan at Metlakatla.

87 For Hills' comments regarding the new bishoprics in 1879, see George Hills diary, April 1 (Bishop Kelly); April 24, and May 26 (bishop of New Westminster); June 4 (endowment for New Westminster); June 5 (conversation with W. C. Ingram, vicar of St. Matthew's Leicester, re New Westminster); June 6 (J. T. Curling of Newfoundland, declined New Westminster); June 27 and July 14 (A. Sillitoe, recommended by SPG); July 15 (met with Sillitoe); July 16 (discussion with Archbishop of Canterbury re Sillitoe); July 25 (co-presented William Ridley at his consecration as Bishop of Caledonia); August 5 (met with Sillitoe, bishop-designate); November 1 (co-presented Acton Windeyer Sillitoe at his consecration as Bishop of New Westminster)

88 Hills had originally proposed to the CMS that William Carpenter Bonpas, Bishop of Athabasca assume responsibility for Caledonia until an endowment was assured and a new bishop appointed. See George Hills diary, January 8, 1879.

89 Pascoe, 189.

90 The Twenty-Second Report of the Missions of the Church of England in the Diocese of British Columbia For the Years 1880 and 1881 (London: Rivingtons, 1882), 15-16, reprinted an extract of the Synod of 1881, in which Hills spoke bluntly about finances: "In my last address I called attention to the reduction in the grant of the SPG We have now the greater blow of entire withdrawal in 1882.... This is a most serious blow. It is difficult to understand upon what principle this entire withdrawal is made. A Missionary Society is supposed to aid a Mission so long as it absolutely requires external assistance.... The Committee of the Society has discriminated between the eastern and western portions of the Province, the two Dioceses of
immediate reduction in the number of missions in the diocese, particularly missions to the
Native communities, which had no immediate prospect of becoming self-sufficient. By
the 1890s, the only missionary to Native peoples on Vancouver Island was at Alert Bay,
supported by the CMS, whereas the work among White settlers, who were better able to
contribute to the cost of a priest’s stipend, grew gradually but steadily. Hills continued
to serve the diocese until 1892, when he retired, and moved to a country parish in
England.

The new Bishop of Caledonia, William Ridley was consecrated on July 25, 1879, and left
immediately for British Columbia. Ridley and his wife Jane arrived in Victoria on October
14, and were met by William Duncan, who accompanied them on the voyage north to
Metlakata, where the new bishop faced a difficult problem. Duncan had been widely
promoted in the CMS press as a missionary hero, who had successfully converted the
Tsimshian peoples to order, stability, capitalism and Christianity. 96 However, William
Duncan was a difficult and single-minded man, who was seemingly unwilling or unable to
work with the majority of the other missionaries sent by the CMS to the North Pacific,
particularly ordained clergy. 97 The Rev. F.L. Tugwell was at Fort Simpson from August,
1860 to October, 1861, and returned to England, due to Mrs. Tugwell’s ill health. The Rev.
Robert Reid Arthur Doolan arrived at Metlakatla in July, 1864, opened the first mission on
the Nass the same year, and returned to England in 1867, due to family matters. He continued
to write to Cridge after he left the mission, and served as the financial agent in England for
Metlakatla until 1874. The Rev. Frank B. Gribbell and his wife arrived in Metlakatla in June,
1866, shortly after Gribbells’ ordination to the diaconate. They lasted six weeks before
returning to Victoria. Henry Burnard Owen was ordained deacon by Bishop Hills in 1868
before being sent north, and like Gribbell, Owen and his wife were at Metlakatla for a very
brief time only before returning to Victoria. 98

96 See, for example, H.W. Tucker, Under His Banner: Papers on the Missionary Work of Modern Times,

97 For comments on the staffing difficulties at Metlakatla see letter from John Mee, Secretary, CMS to
Edward Cridge, January 22, 1868, File 4, Correspondence Inward, 1860-1868, Vol. 1, Correspondence,
Testimonials, Certificates, Printed Material, Edward Cridge fonds, Add Mss. 320, BCA; and H. B. Owen to
the CMS, October 9, 1867, C.2/0, Original Letters, Journals, papers, Incoming, 1857-1880, CMS Papers,
microfilm reel A-106 NAC. See also Stock, vol. 3, 621-622.

98 Something of the problem between Duncan and Owen is indicated in a letter from John Mee of the CMS
to Cridge, thanking him for his visit to Metlakatla, January 22, 1868, File 4, Correspondence inward, 1860-
Duncan, who had been sent out by the CMS as a lay missionary, refused ordination despite repeated requests from Hills that he do so. When in 1877 Duncan refused to allow Hills to come to Metlakatla to celebrate the Eucharist and to confirm Duncan’s native converts, the seeds were sown for a messy and acrimonious debate. At Hills’ request, William Carpenter Bompas, Bishop of Athabasca, travelled to Metlakatla and spent two months there during the winter of 1877-1878, gathering material for a report to the CMS. This report, which was critical of many of Duncan’s practices, especially his attention to the commercial aspect of the mission, while supportive of his successes as an evangelist and moral reformer, provided the final impetus for Hills to push for the

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1868, Vol. 1, Correspondence, Testimonials, Certificates, Printed Material, Edward Cridge fonds, Add Mss. 320, BCA, : “The Committee are not less indebted to you for your calm, candid and careful communication in reference to Mr. Owen than for your full account of the work of Mr. Duncan. Much of the pleasure of your visit to Metlahkatlah must have been tinctured with regret, on account of the peculiarly delicate and difficult position in which you were placed by Mr. Owen’s conduct, but you may take the satisfaction of knowing that your presence at Metlahkatla has been of material service to the Committee in discussing and deciding the course to be adopted for the future management of that Station. It was evident from Mr. Owen’s letters that he could not locate himself at Metlahkatlah and Mr. Venn will, by this Mail, inform him that the Committee, while regretting that such is the fact, will not constrain him to remove to that place. In the meantime could not diligent search be made in the Colony for a sensible, matronly married woman, who could take charge of the Girls’ establishment, and whose husband would perhaps be useful to Duncan in the management of the trade of Metlahkatlah. Of course such a person must be in complete subordination to Duncan, and must not, like Mr. Owen, be pining for ordination.”

99 Despite repeated pleas by the CMS, Duncan refused to be ordained, although he had originally been sent out with a view to later ordination, and it had appeared at one point that he had seemingly agreed to ordination. See John Mee, Secretary, CMS to Edward Cridge, January 22, 1868, Vol.1, File 4, Correspondence Inward, 1860-1868, Edward Cridge fonds, Add Mss. 320, British Columbia Archives, “Mr. Duncan’s decision to receive ordination has also been a source of much satisfaction to us all.” See also Cridge, Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Metlahkatlah, unnumbered “Preface”: “The Bishop of Columbia, after a personal inspection of the Metlahkatlah Mission was desirous of admitting Mr. Duncan to Holy Orders. At that time the offer of ordination was not accepted, but the Committee are now able to state that Mr. Duncan has prepared himself as a candidate for orders and has been accepted by the Bishop.”

100 Duncan, who shared Cridge’s Evangelical beliefs and had been a close friend since his arrival in Victoria in 1857, had refused to allow Hills to come to Metlakatla until Hills and Cridge were reconciled. See “The Christians of Metlakahtla to Bishop Hills,” March 27, 1876, C.2/0, Original Letters, Journals, papers, Incoming, 1857-1880, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-106, NAC.
division of the diocese of Columbia.\textsuperscript{101}

Ridley arrived in a diocese where five missionaries served the Tsimshian, Haida, Nisga’a, and Kwakiutl peoples.\textsuperscript{102} Duncan’s deep distrust of ecclesiastical structures and episcopal authority was immediately apparent to Ridley, who had been charged with returning the North Pacific Mission to CMS orthodoxy and was intent on asserting his episcopal supervisory role. In order to try to lessen the tension, Ridley spent the winter of 1880-1881 on the Skeena at Hazelton establishing a new mission.\textsuperscript{103} However, Ridley became increasingly opposed to the Metlakatla system and Duncan’s missionary strategies.\textsuperscript{104} In 1882, the CMS invited Duncan to return to England to discuss the


\textsuperscript{102} In 1879, Alfred James Hall was stationed at Alert Bay; Henry Schutt, a lay missionary, was stationed at Kincolith; George Edward Sneath, a lay missionary, was stationed at Massett; and William Duncan and William Henry Collison were stationed at Metlakatla.

\textsuperscript{103} A report was printed as “Letters From Bishop Ridley: A Winter’s Campaign,” Church Missionary Gleaner, 8 (1881): 78-80. See also Ridley’s collected letters and reports, published in Ridley, Snapshots from the North Pacific; and Stock, vol. 2, 252.

\textsuperscript{104} Ridley’s copious correspondence with the CMS indicates that from the outset, he had concerns about issues of language and translation as it affected the Tsimshian converts at Metlakatla (see, for example, a report from Ridley to the CMS titled “Feast at Metlakatla”, October 28, 1879, C.2/0, Original Letters, Journals, papers - Incoming, 1857-1880, CMS papers, microfilm reel A-106, NAC and his opposition to Duncan’s extensive involvement in trade and commerce at Metlakatla (see for example, a letter to Henry Wright, Secretary of the CMS from Ridley, December 4, 1879, ibid. [Ridley had received a letter from Duncan, who was in Victoria, asking whether he had additions to the estimates for the year] “In this matter I feel strongly. Already I find that this very matter is sorely felt by the missionaries. This chiefly arises from the fact that as proprietor of the store the expenditure of everyone must come before Mr.
situation at Metlakatla. Duncan, who perhaps did not fully understand the gravity of the situation, refused, and in response, the CMS issued a letter of dismissal, which was sent to Bishop Ridley to deliver. Duncan, however, refused to leave the mission, and remained at Metlakatla, where factional support soon developed. Both sides took their complaints to the secular press, and Ridley and Duncan were soon engaged in a bitter war of words that escalated into physical violence and property damage. The situation was only resolved in 1887 when Duncan and some five hundred of his Tsimshian converts moved to a new Metlakatla, founded on Annette Island in Alaska, about seventy miles by sea from old Metlakatla.

In the years following the debacle at Metlakatla, the diocese of Caledonia struggled to revitalise itself in the face of deep divisions and mistrust. New missions to European settlers and Native peoples were established with the support of the SPG at Port Essington and Port Simpson. The sudden influx of Europeans into the Far North during the Klondike in 1897 prompted Ridley to redeploy missionaries to the Stikine, again with

Duncan...there is very good reason for my wanting to avoid the small vexations that arise from the state of things in connexion with trade concerns....Please do not suppose that any difficulty exists between me and Mr. Duncan. We are on the best of terms. I trust it will always continue but I could not endure for a moment the kind of direction in use on this coast. On any business matters difficulties might easily arise. Friction is to be avoided by all means."

105 The sequence of events is recorded in the letters recorded in C.1/P3, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1882-1892, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-121, NAC.


107 Pascoe, 191-191c; and Thompson, 267-269.
support from the SPG.\textsuperscript{108} Old missions to the Native peoples of the North Pacific Mission were reestablished and new missions begun with CMS funding. The work was seriously impeded by a disastrous fire at old Metlakatla in 1901, which destroyed the church, the school, the Church Army meeting hall, most of the houses, boats and boathouses, and the mission house. Also lost in the fire was Ridley’s library, including all of his translation work, his Tsimshian grammars, and his collections of Tsimshian oral histories and mythologies.\textsuperscript{109} Ridley, who was in England at the time of the fire, immediately began to raise money for the rebuilding of Metlakatla, but soon after tendered his resignation from the episcopacy.

Ridley was succeeded by Herbert Du Vernet, a former faculty member of Wycliffe College in Toronto. Under Du Vernet the focus of mission in the diocese of Caledonia gradually changed.\textsuperscript{110} As commercial canneries at the mouth of the Skeena and Nass rivers developed, the missionaries sought to work with the encroaching European population, and started missions to the Asian cannery workers. Du Vernet continued to support missions to Native peoples, but his decision in 1907 to move the cathedral from Metlakatla to the new railway town of Prince Rupert was emblematic of an ongoing change. The Canadian Northern railway brought settlers to farms in the newly developed

\textsuperscript{108} Pascoe, 189-191c.

\textsuperscript{109} J. H. Keen, “The Great Fire at Metlakahtla,” \textit{The Church Missionary Gleaner} 28 (1901): 190-191; and “The Fire at Metlakahtla,” \textit{The Church Missionary Gleaner} 29 (1902): 109. See also Stock, vol. 4, 386; and Peake, 94 Coast. Wood-frame mission houses and churches were heated with wood or coal burning stoves, and fire was an ever-present danger. Among the Anglican stations, Kincolith suffered a major fire in 1893, and the mission house at Aiyansh was destroyed in 1910. The Methodist mission house at Port Simpson was destroyed in 1908, and the church and mission house at River’s Inlet in 1909. James B. McCullagh noted that “living in a wooden house, my one only fear was FIRE. A scratching mouse sends the blood tingling to my finger-tips; I start up at the voice of a bird, and the sound of a grasshopper is a burden. How often have I been as quick as the fire itself and nipped it in the bud.” See Moeran, 169.

\textsuperscript{110} McCullum and McCullum, 37-41.
Bulkley Valley, and missionaries were developed to serve the communities of settlers at Smithers, Telkwa and Houston. In 1902, the CMS discontinued grants to new missions in Caledonia. As missionaries retired or returned to England, their replacements were not funded by the CMS.\textsuperscript{111} Gradually, as the grant money was withdrawn, the church focused more and more on its mission to British immigrants, retaining only the longest-established missionary parishes for Native peoples.\textsuperscript{112}

A similar story unfolded in the diocese of New Westminster.\textsuperscript{113} The first bishop, Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, arrived in New Westminster in 1880, just as work on the new Canadian Pacific Railway link to eastern Canada was starting in the west.\textsuperscript{114} At that time, there were only a few missionary priests in the diocese of New Westminster to cover the

\textsuperscript{111} The Nishga Union, later the Caledonia Missionary Union was created in 1904 in England to raise money and support for the diocese of Caledonia, and to replace some of the funding formerly provided by CMS. The Nishga Union focused on the missions at Kincolith and Aiyansh.


\textsuperscript{113} For a general overview of the history of the diocese, see Lyndon Grove, \textit{Pacific Pilgrims} (Vancouver: Fforbes Publications, 1979).

\textsuperscript{114} Sillitoe was born in Sydney, New South Wales on July 12, 1840, the son of a merchant. In 1854, he travelled with his family to England, and attended Pembroke College, Cambridge. He was ordained to the diaconate in 1869 and the priesthood in 1870, and served curacies in England before being appointed first as Church of England Chaplain at Geneva, 1876-1877; and then Chaplain to the British Legation at Darmstadt, 1877-1879. He was consecrated first bishop of New Westminster on November 1, 1879. Sillitoe married Violet Emily Pelly, who, like Jane Helmer Ridley, was a vital and active partner in her husband's ministry. Sillitoe died in 1894 in New Westminster after a series of illnesses. After his death, Violet continued to be active in church work before dying in Victoria in 1934. Bishop Sillitoe's diaries do not seem to have survived, but were quoted extensively in Herbert H. Gowen, \textit{Pioneer Church Work In British Columbia: Being a Memoir of the Episcopate of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, D.D., D.C.L., First Bishop of New Westminster} (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1899). See also Violet E. Pelly Sillitoe, \textit{Early Days in British Columbia} ((Vancouver: Evans and Hastings, printers, 1922)) and \textit{Pioneer Days in British Columbia: Reminiscences by Violet E. Sillitoe} (Vancouver: Evans and Hastings, printers, 1923)). Kathryn Bridge's \textit{By Snowshoe, Buckboard and Steamer: Women of the Frontier} (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1998), includes a chapter on Violet Sillitoe, largely based on Gowen and Violet's two volumes of reminiscences.
vast area, concentrated in the Lower Mainland and the Lytton area. The Sillitoes took up residence in New Westminster and regularly travelled throughout the diocese, learning about the hazards of missionary work first hand. The completion of the railway in 1886 resulted in a subsequent expansion in the population and changed patterns of settlement. New missions funded by the SPG were established to minister to men and women in mining camps in the Kootenays and Boundary region, and in the south Cariboo and Okanagan, centred at Kamloops. New parishes were built in the Vancouver area and in the Fraser Valley. Missions to Native peoples were focused on the mission at Lytton, and the school for Native girls established by Sillitoe at Yale.

Sillitoe had never been a robust man, and his health had been jeopardised by his incessant travelling through the diocese. After a brief illness, he died on June 6, 1894 in New Westminster. His successor, John Dart, was consecrated at St. Paul’s in London in 1895, and arrived in New Westminster to find that the diocese was deeply in debt. The

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115 After the division of the diocese of Columbia in 1879, four priests were located in the new diocese of New Westminster: Charles Baskett at St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton, with responsibility for Burrard Inlet; George Ditcham at Chilliwack; John Booth Good at St. Paul’s mission, Lytton; and Charles Thomas Wood at Holy Trinity, New Westminster.

116 Sillitoe also served as parish priest for St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton, and made St. Mary’s Mount, a house originally built for Archdeacon Henry Press Wright, the episcopal residence.

117 In the 1880s, SPG supported missionaries were stationed primarily at Kamloops, Lytton, Yale, and Hope. In the 1890s, the centre of activity shifted primarily to the Kootenays, the Okanagan. See appendix 2 for details. Sillitoe had established the New Westminster Association in England to support the work of the diocese and provide additional funding for targeted projects. See Roberta Bagshaw, finding aid for the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society, AEPBC.

The Anglican church in British Columbia had been transformed from an episcopal endowment had been invested in land in New Westminster, and as Vancouver gained pre-eminence as the railway terminus, the land became almost worthless and had ceased to provide any return. Dart rallied support in England, and reestablished a home committee, known as the New Westminster Missionary Association, which was charged with raising public interest and funds for the diocese.

Externally funded missionary activity was sharply reduced in all the dioceses of British Columbia in the early years of the twentieth century. The creation of a national General Synod in 1893, comprised of all the dioceses in Canada except for Caledonia, increased the expectation that further funding from the English missionary societies could be reduced and then eliminated. The church in England somewhat over-optimistically anticipated that the Canadian Anglican church as a whole would be able to provide funding and support for the less well established dioceses in the West. Instead, the dioceses in British Columbia were increasingly reliant on their ability to directly mobilise public interest in their work among the networks of English supporters that formed the diocesan missionary associations.

Thus in the years immediately leading up to the First World War, the Anglican church in British Columbia had been transformed from an

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119 Peake, 111.

120 The diocese of New Westminster was later reduced in geographic area. The diocese of Kootenay was formed in 1899 by the division of New Westminster along the one hundred and twentieth meridian, although the Bishop of New Westminster continued to have episcopal charge until 1914, when the endowment fund was completed. In 1910, a proposal was made to further divide New Westminster by forming a diocese for the Yale, Cariboo and Similkameen districts. The diocese of Cariboo was created in 1914, and, like Kootenay, was supervised by the Bishop of New Westminster until 1925, when an episcopal endowment had been raised. See Peake, 167-174.

121 Judging by the reports published in the various diocesan magazines, the English relatives of a bishop or archdeacon in British Columbia organised a seemingly endless round of tea meetings, bazaars and lectures, and distributed pamphlets, magazines and appeals for funds in support of diocesan activities. For a further discussion of the diocesan organisations, see chapter 6 below.
externally funded missionary church that sought to evangelise both White and Native populations to an increasingly self-supporting church, whose primary focus was on ministry to English immigrants, with highly selective mission work to specific Native communities in the North and through the residential schools at Lytton and Alert Bay, and missions to coastal communities through a network of mission ships and hospitals.¹²²

**John Wesley and Methodist Missions**

The Church of England had struggled in the first half of the nineteenth century to establish ecclesiological structures that could accommodate colonial missions, and to develop a theology of missions within the constraints of its position as the Established Church in England. By contrast, the Methodists, who grew out of the Church of England in the eighteenth century, were not subject to the complexities of official Church-State relations, and therefore were not constrained by the tension of reproducing and adapting historical ecclesiastical structures to colonial settings. From the outset, the Methodists saw themselves as missionary in spirit, focused on evangelisation and conversion of the sinful wherever a group could be gathered together. The greater flexibility of Methodist systems of church polity, and their policies of itinerancy enabled them to move through the colonial landscape without the structures of governance that compelled the Anglicans to precisely recreate parish and diocese in the new environment.

Methodism had its beginnings in the personal conversion experience of John Wesley, a

priest in the Church of England.\textsuperscript{123} While a student at Oxford, Wesley, his brother Charles, and several of his friends had formed a group, known as the “Holy Club,” whose purpose was to support each other in their mutual desire for personal holiness through careful Bible study, prayer, sacramental worship and ascetic devotional practices.\textsuperscript{124}

Following Wesley’s ordination in 1728, he served for a time as curate under his father, before volunteering in 1735 as an SPG missionary in Georgia. His mission was not a success, and he returned to England in early 1738, greatly discouraged by his failure.

Wesley then came into contact with Peter Böhler and James Hutton, who had established a Moravian Brethren chapel in London.\textsuperscript{125} The Moravians were strongly pietistic, emphasising inner religious experience and personal devotion. Böhler discussed issues of salvation and the assurance of faith with Wesley, and convinced him of the

\textsuperscript{123} John Wesley (1703-1791) was the thirteenth or fourteenth son of Samuel and Susanna Wesley. Samuel was the High Church rector of the parish of Epworth; Susanna was the daughter of a Nonconformist minister. Wesley was educated at Charterhouse and Christ Church, Oxford, and was elected to a fellowship at Lincoln College, Oxford in 1726. For Wesley’s life, see first of all, his \textit{Journal}, printed in his own life, and available in a standard edition, Nehemiah Curnock, ed. \textit{The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley: Enlarged from Original Mss., With Notes From Unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps, and Illustrations}, 8 vols. (London: Culley, 1909-1916); and the standard edition of his \textit{Letters}, John Telford, ed. \textit{The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley} 8 vols. (London: The Epworth Press, [1931]). See also Albert C. Outler, ed. \textit{The Works of John Wesley} 26 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984-). For a current biography, see Henry D. Rack, \textit{Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism} (London: Epworth Press, 1989); for Wesley’s teaching, see Maldwyn Lloyd Edwards, \textit{John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century: A Study of His Social and Political Influence} (London: Allen and Unwin, [1933]).

\textsuperscript{124} During this period, Wesley was deeply influenced by his reading of several classic works of spirituality, including Jeremy Taylor’s \textit{The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living} (1650) and \textit{The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying} (1651); Thomas à Kempis’ \textit{Imitation of Christ} (c. 1418); as well as the contemporary writings by William Law, \textit{On Christian Perfection} (1726) and \textit{A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life} (1728). See John Wesley, \textit{Journal}, January 24, 1738, and May 24, 1738 reprinted in Albert C. Outler, ed., \textit{John Wesley} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 43-47; and 60-67. For an analysis of Wesley’s reading, at Oxford see Vivian Hubert Howard Green, \textit{The Young Mr. Wesley}: \textit{A Study of John Wesley and Oxford} (London: E. Arnold, 1961). See also Anthony Armstrong, \textit{The Church of England, the Methodists and Society 1700-1850} (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield), 57-59.

\textsuperscript{125} Wesley had first become acquainted with the Moravians during his passage to Georgia, and had been impressed by their calmness in the face of the storms at sea. While in Georgia, he sought the advice of a Moravian pastor, Gottlieb Spangenberg, who questioned his belief in his own personal salvation. See Rupert E. Davies, \textit{Methodism} (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), 53-55.
possibility that faith could be given in a moment of instantaneous, complete conversion. On May 24, 1738, Wesley went to a meeting of the Moravians at a chapel in Aldersgate Street. As he listened to a reading of Luther’s Preface to Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, he had a sudden, overwhelming conversion experience. In his own words,

About a quarter before nine, while he [the reader] was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

Wesley’s personal conversion experience and his belief in salvation by faith were the catalysts for his revitalised commitment to evangelistic work. In his own words, he saw himself called to promote “vital practical religion and by the grace of God to beget, preserve, and increase the life of God in the souls of men.” Although Wesley remained an Anglican and intended to reform the Church from within through his calls for personal holiness and greater devotion to worship, his style of preaching, which often moved his listeners to emotional outbursts, and his willingness to preach in parishes other than his

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126 Wesley, *Journal*, April 22, 1738, reprinted in Outler, 53-54. In the *Journal* entry for May 24, 1738, Wesley quoted Böhler’s argument that “a true living faith in Christ is inseparable from a sense of pardon for all past, and freedom from all present, sins...faith was the gift, the free gift of God, and that he would surely bestow it upon every soul who earnestly and perseveringly sought it.” Ibid., 65.


128 For a summary of Wesley’s teachings on the place of faith, see the sermon preached by Wesley before Oxford University in the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin on June 18, 1738, included as the first of his collected sermons, and reprinted in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (London: Epworth Press, 1988), 20-23; and the *Minutes* of the First Annual Conference, June 25, 1744, reprinted in Outler, 136-140.

129 “Wesley, John” *ODCC*, 1727.

130 A classic Wesleyan sermon was tripartite, and designed to stimulate the listener to repentance and conversion. The preacher first convinced his hearers that they had sinned and were damned; then convinced them that Christ had died for their sins; and finally convinced them of the possibility that they could be forgiven. At each stage, the listener moved to conversion sometimes responded with noisy emotional outbursts and in extreme cases, with physical reactions, including fainting and convulsions. See Armstrong, 105. See also E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor
own were severely criticised by his peers within the Church of England. As he found himself barred from parish preaching, Wesley began instead to preach in the open fields, inspired by the example of his friend and colleague George Whitefield. He took up the practice of itinerating, travelling over 200,000 miles in his lifetime, mostly on horseback, and reportedly preaching over 40,000 sermons. As one scholar has written, paraphrasing Wesley directly, by itinerating, Wesley and Whitefield made the world their parish and not the parish their world.

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131 For the extreme distaste within the eighteenth century for enthusiasm in religion, defined by a contemporary bishop as “a strong persuasion on the mind of persons that they are guided in an extraordinary manner by immediate impressions and impulses of the spirit of God,” see R. A. Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950; rpt. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994). Perhaps the best-known dismissal of enthusiasm was the reproof issued by Joseph Butler, bishop of Bristol to Wesley in August 1739, “Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Spirit is a horrid thing; a very horrid thing!...You have no business here. You are not commissioned to preach in this diocese. Therefore, I advise you to go hence.” The interview between Butler and Wesley was recorded in Wesley’s Journal and included in Henry Moore’s The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Fellow of Lincoln College, 2 vols. (London: John Kershaw, 1824-1825), and reprinted in A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, 29-31.

However, Wesley himself was cautious about excessively emotional responses to his preaching. To the classic tripartite Anglican appeal to Scripture, Tradition, and Reason, first articulated by Richard Hooker in the seventeenth century, Wesley added experience, by which he meant the evidence of God’s love provided by conversion. See Neil Semple, The Lord’s Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 16-19 for a clear explanation of Wesley’s understanding of experience within the context of eighteenth century Enlightenment thought, and for a description of Wesley’s dislike and distrust of excessive enthusiasm.

132 Ibid. For Wesley’s career after his conversion, see Goldwin French, chapter 1, “Let Thy Religion Be the Religion of the Heart,” Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes From 1780 to 1855 (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962); and Semple, chapter 1, “The Origins of Methodism.”

Wesley drew on his own early experiences with the Holy Club, and on the Moravian practice of small groups of believers who met regularly, as he began to organise Societies, which he defined as a group of men and women who were determined to live a life of personal holiness, and who came together to pray, to listen to preaching, and to support and uphold one another in faith. Members of a Society were expected to attend regular worship, pray privately and fast, avoid all temptations and evil actions, and carry out good works. Those who had experienced conversion, and were actively seeking to advance in grace, initially were formed into small groups within the Society, known as bands. However, the primary unit of Methodism was the class, in which members would meet together regularly to pray, and support one another through self-examination and exhortation, guided by the class leader. Wesley and the few ordained clergymen who supported Wesley’s goals, itinerated among the societies, exhorting, preaching, and upholding the faithful, assisted by local lay preachers, the class leaders, and the stewards and trustees appointed to manage the financial affairs of the Societies.

Wesley was careful not to break outright with the Church of England, and assured his critics that it was not his intention to form a new denomination. Initially, he hoped only to encourage faithfulness and devotion within the Church: the Rules of the Society stated

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135 The distinction between bands and classes was not maintained in the nineteenth century, and the class meeting became the basic small group organisation within Methodism. See the discussion of class meetings below, chapter 3.

136 Davies, 79-83. Whitefield and Wesley parted company in 1739 over Wesley’s growing objection to Whitefield’s Calvinism, particularly the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Wesley’s theology of salvation was Arminian -- he believed that despite the complete depravity of humanity, God’s grace and salvation was freely offered to all; and that since men and women had the freewill to chose or to reject that grace and salvation, they must consciously choose to be saved. See Semple, 14.
that anyone who left the Church of England left the Methodists.\textsuperscript{137} Wesley’s passion for organisation, however, resulted in the development of a tight connexional structure, which grew to resemble a denomination separate from the Church. Individual Societies were grouped into circuits, whose lay leaders and itinerating ministers met quarterly to review the work of the circuit, and to coordinate the preaching among the constituent Societies.\textsuperscript{138} In 1744, Wesley called together some of his colleagues to what would be the first annual Conference. The Conference quickly developed into the governing structure of the connexion, at which all the lay leaders and preachers, and the ordained ministers met together to review the work, station preachers for the coming year, rule on issues of discipline and doctrine, and offer an opportunity for the sharing of prayer and fellowship. Although he continued to consider himself an Anglican, Wesley took the right of episcopal consecration upon himself when he determined in 1784 to "set apart" the Anglican curate Thomas Coke for supervisory missionary work in America. This action effectively severed Wesley and the Methodists from the Church of England, although the actual separation, and subsequent union of various Methodist factions, took several decades after Wesley’s death in 1791.\textsuperscript{139}

That Wesley set apart Coke for missionary service in post-Revolutionary America was

\textsuperscript{137} See John Wesley, "Reasons Against A Separation from the Church of England," 1758, reprinted in \textit{A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain}, 128-134; and a letter from John Wesley to Mary Bishop, October 10, 1778, reprinted in \textit{A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain}, 188-189.

\textsuperscript{138} Semple, 19-20; Davies, 89. In 1746 there were seven circuits in England and Wales, and by the time of Wesley’s death in 1791, the number had expanded to one hundred and fourteen. See Armstrong, 67.

\textsuperscript{139} See John Wesley, letter of September 10, 1784, addressed to Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury and "our Brethren in North America," reprinted in \textit{A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain}, 197-198, and Semple, 22-23. The Methodist Connexion as a legal entity was not established until 1784, when Wesley filed the Deed of Declaration in the Chancery court, which laid out precisely the identity of the words "Yearly Conference of the people called Methodists." See "The Deed of Declaration, 1784" reprinted in \textit{A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain}, 195-197.
not accidental. George Whitefield had made seven tours in the pre-Revolutionary American colonies before his death in 1770, encouraging the formation of new Societies, and preaching his distinctive Calvinist Methodism, with its emphasis on personal spirituality, experiential faith and the need for repentance and conversion. Classes were formed throughout the towns of the eastern seaboard, itinerating ministers sent from England to supervise the faithful, and in 1773, the first American Conference was established. However, after the Revolution, many Anglican priests in the former American colonies retained their allegiance to the Crown, and moved north to the Maritimes and Upper Canada. The remaining adherents to the Church of England found themselves accused of supporting the enemy and cut off from the sacraments. Wesley’s decision to set apart Coke, and to enable Coke to ordain and set apart the lay preacher Francis Asbury, signalled that the Methodists were breaking with the Established Church in England. At the same time, Wesley’s actions paved the way for the Methodists in America to form the Methodist Episcopal Church and begin ordaining their own ministers, separate from the Church of England.

After Wesley’s death in 1791, Methodism in England split into various factional groups, beginning with the Methodist New Connexion in 1797. The divisions were


141 It is also not accidental that 1784 was the same year that Samuel Seabury was consecrated as the first bishop for the American post-Revolutionary Episcopal Church. For the details of the organisation and structures of governance in the Methodist Episcopal Church, see French, 16-23.

primarily based in controversies over discipline and polity, and not on major doctrinal
differences. The secession of various Methodist groups from the original Conference was
reproduced in the factional divisions between Methodists in the colonies of British North
America. Methodism in Canada in the early nineteenth century was divided between
missions supported by the American-based Methodist Episcopal Church and missionaries
sent from the English Wesleyan Methodist Church. There were conflicts not only in the
varying systems of governance and polity, but also between the emotional and revivalist
tone of American Methodism, influenced by Whitefield’s preaching and the popularity of
camp meetings, and the more conservative and restrained Wesleyan Methodism.143 Just as
the American Revolutionary war had called the loyalty of Anglicans into question, the
War of 1812 generated questions in Upper and Lower Canada about the loyalty of
Methodist Episcopal missionaries and their congregations.144 The tensions between the
various Methodist groups, and between American, English and Canadian-born
Methodists were only partially resolved in 1874, when the Wesleyan and New Connexion
Methodists joined to form the Methodist Church of Canada. The amalgamation of the
Methodist Church of Canada with the Methodist Episcopal Church and several other
smaller Methodist connexions in 1884 decisively formed a distinctly Canadian Methodist

143 Terrence Murphy, “The English-Speaking Colonies to 1854,” in a Concise History of Christianity in
Canada, ed. Terrence Murphy, associate ed. Roberto Perin (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press,
1996), 140. See also Clarence Bolt, Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian: Small Shoes for Feet Too Large
(Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 30-32, for differences between British and American Methodism, and for
the emotionalism of American Methodism. Alexander Sutherland, General Secretary of the Methodist
Missionary Society from 1878 to 1906, saw the Canadian Methodist Church as holding “a middle position”
between British Wesleyan Methodism and American Episcopal Methodism. See Alexander Sutherland,
Methodism in Canada: Its Work and Its Story (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1904), 17.

144 See also William H. Brooks, The Uniqueness of Western Canadian Methodism 1840-1925, Journal of
the Canadian Church Historical Society 19, nos. 1 and 2 (1977): 57.
Church, and resolved the earlier connexional and ethnic tensions among the various Methodist groups.\textsuperscript{145}

Methodists emphasised that their faith was essentially missionary in spirit and aims, embodying John Wesley's statement that the world was his parish.\textsuperscript{146} Contemporary Methodist historians were keenly aware that Canadian Methodism originated in the missionary activity of the Methodist Episcopal and Wesleyan Methodist Churches. The Methodist emphasis on conversion and the quest for personal holiness, coupled with their tradition of itinerancy and open-air preaching encouraged their preachers to "carry the gospel" to remote settlements, and so spread "scriptural holiness all over the world."\textsuperscript{147}

**Methodist Missions in British Columbia**

From the outset, Methodist missions in British Columbia, like their Anglican counterparts, were heavily reliant on funding from groups and individuals far removed from the mission field. Unlike their Anglican counterparts, however, the Methodists made extensive use of lay members as class leaders and local preachers. As well, the flatter Methodist hierarchy meant that the Methodists in British Columbia, while subject to their own internal dissention and debate, never experienced the fundamental disagreements on the issue of episcopal authority and supervision that profoundly divided

\textsuperscript{145} The complexity of the various Methodist connexions in Eastern Canada, and the history of their splintering and reformation is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Neil Semple's monograph, *The Lord's Dominion* is the clearest and most detailed exploration of the history of the various connexions, leading to the 1884 union. See also the older work by Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics*; John Webster Grant's *A Profusion of Spires*; and the examination of theological and sociological differences between the Anglican and Methodist churches in nineteenth century Ontario by William Westfall, in *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

\textsuperscript{146} Sutherland, 271, 313.

\textsuperscript{147} Sutherland, 19.
Anglicans in British Columbia.

In late 1856, a young English Methodist, Cornelius Bryant, arrived in Victoria and was appointed schoolmaster in Nanaimo by the Hudson’s Bay chaplain, Edward Cridge. Cridge suggested that Bryant organise a Sunday school, and hold Sunday services using the prayers in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. In 1858, John Pidwell, a Cornish Methodist who had settled in Victoria, wrote to Enoch Wood, the General Superintendent of Wesleyan missions in Canada, pleading for missionaries to be sent to minister to the influx of miners. In turn, Wood contacted the English Wesleyan Missionary Society, who responded to the request with a widely-publicised grant of £500 towards the establishment of a new mission. The Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee asked Ephraim Evans to become the Chairman of the new mission district. He recommended a young probationer for the ministry, Arthur Browning, and the Committee selected two missionaries from the many applicants, Edward White, an experienced minister, and Ebenezer Robson, a probationer. Browning and Robson were ordained in late December 1858, at the farewell service immediately preceding the departure of the party of missionaries and their families for British Columbia. They


149 See “The Mission to the Pacific,” Wesleyan Missionary Notices, no. 17 (February 1, 1859): 266-268, which reported, in rather overheated prose that “in meetings replete with a holy catholicity, and stirred, as in the best days of Canadian Methodism, with panting aspirations and a felt Divine influence, not a hand or a heart disturbed the unanimity of the enthusiastic purpose to take possession at once of British Columbia for Christ and the Canadian Conference.” See also J. E. Sanderson, The First Century of Methodism in Canada, vol. 2, 1840-1883 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1910), 135.

150 Evans (1803-1892), was born in Hull, in Yorkshire, and had moved with his family to Lower Canada as
arrived in Victoria in February 1859, and moved immediately to their mission stations: White to New Westminster, Browning to Nanaimo, Robson to Fort Hope in the Fraser Canyon, while Evans remained in Victoria.\(^{151}\) As was the Methodist custom, the missionaries itinerated widely, as well as ministering to the settlers in their communities. They preached sermons to all who would listen, organised class meetings and love-feasts among groups of Methodist adherents, and administered the sacraments of baptism and communion.\(^{152}\) The following year, Browning and Robson exchanged stations, and in

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\(^{151}\) See Edward White, Diary, 1859-1866, Vertical File, UCCBC, and Ebenezer Robson, Diary, 1857-1910, Ebenezer Robson Fonds, H/D/R57, BCA.

\(^{152}\) See, for example, “British Columbia,” *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, no. 18 (May 2, 1859), which reprinted an extract of a letter from Ephraim Evans, 283-286; and *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, from June 1858 to June 1859* (Toronto: Printed for the Society at the Conference Office, 1859), xxv-xxvii. See also the report of Arthur Browning, *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, in Connexion With the English Conference, From June 1860, to June 1861* (Toronto: Printed for the Society at the Conference Office, 1861), xxx “I have preached in tavern, store, and cabin, sometimes to men of reckless lives and desperate characters; but have yet to receive annoyance in the pulpit, or unkindness out of it.” However, compare with George Hills, diary entry, August 24, 1862, while at Antler Creek on a missionary tour of the Cariboo, “We held Service as usual. Last Evening came over a Wesleyan Minister named Browning. Just as we were going to commence he took his stand in the narrow street nearly opposite our place of worship and there maintained a course of loud bawling which of course greatly interrupted our Service, indeed deterred people from coming as usual and of course our singing as effectually interfered with him.”
December 1860, Robson opened a day school in Nanaimo for Native children.\footnote{For a brief description of Robson’s educational work, see his report, included in the *Thirty-Seventh annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion With the English Conference, From June 1861 to June 1862* (Toronto: Printed for the Society at the Conference Office, 1862), xxix-xxx.}

Subsequent to the original grant from the English Society, the primary support for British Columbia missions came from the Missionary Society of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist church, centred in Toronto, and from funds raised by individual congregations in eastern Canada.\footnote{From 1854, the Missionary Society in Canada, which developed from the Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society (Great Britain), assumed responsibility for Aboriginal and domestic missions, and continued, with some variations through the 1874 merger of most of the various branches of Canadian Methodism into the Methodist Church of Canada, and the subsequent creation of the Methodist Church (Canada) 1884, representing all branches of Methodism. This body, in turn, merged with the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches to form the United Church of Canada in 1925. In 1906, the Society was divided between two Departments, Foreign and Home. The supervision of missions to Native peoples fell under the Foreign department until 1920. Funding for specific projects that served women and children was provided by the Woman’s Missionary Society, formed in 1881.} Within the first year, the published reports of the British Columbia mission frequently reiterated the need for additional funds and missionary volunteers, and the stationing reports each year indicated that three missionaries were wanted for “Thompson’s River, Upper Frazer, Indian Tribes.”\footnote{See, for example “British Columbia,” *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, no. 19 (May 25, 1859): 299, for example: “God’s hand is in this Mission, and Dr. Evans writes for three more Missionaries at least, and presses their immediate coming; and as volunteers for this remote service await the will of the Conference, there seems no obstacle to an immediate multiplication of British Columbia labourers by an inadequacy of funds, and the just requirements of other valued Missions.” [italics in the original]. For the intention to station additional missionaries, see, for example, *Minutes of Several Conversations Between the Ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, at Their Thirty-Eighth Annual Conference* (Toronto: Anson Green, 1861), 27.} However, the Missionary Society was seemingly reluctant to send additional missionaries to the field, citing financial constraints as the primary hindrance to the expansion of the mission. Daniel Lucas, a probationer who was sent by the Society to the mission in 1862 to assist Evans in Victoria, before returning to Ontario the following year, was the only addition to the
original four missionaries until 1871. Other staffing changes occurred only when one missionary left the field, and was replaced by a new recruit. In 1872, the number of ordained Methodist missionaries in the field in British Columbia expanded to six, and the following year to eight.

In the absence of resources to expand the number of ordained missionaries, the Methodists made strategic use of lay helpers to support the work, and extend missionary activity. In keeping with Methodist practice, classes were formed and class leaders appointed. In 1862, an energetic and enthusiastic volunteer worker, Thomas Crosby, arrived in Victoria from Ontario. He quickly demonstrated his aptitude for the work, and was sent by Evans to Nanaimo to reopen the day school for Native children.

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156 The Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, in Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1863 to June 1864 (Toronto: Printed for the Society at the Conference Office, 1864), xii, reported that Lucas had returned to Ontario “because of precarious health,” and indicated that “a scantiness of funds prevents an adequate supply of Missionaries immediately.”

157 See Thomas Crosby, Among the An-ko-me-nuns: Or, Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast (Toronto: William Briggs, 1907), 233, “In many cases it was native or lay agents who first commenced practical mission work and so prepared the way for the regular missionary. The efforts of our brethren and sisters in the various centres where the Indians congregated is worthy of all praise.”

158 See, for example the report of Edward White, stationed at New Westminster, “We have now fifty members divided into three classes, and for the past four months our congregations have averaged over one hundred.... By aid of local brethren a weekly service has been held at the Colonial Hospital, and at a few other places outside the city limits.... We have a goodly number of experienced and hardy soldiers of Christ, who will yet make their mark on this young land, and do valiantly for the Lord”; and the report of Arthur Browning, stationed at Fort Hope and Fort Yale, “Previous to my leaving for Carriboo, (June, 1862) I had divided my labour between Hope and Yale. On Bro. Tindale assuming the oversight of this Mission, I recommended him to confine his labours to Yale and its vicinity.... In spite of many obstacles, the regular services in Yale have been kept up, and a Bible-class profitably conducted.” Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, in Connexion with the English Conference, From June, 1862, to June, 1863 (Toronto: Printed for the Society at the Conference Office, 1863), xxv-xxvi.

159 Thomas Crosby (1840-1914) was born in Pickering, Yorkshire, and emigrated with his family to Canada West in 1856. He was ordained to the ministry in 1868, and became one of the Methodist Church’s best known missionaries through his speaking tours of Ontario and frequent and vivid letters and reports published in the Methodist newspaper, the annual reports of the Missionary Society, and in missionary publications. Later in his life he published two volumes of reminiscences of his work, as well as several
had been inspired by White's letters in the Methodist *Christian Guardian* newspaper, urging volunteers to come to British Columbia to serve as class leaders and local preachers, and by the accounts of mission work in British Columbia among Native peoples, published in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*. Crosby's quick mastery of Native languages and ability to preach were valued by the Methodists, and he became the mission's most prominent evangelist to Native peoples, widely praised in the Methodist missionary press as a successful missionary who fostered conversions, and recruited Native class leaders and local preachers.

The territory of a circuit covered by a missionary was often extensive, in part because of the limited financial and human resources of the British Columbia mission, and in part because of denominational expectations that unquestioningly transplanted the Methodist tradition of itinerancy from the geographically compact British Isles to the vast and

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161 At the time that Crosby was received on trial in 1868, he was assigned responsibility for a circuit encompassing all the Native work in British Columbia. See “Letter from the Rev. A. E. Russ,” *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, n.s., no. 3 (May 1, 1869): 48, “Bro. Thos. Crosby, received last Conference on probation, is a master in the Nanaimo language, which embraces about thirty tribes, speaking the same tongue, and which gives him a great influence over the Indians, who think very much of him. His Circuit is large; in fact without bounds almost - being no less a field than British Columbia.” See also Bolt, 34-38. For Crosby's early use of Native converts as class-leaders and preachers, see, for example, the same letter from A.E. Russ, 47; “Letter from the Rev. Mr. Crosby, dated Sumass, Aug. 27, 1869,” *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, n.s., no. 5 (November 1, 1869): 76; and “Letter from the Rev. E. White, Chairman of the District, dated 17th of December, 1869,” *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, n.s., no. 6 (February, 1870): 84, “Our native leaders and exhorters, — Kushen, Seloselton, and Sameaton — are rapidly growing in grace and the knowledge of Christ. The first, as interpreter and native preacher, is very useful; Seloselton has been on a preaching tour with Bro. Crosby, and has been useful; Sameaton is on the mail-steamer, and spends his Sundays in Victoria, where he is received as sent of God to open up the work among the degraded Indians of that city.” See also, Crosby, *Among the An-ko-me-nums*, 209-223, for the life and work of David Salloselton, and 233-235, for the work of Native class-leaders, exhorters and local preachers. Of course, Crosby's use of Native leaders for his evangelistic work is subject to multiple interpretations, not all of them centred on Native autonomy and leadership. For a discussion of the conversion of the self and Methodist modes of discourse among the converts, see chapter 5 below.
relatively unpopulated spaces of colonial British Columbia. Crosby, appointed a local preacher in 1863, and received on trial for the ministry in 1868, itinerated in a territory between Comox and Victoria while stationed at Nanaimo, preaching regularly at Saanich, Cowichan, Chemainus, and Saltspring Island.\footnote{Crosby, Amongst the An-ko-me-nums, 48. In the first years of Crosby’s ministry as a lay preacher, the circuit was under the supervision of Edward White, stationed at Nanaimo. White mentioned in his annual report that on Sundays, morning and evening services were held in Nanaimo, with Sunday School in the afternoon, as well as an early afternoon preaching service and a morning Sunday School for the Native peoples of Nanaimo. Saltspring was visited monthly, and Comox was visited quarterly. See Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1863, to June 1864 (Toronto: Printed For the Society at the Conference Office, 1862), xxv-xxvi.} Ebenezer Robson, who was stationed at New Westminster in 1864, regularly itinerated through a territory that stretched from Yale to the mouth of the Fraser River and north to Burrard Inlet, preaching wherever he could gather together listeners. The preaching points on a circuit might also be adjusted to reflect seasonal patterns of work: Arthur Browning, stationed at Hope in the early 1860s, travelled to the Cariboo to spend the summer season preaching to the miners at Williams Creek, Lightening Creek, Van Winkle, Antler Creek, and Camerontown.\footnote{In 1862 and 1863, Browning was accompanied by the Chairman of the District, Ephraim Evans. On the 1863 tour, Evans was accompanied by Lachlan Taylor of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Cariboo tours were suspended in 1865, due to lack of funds and available missionaries. The Cariboo mission was re-established in 1868, when Thomas Derrick arrived from Montreal to establish a year-round circuit, centred at Barkerville.}

At the same time that the missionaries itinerated on the circuit, carrying on the Methodist tradition of open-air preaching, they were also responsible for building up settled congregations of worshippers, and for helping to raise funds for the construction of church buildings and parsonages. The tension between itinerancy and settled ministry was not easily resolved in the early stages of a mission, and missionaries needed both
physical stamina and mental flexibility in order to fulfill their varied responsibilities.\textsuperscript{164}

Tension also existed between various aspects of missionary work. The Missionary Society made an increasingly clear distinction between ministry to White populations and evangelism to the “heathen” Native peoples, and recognised that while White congregations were expected to become self-supporting, Native work was likely to require continued funding and support.\textsuperscript{165} Readers of the 1864-1865 Annual Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada were reminded that while the British Columbia mission had established what previous reports referred to as a “Methodistic form” of organisation,\textsuperscript{166} that is “churches, parsonages, congregations, converts, classes, schools, leaders, local preachers, teachers, stewards, trustees, and adherents,” new missions and Native missions would continue to “interfere with the principle of independence of the

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\item \textsuperscript{164} Arthur Browning, in his 1863 report, noted that “In spite of many obstacles, the regular services in Yale have been kept up, and a Bible-class profitably conducted. This is emphatically a Missionary field, requiring in a successful and satisfied incumbent apostolic faith and endurance. The monetary maintenance rests on the liberal offerings of those who are wedded to the Missionary cause” Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1862, to June 1863 (Toronto: Printed For the Society at the Conference Office, 1863), xxvi. The following year, Browning was stationed in New Westminster, and began his report by stating, “I commenced my work on this Mission in ‘weakness and in much trembling,’ an experience made continuous by the constant pressure of great responsibility.” Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1863, to June 1864 (Toronto: Printed For the Society at the Conference Office, 1864), xxvi.

\item \textsuperscript{165} Methodist mission practice divided the work between domestic missions to White settlers, and missions to Native peoples and selected ethnocultural groups. However, Semple, 286, notes that in British Columbia Native work was “initially integrated into the domestic mission functions.” Certainly, it was difficult for missionaries stationed anywhere but Victoria or New Westminster to focus exclusively on domestic missions, despite Evans’ assurance that “Missionaries placed in the centre of white populations had no time to reach them [i.e. Native peoples].” See Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 2 (February 1, 1869): 20. Native work in British Columbia was transferred to the responsibility of the Superintendent of Foreign Missions in 1875. See Semple, 294.

\item \textsuperscript{166} Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1862, to June 1863 (Toronto: Printed For the Society at the Conference Office, 1863), xi.
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Society's funds” for the foreseeable future.\textsuperscript{167}

British Columbia remained a mission of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada until the creation of the Methodist Church of Canada in 1874.\textsuperscript{168} At that time, British Columbia was made a district in the newly created Toronto Conference. However, the ongoing financial depression in the province meant that most of the established circuits required continuing funding from the Missionary Society. Metropolitan Methodist Church in Victoria was the only congregation that was able to become fully self-supporting and in a financial position to begin to help other congregations.\textsuperscript{169}

The distance of British Columbia from Toronto meant that the Chairman of the district and the district Annual Meeting had a greater degree of responsibility for decision-making than was customary in the other districts in the Conference, and were able to formulate local policies that reflected the local conditions and concerns. However, the distance also served to isolate the district from the Conference in ways that sometimes adversely affected missionary work. British Columbia was usually unable to send representatives to the Annual Conference in Ontario, and therefore lacked a strong supportive presence during debates that directly affected the district.\textsuperscript{170}

In 1873, Alfred and Kate Dudoward, a Tsimshian couple from Fort Simpson with

\textsuperscript{167} Fortieth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1864, to June 1865 (Toronto: Printed For the Society at the Conference Office, 1865), xiii.

\textsuperscript{168} The 1874 union was between the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada (which had been formed in 1854 from the union of the Ontario and Quebec British Wesleyans), the Methodist New Connexion Church of Canada, and the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Eastern British America. See Semple, 5, Figure 1, “Methodist reorganizations in Canada.”

\textsuperscript{169} Semple, 286.

\textsuperscript{170} For a discussion of the regional disparity between probationers for the ministry from British Columbia and the rest of the Conference in obtaining permission to attend college, see chapter 3.
connections to Metlakatla and the Church of England, were visiting Alfred’s mother Elizabeth in Victoria.\(^{171}\) Elizabeth had been converted to Methodism, and brought her son and daughter-in-law to a class meeting, where Alfred had a powerful conversion experience. In the summer of the same year, the Dudowards, with several other Tsimshian people from Fort Simpson, attended the camp meeting in Chilliwack, led by the missionary Cornelius Bryant.\(^{172}\) When they returned north, they formed themselves into a Methodist prayer group, and issued an invitation for the Methodists in Victoria to send a missionary to them.\(^{173}\)

In response to the invitation, William Pollard, chairman of the British Columbia district, travelled to Fort Simpson in February 1874 and determined that a missionary

\(^{171}\) Bolt, 39-40.

\(^{172}\) Camp meetings were large, open-air meetings that lasted several days, during which attendants were swept up in lengthy sessions of preaching, prayer and hymn singing, and testimonials from the converted. See Semple, chapter 6, “Mass Evangelism Before 1860,” for details of the organisation and structure of worship at camp meetings. Camp meetings for Native peoples in British Columbia were organised by Crosby, who was stationed at Chilliwack from 1869 through 1873. The first camp meeting was held in 1869, and became an annual event for the next forty years. The fervent revivalist emotionalism of camp meetings, seen by that date as rather old-fashioned by Methodists in Eastern Canada, was believed by Crosby to be a particularly effective means of evangelisation for Native peoples. See Crosby, \textit{Among the An-ko-me-nums}, 190-191. See also the biographical sketch of Crosby, published in the \textit{Western Methodist Recorder} 1, no. 6 (December 1899): 4, “Mr. Crosby is a man of forcible presence and fine physique. He has great command of an audience, is a powerful and most impressive preacher, though not a sermonizer. He has “a passion for souls” and a magnificent voice to express that passion. He could not be long in a camp meeting and no one know of his presence, and somehow his spontaneous shouts of ’Amen’ and ’Hallelujah’ remind his younger brethren of that earlier type of Methodism of which their fathers have told them and which the writer has occasionally met in a Cornish revival meeting. It is distinctly refreshing and helpful.”

should be stationed there. He then appointed Crosby, who was in Ontario at the time on furlough, to take up the new mission, and arranged for a young lay teacher, Charles Montgomery Tate to establish the work until Crosby arrived. During the trip, Pollard also baptised one hundred and twenty-five children and fourteen adults, thereby angering William Duncan, who argued that the Tsimshian people of Fort Simpson were unprepared for Christian initiation. A stream of increasingly angry letters were exchanged between Duncan, Pollard and their respective missionary societies regarding the propriety of a Methodist mission being established in an area where the Anglicans at Metlakatla had held sway for almost twenty years. However, the Methodists were determined to establish missions to Native peoples in the North, and the single mission station at Fort Simpson was soon expanded to the Nass, and to Port Essington at the mouth of the Skeena. The Northern mission became a particular focus of Methodist work with Native peoples in British Columbia, and in 1881, the British Columbia District was divided in two, into the Victoria and Westminster District (predominantly White, domestic missions and self-supporting congregations) and the Port Simpson District

174 See "From the Rev. Wm. Pollard, dated Victoria, March 19, 1874," Wesleyan Methodist Notices, n.s., no. 24 (August, 1874): 383-385, for Pollard's official public report of his visit to Fort Simpson, especially his statement "Mr. Duncan’s Mission is sixteen miles this side of Fort Simpson, and Mr. Tomlinson, on the Nass, is thirty-five miles north, neither of these worthy men can attend this Mission. They have more than they can do in their own localities."

175 See, for example, William Duncan to the CMS, February 25, 1874, C.1/M9, Mission Books, Copies of Letters - Incoming, 1874-1875, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-81, NAC. He described the "arrival of a few Indians from Victoria who had been baptized by the Methodists there, and the rough and ready way by which they had obtained the rite quite astonished the Indians here. (I will observe here that...there is no difficulty in inducing the Indians to be baptized. As heathen they are ever ready to receive that rite the ceremony agreeing with their superstitious notions of charms: hence crowds of Indians of the Colony have been baptized by Romish Priests who have not imbibed the first ideas of Christian truth)." Duncan, who by 1874 was becoming intransigently opposed to all sacraments, was incensed that the Methodists freely baptised all who expressed a willingness to lead a Christian life, without the very long period of probation that Duncan required of his converts.
(almost completely Native missions, funded wholly by the Mission Society). After
division, the number of circuits in the Port Simpson district expanded rapidly, and new
preaching points were established.

Mission work with Native peoples was soon institutionalised. In 1879, Crosby and his
wife Emma opened an orphanage and school in their home at Fort Simpson. The project
was adopted by the newly-formed Woman’s Missionary Society (WMS), who provided
staff support and funding. On the Nass, Alfred Green established a small, informal
orphanage and school, while George Raley, stationed from 1893 at Kitamaat, followed
the Simpson pattern with a boarding school staffed with the support of the WMS. In the
south, Charles Tate (ordained in 1879 “with special reference to Indian work”) was
stationed with his wife at Chilliwack in 1884, and quickly established a school in the
mission house. This small school expanded by the mid-1890s into a large residential and
day school, known as the Coqualeetza Institute.

Women missionaries were encouraged to take up work with Native women and
children, which was believed to be the sphere of missionary activity most appropriate for
women, and the introduction of WMS-supported women missionaries into the mission

Methodist Church, Canada, From 1881 to 1906, vol. 1: Canada (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908), chapter
3, “The Crosby Girls’ Home,” 31-48; and Mrs. E. S. Strachan, The Story of the Years: A History of the
Woman’s Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1906-1916, vol. 3 (Toronto: WMS,
[1916]), chapter 1, “Crosby Girls’ Home,” 17-24; see also the annual reports of the Woman’s Missionary
Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, beginning with first annual report 1881-1882.

Home,” 25-30; and Elizabeth Emsley Long, How the Light Came to Kitamaat, with additions by the Rev.
Thomas Crosby (Toronto: WMS, 1907). In 1895, the WMS began the grant for the school at Kitamaat, and
took over the work entirely in 1899.

See also Paige Raibmon, “A New Understanding of Things Indian': George Raley’s Negotiation of the
field was welcomed by missionaries who sought to expand their sphere of influence by teaching Native women Westernised gender role behaviours and practices. However, complex relationships of power had to be negotiated between the male missionaries, who were charged with the supervision of the mission, and the women missionary teachers, matrons and nurses, selected and supported financially by the semi-autonomous WMS. Even the polite language of the annual reports and official publications failed to disguise completely the strategic battles fought over issues of control, supervision and authority.¹⁷⁹

The creation of British Columbia as a separate Conference in 1887 significantly altered Methodist missions in British Columbia. The missionaries and ministers met annually at the Annual Conference, and were responsible to a Conference Chairman, usually located in Victoria or New Westminster, rather than distant Toronto. The wisdom of adopting recommendations from a district meeting could be argued by those most directly responsible for and affected by the ensuing decision. The autonomy of individual

¹⁷⁹ Elizabeth Long, matron of the girls’ home at Kitamaat, was careful to note that when “the Woman’s Missionary Society decided to take over the Home, and thus relieve Mr. Raley of much responsibility,” he did not withdraw “any of his sympathy or interest, for he is always ready to use his influence with both people and children, and help us in every way.” Long, 18. For a later example of the negotiation of power and authority between Methodist Missionary Society-sponsored missionaries and WMS sponsored missionaries, see a letter from Charles Reddick to Alexander Sutherland, Kitamaat Mission, June 5, 1909, “Dear Dr. A word of explanation as to why I mark this letter “Personal” Judging from reports of experience of workers here in the past, and my own observation, I can see how misunderstanding might easily arise with the WMS over a matter like this [the appointment of a nurse deaconess for Kitamaat]. Since the new WMS home as been in operation here, everything has gone smoothly and the most pleasant relations have always existed between the mission house and the Home, yet I have had to be “never so careful”. This “nurse” idea has been talked over among us, and I know the matron of the Home would like such an appointment if said nurse were on the home staff. If she were to be a WMS appointee for the Home work, well and good, but if she is to be a worker for the village as a whole, and under the control, in any degree, of the General Society] then - to be frank- I would be utterly opposed to her being on the Home staff. One arrangement of that kind is enough. I refer to the present arrangement for the day-school teacher. I never opposed it, and will not now criticise it, but if Miss Lawson were not the conscientious person she is and possessed of an abundance of common sense, we might have endless complications. As it is we have had none.” File 99, Correspondence re Kitamaat, 1909-1910, Box 5, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, United Church of Canada / Victoria University Archives (hereafter UCCA).
missionaries was lessened to a degree, as closer supervision of the work was made possible, while at the same time, the absolute isolation of missionaries stationed in remote communities in the north was lessened by the greater opportunities to attend district and annual conference meetings. The Conference was able to accept the recommendations of district meetings regarding candidates for the ministry directly, and had the opportunity to decide whether probationers should be permitted to attend college on the basis of direct knowledge of the applicant, rather than by information conveyed by letter. William Henry Pierce, the first Native probationer for the ministry was received into full connection and ordained at the first meeting of the British Columbia Conference, and in subsequent years the Conference proved that it was willing to be somewhat flexible about the required qualifications of probationers for the ministry from non-European backgrounds.

The establishment of the British Columbia Conference coincided with the arrival of the transcontinental rail link to the east, and the subsequent rapid expansion of the population of the province. The British Columbia Conference responded by repeatedly reorganizing its district structures to provide better supervision and coordination of the work (see figure 3).

New domestic missions were established in the Kootenays and the Okanagan as the population of those areas expanded, and new worshipping communities were created in the urban areas by dividing the large circuits into smaller, geographically defined single congregations. Missions to Chinese and Japanese workers were established in urban areas, and at the canneries on the Skeena and Nass Rivers in the north, and the Fraser

180 For the educational requirements for candidates for the ministry, see chapter 3.
River in the south.\textsuperscript{181}

\textbf{Figure 3}

\textit{Methodist Districts in British Columbia 1859-1900}

- \textbf{Vancouver's Island and British Columbia 1859-1867}
- \textbf{British Columbia District 1868-1880}
  - \textbf{Victoria and Westminster District 1881-1884}
    - \textbf{Victoria District 1885-1900}
    - \textbf{New Westminster District 1885-1886}
  - \textbf{Westminster District 1887-1895}
  - \textbf{Kamloops District 1887-1895}
    - \textbf{Vancouver District 1896-1900}
    - \textbf{Westminster District 1896-1900}
    - \textbf{Kamloops District 1896-1900}
    - \textbf{Kootenay District 1896-1900}
  - \textbf{Simpson District 1887-1896}
    - \textbf{Simpson District 1897-1899}
    - \textbf{Bella Bella District 1897-1899}
  - \textbf{Indian District 1900}
  - \textbf{Port Simpson District 1881-1886}

Note: For the details of stations within each district, see appendix 4. The Chinese District, created in 1900 by combining the missionary stations in the various districts that were dedicated to the evangelisation and education of Chinese and Japanese people is not shown on this chart.

\textsuperscript{181}Missions to Asian workers began in 1860, when Edward White's sister-in-law, Emily Woodman, began a night school for Chinese workers in New Westminster. In 1868, Amos Russ opened a similar school for adult Chinese workers in Victoria. The work was carried out sporadically, until 1885, when John Endicott Gardiner, who spoke fluent Chinese, took the position of interpreter in the Customs in Victoria. Gardiner, the son of a Methodist missionary stationed in China, offered to hold evening language classes and preach on Sunday. Gardiner also formed a class meeting among the Chinese workers. At Gardiner's suggestion, Chan Sing Kai, who had taught at the Wesleyan Mission School in Hong Kong, was appointed to the new Vancouver Chinese mission in 1888. Missions were also opened in Nanaimo and Cumberland, and in
Medical missions, which combined evangelisation with Western medicine were established in the North, and widely promoted in the missionary press as providing much needed help to both Native and White communities. The marine mission, started in 1884 by Thomas Crosby with the launch of the steam yacht, the Glad Tidings, proved to be an effective means of reaching isolated coastal communities.

The increasing focus within the Methodist church on the salvation of the whole society and the rhetorical emphasis on the creation of Canada as a Christian nation spurred a new

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interest among Methodists in what came to be known as the Social Gospel. From its beginnings, Methodism had required that its members adopt temperance, and individual missionaries had encouraged temperance among both White and Native members with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The late nineteenth century saw a renewed effort by Methodists in British Columbia to encourage the provincial government to pass strict temperance and Sabbath observance laws. They worked to regulate and preferably eliminate what the Methodists called “the Social Evil,” that is, all forms of the sex trade. The rescue home for Chinese and Japanese girls and young women in Victoria, instituted and supported by the WMS, grew out of concerns about young Asian women being brought to Canada for the local sex trade, as well as the impulse to evangelise a previously unreached group of non-Christians.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the Methodist Church in British Columbia had transformed itself from a mission district into a structured and institutionalised organisation largely indistinguishable from its Eastern Canadian counterpart, at least in urban areas. Self-supporting congregations were the norm in urban areas, and domestic missions were increasingly confined to thinly populated rural areas, and newly developed

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187 In 1906, Sutherland, in Methodism in Canada, 15, reported that the British Columbia was comprised of 8 districts, 81 circuits and stations, 69 ordained ministers, 11 probationers for the ministry, 6,116 communicants, 7,088 scholars in the Sunday schools. The total number of communicants and adherents was 25,021.
congregations making the transition to self-sufficiency. Mission work among Native peoples was largely confined to the North, and to the Fraser Valley in the area of the Coqualeetza Institute. Missionaries travelled with Native seasonal workers to the fish canneries of the Skeena, Nass and Fraser Rivers, and to the hop fields of the Fraser Valley, and attempted to evangelise Asian workers in the canneries and urban ghettos. The mission field had contracted to specific target groups, and mission work within Canada was seen increasingly as something both exotic and anachronistic. Methodists fully expected that the day would soon arrive when Native missions would be transformed into self-supporting congregations.

**Stationing and Funding Issues for Anglican and Methodist Missions**

The historical trajectories of Anglican and Methodist missions in British Columbia mark the critical importance of two interrelated issues: funding and the stationing of missionaries. Both denominations relied on external funding to establish and sustain missionary activity, and both relied heavily on volunteer missionaries from outside the province, who in turn were dependent on the same external funding. The interaction of human and financial resources determined both the broad outlines and the specific details of the planning of new missions and the ongoing work of established missions.

In British Columbia, the uneven distribution of population in the province meant that the distinction made in other mission fields between missionaries and ministers of settled single congregations was often blurred. Methodist ministers might move repeatedly in a three-year cycle between self-supporting congregations and multi-point circuits reliant on peoples in the missionary districts in the north occasionally moved south to take up
domestic mission work or were stationed in a self-supporting non-missionary circuit.\textsuperscript{188} While the Methodist Missionary Society distinguished between home (i.e. White) missions and Native missions, the primary impetus among many Methodist missionaries remained the evangelisation and conversion of all non-Christians, the strengthening of those who had experienced conversion but had backslid in the face of secular pressures, and the pastoral care of committed Methodists, wherever they were found.

Anglican missionaries had more complex patterns of movement between missions and established parishes, resulting in part from the system of funding. The institution in 1865 of SPG block grants for work in British Columbia,\textsuperscript{189} administered by the bishop, allowed a greater degree of flexibility in local planning for the deployment of missionaries than the CMS, which required permission from the London headquarters before a missionary could be moved to a new station.\textsuperscript{190} The CMS's explicit mandate of evangelising non-Christian peoples meant that missionaries on the CMS rolls would not continue to be financially supported if they moved to an urban, predominantly White parish, whereas the SPG's dual mandate of the parochial care of emigrants with a secondary interest in the

\textsuperscript{188} See, for example, Alfred Eli Green, who was stationed on the Nass and at Port Essington between 1877 and 1889, moved south in 1890 to Wellington. See appendix 6 for details of Green's stationing.

\textsuperscript{189} Before 1865, the SPG had provided the bishop with grants to cover the work of a specific missionary for a fixed term.

\textsuperscript{190} The CMS's ambivalent recognition of the authority of a diocesan bishop to determine the station of a CMS missionary was thrown into sharp focus in the case of Robert Tomlinson. Tomlinson had been the CMS missionary at Kincolith from 1867 to 1879, when he received permission to open a new mission at Ankatlast, near Kispiox, on the Upper Skeena. When William Ridley arrived at Metlakatla, he ordered Tomlinson to close the mission at Ankatlast. Tomlinson refused, and travelled to London to appeal Ridley's decision. The CMS upheld Tomlinson's position, and he continued at Ankatlast until 1883, when he resigned from the CMS in support of William Duncan. See the correspondence and accompanying documents between Tomlinson, Ridley and the CMS, 1879-1880, C.2./O. Original Letters, Journals, Papers – Incoming, 1857-1880, CMS papers, microfilm reel A-106, NAC; and letters between Tomlinson, Ridley, Collison and the CMS, 1883, C.1/P3, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1882-1892, CMS papers, microfilm reel A-121, NAC.
evangelisation of non-Christians in British-ruled colonies meant that SPG missionaries moved more fluidly between White and Native communities, and between White and Native adherents within a single community.\textsuperscript{191}

Patterns of stationing for both Anglicans and Methodists developed in the context of the changing demographics of the province, and in response to the availability of funding from external sources. In the 1860s, both denominations consolidated the missions established in the late 1850s in the two major urban areas, Victoria and New Westminster, and in smaller areas of population concentration like Nanaimo, Hope and Yale. New missions were developed in the rural farming areas surrounding Victoria and in the Cowichan Valley, and seasonal missions that followed transportation routes into the Cariboo goldfields. Missions to Native peoples initially were focused on evangelising urban dwellers and visitors to Victoria and Nanaimo. Subsequent Native missions

\textsuperscript{191} In the diocese of Columbia, all of the CMS-sponsored missionaries were attached to the North Pacific Mission, which focused exclusively on the evangelisation of Native peoples. CMS missionaries in the British Columbia field who left the North Pacific mission sometimes transferred to another CMS mission, or resigned and returned to England to take up parochial duties there. In two cases where CMS missionaries left the Metlakatla mission after a short period of service to take up parochial duties in Victoria, they were summarily removed from the CMS rolls. In contrast, Hills and Sillitoe were able to use the SPG block grants strategically, moving clergy on and off the SPG rolls as the changing needs of their dioceses dictated. For example, although John Sheepshanks served as rector of Holy Trinity, New Westminster from 1859 through 1867, he was funded through the SPG for the single year 1866, at the height of financial instability in British Columbia, a strategy also used by Hills to support Edward Cridge as dean of Christ Church cathedral during the years 1867 through 1871, and Christopher Knipe as missionary for the single year 1865. Other SPG-supported missionaries later moved to non-funded parishes and missionary stations within their diocese. For example, George Ditcham served as an SPG-supported missionary at Yale and Hope in 1877, and at Chilliwack from 1878 to 1880. In 1881 he was appointed as the first rector of the new (non-externally funded) parish of St. James’, Granville on Burrard Inlet, a position that he held until 1885. He then moved to the (non-externally funded) Fraser River mission, where he remained until 1901, when he was appointed as the principal of the New England Company funded Native industrial school, St. George’s, at Lytton. See appendix 5. See also Hills to the SPG, May 18, 1864, “Having applied for help towards the salary of a second archdeacon I received from you an answer dated Nov 22 1861 announcing ‘an additional grant of £300 per annum for two years and a half that is from December 31 1861 to June 30 1864.’ I omitted to use this grant not seeing my way to an Archdeacon and having a wish to promote a second Bishopric towards which the Archdeaconry fund might be available. Have during my visit to England been able to decide on this point I placed the Rev’d. C. Knipe MA Brasenose Coll. on the Society’s grant.” File 1, 1859-1867 Correspondence, SPG-Bishop Hills, Box 2, Text 56, Hills papers, ADBC.
developed into broad regional groupings: the CMS-funded Anglican North Pacific Mission to the Tsimshian, Nisga’a and Haida peoples of the North Coast, the Gitksan and Wet’suwet’en peoples of the Upper Skeena, and the Kwakwaka’wakw people of Northern Vancouver Island; the Methodist missionary district of Port Simpson, with missions to the Tsimshian, Nisga’a and Haida peoples of the North Coast, the Gitksan and Wet’suwet’en peoples of the Upper Skeena, and the Haisla and Heiltsuk peoples of the middle coast; the Anglican and Methodist missions to the Nuxalk, and Halkomelem peoples of Vancouver Island; the Anglican mission to the Nlhaʔkapmx people at Lytton and the St’at’imx people at Lillooet; and the Methodist mission to the Sto:lo peoples of the upper Fraser valley, centred at Chilliwack.

The serious financial recession in the mid-1860s forced both denominations to regroup in the face of static levels of support from the external funding bodies and reduced donations from adherents and supporters within British Columbia. The financial recession also resulted in population shifts, as speculators moved on to other territories, and some settlements were all but abandoned. The published reports from the British Columbia mission field had been overly optimistic about the early prospects for reproducing familiar denominational structures in the colonies. Throughout the late-1860s and the 1870s, it became apparent to the funding societies of both denominations that it was unrealistic to expect that missionaries could quickly and easily establish self-supporting congregations of White settlers. Thriving communities of respectable and financially stable church-going folk only developed in the larger urban centres in the 1890s, as immigration increased and the population of the province expanded.

Within denominations, stationing patterns reveal the differences between Anglican
parishes and Methodist circuits. Meaningful comparisons between the two are made difficult by the patterns of reporting. Based on English precedent, a single Anglican parish in British Columbia encompassed a specific, described geographic entity, with defined boundaries, centred at the parish church. However, in practice Anglican missionaries stationed at a mission like Lytton might travel extensively through a geographically dispersed and thinly populated area, holding services on a regular schedule at a variety of preaching points. In most cases, Anglican funding reports named only the parish or residential location of the missionary, leaving the other preaching point locations unspecified. The yearly reports of the Methodist stationing committee indicated the named circuit on which individual missionaries were located, and, in some cases also specified the various preaching points on a circuit. Thus the

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192 For example, the Lytton mission encompassed the Fraser River from Spuzzum to Lillooet, the Thompson River from Lytton to Ashcroft, and the Nicola Valley. In the published reports, the mission was listed as a single entity, although the mission included both White and Native parishes, chapels and preaching points at: Ashcroft; Boothroyd (Skopalk), St. Francis; Boston Bar, St. Peter’s; Cameron Bar; Cisco; Drynoch; Foster Bar; Hope, Christ Church; Inkahtsaph; Kanaka Bar; Lillooet, St. Mary the Virgin; Lytton, St. Mary, St. Paul, St. Barnabas, St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, St. George’s School; Nicola, St. John the Baptist; Nicomen; N’kamoole; North Bend, St. Michael and all Angels; Nyshakup, St. Augustine; Pokhaist, St. Aidan; Shulus, All Saints; Spences Bridge, St. Michael and All Angels; Spintum Flat; Spuzzum, Christ Church; Staiyn, St. David; Yale, St. John the Divine. See The Archivists of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and Yukon, Guide to the Holdings of the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and Yukon (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, 1993); Cyril Williams and Pixie McGeachie, Archdeacon on Horseback: Richard Small, 1849-1909, Missionary at Lytton, Chaplain at St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, Lytton and Archdeacon of Yale (Merritt: Sonotek, 1991); and Brett Christophers, Positioning the Missionary: John Booth Good and the Confluence of Cultures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998). A similar pattern was followed in the Kamloops Mission, inaugurated in 1884. The Mission’s territory originally included “all points south of Kamloops to the international boundary and east to the Rocky Mountains, as well as Ashcroft and the Nicola Valley.” Entry for Kamloops (B.C.), St. Paul’s Cathedral, Diocese of Cariboo, Guide to the Holdings of the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and Yukon, 136-137.

193 See, for example, the stationing report for the Simpson District in The Methodist Church, Minutes of the British Columbia Conference 1890 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890). The Port Simpson circuit included Georgetown and Works Channel; Naas circuit included Kit-lac-tamux, Kit-Wan-silth, Kit-eeks, Fishery Bay, Naas Harbor; Bella Bella circuit included Kokite and River’s Inlet; Port Essington circuit included the canneries at Aberdeen, Balmoral, North Pacific, Inverness, and Lowe’s Island; Queen Charlotte Islands circuit included Skidegate, Gold Harbour and Clue; Upper Skeena circuit included Kish-pi-ax, \
Anglicans tended to under-report the number of their established preaching points, while the Methodists often reported all of the preaching points on each circuit.

The differences between the two denominations in patterns of establishing new externally funded missions clearly demonstrates that Methodist missions were slow to develop in the face of limited human resources, and that the gradual withdrawal of Anglican external funding for new missions significantly altered existing methods of stationing missionaries (see Table 1).

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>1854-1859</th>
<th>1860-1869</th>
<th>1870-1879</th>
<th>1880-1889</th>
<th>1890-1899</th>
<th>1900-1911</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglicans</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>23 (33%)</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>9 (13%)</td>
<td>17 (24%)</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>70 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodists</td>
<td>6 (4%)</td>
<td>4 (2%)</td>
<td>9 (6%)</td>
<td>52 (33%)</td>
<td>80 (51%)</td>
<td>7 (4%)</td>
<td>158 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seventy named Anglican parishes and missions were listed in the records of the SPG and CMS and other external funding bodies between 1854 and the end of the funding period for the relevant society (1882 for the SPG in the diocese of Columbia, c. 1900 for the SPG overall, and c. 1902 for the CMS), and one hundred and fifty eight named Methodist circuits and preaching points were listed in the stationing reports between 1858 and 1900. The Anglicans initially predominated in the development of new missions, reflecting the willingness of the SPG to fund the new diocese of Columbia. The 1880s

Hough-wul-get, Kish-ga-gash, and Kul-dawlth; and Glad Tidings Mission circuit included Kit-a-maat, Kit-lope, Kit-kahta, Bella Coola, Talliome, Kimsquit, Hy-hies, “and all other places not included in any other Mission.” [original spelling of place names]. Only Kit-ze-gucla and Kit-wan-cool circuit had no named preaching points. In many cases, Native class leaders, exhorters and local preachers were located at the various named preaching points.
brought an abrupt shift, as the union of the various Methodist connexions brought new vigor to the missionary enterprise, at the same time that the SPG began to withdraw funds from the British Columbia mission field. By 1900, new Anglican missions had effectively ceased to be developed with external funding from the English missionary societies, while the Methodist Missionary Society was continuing to fund new domestic and foreign missions throughout British Columbia.

The irony of mission work in British Columbia was that while both denominations hoped to expand the number of missionaries in the field and thus expand their orbit of control, the lack of suitable missionary volunteers, and increased competition from more exotic missionary fields meant that the ability of both the Anglicans and the Methodists to attract and retain missionaries was unpredictable, although both denominations had similar patterns of retention. The majority of missionaries who came to British Columbia either stayed for a period of five years or less, or committed for the duration of their working careers and stayed for twenty-one years or more (see Table 2).

For both denominations, most missionaries either began their ministry in British Columbia, or arrived in British Columbia within five years of their ordination to the diaconate (the Anglicans) or the date on which they were received on trial for the ministry (the Methodists). Missionaries who arrived long after they had entered the ministry were either appointed to a supervisory position, or in a very few cases, had chosen British Columbia for their retirement. (see Table 3).
Table 2

Number of Years Served in British Columbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>0-5 years</th>
<th>6-10 years</th>
<th>11-15 years</th>
<th>16-20 years</th>
<th>21+ years</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglicans</td>
<td>36 (38%)</td>
<td>14 (15%)</td>
<td>5 (5%)</td>
<td>4 (4%)</td>
<td>25 (26%)</td>
<td>11 (12%)</td>
<td>95 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodists</td>
<td>51 (39%)</td>
<td>16 (12%)</td>
<td>14 (11%)</td>
<td>9 (7%)</td>
<td>42 (31%)</td>
<td>1 (&gt;1%)</td>
<td>133 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3

Number of Years After Ministry Commenced Before Coming to British Columbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>0-5 years</th>
<th>6-10 years</th>
<th>11-15 years</th>
<th>16-20 years</th>
<th>21+ years</th>
<th>began in British Columbia</th>
<th>lay or medical missionaries</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>transferred from other denominations</th>
<th>total</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33%)</td>
<td>(12%)</td>
<td>(4%)</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(9%)</td>
<td>(27%)</td>
<td>(6%)</td>
<td>(3%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Methodists</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(26%)</td>
<td>(13%)</td>
<td>(10%)</td>
<td>(3%)</td>
<td>(7%)</td>
<td>(37%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>(3%)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: For Anglicans, time is measured from ordination to the diaconate; for Methodists, time is measured from being received on trial as a candidate for the ministry.
The reasons that prompted a missionary to either stay or leave British Columbia are difficult to identify. The decision on some occasions seems to have been determined by external funding criteria that either encouraged or discouraged a missionary to stay. The SPG's pre-1865 practice of stipulating a fixed term for a grant to cover the work of a specific missionary meant that the first group of SPG-funded missionaries in British Columbia had to make a conscious decision whether to stay on in British Columbia after the expiration of their initial grant, subject to the ability and willingness of the diocese to cover their salary, and thus provided a disincentive for missionaries to continue in the field. On the other hand, the Methodist Missionary Society imposed a financial disincentive for missionaries to leave the field by requiring the completion of two years of service before travelling expenses were reimbursed, and required a long continuous period of service before granting furlough.

Some missionaries chose to give up the work and returned to England or Ontario after a relatively short period in British Columbia, often citing pressing family concerns or the

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194 See, SPG to Hills, October 30, 1863 [on printed form], "I am directed to remind your Lordship that the term of --- years for which a grant of £300 per Annum was voted by the Society on account of the Salary of the Rev. James Gammage in the Mission of British Columbia will expire on the 30th June 1864. Notice of this expiration has also been sent to Mr. Gammage and he has been requested not to draw any further Bills after that date on account of this Grant. I am also to add that in the case of an application for the renewal of the whole, or any part of the Grant, it will be necessary that the enclosed Schedule should be filled up, signed by your Lordship, and returned to the Society for Consideration. [On verso] The grants made to the following missionaries will also expire on 30th June 1864, notice of the expiration has been sent to each missionary: The Rev. A. D. Pringle £300 per annum; A. C. Garrett £250; J. B. Good £250. File 1, 1859-1867 Correspondence, SPG-Bishop Hills, Box 2, Text 56, Hills papers, ADBC. Gammage left B.C. in 1863, as did Pringle. Garrett's grant was renewed for a further five year period, and he continued the work in BC until 1869. Good served as an SPG-funded missionary from 1861 though 1882, and continued in B.C. after the grant expired until 1899. It is, perhaps, significant that the two missionaries whose grants were renewed were both assigned to wholly Native missions.

195 See T. Ferrier to A. Sutherland, April 28, 1909, File 103, British Columbia Indian Missions: Correspondence re Kishpiox, Upper Skeena, 1906-1910, Box 5, Methodist Missionary Society. Foreign Dept. (Sutherland Papers). Incoming Correspondence, 1900-1910, accession number 78.092, UCCA.
precarious health of a spouse as the ostensible reason for their departure.\textsuperscript{196} Some of the dynamics of family pressures can be seen in the career of Samuel Gilson, who was appointed by Hills as archdeacon of Columbia in 1864 and who left the colony in 1867.\textsuperscript{197} In September, 1875 Gilson returned to British Columbia to take up an appointment as archdeacon and dean of Christ Church cathedral in Victoria. However, by February of the following year, Hills noted in his diary that Gilson “said he was going the 1st steamer in March.” According to Hills, the congregation of the cathedral met, and forced Gilson to retract his original letter of resignation and “replace it by another putting his resignation upon the true ground which during the meeting he was driven to confess viz. that it would break Mrs. Gilson’s heart if he did not return to England.”\textsuperscript{198}

Spousal health also served as public explanation for the dismissal of missionaries with personal difficulties that precluded them from successfully carrying out their duties.

Richard Dowson, who was sent by the SPG in 1859 to work with the Native peoples, was

\textsuperscript{196} Christophers, 138-139, notes that ongoing and cumulative financial stresses nearly resulted in John Booth Good’s resignation from the mission field in 1869. Good’s private letters to the SPG provide abundant documentary evidence of his inability to manage his own finances. When the newly-arrived Bishop Sillitoe took supervisory control of the diocese in 1880, he was appalled by Good’s financial incompetence, and removed him from financial responsibility for the Lytton Mission.

\textsuperscript{197} Hills, April 14, 1866, noted in his diary, “I believe his [i.e. Gilson’s] determination was made as soon as he arrived & he allowed his son to go back to Canada immediately. He says he cannot endure the low tone of society – political, social & religious, and as he could not recommend others to come & settle here he thinks he ought not to make it his own home for life.” George Hills, Diary.

\textsuperscript{198} See George Hills, diary for February 8, 1876, manuscript original of diary, AEPBC. Other instances of family pressures determining a missionary’s departure from the field include the Anglican John Sheepshanks, who indicated to Hills that he could not accept Hills’ offer of the archdeaconry of Caledonia, as “he had promised his parents to return to England in five years,” diary for January 23, 1863; the Methodist Ebenezer Robson, who returned to Canada in 1866, owing to “the very precarious state of Mrs. R’s health.” See “Missions on the Pacific,” in the Forty-First Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1865 to June 1866 (Toronto: The Society, 1866); and the Methodist chairman of the British Columbia mission district, Ephraim Evans, who returned to Canada after he was financially ruined by endorsing a loan on behalf of his nephews. See “Evans, Ephraim,” Vertical File, United Church of Canada British Columbia Conference Archives (hereafter UCCBC), and Edward White, Diary, entries for December, 1866, Edward White, Diary, 1859-1866, Vertical File, UCCBC.
stationed at Craigflower when Hills arrived in Victoria in January 1860. Dowson had already alerted the SPG in his letter of December, 1859 that his wife had been “laid up with an attack of fever for the last three weeks,” a situation also noted by Hills in his diary on January 19, 1860, on his first visit to the Dowsons. However, it seems likely that “young clergyman” that Hills interviewed on February 13 about rumours of insobriety was Dowson, as Hills had sent a letter to him two days before, in which he had tactfully noted that:

The hardship of an institution such as we propose involves grave responsibility. I think you have felt discouraged and I am told you have expressed a desire to return to England. It is quite possible you may have found the work more difficult than you expected. I will candidly tell you my own impression is you would not be happy in the work, and I fear the delicate state of Mrs. Dowson’s health might increase your anxiety. Should you in your heart feel hesitation and desire to be released pray say so now and I will gladly facilitate your getting home.

Hills followed through on his offer, provided £100 towards the Dowsons’ passage back to England, and arranged with the Hudson’s Bay Company for the couple to travel first class at second class rates. The subsequent public record noted only that Dowson had

199 Dowson to the SPG, December 29, 1859, SPG papers, microfilm reel 227, NAC.

200 Hills diary entry read, in part, “He [Dowson] had hard rough work. His wife is ill – has had fever.” George Hills, Diary, January 19, 1860.

201 Roberta Bagshaw, 37, concludes that Hills sent Dowson back to England because of “problems with alcohol.”

202 Hills to Dowson, February 11, 1860, File 1, Correspondence Outward, 1860-1884, Box 6, Text 57, Bishop of Columbia Correspondence In and Out 1860-1892, George Hills papers, ADBC.

203 George Hills, Diary, February 20, and March 6, 1860. Hills dealt with other episodes of clerical insobriety during his episcopacy, with varying degrees of tolerance. Hills immediately withdrew the licence of Archdeacon William Reece, who arrived in New Westminster in an advanced state of drunkenness. Hills noted with disgust “He had not quite recovered from the effects. He asked me to commiserate with him & half cried. I told him there was not the slightest use in appealing to me. He had disgraced us all.” See George Hills, Diary, May 27 and May 28, 1873. On the other hand, Hills was far more charitable with James Reynard, who was accused of intemperance (and in fact was terminally ill). See George Hills, Diary, April 1, 1875.
returned to England “owing to the illness of his wife.”

Charges of drunkenness were also grounds for the Methodist Conference to remove a missionary from the field. Part VI of the *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church* made provision for disciplining ministers and members who transgressed Methodist rules of behaviour. Probationers received on trial for the ministry could be “dropped in silence” from their probation for infractions of the discipline and for recognised unsuitability for the work. Ordained ministers could be disciplined for non-payment of debts, for entering secular work that would detract from “ministerial character or usefulness,” for disseminating erroneous doctrine; and for engaging in imprudent conduct. While it was uncommon for an ordained minister to be formally disciplined, the probationary period for candidates for the ministry clearly was seen as an opportunity for young men to test their vocation to the ministry, and for the Methodist Church to test their suitability. Of one hundred and thirty-three Methodists who served in British Columbia, forty-seven, or thirty-five percent, resigned with reason and received credentials, withdrew from the work, or were dropped in silence.

Educational opportunities also influenced the stationing patterns and ongoing commitment of some Anglican and Methodist missionaries to work in the mission field. Missionaries whose families included school-aged children had to make difficult

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204 Pascoe, vol. 1, 183.

205 See *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1884*, ed. John A. Williams. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1884), 119-132. Local preachers could be disciplined for failures of business resulting from dishonest behaviour and for imprudent conduct, and members could be disciplined for immoral or imprudent conduct, and for dissension, as well as for failures of business and non-payment of debt. For the findings of a trial of an ordained minister, see the printed *Minutes of the Toronto, London, Hamilton, Bay of Quinte Montreal and British Columbia Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, 1906*, Abridged for Publication (Toronto: William Briggs, [1906]), and the manuscript minutes of the same conference in the Minutes, 1899-1911, British Columbia Conference, Methodist Church (Canada), UCCBC.
decisions about how to ensure their education, especially when the mission was located in a rural or remote community with no regular public school. The Church of England's Church Missionary Society, recognising that the education of children whose parents were serving in the missionary field was often problematic, established a residential school in England in 1850, an option chosen by the Anglican missionary William Henry Collison for his two oldest sons. The cost of sending children from British Columbia to England or to Ontario for education, however, was prohibitive for most missionaries, and indeed Collison's younger sons were educated either locally in Victoria or at home by Collison himself. For many missionaries, the only schooling option was to send their children to whatever local denominational or public school was available, in the hope that the children would receive sufficient education to ensure their future employability.

George Raley, writing to the General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, stated the concerns of missionaries regarding their children's education quite bluntly:

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206 The Missionaries' Children's Home was established by the CMS in Islington, London in 1850, and moved to Limpsfield in Kent in 1887. See Stock, v. 2, 48-49. Collison's sons attended the school after its move to Limpsfield.

207 A similar strategy was employed by John Booth Good, stationed at Lytton, who wrote to inform the SPG that his "wife and children are now in Victoria and will reside there for a time for purposes of Education and also for reasons of Economy and Expediency." See Good to the SPG, report dated Easter 1876, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-242, NAC.

208 Angela College for girls and the Collegiate School for boys, both established by Bishop Hills in Victoria, attempted to address the educational concerns of English immigrants who wished to retain denominational education for their children. In New Westminster, Bishop Sillitoe was equally enthusiastic about retaining English educational patterns, established Lorne College for boys and Columbian College for girls. None of the schools had a secure financial basis, and all had closed by the 1890s. See Jean Barman, *Growing Up British in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 6-8. All Hallows School in Yale was established by Sillitoe as a school for Native girls, developed a separate program for White girls, many of whom were the daughters of clergy. See Barman, "Separate and Unequal," 338. The Methodists established Columbian Methodist College in New Westminster in 1892 to offer high school work and theological education. See J. C. Brown, "Methodist Colleges," in *Commemorative Review of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in British Columbia*, 243-249.
There is no doubt Missionaries children will have to support themselves and will have to be fitted for it. There is no doubt that Indian Missionaries sacrifice their children's interests, seeing they are deprived of the association of white child life, [an association] natural and dear to their hearts.

Finally, interpersonal relationships may have shaped the decision of some missionaries to leave the field. For the Church of England in British Columbia, the Hills-Cridge, Hills-Duncan and Ridley-Duncan controversies were highly divisive, and resulted in the clergy coalescing into factions in support of one or another of the key disputants, and it

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209 Letter to A. Sutherland from G. Raley, June 6, 1909, File 84, British Columbia: Indian Missions. General Correspondence: 1909-1910, Box 5, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA. See also the attached documents, special resolutions passed at the Port Simpson District Meting, held May 5, 1909, at Bella Bella, which note that John Clark Spencer had sent his daughter away to be educated, and that Barnabus Courtland Freeman's two children were ready to enter high school, and that neither missionary's salary covered the additional expense of education. See also the letter to A. Sutherland from B.C. Freeman, Port Essington, September 18, 1909, regarding the education of his children, "Helen, now aged fifteen, and Harold, now thirteen, passed the entrance examination for admission to high school a year ago last summer, Harold heading the list from the school tho' he had then turned his twelfth birthday by less than a month. Last year they continued to attend the public school here, the Anglican rector here very generously helping them with their Latin. But this year the public school teacher - fairly enough - refuses to take up high school work with them further, so they are now not attending school at all. This seems a very great hardship to bright children who are anxious to pursue their studies." In Sutherland's return letter to Freeman, November 2, 1909, he noted that "The Board does not consider that it is responsible for the entire cost of educating missionaries' children, but willingly makes a grant to aid in the case of those who are on Foreign or Indian Missions, and have not suitable school privileges within reach. There is another aspect of the question which is worth considering. A considerable number of the brethren on Home Missions are not within reach of school privileges, especially when their children reach the High School age. They are obliged to send them from home but receive no grant in aid, although their salaries, in a great many cases are considerably below those paid on Indian Missions. Moreover, if one is transferred from the Indian to the White work it does not follow that in all cases he will be within reach of the grade of school which he considers necessary for his children." File 87, Correspondence re: Port Simpson and Port Essington, 1909-1910, Box 5, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA. See also R. W. Large to Alexander Sutherland, February 25, 1910, "While we enjoy our work at Bella Bella, we have been here 11 years, the Mission is well established and a change might do good. The education of our boys is becoming a problem. Geddes is 8 and Gordon 6 years of age, and we cannot send them to the Indian day school very well, as it is not best to have them associate with the Indian children. They are pretty young to send away and it would have to be to a Public school and we find it hard to send them from home so young. At Simpson there is a Public School, and this is the only reason why we would care to go there. We prefer having charge of a Mission as we have here, but our boys' future must not be sacrificed." File 105, Correspondence re: the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Hospital, 1906-1910, Box 6, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA.

210 Clarence Bolt, 98-99, citing earlier studies by Neil Gunson of missionaries in the South Pacific, notes that missionary societies often attracted people of particular stamina and zeal, with a high degree of self-confidence — in other words, people unlikely to be cooperative team players.
seems evident that some clergy chose to leave rather than become embroiled in the conflicts.\textsuperscript{211} While the Methodists in British Columbia never experienced the divisions caused by doctrinal controversy, many of the longest-serving Methodist and Anglican missionaries were extraordinarily single-minded and self-willed men, who at times antagonized their superiors and co-workers.\textsuperscript{212} Missionaries who were unable to accommodate themselves to the stresses of missionary life, or were unable or unwilling to work with other missionaries in the field may have chosen not to remain in a difficult working environment.

**Conclusion**

In summation, the shape of Anglican and Methodist missionary work in nineteenth century British Columbia took place at the intersection of denominational policies and practices with the lived experience of missionaries in the field. Similarly, the contours

\textsuperscript{211} See, for example, the letter from Doolan to Cridge, October 9, 1873, which reads in part: “Not a line from Duncan for some time, but I have been very naughty in not writing to him. I hope to do so today or tomorrow. I have heard of the great discouragement you are experiencing in your work, but with prayers for you, I am also very thankful you are where you are. What would become of the Church in Victoria if there were not a few faithful men, to witness for our Lord.” Staffing at Metlakatla and the North Pacific Mission was characterized by rapid redeployment of staff and precipitous departures, and only stabilized in the late 1880s after Duncan’s departure. File 5, Correspondence inward, 1870-1877, Vol. 1 Correspondence, Testimonials, Certificates, Printed Material, Edward Cridge fonds, Add Mss. 320, BCA.

\textsuperscript{212} See, for example, the evident dislike of Alexander Sutherland, Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, for the missionary Charles Tate. Sutherland made repeated references to Tate’s unwillingness to cooperate with officials in his letters, and of his willingness to take the side of his Native congregations, an action that Sutherland decried. See the letter from A. Sutherland to J. Robson, July 6, 1909. “At the best of times our Indian work is not an easy problem to deal with, but the difficulties were greatly increased when the British Columbia Conference carried their point to discontinue the Superintendent of the Indian work. If the man who held the post was not the best calculated for the work, the remedy should have been found in appointing another, but if you could appoint the Angel Gabriel he would have the strenuous opposition of certain men now in the work… You feel that something should be done for Mr. Tate in view of his long service, but the best thing that could be done for him and for the work would be to put him on the superannuation list. If his work has been a success anywhere and in any degree I confess that I have failed to see it, while on the other hand he has been a constant thorn in the flesh to those who are trying to bring the Indian work in British Columbia into some kind of order.” File 97, Correspondence re Victoria Mission, and Cowichan Mission, Duncan 1909-1910, Box 5, Incoming correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society. Foreign Dept. (Sutherland Papers) accession number 78.092, UCCA.
and rhythms of missionary practice were determined by external funding imperatives and organizational structures, as well as by the personalities and theological and missiological beliefs of individual missionaries. The denominational discourses of mission and the structures of supervision further shaped individual missionary practice and the ways in which missionaries were deployed in the missionary field. In the next chapter, the impact of education for ministry will add another dimension in the history of Anglican and Methodist missions in British Columbia.
CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION FOR MINISTRY
AND THE PRINT CULTURE OF ANGLICAN AND METHODIST MISSIONARIES

The value that missionaries placed on the artefacts of print culture was shaped, in part, by their own educational formation. Both the Anglican and Methodist churches had systematic training for the ordained ministry, and both denominations placed considerable emphasis on the importance of reading and mastering a body of scriptural and theological writing as a component of education for ministry. However, the two denominations placed differing weight on the importance of a candidate’s formal education as a criteria of suitability for ordination. Once a candidate was accepted, there also were significant differences between the Anglican and Methodist churches in the program of study required for ordination. As well, within both denominations, there were variations in the way that education for ministry was delivered, whether in a university setting, at a theological college or training institute, or a program of independent study followed by formal examinations. In addition, the expectations of educational attainment for lay, or non-ordained missionaries varied by denomination. Thus, patterns of educational attainment and formal theological training for missionaries varied by denomination, and within denominations. A closer examination of these patterns reveals the importance that print culture and literacy played in the formation of missionaries, whether ordained or lay, and suggest the ways in which a denomination’s print culture was shaped.
Education for Ministry in The Church of England

The normal entry point for ordination in the Church of England in the first half of the nineteenth century was a university degree from Oxford or Cambridge. Candidates could also study at one of the other universities that offered theological education: the University of Durham, which offered a Licence in theology from 1833; King’s College, London, established in 1846; or Trinity College, Dublin, which provided a two-year course in theology after graduation.\(^{213}\) Traditionally, a candidate for Holy Orders was expected to have a thorough grounding in the classics, which was seen as the hallmark of “the general liberal education which is given to those who are destined to the professions, to the service of the State, or to high social position.”\(^{214}\) As well, in addition to the classics, the candidate would have read some of the standard theological works as part of his undergraduate education.\(^{215}\)

\(^{213}\) Throughout the following discussion, I will refer to ordained missionaries as men, as neither the Church of England nor the Methodist Church ordained women during the nineteenth century, although both denominations developed lay missionary positions for women in the last quarter of the century. For the various universities offering theological education, see M. A. Crowther, *Church Embattled: Religious Controversy in Mid-Victoria England* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles; Hamden, Ct.: Archon Books, 1970), 230.


\(^{215}\) For example, in 1822, Cambridge instituted the Previous Examination, which all undergraduates were required to write. Candidates were examined in “one of the four Gospels in Greek, Paley’s ‘Evidences of Christianity’ and prescribed portions of classical authors.” F. W. B. Bullock, *A History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England in England and Wales From 1800 to 1874* (St. Leonards-on-Sea: Budd & Gillatt, 1955), 35. At Oxford, regular examinations for degrees were instituted in 1800, and included “the Elements of Religion and the Thirty-Nine Articles; knowledge of the Classics was stressed.” Bullock, ibid. Undergraduates at Oxford who were planning to be candidates for Holy Orders also attended a short course of lectures from the Regius Professor of Divinity. Bullock, 49-50. Various revisions in the course of theological education at Oxford and Cambridge took place throughout the century, in part as a result of the establishment of the Voluntary Theological Examination at Cambridge for graduates, in 1842, and the reports of the Royal Commissions in 1852, culminating in the establishment of the Theology Honour School at Oxford and the Theological Tripos at Cambridge in 1870-1871. See V. H. H. Green, *The Universities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), 264, and Bullock, 70-82. For a clear overview of the subjects for examination at Oxford and Cambridge, see David Dowland, *Nineteenth-Century Anglican Theological Training: The Redbrick Challenge* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 181-182. See also Frank
The candidate, who had to be at least twenty-three years of age, was required to provide references either from the college, or from three beneficed clergymen,\textsuperscript{216} attesting to his good moral character and conduct, as well as proof that there was no objection raised by his parish church to his ordination.\textsuperscript{217} The candidate also had to obtain a position from a beneficed clergyman (or incumbent), who was willing to accept the candidate as an assistant curate, and provide him with a suitable stipend, with the consent of the bishop. Once the letters of reference and a secured appointment had been obtained, the candidate then presented himself to the bishop for examination, in which his knowledge of Greek and Latin, Church history, and theology was tested.\textsuperscript{218}

A candidate who successfully passed the bishop's examination was ordained a deacon.

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\textsuperscript{216} The Church of England distinguished between clerical appointments that provided the incumbent with the endowment attached to a specific living, and those appointments funded by stipend, usually raised by pew rents and voluntary subscriptions. The church thus distinguished between rectors and vicars, and curates. Rectors were charged with the full care of a parish, and entitled to the full endowment of the living. Vicars traditionally served as the locum tenens of a rector, and were theoretically responsible only for the care of the parish delegated by the rector, and eligible only for a portion of the tithe (although by the mid-nineteenth century, many vicars had full responsibility for a parish whose endowment had been diverted to corporate or lay holders, or who were responsible for a new parish created by the division of an old, endowed parish). Curates assisted a rector or vicar in the care of the parish. Curacies were further divided into perpetual curates, who received an annual stipend from funds derived from the lay holder of an endowment; and stipendiary curates, who received a stipend from private benefactors, pew rents, voluntary donations, or a small portion of the rector's tithe. Newly ordained priests normally served at least a minimum of three years as an assistant curate as part of their formation.

\textsuperscript{217} Cutts, 323, specified the parish in which a candidate was normally resident.

\textsuperscript{218} As it was the prerogative of each bishop to determine the specific qualifications required of candidates presenting themselves for examination, there was no single reading list or curriculum to be mastered, although candidates were expected to be familiar with standard theological works. For example, Bishop Blomfield, translated to London in 1828, required candidates to have a "knowledge of Latin, of the New Testament in Greek, of the historical and prophetical parts of the Old Testament" as well as general theological knowledge. In the same period, the Bishop of Lincoln required thorough knowledge of the Greek Testament, the connections between sacred and secular history; as well as familiarity with Jewish antiquities, natural theology, the evidences of Christianity, and the doctrines of the Church of England. Bullock, 45-46, and 146-147. On the lack of rigor in the examinations, and the tendency for candidates to cram, see Crowther, 229.
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and began pastoral work in the parish as an assistant curate, under the supervision and
guidance of the incumbent. At the end of the first year, the deacon could make
application to the bishop for ordination to the priesthood, at which time the bishop would
require the candidate to provide evidence of his continued good moral character and
conduct, and success in pastoral work. The bishop also re-examined the candidate on
ecclesiastical and spiritual matters, as the last step prior to the deacon’s ordination to the
priesthood. The new priest then returned to the curacy for a period of not less than two
years. At that time, he was free to apply for another curacy, after obtaining further letters
of reference and the permission of his bishop.

The traditional process of the formation of candidates for the priesthood was dependent
on personal patronage and social connections, and nuanced by social class position. Each
stage in the process of ordination required letters of reference from beneficed clergymen.
The requirement of a university degree as a first step towards ordination excluded
working-class men and those of modest social standing. The stipend paid to most
curates was notoriously small, and curates without an independent source of income to
supplement the stipend were unlikely to be able to afford to establish themselves in an
independent household or hope to marry. The obsequious searching after patronage

219 One historian of the universities flatly stated “from 1850 to 1900 the poor boy of parts had no chance of
getting either to Oxford or to Cambridge unless he happened to be in a place towards which the Colleges
recognised a special duty or where the schools had been strong enough to hold to their time-honoured

220 The inadequate salaries paid to curates was believed to contribute to the mid-century decline in numbers
of candidates for Holy Orders. See Crowther, 219-221. As well, the rapid increase in population in towns
and cities in England in the nineteenth century strained the resources of the Church of England to provide
parodied in Anthony Trollope’s clerical novels was an all too familiar aspect of life for many curates seeking preferment in the Church of England.221

The formation of candidates for the priesthood also came under criticism and reform in the nineteenth century. Critics had repeatedly charged that candidates for ordination were insufficiently instructed in theology, and that the universities failed to provide adequate training for ordination.222 The Tractarians’ increased emphasis on the dignity and responsibility of the ministry, and their concomitant insistence on personal devotion, and the Evangelical emphasis on strong preaching focused further attention to the inadequacies of the formation of ordinands. New deacons often arrived in a parish shortly after leaving university, with only a brief period of private reading and study in preparation for the bishop’s examination.223 On-the-job training was dependent on the adequate pastoral care. Various schemes were established to establish new parishes in urban areas and provide or augment livings for clergy. For example, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, formed in 1836 by Bishop Blomfield of London, attempted to address the lack of endowed livings in populous areas by providing stipends for curates willing to engage in work in new parishes. See Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1895 (London: Horace Cox, 1895), unnumbered advertisements section, for a contemporary appeal for donations to the Society to enable the “Salvation of Souls in our own land” through the “maintenance of Curates and Lay-Agents and Women Workers in populous districts.” For a discussion of the Church of England’s inability to keep up with population growth, see Haig, 1-5.


222 For citations to specific complaints see, for example, Haig, 73. Bullock cites numerous pamphlets and reports published throughout the period to 1870 that proposed reforms to clerical education.

223 Some graduates spent several terms at university after graduation attending the lectures in the Faculty of Theology, while others boarded with a clergyman, who helped them to prepare for the examination. Other candidates, particularly those of modest means, returned to their homes and studied independently. As previously mentioned, because the examination was set by the bishop or his examining chaplains, and varied according to the individual preference of a bishop, there was no set reading list. A candidate might have very little time between obtaining a curacy and the bishop’s examination to prepare for the particular examination requirements. See Bullock, 147. As well, the idea of spiritual preparation for ordination was varied. John Sheepshanks, as Bishop of Norwich, notes that at the time of his ordination in the 1850s, candidates who had passed their examinations were not expected to spend the time before their ordination in meditation and prayer, as later became the custom. See D. Wallace Duthie, ed., A Bishop in the Rough (London: Smith, Elder, 1909), xix.
willingness and ability of the incumbent to spend time with the new deacon.\footnote{224} Some incumbents, like Walter Farquhar Hook of Leeds, were noted for the care and attention with which they selected curates and provided for their direction and supervision,\footnote{225} but overall, standards varied considerably, and an unlucky curate could find himself providing the majority of pastoral care for a parish with little support from the incumbent, and little ongoing training.

The establishment of theological colleges was one means by which concerns regarding the adequate preparation of candidates for ordination were addressed. The first two colleges, Chichester, established in 1839, and Wells, established in 1840, were attached to their cathedral closes, and provided candidates who had completed their university degrees with a year of intensive theological education in preparation for the bishop's examination.\footnote{226} Other dioceses, including Lichfield (1857), Salisbury (1861), Exeter (1861) and Gloucester (1868) soon followed.\footnote{227} Candidates usually were expected to attend daily Morning and Evening prayer, attend lectures, and pursue a course of reading.

\footnote{224}{See, for example, Mrs. Jerome Mercier, \textit{Father Pat: A Hero of the Far West}, 5th ed. (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1914), 12: "In former days a man proceeded straight from the university to ordination with the interim preparation only of reading for the Bishop's examination. He then at once took up work in school or parish, and it depended entirely on his Vicar or Rector whether he received any training for his sacred office that was worthy of the name. The wonder is that so many good clergymen were produced by such a course; for the gap between lay and clerical life is too great to be bridged over merely by work and daily experience; it needs the calm of retirement, well-directed study, constant and mutual prayer."

\footnote{225}{\textit{A Bishop in the Rough}, x-xi.}


\footnote{227}{Chadwick, \textit{The Victorian Church}, vol. 2, 382.}
The curriculum varied, but most of the colleges offered some training in homiletics and pastoral theology, and provided limited pastoral experience through parish visiting and Sunday school instruction. Cuddesdon College, formed in 1854, also intended for graduates, placed particular emphasis on spiritual development in preparation for ministry, by immersing candidates in a common life that included the recitation of the daily office and participation in daily Eucharist, as well as the usual theological studies and parochial training.\textsuperscript{228}

Limited opportunities for the training of non-graduate candidates had been offered from the early years of the century by the colleges established in the north, and on the periphery of the Church of England in dioceses that had difficulty in attracting and retaining clergy: St. David’s, Lampeter, in Wales; St. Bees, established in Cumbria in 1816; and St. Aidan’s, Birkenhead, established in 1846.\textsuperscript{229} Although candidates at the non-graduate colleges were expected to have some ability in Latin and Greek, the curriculum was designed to remedy educational deficiencies, as well as providing theological and pastoral education similar to that offered by graduate colleges.\textsuperscript{230} The non-graduate colleges offered the opportunity for candidates of modest means to enter Holy Orders, and provided in some cases a “second chance” for candidates who had

\textsuperscript{228} W. H. Hutton described the training at Cuddesdon as “an habituation to religious practices and thoughts;” quoted in Bullock, 95. From the outset, Cuddesdon explicitly trained candidates in the theology and practice of the Oxford Movement. As a result, it was looked on with extreme disfavour by some bishops, who thought it a hotbed of “popery” that encouraged overscrupulous attention to the niceties of ceremonial. See also John Shelton Reed, \textit{Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism} (Nashville and London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996), 98 for the distinctive Tractarian nature of Cuddesdon; and Crowther, 232, on the intentions of the founder of Cuddesdon, the Bishop of Oxford, William Wilberforce.

\textsuperscript{229} See Haig, chapter 3, “The Training of Non-Graduate Clergy.”

\textsuperscript{230} Crowther, 233.
failed to complete their university degrees.

Not all bishops were prepared to accept candidates who had been educated at the theological colleges, particularly non-graduates. Critics accused the colleges of providing a “narrow” education, and of fostering partisan church allegiances. Evangelicals were highly suspicious of the spiritual formation practices of colleges like Cuddesdon, and argued that the theological colleges generally encouraged candidates to adopt Tractarian beliefs and practices. As a countermeasure, theological colleges formed on explicitly Evangelical lines were established at Oxford (Wycliffe Hall, founded in 1877) and Cambridge (Ridley Hall, founded 1880).

The great bastion of Evangelical orthodoxy, however, was the college founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1825 to train missionaries for the Society’s work in foreign countries among the “heathen.” As the Society expanded its work in Africa, Asia, Australasia and British North America, it needed a steady supply of missionary recruits, yet few university-educated ordained clergy volunteered to take up the work. The Society was able to expand its applicant pool by accepting young men from the lower middle and artisan classes, and providing them with the education necessary for ordination at the Church Missionary College at Islington.

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231 Haig, 137. For example, according to Haig, the Bishop of Ely in 1872 stated that he would only accept candidates from Oxford, Cambridge, or Durham, while the Bishop of Bath and Wells would accept non-university graduates only from the theological college attached to the cathedral at Wells. See also Bullock, 89-92 for the objections by some of the bishops to theological colleges, and for the link that the bishops made between the colleges and Tractarianism.

232 The Society clearly differentiated between different classes of applicants. As Eugene Stock explained, “While men educated independently at the Universities, and then coming forward for missionary work, should be earnestly sought for, it was desirable, in the case of men of humbler station requiring to be trained at the Society’s expense, that they should be under the more immediate supervision of the Society’s representatives.” See The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work, vol. 1 (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 244. A small number of men were also accepted for training as lay missionaries at the CMS Training College for School Masters at Highbury, but the CMS
As one of the official publications of the Society explained in an 1867 article:

Forasmuch as at present there are so few men, educated at their own expense, who are willing to serve the Lord in the Mission field, Missionary Training Institutions are of imperative necessity....There are many devoted young men who have tasted of God’s love in Christ, and in whose hearts there has been awakened a desire to go forth and preach the Gospel to the heathen....They possess one important qualification - a preference for Missionary work. Nevertheless, in other respects they are deficient, for, comparatively, they are uneducated, and have no resources of their own wherewith to become otherwise. It would be a great pity were such men lost to the cause of Missions; but Training Institutions, presenting themselves opportune, afford to them the help they need; and, in viewing them in this light, we cannot but regard such Institutions as an important link in the chain of providential arrangements, whereby men are called forth to Missionary work.\(^{233}\)

Although the Society was careful to discourage applicants who sought to better themselves materially and improve their social position,\(^{234}\) missionary work became the means by which lower middle and artisan class candidates unable or ineligible to attend university could advance to ordination, and thus social elevation, for as one bishop explained, men of humble birth who had been enlisted into the ministry automatically joined the ranks of gentlemen upon ordination.\(^{235}\)

The Society required applicants to complete detailed questionnaires, provide comprehensive references that would attest to the candidate’s moral character and


\(^{234}\) “No doubt it is within the range of possibility that an individual might be led to seek admission into such Institutions, not from a desire to become an evangelist to the heathen, but to improve his social position.... It is quite possible, that in offering himself for Missionary work, a man may not perceive how much he is influenced by secular motives; but his obliquity in this respect, as he passes through the course of instruction, will not fail to be laid bare to him, and he will be either amended or removed.” Ibid, 262.

\(^{235}\) The Bishop of Winchester, E. H. Browne, the Chronicles of the Convocation of Canterbury, 1887, quoted in Haig, 145.
Christian faith, and provide evidence of sound health, before submitting to long personal interviews.\textsuperscript{236} The Society rejected about seventy percent of applicants, only selecting those who showed promise of intellectual attainment, zeal, and the will to overcome any deficiencies in their education.\textsuperscript{237} A preparatory institution was established to provide candidates who lacked the education to enter the Church Missionary College (also known as the CM College, or Islington) directly with coaching in preparation for the entrance examinations.\textsuperscript{238} The normal “long” course at the CM College for candidates for ordination with no higher educational background was three years. The long course furnished candidates with a general English education, at the same time that their spiritual development was carefully fostered. The Society insisted that the long course was the equivalent of the education given in preparation for ordination to the home ministry,\textsuperscript{239} and was proud of the showing of CM College students in the Preliminary Theological Examinations.\textsuperscript{240} The “short course,” consisted of four terms of training in practical skills for lay missionaries, including training in carpentry, metalwork, and printing press

\begin{footnotes}
\item[236] Stock, vol. 3, 702.
\item[237] Williams, 306. Stock, vol. 3, 702, notes that many applicants “received a kind letter suggesting that the applicant is evidently better fitted for home service in the Lord’s army than for foreign service.”
\item[238] Stock, vol. 3, 703.
\item[239] Williams, 309; Stock, vol. 1, 266.
\item[240] The Preliminary Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders, also known as the Preliminary Theological Examinations were first held in 1874, and were recognised from the outset by both the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as well as by about half of the bishops in dioceses in England, and helped to gain recognition for students from non-graduate theological colleges. See Bullock, 124-125. The Church Missionary Society’s Register of Missionaries (Clerical, Lay and Female), and Native Clergy From 1804 to 1904, printed for private circulation, carefully notes the standing (1st class or 2nd class) of the Society’s missionaries who successfully sat the Preliminary Theological Examination. As well, the results of the examinations were published in the monthly news column of the Church Missionary Intelligencer. Stock, vol. 3, 703, notes that of eighty CM College students who sat the exam between 1884 and 1896, fifty obtained first class standing, twenty-two a second, seven a third, and one failed.
\end{footnotes}
technology. Both the long course and short course students received basic medical, surgical and pharmacological training in preparation for the mission field.\textsuperscript{241} The College also accepted university graduates and medical doctors for a year long course in theology in preparation for the bishop’s examinations.

The need for trained missionaries for the colonies was also recognised by the Church of England as a whole. In the 1840s, the Bishop of Australia, William Grant Broughton, repeatedly made public appeals for trained clergy to work among immigrants to Australia. Broughton was supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and initially supported his idea of a missionary training college in Australia for volunteers from England planning to serve there. When no applicants came forward, Broughton instead proposed the idea of a training college in England that would supply the colonial mission field with ordinands.\textsuperscript{242} In response, St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury, opened in 1848 with the full support of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and several prominent bishops.\textsuperscript{243} St. Augustine’s College was designed to educate “faithful representatives of the English Church and well instructed ‘Ministers of Christ’s Word and Sacraments’ in far-off lands.” and maintained close ties with the SPG, providing the Society with a steady stream of ordinands for missionary service.\textsuperscript{244} The course of study was modelled on undergraduate theological education, with the addition of homiletics,

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\item Stock, vol. 3, 703.
\item Bullock, 87.
\item G. F. Maclear, \textit{S. Augustine’s, Canterbury: Its Rise, Ruin, and Restoration} (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1888), 57. See also Stock, 265, who states that “in the case of the SPG, St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury, has, since its foundation in 1848, been a chief source of supply [of missionaries].”
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
pastoral theology, and an eighteen-month medical course. Like the Church Missionary College, St. Augustine’s College also provided practical technical and trades instruction that would be of use to missionaries in the field, and offered students the chance to learn to run a printing press.

Women were directly sponsored by the Church Missionary Society beginning in 1887. Before that, only unmarried women who took on educational work with girls, or the sisters of missionaries who took up work in conjunction with their male relatives’ mission received limited support from the Society. The wives of missionaries sponsored by the CMS were generally acknowledged by the Society as their husband’s missionary partners, who furthered the work of the mission, particularly among women and children, but were not independently supported, unless they were widowed and stayed on in the specific missionary field where their husband had been stationed. After 1887, unmarried women were supported in increasing numbers by the CMS. Most were sent to work particularly with women and children in educational and medical missions. Missionary training for women candidates of independent means and previous education was provided by two private training institutions, The Willows, and The Olives. The CMS also set up the Highbury Home in 1891, for the “less-educated class of young women, the expense of whose training the Society has to bear.” In addition, some of the women

245 After 1874, students were encouraged to sit the Preliminary Theological Examination, and the College proudly reported that “of 100 students who have presented themselves at this examination since 1878, 38 have been placed in the first class, 44 in the second, and 18 in the third.” Maclear, 58.

246 Ibid., footnote, 59.


missionaries had completed medical or nursing education before entering the private training institutions. Of course, all of the women missionaries were lay, as no women in this period were accepted by the Church of England for ordination to the priesthood, although the revival of Anglican religious orders, and the creation of the order of deaconesses, who were “set apart” for religious work, stimulated discussion about the doctrine of female subordination and religious vocation.249

The alternate routes to ordination in the Church of England provided by non-university institutions were seen by many as second-rate at best, and were believed to attract second-rate candidates who had neither the means nor the education to attend the universities. The strong preference of most bishops was for candidates who were university graduates. In the Preface to Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1880,250 the anonymous editor noted that nearly eighty percent of the clergy of the Church of England were graduates of the universities: seventy percent from Cambridge and Oxford, with a further seven percent from Dublin and three percent from Durham. The other twenty percent were either graduates of Theological Colleges,251 or “literates,” that is clergy who

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250 “Preface,” Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1880, 12th issue (London: Horace Cox, 1880), viii. Of course these figures represent the total number of Church of England clergy in 1880, many of whom were ordained before the institution of the theological colleges. However, in the twenty years before the Crockford’s statistics were published, the proportion of university to non-university graduates among those ordained to the diaconate fluctuated only slightly, from 76.6% university, 23.4% non-university in 1860, to 70.4% university, 29.6% non-university in 1874. See Bullock, 100.

251 The “Preface” further notes that if a clergymen had both graduated from one of the universities and then attended a theological college before ordination, Crockford’s listed the university only. Thus of the 23,612 clergy listed in the 1878 edition of Crockford’s (from which the analysis was based) 17% had attended a theological college only.
were admitted to Holy Orders without a university degree. This preference for university graduates was further complicated by the controversies within the Church of England as the Oxford Movement took root in the years following the publication of Tracts for the Times. St. Augustine's, Canterbury and other missionary colleges (St. Boniface, Warminster, established in 1860 and St. Stephen's House, Oxford, established in 1876) were frequently charged with promoting Tractarian theology, as were the early theological colleges, and branded candidates as subscribing to a particular narrow "churchmanship" that many bishops found unacceptable.

Where a candidate had been educated and prepared for ordination often influenced if not determined the ordination process. Before a candidate could advance to ordination to the diaconate, a "title," that is, a curacy or chaplaincy had to be secured. The candidate was then ordained by the bishop of the diocese in which the curacy would be served. In other words, while clergy were ordained to the Church of England, their appointments were to a specific diocese, under the oversight and supervision of the bishop of that diocese, and from whom they held a licence to preach and to administer the sacraments. Candidates who were planning to proceed directly to a mission field within an organised colonial diocese could be sent as lay missionaries and ordained upon arrival by the bishop. Others obtained a title within a diocese in England, and served a curacy before

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252 ODCC, 986. 1,640, or approximately 3% of the clergy in the 1880 Crockford's list were literates - most would have attended the various missionary colleges, which are not named in the statistical breakdown.

253 As Dowland, notes, in the early years non-graduate colleges were often thinly staffed, isolated, with limited resources and underfinanced. As well, the charges of "narrowness" levelled against the non-graduate colleges were often based on the difficulties that could arise in a small institution with a strongly opinioned principal. See Dowland, 199, 202.

entering the service of a missionary society. However, in many cases, particularly for those trained at the Church Missionary Society's College, candidates were ordained by the Bishop of London, who was empowered to ordain for "His Majesty's colonies, or foreign possessions" by the Colonial Service Act, enacted by Parliament in 1819. Those ordained under the Colonial Service Act, however, were restricted to colonial service: a candidate ordained by the Bishop of London for the colonies was not entitled to apply for a curacy or incumbency in England, without explicit permission. Thus the sharp distinction drawn between university and non-university educated ordinands was further stratified by distinctions between "regular" ordinations and "colonial" ordinations, effectively placing candidates from the missionary colleges who were ordained by the Bishop of London for the colonies at the bottom of the clerical hierarchy.

**Educational Patterns of Anglican Missionary Clergy in British Columbia**

As a colonial bishop in a newly-created diocese, George Hills was reliant primarily on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society to recruit and fund missionaries for British Columbia, and to a lesser degree, on money raised for the Columbia Mission Society. Before he first left England in 1859, Hills had engaged in a program of speaking engagements to raise public awareness of and support for the British Columbia missions and the need for missionaries, a pattern that he would repeat on subsequent visits home. His direct pleas for missionaries were also frequently included in published reports of the Columbia Mission Society in order to stimulate interest in missionary work in the diocese among the clergy in England. Personal contact

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255 Ibid.
and printed requests resulted in some direct applications to the diocese from willing
volunteers. However, most of the missionaries were selected from applicants to the two
societies, and from experienced missionaries who had previously served in other mission
fields under the SPG or the CMS.256

Ninety-five men, and twelve women were sponsored by missionary societies of the
Church of England and served in British Columbia between 1856 and 1900 (see appendix
5 for full biographical and educational information on Anglican missionaries). Of the
ninety-five men, twenty-six were sponsored by the Church Missionary Society, sixty-
three by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, two by both the CMS and the
SPG, one by the Colonial and Continental Church Society, one by the Hudson’s Bay
Company and the SPG, one by the New England Company, and one was self-sponsored.
Six of the men were lay catechists and teachers, two were lay medical missionaries, while
the other eighty-seven were ordained in the Church of England. The twelve women were
all sponsored by the CMS, and all were lay missionaries.257

The education that the men had received fell into the broad pattern identified by the
1880 Crockford statistics: those who held degrees from the universities, those who
attended theological colleges, and those who were literates. However, there were

256 Hills, however, was not convinced that direct recruiting was effective. See his comments on “Supply of
Clergy,” in his diary entry for April 14, 1866, typescript transcript of manuscript original, George Hills
papers, Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia (hereafter George Hills diaries).
“Rarely is an applicant worth securing. The best men - indeed the good men do not offer themselves.”
However, see also Hills on Charles Baskett, January 15, 1876, “He seems an earnest practical young man,
trained under the Rev. G. H. Wilkinson of St. Peters Eaton Square. Such a one as he seems to be is an
answer to such Prayers as the Days of Intercession for Missions has led to.”

257 For the history of women missionaries within the CMS, see Jocelyn Murray, “The Role of Women in
the Church Missionary Society, 1799-1917,” in The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-
1999, ed. Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley, 66-90 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans; Richmond,
Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 2000). (Note that in 1995, the CMS changed its name to the Church Mission
Society.)
significant differences between the pattern of education of Church of England clergy overall (eighty percent with university degrees, seventeen percent from theological colleges and three percent literates), and the group who served as missionaries in British Columbia, who had a greater range and diversity of educational experiences and paths to ordination than the English norm. Thirty-nine percent of missionaries in British Columbia had attended university and held one or more earned degrees, twenty-one percent had attended a theological college, or had equivalent non-university degrees, and thirty-three percent were literates, while seven percent had no recorded formal education (see appendix 7).

The significant proportion of literates, that is, Anglican clergy who had been educated outside the universities and theological colleges, reflects the number of missionaries who came to British Columbia from the missionary colleges. CMS-sponsored missionaries formed the largest group of literates. Only four of the twenty-six CMS-sponsored missionaries (15%) had attended university and held an earned degree. Five (19%) had either medical qualifications or had attended university without receiving a degree, while the other seventeen (66%) had attended the Church Missionary College, Islington, or the various preparatory institutes and training colleges for schoolmasters. By comparison, twenty-eight (44%) of the sixty-three SPG-sponsored missionaries had attended university and held an earned degree; thirteen (21%) had attended theological colleges, had medical qualifications, or had attended university without receiving a degree; and fifteen (24%) had army training only, or had attended training institutions or missionary colleges.

The five Anglican clergy for whom no information on education was included in
Crockford’s were ordained in British Columbia. In 1866, Bishop Hills had complained in his diary of the difficulty of finding suitable clergy. He cited the opinion of Henry Press Wright, the Archdeacon of Vancouver, that the diocese would have to “be content with literates and persons of lower birth.” Hills believed, however, that sufficient clergy could be found in England if the applicant pool for ordination was expanded. In Hills’ opinion:

There is plenty of material in England for supplying the home and Colonial Ministry. There are multitudes of youths, sons of the same class from which the ministry is now drawn, who would go on from the Grammar schools to the University if the means were provided. These youths — sons of Clergy, half pay officers and others — now go into offices as clerks where the utmost they can expect to reach after many years is an income of 200£ or 300£. Open the door of the University education to these and great will be the supply of a superior sort.

It seems likely that the clergy ordained in British Columbia whose education was not a matter of public record were drawn from the category that Hills identified, those educated at grammar schools in England, capable of passing the bishop’s examinations in Greek and Latin, but lacking a university degree.

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258 The five were Jordayne Cave-Brown-Cave; Henry Swift Newton; Henry Burnard Owen; Alfred Harold Sheldon; and Jules Xavier Willemar. Hills’ diary, July 30, 1867, notes that Owen, who had arrived with his wife from England as a lay missionary for Metlakatla, was the son of a “London clergyman.” This is one of the few instances of Hills explicitly noting the family background or connections of a candidate for ordination. See George Hills, manuscript diary for Aug 6, 1866 to Dec. 25, 1868, AEPBC. Willemar, who was received into the Church of England in 1868, was a Roman Catholic priest in the order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and may have been educated at Maynooth College in Ireland.

259 George Hills, diary entry for April 14, 1866.

260 Cave seems to have come from a clerical family: there were successive generations of Cave-Brown-Caves listed in Crockford’s and the university alumni records. According to the personnel records of the SPG, Jordayne Cave-Brown-Cave was educated at Repton, and thus would have been able to pass the necessary language examinations, although Hills noted that Cave’s examinations were barely adequate: “Mr. Cave passed a barely sufficient examination for a missionary Deacon. I explained that I could not hold out the prospect of a higher step in the [church] unless he was far better instructed than at present. I have had difficulty in deciding about him on other grounds. I have however consulted the Dean, Mr. Good, Mr. Jenns as well as his [?] and all agree that he might be admitted to the Diaconate. Mr. Good with whom he had lived . . . [said] he was most uncertain and refused to sign his testimonials but expressed his earnest wish that he be ordained. . . . He has been a catechist for several years.” See George Hills, diary entry for March
The increasingly spatialised division of missions in British Columbia between missions to Native peoples and missions to European settlers corresponded to the division of the diocese between the two funding societies. The CMS missions in the north, were established explicitly to convert the “heathen,” while the SPG missions in the south, whose intertwined ministry to both Native peoples and colonial settlers caused some misunderstanding with the Society in England, were primarily charged with recreating the Church of England on foreign soil. The social differences between missionaries of the exclusively Evangelical CMS and the SPG, which was at least sympathetic to Tractarians, is reproduced in the divergent educational patterns of the two groups of missionaries. The CMS missionaries in British Columbia were predominantly men of artisan and lower-middle class backgrounds, educated at the various CMS training institutions, who had gained a measure of social respectability through their enrollment in missionary work. Mission work afforded them the opportunity for education and ordination despite their lack of a university education, which would not have been a possibility if they had aspired to a curacy in England. The SPG missionaries, by comparison, were more diverse in background and educational attainment. A substantial proportion of SPG sponsored missionaries were the university-educated sons of

17, 1867, manuscript original of diary. Hills’ indecision about ordaining Cave to the diaconate was repeated the following year when issues of class status and morality were raised before Cave’s ordination to the priesthood. It was brought to Hills’ attention that before Cave was employed by a catechist, he had worked “in a menial occupation in connection with a saloon in New Westminster.” However, Hills noted that “With respect to these charges it is clear that he did nothing which involved a stain upon his character. He took work in those days wherever he could get it for the sake of a [living] and was only to be praised for so doing....Archdeacon Woods told me he had asked everyone who had any thing to say if there was anything against his moral character. They all say no. Mr. Bushby, Mr. C. Good, Mr. Trutch and many others of our best laity consider Mr. Cave to have been unjustly charged. I put it to both the Archdeacons today to say whether in their opinion he should be admitted to the priesthood and they assented without hesitation.” See George Hills, diary entry for September 19, 1868, manuscript original of diary.
gentlemen and men of property, and had served at least one curacy in England before volunteering for work in British Columbia. They were better established within the networks of patronage and clerical hierarchy, and returned to England at the end of their missionary service in British Columbia, as they had been ordained without the limiting “for colonies” qualifier. Other SPG missionaries had prepared for ordination at one of the theological colleges or at St. Augustine’s, Canterbury, and while of more modest means, were more closely tied to the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church of England than were their CMS counterparts. A brief exploration of the educational patterns and career trajectories of two missionaries in British Columbia may tease out the role that educational formation played in Anglican clerical and missionary careers.

John Sheepshanks was the son of the Reverend Thomas Sheepshanks, rector of St. John’s, Coventry. Sheepshanks was educated at Coventry Grammar School, and at Christ’s College, Cambridge. He obtained a second class in the Theological Tripos, and was granted a B.A. in 1856, and an M.A. in 1859. He was ordained to the diaconate in 1857 and to the priesthood in 1858 by the Bishop of Ripon, and served his curacy at St. Peter’s, Leeds. In 1859, he was selected by the SPG as one of the first missionaries to serve in the newly created Diocese of Columbia. He ministered to the emigrant community in the colonial capital of New Westminster, becoming the first rector of Holy Trinity. Sheepshanks was also appointed chaplain to Bishop Hills, whom he accompanied into the Cariboo on missionary visits to the gold miners. Sheepshanks developed some fluency in Chinook, preaching to groups of Native peoples on his tours into the Interior. He spent an extended period of time in England between 1864 and 1866, raising funds for his parish and the diocese, returning briefly to British Columbia before resigning in 1867.
His subsequent career in England culminated in his consecration as Bishop of Norwich in 1893.

William Henry Collison was educated at the Church of Ireland Training College in Dublin, and was appointed schoolmaster of an industrial school in Cork. In 1872 he read of the Church Missionary Society’s need for missionaries, and volunteered. After a brief period of training at the Church Missionary College, Islington, he was sent as a lay missionary to the CMS North Pacific Mission, serving first at Metlakatla and then on the Queen Charlotte Islands. In 1878, he was ordained to the diaconate and priesthood by the Bishop of Athabasca, William Carpenter Bompas, after passing a satisfactory examination. Collison and family moved to Kincolith at the mouth of the Nass River in

261 Collison’s ordination must be understood within the broader context of the Hills-Cridge, Hills-Duncan controversy. Collison indicated to the CMS in August, 1874 that he had corresponded with Hills regarding his ordination, but that Hills would not be visiting Metlakatla that season. See Collison to CMS Secretaries, August 25, 1874, C.1/M9, Mission Books, Copies of Letters - Incoming, 1874-1875, CMS papers, microfilm reel A-81, NAC. In February, 1875 Collison was still expecting to be ordained by Hills, and was prepared “to act according to your instructions and for the best interests of the mission.” See Collison to CMS Secretaries, February 12, 1875, ibid. Hills was determined that a missionary ordained to the priesthood should be stationed at Metlakatla: “The Mission should be strengthened at once by a missionary in priest’s orders, for the Holy Communion is unknown in a Mission where there ought to be not less than 100 communicants in constant attendance.” See Hills to the Rev. H. Wright, February 28, 1876, ibid. However, a month later, Duncan sent Hills a letter, refusing to allow him to come to Metlakatla until Hills and Cridge were reconciled. See The Christians of Metlakahtla to Bishop Hills, March 27, 1876, C.2/0, Original Letters, Journals, papers - Incoming, 1857-1880, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-106, NAC. Hills recognised that Duncan would be unwilling to continue to work with a priest ordained by him, and thus seen to be sympathetic, and suggested that Bishop Bompas might visit Metlakatla, “and as an old CMS missionary set in order things that are wanting, with a prospect through God’s blessing of imparting fresh strength and encouragement to the work.” Bompas travelled to Metlakatla overland from Athabasca in the late fall, 1877, and spent the winter at Metlakatla. See Hills to the Rev. H. Wright, February 28, 1876, C.1/M10, Mission Books, Copies of Letters - Incoming, 1875-1876, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-81, NAC. See also H. A. Cody, An Apostle of the North: Memoirs of the Right Reverend William Carpenter Bompas, D.D., First Bishop of Athabasca, 1874-1884, First Bishop of Mackenzie River 1884-1891, First Bishop of Selkirk (Yukon), 1891-1906, by H. A. Cody, B.A., Rector of Christ Church, Whitehorse, Y.T., Canada, with an introduction by the Most Rev. S. P. Matheson, D.D., Archbishop of Rupert’s Land (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited; London: Seeley and Co. Limited, [1908]), 190.

262 Collison was ordained deacon on March 17, and priest on March 24, by Bompas for Hills. Collison described his week-long examination by Bompas in his autobiography, In the Wake of the War Canoe: A Stirring Record of Forty Years’ Successful Labour, Peril and Adventure Amongst the Savage Indian Tribes of the Pacific Coast, and the Piratical Head-Hunting Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C.
1884, where he spent the rest of his life. Collison’s long years of faithful service to the Diocese of Caledonia were recognised in 1891, when he was named the first archdeacon of Metlakatla. At his death in 1922, Collison was the longest serving CMS missionary on the North Pacific mission, and the only one still in the direct pay of the Society.

These two brief clerical biographies suggest the way that education, social class, and career path intertwined in the lives of Anglican clergy. As the well-educated and well-connected son of a clergyman, Sheepshanks’ career followed a fairly predictable path from first curacy to appointment as a perpetual curate in Liverpool, and then to the episcopacy. He volunteered for missionary service in British Columbia in part because of his friendship with the Rev. Robert Dundas, who had served a curacy at St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth under George Hills, and who also had volunteered to come to the new diocese. His time in British Columbia as an SPG-sponsored missionary followed directly after his first curacy, and provided him with the opportunity to gain direct parish administrative experience much earlier in his clerical career than if he had stayed in England.

Sheepshanks’ autobiographical notes and the reports of his work published in the Columbia Mission Society annual reports make reference to his own sense of identity as a

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(Toronto: The Musson Book Company, [1916?]), 159, “He must have found my Latin and Greek rather rusty, as I had read but little of either since leaving the examination halls of my Alma Mater. An examination in the Tsimshian and Haida languages would have been more in line with my work just then.” Bompas praised Collison to the CMS: “I feel great confidence in Collison and have derived much pleasure from my intercourse with him. He has passed a highly satisfactory examination, and I trust his ordination will be ratified in heaven.” See Bompas to the CMS Secretaries, March 22, 1878, C.2/0, Original Letters, Journals, papers - Incoming, 1884-1900, Appendix E - Correspondence, CMS papers, microfilm reel A-124, NAC. It is, perhaps worth noting that the CMS Candidates Register, the manuscript register of applicants to become missionaries, noted that Collison had “Fair knowledge of Greek & Latin.” (CMS archives, Special Collections, University of Birmingham. Information sent via email from Philippa Bassett, Archivist, Special Collections, University of Birmingham)

Cambridge graduate, and of his recognition of others with a similar educational background, no matter how changed their circumstances were after living rough on a mining claim. He refers to his own reading practices as a sign of being civilised in an uncivilised environment, and a marker of his continued participation in the print culture of the university. Describing his log hut in New Westminster, Sheepshanks states:

I have a wooden ‘bunk’ for my bed, and can sit on the bunk and open the window, and shut the door, poke the fire in the stove, and get down anything from off the shelf without moving from the bunk. I have opened my big boxes and taken out some of my theological books, so that I have plenty of food for the mind.

In the absence of libraries in the colony, Sheepshanks drew on the books that he brought with him from England for entertainment and study.

By contrast, William Henry Collison had a more modest educational background, and would have fallen into the class of clergy ordained as "literates," that is, without a university or theological college education. Nothing is known of his early life or family background, but he must have had access to some training in the classics, as his language skills in Greek and Latin were considered worthy of note both by the CMS selection committee, and by Bishop Bompas.

Collison came to British Columbia as a lay missionary. The early years of his missionary service were spent negotiating the extremely difficult partisan climate of

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264 See, for example, Duthie, 88-89, “You will be interested in hearing how singularly one sometimes runs up against University men. Last year, when going down country, [Christopher] Knipe and I stopped at a wayside house, a wretched hovel, where the only food that we could get was American beans and bread. A young man with a wild head of hair, who as we entered was employed in baking a loaf of bread on the hearth, welcomed us courteously....He was the landlord, and did, I fancy, all the work, and was a Cambridge Senior Optime.”

265 Quoted in Duthie, 19. As editor, Duthie made extensive use of directly quoted extracts from Sheepshanks’ diaries and letters, producing a work that is a hybrid of biography and autobiography.

266 See, for example, reference to Sheepshanks’ habit of reading at night. Duthie, 33, and 78.
Metlakatla, and his letters to the CMS provide evidence of his tact and patience, as well as his commitment to the Society. His evident facility with languages was used in his work as missionary to the Tsimshian, Haida and Nisga’a peoples, and in his translation work in all three Native languages. The particular value that Collison placed on education can be seen not in his autobiography, which focuses on his mission work rather than on personal detail, but in his attempts to provide an education for his children. His applications to the CMS for furlough in England coincided with him taking his two oldest sons to receive formal education, and he gave considerable attention to ensuring that his children’s ability to enter a profession would not be completely hindered by growing up in an extremely isolated community.267

While many of the SPG missionaries returned to England after a set period of time, the CMS missionaries, particularly those ordained for colonial service, often remained in British Columbia for their entire working careers, returning to England only at retirement. Collison was part of the smaller group who chose to stay in British Columbia, perhaps because several of his children had also entered missionary work in the province. The career trajectory that Sheepshanks followed was not available to Collison and the other CMS missionaries, whose lack of university education was generally a barrier to

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267 The oldest Collison son, William Edwin, left British Columbia in 1887 to attend school in Ireland, followed by training at the Church of Ireland Training College at Rathmines in Ireland and a short course in medicine. He was ordained by the Bishop of Caledonia, and served as a CMS missionary in local connection at Massett. The second son, Henry Alexander, attended the CMS school for the sons and daughters of the clergy at Limpsfield, and then was sent to the Church of Ireland Training College. He received a B.A. from Trinity College, Dublin, and theological training at Ridley Hall, Cambridge, before his ordination by the Bishop of London. He served briefly as a CMS missionary in local connection in British Columbia. Herbert Thomas, the fourth son, attended St. Michael’s, Tunbridge Wells before training as a sailor. The youngest son, Arthur James, was educated first by his father, and then at the University School, Victoria. Elsie Marion, the second daughter, trained as nurse in England.
preferment in an endowed parish in England.268

**Education and Training for Ministry in The Methodist Church**

The pattern of education and training for ministry in the Methodist Church in Canada was significantly different from the formal educational requirements of the Church of England. Methodists placed primary emphasis on the personal, experiential faith of those called to be ordained ministers, rather than on formation through professional education, and recognised the ministry of lay people to a much greater degree than was provided for in the Church of England.269

The corporate religious experience of Methodists was structured through what was known as the “social means of grace.”270 Members met regularly for public worship, which consisted of the singing of hymns, prayers, Bible readings and preaching. Members also met for communion, and for the distinctive Methodist worship services: the love-feast and the watch-night. As well, members were encouraged to join a class meeting, a small group who met for prayer, self-examination and spiritual growth under the guidance of a lay class leader. These class meetings were a distinctive feature of Methodism and played a critical role in the formation of Methodist converts. Class meetings also served a disciplinary function, as regular attendance at class meetings was a condition of membership in the church. Each member of a class meeting was examined

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268 Although it should be noted that lack of a university education was less of an impediment to some of the very long-serving CMS missionaries who successfully obtained positions in rural parishes in England upon their retirement from active missionary service in British Columbia.


270 See Chapter Three, “Means of Grace,” *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church of Canada* (Toronto: Samuel Rose, 1874). The *Doctrines* was revised numerous times, but was based on Wesley’s own rules for the Society of the People Called Methodists.
quarterly by the minister of that circuit, who controlled the distribution of the membership tickets. 271

The role of the class leader was particularly important, as the leader was charged with encouraging and exhorting the weaker members, and disciplining those who strayed, as well as carrying out pastoral visits and assisting in the administration of the circuit. 272

Class leaders had a publicly recognised ministry, and were carefully chosen from amongst the members. For some, appointment as class leader was the first step towards an ordained ministry, and was a recognition of particular ability from within the small class meeting and by the wider circuit.

The lay ministry of exhortation and preaching was also valued by the Methodists. Exhorters were members who assisted a preacher in the work of convincing listeners to repent of their sins and commit themselves to God by offering personal testimonial and witness of the efficacy of conversion in their own lives. 273 Class leaders and exhorters

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271 For a clear description of the role of class meetings, see Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855 (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), 8-9.

272 The Nature, Design and General Rules of the United Societies, published in 1743, articulate the duties of the class leader. “1) To see each person in his class once a week at least, in order to inquire how their souls prosper; to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require; to receive what they are willing to give toward the relief of the poor. 2) To meet the Minister and the Stewards of the society once a week; in order to inform the Minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly, and will not be reproved; to pay the Stewards what they have received of their several classes in the week preceding; and to show their account of what each person has contributed,” reprinted in A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, vol. 4 (London: Epworth Press, 1988), 60. See also The Twelve Rules of a Helper, first published in 1744 and revised in 1753, reprinted in A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, vol. 4, 116-119. Neil Semple, in The Lord’s Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 228-232 notes that the enthusiasm for the compulsory class meeting system gradually eroded throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, as Methodists debated the conditions of membership and the place of the Methodist church in the emerging urban society of central Canada. However, the class meeting remained in the Doctrines and Discipline until 1925, and were promoted by some missionaries as an important means of preventing backsliding among converts.

273 For the role of exhorters in the Methodist Church under Wesley, see Semple, 21.
who showed particular skill at preaching were often encouraged by their circuit to become lay preachers. Lay preachers were licenced by the Quarterly Official Board of a particular circuit to preach, perform pastoral duties (except those exclusive to the ordained ministry), and tend to the spiritual well-being of the members, while remaining in their secular vocation. Applicants were asked to testify to their own religious experience and faith, and belief in the doctrines of Methodism, and were expected to attend class meetings regularly. Lay preachers were integral to many missionary districts, where an itinerating ordained minister might have on his circuit several small or remote preaching points that could only be visited infrequently or seasonally. Thus lay preachers, who were members of a local class meeting, were able to provide regular worship services and pastoral support to remote communities on a circuit between the visits of the ordained minister. For a young man who was contemplating the possibility of offering himself as a candidate for the ordained ministry, the office of lay preacher provided the opportunity to develop preaching and pastoral skills, and demonstrate to the circuit that he was serious and committed in his faith.

The progression of a candidate for the ordained ministry was clearly laid out in *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church of Canada*. Candidates first presented themselves to the Quarterly Official Board of the circuit in which they resided, and answered a set of three questions originally articulated by Wesley, that were designed to inquire about three “marks” of those who were called to preach: “the love of God abiding in them” or personal faith and holiness; the possession of “gifts as well as grace,” defined

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274 See Semple, 237.

275 *Doctrines and Discipline*, chapter 1, section 7, “Of Local Preachers and Their Meetings.”
as "a right judgment in the things of God" and the ability to speak justly, readily and clearly; and "fruit," or evidence of gifts and grace through the ability to convert others to God. Only applicants who could successfully answer all three questions were considered to be called to preach. As well, the candidate would have to demonstrate evidence of sufficient educational attainment to ensure the ability to complete the required course of study. The level of formal education required of a candidate increased throughout the second half of the nineteenth century from public school education to secondary-school education, to matriculation or equivalent equal to admission standards at Mount Allison or Victoria College.

In order to answer the questions about faith and holiness, candidates were often expected to prepare a sort of spiritual biography that described the process of their own conversion and growth in faith. They needed to be in sufficiently good health to reassure the examiners that they were capable of the rigors of itinerating, and were expected to conform to Methodist norms of behaviour by their positive assertion that they did not "take snuff, tobacco, or drams." Candidates were not accepted if they were in debt, unless they could assure the examiners that the debt was honourable. Candidates

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276 John Wesley’s questions for itinerant preachers, quoted in French, 9. See also the Doctrines and Discipline, chapter 2, section 1, “The Examination of Those Who Think They Are Moved By the Holy Ghost To Preach.” Lay preachers were expected to manifest the same marks of grace.

277 Semple, 255. However, it is apparent that the standards for educational attainment were modified in the British Columbia Conference, and that candidates continued to be accepted with more modest educational backgrounds.

278 For an example of a spiritual biography, see the autobiographical narrative of Charles Ladner, vertical files, British Columbia Conference Archives, United Church of Canada, Vancouver (hereafter UCCBC). The specific form of the spiritual biography was often patterned after Wesley’s own writings, and followed a predictable narrative of sinfulness, awakening, conversion, backsliding or doubts, full assurance of grace.

279 Wesley’s 1743 Rules explicitly prohibited “borrowing without a probability of paying; or taking up
also were not normally accepted if they were engaged or married, although an occasional exception was made for older candidates who came late to the ministry after another career.  

Proof of a candidate’s “gifts as well as grace” and “fruits” were evidenced by prior success in exhorting and preaching. The chairman of a district was given permission by the Stationing Committee of Conference to employ lay agents, missionary teachers, and lay preachers. Many prospective candidates for ordination spent at least a year working in the field under the supervision of an ordained minister, a process known as “travelling under the chairman of a district,” during which time their ability to stir their congregation to repentance and conversion was carefully noted. Prospective candidates were expected to complete a preliminary course of study that encompassed English grammar and composition, arithmetic, geography, English literature, ancient and modern history, New Testament history, Greek grammar, Wesley’s sermons, and the Methodist catechism.

Once a candidate was accepted, or “received on trial” he began a period of probation

\[\text{\footnotesize \underline{goods without a probability of paying for them.}}\] See \textit{A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain}, vol. 4, 61.

See the manuscript minutes of the British Columbia Conference, 1899-1911, UCCBC, for the full responses to the set of questions asked of candidates, and for evidence of permitted exceptions to the regulations governing candidates, as well as evidence of unsuccessful applications on health and other grounds.

See, for example, the minutes of the Port Simpson District Ministerial Session and Annual District Meeting, for 1883. Dennis Jennings, who was received on trial as a candidate for the ministry was noted as “having by his labors during the past nine months among us shown great fitness for our itinerant work. His efforts having been blessed in the salvation of souls, we think that he is in every way fitted as a candidate for our mission work.” Box 2, Districts of B.C. Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, UCCBC.

The list of subjects for each year with the appointed examiners was printed in the minutes of the Annual Conference of a District.
that normally lasted for four years, and combined formal study with a form of apprenticeship. The Ministerial Committee of the Conference usually "allowed" or counted the time spent travelling under a chairman towards the probationary period for the prospective candidate who successfully completed the examinations at the end of the preliminary course and proved capable in the pulpit. The Stationing Committee assigned a new probationer to a circuit under the supervision of an experienced ordained minister. Each subsequent year, the Ministerial Committee would decide whether the probationer would continue on trial, or be "dropped in silence," normally for failure to comply with specific requirements of behaviour.\(^{283}\)

Throughout the four-year probationary period, the probationer was expected to complete a course of prescribed study by reading from the appointed texts. The first year's course continued study in English literature, and introduced readings in theology, Bible study, Methodist doctrine, Wesley's sermons, and homiletics. In the second through fourth years, continued readings in theology and Bible study were supplemented by church history, exegesis of the Gospels and Epistles in Greek, rhetoric, and philosophy, and an increased focus on homiletics.\(^{284}\) At the end of each year, the probationer provided the district conference with a list of books and denominational material read during the year, and wrote a series of examination papers on the year's course of study. Although it was necessary for the probationer to pass the examinations before the year's standing was

\(^{283}\) Probationers (and ordained ministers) could be dropped for failing to complete their studies, marrying without permission, smoking, drinking or gambling, failing to perform their pastoral duties, or moving away from their station without notice or permission.

\(^{284}\) It should be noted that the assigned texts specified in list of required subjects in the British Columbia Annual Conference minutes varies from those listed in Semple, 256, who states that "With only slight variations, all the Methodist connexions assigned essentially the same sources for study."
granted, failure did not necessarily mean that a probationer would be dropped, as failed exam papers could be rewritten until a passing grade was obtained. At the successful completion of the probationary period, the probationer was required to preach a sermon to the Annual Conference before being “received into full connexion” in the Methodist church and ordained.

As part of their formation for ministry, probationers could ask for permission from the Education Committee of their Conference to attend one of the Methodist colleges: Victoria College in Cobourg, Ontario; Mount Allison in Sackville, New Brunswick, Wesleyan Theological College, in Montreal, Wesley College in Winnipeg; and Columbian College in New Westminster. The time at college was allowed as part of the probationary period: the minutes of the Annual Conference note whether probationers had received permission to attend college, and whether they had been granted financial assistance. As well probationers attending college were so noted in the report of the Stationing Committee.

Contemporary criticism of Methodist preachers by non-Methodists often focused on the itinerants’ lack of formal education and modest social standing, and on their enthusiastic, emotional style of preaching. Certainly, for Methodists, education and

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285 Victoria College was established by charter as Upper Canada Academy in 1836 in Cobourg, Ontario, incorporated in 1841 as Victoria College, and became a federated college of the University of Toronto in 1892, changing its name to Victoria University; Mount Allison College in New Brunswick was established by charter in 1858, and opened in 1862; Wesleyan Theological College in Montreal was established in 1873, and incorporated in 1879; Wesley College in Winnipeg was chartered in 1877, rechartered in 1886, and opened in 1888; Columbian College in New Westminster was founded in 1892, and chartered in 1893. For the history of the various Methodist colleges, see George H. Cornish, “Educational Institutions,” *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada*, vol. 1, to 1880 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881), 533-560; J.G. Brown, “Methodist Colleges,” in E. A. Davis, ed., *Commemorative Review of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Joseph Lee, 1925), 243-249; and Semple, chapter 10, “Methodist Education.”

286 See, for example the introductory paragraphs of W. H. Withrow, “Methodist Literature and Methodist
experience were held in tension, reflected in the pattern of education for ministry in which formal study was complemented by practical experience. Methodists placed a high value on the religion of experience, particularly the overwhelming experience of conversion, and judged the suitability of candidates for ministry on personal holiness and evidence of preaching ability as much as on educational attainment. At the same time, Wesley himself had noted the importance of devotional reading and study for those called to preach.

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288 See, for example, the minutes of the Conference of 1746, Question 15, in which assistant preachers were urged to get up at 4 a.m., and spend an hour in the study of the Scripture, and "some close practical book of divinity," and then spend the morning hours from 6 a.m. to 12 noon reading a variety of theological works, scriptural commentary, church history, Milton, and "our other tracts and poems." Reprinted in A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, 84-86.
Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the Methodist Church began to move from circuits served by itinerant preachers to single congregations served by settled ministers, particularly in urban areas. The move from itinerancy to fixed ministry, encouraged the professionalisation of the Methodist ministry. As professionalised ministry became the norm, there was a concomitant insistence among the Methodist Conferences that probationers meet the minimum educational attainment required to enter the ordained ministry, which steadily increased from grade school to university entrance. At the same time, the Canadian Methodist Church was challenged by the rapidly expanding missionary fields both at home in Canada and abroad. The demand for missionaries usually outstripped the number of suitable candidates prepared to take up the work. While lay teachers and lay preachers were strategically stationed to extend the work of ordained missionaries, there was often considerable reluctance to withdraw a probationer from the mission field for a year’s study at college.  

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290 See Semple, 232-238, and 254-262.

291 See, for example, the comments of the Rev. William Morley Punshon, President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Canada to Thomas Crosby, as reported by Crosby in Among the An-ko-me-nums: Or Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast (Toronto: William Briggs, 1907), 194: “Now, as to your going to college, I can appreciate your feelings, and we would like to see it, if it could be. But if you should go for one year you would want to go for four, and many of these poor souls will be gone by that time. You have the language of this people, which is more than a college can do for you, and we believe it better that you should go on in your effort to save and help them.” See also Charles Tate, “Autosketch of My Life”, vertical file, UCCBC, “I have felt the handicap [a lack of formal education] all my life. Even when I became a candidate for the ministry, and asked for a little college training, I was quietly informed that I could not be spared from the work, so my opportunity for college training passed forever.” The refusal of permission for Tate to attend college was also noted in a biographical sketch, published in the Western Methodist Recorder 2, no. 5 (November, 1900): 3: “One year was spent as Moral Governor of the new Institute [Coqualeetza] when its founder asked to be relieved for two years that he might take a medical course to better qualify him for his important office, and nominated Rev. E. Robson as supply. Instead,
mission field were usually expected to complete the majority, if not all their studies by reading and preparing for the yearly examinations in the time not devoted to their missionary duties.

**Educational Patterns of Methodist Missionaries in British Columbia**

The Methodist Church in Canada saw itself as "missionary in spirit and aims,"\(^{292}\) called to evangelise and convert. As the population of Canada expanded, and new areas were opened for settlement, missionaries were sent by the various Methodist Missionary Societies to preach, and form congregations of believers.\(^{293}\) Any circuit that required ongoing financial support was placed under the jurisdiction of the Missionary Society, which provided the funds and, in many cases, recruited the missionary who was stationed on that circuit.\(^{294}\) As circuits became self-supporting, their supervision was transferred from the Missionary Society to the Conference.\(^{295}\) As well, the Missionary Society funded

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however, of being permitted to attend College, he was asked by the General Board of Missions to take charge of the mission work on the East coast of Vancouver Island." The reluctance to release missionaries in the field continued, even as the number of missionaries and the accessibility of colleges both increased: the report of the Education Committee to the 1907 British Columbia Annual Conference noted that "in the matter of the application of R. W. Hibbert, M.A., and E. D. Braden to attend College, we recommend that no action be taken, as they are required for the field." See *Minutes of the Toronto, London, Hamilton, Bay of Quinte Montreal and British Columbia Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, 1907*, Abridged for Publication, (Toronto: William Briggs, [1907]), 317.


293 In Eastern and Central Canada, the Wesleyan Methodist and Methodist Episcopal churches both supported domestic missions, before their union in 1874. In British Columbia, only the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society funded the work from 1858 to the 1874 union, at which time responsibility for missions devolved to the Missionary Society of the newly-formed Methodist Church of Canada.

294 The Missionary Society divided the work into domestic, or home missions, native missions, and foreign or overseas missions. Missions to French Canadian Roman Catholics, Chinese and Japanese immigrants, and Native peoples were supported, as well as domestic missions to the growing settler communities of Western Canada. Overseas missions were concentrated in China and Japan.

295 Self-funding was primarily the goal for non ethno-cultural domestic missions. Members were encouraged to contribute funds to pay for the minister’s salary and to defray the cost of erecting a church and parsonage. Missionaries who were stationed on circuits among ethno-cultural communities were
missions to various ethno-cultural groups within Canada, as well as establishing overseas missions.

Support for missionary work among women and children, both at home and overseas, was provided by the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS), founded in 1881. The WMS was a semi-autonomous organisation within the Methodist Church of Canada that reported to the Annual Conference, but controlled its own finances, elected an administrative Board, and was responsible for selecting women missionaries who served under the Society's direct supervision. In British Columbia, the twenty-five women missionaries who served between the establishment of the WMS and 1900 were stationed primarily at the Oriental Rescue Home in Victoria, and as teachers, matrons, dormitory and sewing room supervisors, and nurses at the boarding and industrial schools for Native and part-Native children at Port Simpson, Kitamaat and Sardis (see appendix 6).

Between 1859 and 1900, a total of one hundred and thirty-three probationers and ministers were stationed on the various circuits in British Columbia (see appendix 6 for full biographical and educational information on Methodist missionaries). Their level expected to encourage donations, but the Missionary Society recognised that long-term support of these circuits was necessary.

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297 The list of 133 probationers and ministers includes three lay medical missionaries supported by the Missionary Society, and recorded in the minutes of the Stationing Committee.

298 Lay preachers were used in the early years of the Methodist missions to British Columbia. For example, Cornelius Bryant, who was received on trial in British Columbia in 1870, started his ministry by organising a Sunday School and by leading Sunday worship in Nanaimo shortly after his arrival in the colony in 1857.
of educational attainment and progress towards ordination followed traditional Methodist patterns. Of the one hundred and thirty-three, sixty (45%), had not attended college, or had no record of higher education; thirty-two (24%) had attended college for at least one year, but had not received a degree, thirty-four (25%) held one or more earned degrees, six (5%) had honorary degrees only, and one (1%) held a licentiate in theology (see appendix 8). Those who had at least one year of college had all attended Methodist institutions, normally the college located in the conference where they were received on trial for the ministry: seven attended Columbian Methodist College, New Westminster; seven attended Victoria College, Cobour; seven attended Victoria University, Toronto; four attended Mount Allison; three attended Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal; two attended Wesley College, Winnipeg; one attended Wesleyan College, St. John’s; and two attended at an unspecified institution.

The pattern of educational attainment among probationers and ministers stationed in British Columbia clearly indicates the increasing emphasis in the Methodist Church on higher education in preparation for ministry: seventeen of the twenty-two degree holders

Native lay exhorters, preachers, teachers and translators were also used extensively by the Methodists on missionary circuits in British Columbia. Unfortunately, there is no accurate and comprehensive yearly listing of lay preachers, whether Native or non-Native. The names of lay preachers were supposed to be noted yearly in the District minute books, but these are no longer extant for some districts. Native people employed as “lay agents” by the chairman of a district sometimes were noted by their initials in the printed Stationing Committee reports, but more frequently that station was noted as being “supplied” by the Chairman, i.e. by a nameless lay agent. For a narrative evaluation of lay preachers, see T. Ferrier, Report of some of our Indian Missions in British Columbia, Queen Charlotte Island, and Vancouver Island [1907], Box 5, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA. For complaints about the discontinuation of lay preachers in British Columbia, see F. L. Vosper, “The Local Preacher in England and British Columbia,” Western Methodist Recorder 2, no. 3 (September 1900): 5. For an extensive discussion of the role of Native lay preachers, see Susan Lynn Neylan, “‘The Heavens are Changing’: Protestant Missionization on the North Pacific Coast (Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1999), especially chapter 4.

299 The two who attended an unspecified institution were noted “appointed to attend college” in the Annual Conference minutes.
(77%) who transferred to British Columbia and all nine of the degree holders (100%) who were received on trial in British Columbia began their ministry after 1881 (see Appendix 8). At the same time, an examination of the differences in educational patterns between probationers and ministers who were received on trial in other conferences and those who were received on trial in British Columbia reveal significant differences in their level of formal education. Probationers and ministers who were received on trial and began their ministry in British Columbia were more likely to have no higher education than those who began their ministry in other Conferences or with other Methodist connexions, more likely to have attended one or more years of college without receiving a degree, and less likely to have an earned degree. Educational patterns also changed over time (see Table 4). Before the founding of Columbian Methodist College in New Westminster in 1892, probationers who were received on trial in British Columbia, and who wished to attend college had to travel to Ontario, Montreal, or Atlantic Canada, and permission was not often granted. The reluctance to suspend the work of a probationer or minister on a missionary circuit, even temporarily, meant that only two probationers received on trial attended college while British Columbia was a missionary district of the Toronto Conference. After 1887, the newly established British Columbia conference’s Education Committee was able to select probationers to attend college on the basis of direct contact and experience, rather than by written reports and recommendations, and

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300 While British Columbia was a missionary district of the Toronto Conference until 1887, wherever possible I have distinguished between candidates for the ministry who were received on trial in the Toronto Conference in Ontario and those received in the Toronto Conference in the British Columbia missionary district, by checking the stationing committee reports. Those stationed on circuits in B.C. were designated “Received on Trial in British Columbia (RTBC).”
Table 4

Patterns of Educational Attainment of Methodist Probationers and Ministers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tr. to BC began ministry before 1860</th>
<th>Tr. to BC began ministry 1861-1880</th>
<th>Tr. BC began ministry 1881-1900</th>
<th>Tr. BC totals</th>
<th>RTBC began ministry 1861-1880</th>
<th>RTBC began ministry 1881-1900</th>
<th>RTBC totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no higher education</td>
<td>6 (67%)</td>
<td>8 (35%)</td>
<td>21 (44%)</td>
<td>35 (44%)</td>
<td>6 (75%)</td>
<td>19 (45%)</td>
<td>25 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>college</td>
<td>2 (22%)</td>
<td>9 (39%)</td>
<td>8 (17%)</td>
<td>19 (24%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>14 (34%)</td>
<td>15 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>degree</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>5 (22%)</td>
<td>17 (35%)</td>
<td>22 (27%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>9 (21%)</td>
<td>9 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon. degree</td>
<td>1 (11%)</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>licentiate</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: Tr. to BC - Transferred to British Columbia from another Conference; RTBC - Received on trial in British Columbia. RTBC includes candidates received by the Toronto Conference in the British Columbia missionary district
attendance rates at college rapidly increased.  

The patterns of attendance at universities by probationers or ministers who held at least one earned degree reveal similar regional differences. The twenty-two probationers and ministers from central and eastern Canada with earned degrees attended Mount Allison; Queen’s University, Kingston; Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal; Victoria University; or the University of Toronto. One pursued graduate degrees by extension course though Illinois Wesleyan University. The nine probationers and ministers received on trial in British Columbia with earned degrees attended Wesley College, Manitoba; Victoria University; the University of Toronto; or went south to the United States.

For those probationers on missionary circuits who could not be spared to attend college, even briefly, independent study towards the yearly examinations remained the norm. The manuscript minutes of the Port Simpson District provide some evidence of the difficulties that probationers stationed in remote areas with infrequent mail delivery faced in preparing for the examinations. The 1885 minutes noted that “The young men on probation for the ministry are put to a great disadvantage on account of the non arrival of the examination papers, interfering with the work of the present year and also of the

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301 Of the probationers accepted by the British Columbia Conference from 1887-1900 who either attended college or held at least one earned degree, seven attended Columbia College; six attended Victoria College or Victoria University; three attended Wesley College, Winnipeg; two attended the University of Toronto; and one attended the University of California, San Francisco. The trend towards college attendance increased, until by 1914, four of the five third year probationers and seventeen of the nineteen second year probationers had attended college. See Minutes of the Toronto, London, Hamilton, Bay of Quinte, Montreal and British Columbia Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, 1914, Abridged for Publication (Toronto: William Briggs [1914]), 378-379.

302 Overall, of the thirty-four who held one or more earned degrees: ten attended Victoria University; six attended Mount Allison; four attended the University of Toronto; two attended Queen’s University; two attended Victoria College, Cobourg, one attended Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal; one attended Columbia College and received a degree through the college’s affiliation with the University of Toronto; one attended the University of California, San Francisco; one attended the University of South Dakota; and six were listed as having at least 1 degree, with no institution specified.
next."\textsuperscript{303} The following year, the minutes note that William Benjamin Cuyler had been unable to pass his final examinations, "owing to the absence of one of his ‘papers’ and one of the books necessary to be read."\textsuperscript{304} The challenges of studying while simultaneously carrying out missionary duties is suggested by the 1884 minutes in which it was noted that Dennis Jennings, a probationer received on trial in 1883, "has had to devote a great part of his time to the night and day schools at Port Essington during the year and by so doing has not been able to devote due attention to his studies," and recommended that the Conference take his ministerial duties into consideration when evaluating his examination results.\textsuperscript{305}

The Port Simpson District minutes also provide evidence of what probationers might read in addition to the books prescribed by the Education Committee in preparation for each year’s examinations, as part of their general education. The lists provided by Reuben Benjamin Beavis and John Clark Spencer, second-year probationers who were

\textsuperscript{303} Minutes of the Port Simpson District, 1885, Toronto Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC.

\textsuperscript{304} The Ministerial Committee recommended that Cuyler be received into full connexion, subject to the Examination Board. Minutes of the Port Simpson District, 1886, Toronto Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC.

\textsuperscript{305} Minutes of the Port Simpson District, 1884, Toronto Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC. Perhaps the most extreme case of a probationer who was so absorbed by his missionary duties that study was deferred indefinitely was Richard Whitfield Large, M.D., who was received on trial for the ministry in British Columbia in 1899, and served as medical missionary at Bella Bella. Large was not received into full connexion and ordained until 1910, effectively serving an eleven year period of probation. The Education Committee seems to have recognised Large’s extraordinary situation in their report to the 1906 British Columbia Annual Conference, which noted that "Whereas we have medical missionaries in the field who are doing a work that is second to none in its results for God and humanity; whereas some of these men have loyally tried to comply with the requirements of the Discipline as to the present course of study for medical missionaries but have been compelled to drop those studies because of the exacting and harassing nature of their profession, and are consequently completed to forego all hopes of entering the ministry; and, whereas, this difficulty may well be overcome by a modified course of theological study for medical missionaries, we memorialize the General conference to authorize such a course of study as will make it reasonably possible for medical missionaries to proceed to ordination and full connection in our ministry." Minutes of the Toronto, London, Hamilton, Bay of Quinte Montreal and British Columbia Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, 1906, Abridged for Publication (Toronto: William Briggs, [1906]).
received on trial in British Columbia in 1889 are typical of the extra-curricular reading of probationers:


Bro. J. C. Spencer read Coral Builders, Art in Italy, Art in Greece, Geology, Botany, Chemistry, Astronomy, Life of Alexander, Life of Cicero, Life of Demosthenes, Causes of Reformation, Missionary Review, Man’s Antiquity, Christianity, a Modernized Heathenism, [The Doctrines and] Discipline, Wesley’s Sermons, portions of D’Aubigne’s History of the Reformation, Catacombs of Rome, our own church papers and periodicals and the second year’s course of study for probationers.306

Their selections fell into predictable categories of morally serious and improving literature: denominational periodicals and denominational literature, history, biography, classical literature, and church history. Other lists recorded in the Port Simpson District minutes included readings in the sciences, theology and homiletics, and works of direct missionary application.307 Not surprisingly, very few probationers included novels or frivolous recreational reading on their lists.308 Unfortunately, the minutes do not indicate how the probationers obtained either their assigned texts or their extra-curricular reading

306 Minutes of the Port Simpson District 1891, British Columbia Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC.

307 For example, the following year, Spencer had added the Materia Medica, the standard pharmacological text of the late nineteenth century, to his reading list, presumably in preparation for the medical course that he pursued in 1897 through 1899. Minutes of the Port Simpson District, 1892, British Columbia Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC.

308 George Levi Anderson, received on trial in 1891, included two historical novels, Scottish Chief, and Thaddeus of Warsaw on his very short list for 1892: Life of Wesley, Life of St. Paul, Scottish Chief, Thaddeus of Warsaw, Pilgrims’ Progress, Endless Chain, Life of Rev. Geo. McDougall, Secret of Power (in part), The Indian, Stepping Heavenward, and the first year’s course of study. Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental that Anderson was not prepared to write on all his examination papers on that year, and was dropped from probationary status the following year. See Minutes of the Port Simpson District, 1892, and 1893, British Columbia Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC.
materials. In 1889, Beavis was stationed at Bella Bella, and Spencer on the Upper Skeena at Kispiox, both relatively isolated communities with infrequent mail service. Presumably, packages of reading material were sent from Ontario by family, friends and supporters, and denominational material and the necessary set readings and examination papers by the Conference.

The role that formal education played in the formation of Methodist ministers is perhaps less immediately apparent than with their Anglican counterparts. However, a brief examination of the lives of two very different Methodist missionaries in British Columbia suggests that education closely intertwined with other variables in their career trajectories.

Ebenezer Robson was born in Perth, Ontario in 1835 to a Presbyterian family, and was converted to Methodism in his teens after hearing an itinerant preacher. He entered Victoria College in 1856. During the course of the year, he offered himself as a candidate for the Wesleyan Methodist ministry, and was received on trial. He continued his studies at Victoria College the following year, before being stationed at Montreal Centre in 1858. When the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society announced that it was organising a mission to British Columbia, Robson volunteered and was accepted. He was ordained in Toronto just before the four selected missionaries (Ephraim Evans, Edward White, Arthur Browning, and Robson) began the journey to British Columbia. Robson was received into full connexion in 1860, and soon after married Ellen Mary Hall who had

travelled from Ontario to join him. Robson was stationed at Fort Hope and Fort Yale, Nanaimo, Victoria and New Westminster before returning to Ontario in 1866 because of his wife’s failing health.

Fourteen years later Robson returned to British Columbia, and was stationed primarily in urban locations (Nanaimo, Vancouver and New Westminster), although he also briefly served as Principal of Coqualeetza Industrial School at Sardis in 1895. In the years subsequent to his return, Robson held a series of increasingly responsible District and Conference positions, culminating in his election to President of the British Columbia Conference in 1887 and again in 1888; and delegate to General Conference in 1890 and 1894. On his retirement from active ministry in 1900, he was appointed Bursar of Columbian Methodist College, and was awarded the college’s first honorary Doctorate of Divinity in 1902 in recognition of his work. On his death in 1911, the minutes of the British Columbia Annual Conference summed up his ministry, praising his tireless work, open mind, and personal dignity.

William Henry Pierce exemplifies the tensions embodied in the Native convert, who was required to learn new discourses and new forms of the presentation of the self. Pierce was born in 1856, in Fort Rupert in northern coastal British Columbia. His Scottish father was an employee of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and his Tsimshian mother seems to have been well connected.\footnote{In the complex world of post-contact Tsimshian culture, Pierce establishes his family connections in alignment with new sources of power and social status - his adopted uncle was Clah, also known as Arthur Wellington Clah. Clah was William Duncan’s first instructor in Tsimshian, and later was converted to Methodism. See R. M. Galois, “Colonial Encounters: The Worlds of Arthur Wellington Clah, 1855-1881: BC Studies, nos. 115-16 (Autumn/Winter 1997/98): 105-147. See also Neylan, 155-174.} After his mother died, Pierce was taken by his grandfather to live with his maternal family at Fort Simpson. There he received brief initial schooling in
English from the Anglican missionary, William Duncan. He later became a cabin boy on the steamer *Otter*, and was given further instruction in English by the captain.

During a visit to Victoria as a young man, Pierce was converted during a Methodist revival meeting. In Pierce’s words, “One night I attended the service and listened to the words of Rev. Thomas Crosby, and that night I gave my heart to God. I felt that a great weight had been lifted off my shoulders. I went back to the meetings and the more I saw of them [i.e. the Methodists] the more I liked them.” He began his career in evangelism the night of his conversion, when he left the meeting to exhort a friend to kneel and pray with him. The Methodists in Victoria provided further opportunities for his education, and eventually hired Pierce to act as an interpreter at Port Simpson. Pierce’s work as an interpreter led to his assignment to various Native communities as a lay preacher and teacher. In 1883, the minutes of the Port Simpson District Ministerial Session and Annual District Meeting noted that the Methodist ministers of the district agreed to receive Pierce on trial as a candidate for ministry. In the words of the resolution (which followed the set pattern):

Resolved that whereas Bro. W.H. Pierce has labored among the Indians as an Evangelist for the past seven years and has been an instrument of much good to his fellow men, and has had considerable education, and is in every way fitted as a Candidate for the ministry.  

And whereas he is about twenty-seven years of age, has been baptized, knows the Rules of the Society and keeps them, does not take snuff, tobacco or drams - is not in debt - has good health- and is not engaged to marry - And whereas Bro. Pierce is not able to attend this District meeting on account of the steamer not calling at his Mission as expected, he be recommended to be received by the Conference on trial as a Candidate for the ministry for the Indian work of British Columbia and that his preliminary examination be left in the hands of the Chairman

These resolutions were passed without a dissentient [sic] voice.

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311 Minutes of the Port Simpson Ministerial Session and Annual District Meeting, 1883, Port Simpson District, Toronto Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC.
The resolution noted Pierce’s “considerable education.” In his autobiography, Pierce carefully described his various opportunities for study with considerable pride, and expressed gratitude to his teachers, who had provided him with opportunities for self-advancement. However, his educational attainment was called into question in the 1884 minutes of the Port Simpson annual district meeting, which noted that Pierce was “not sufficiently educated to take the regular course of study.” These deficiencies were determined not to be a barrier to his candidacy only because he was “intended for the native work entirely.” Despite the concern, a committee was formed to examine him, and Pierce “passed a fairly creditable examination in his first year’s course considering the great disadvantages he has labored under in acquiring an English education.”

Subsequent minutes again drew attention to his educational deficiencies and special status as a Native candidate for ministry who would serve exclusively as a missionary to Native communities, while simultaneously praising his efficiency, usefulness, enthusiasm, and knowledge of the Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church.

Pierce himself stated only that he had been part of the first ordination class of the British Columbia Conference in 1887, and made no mention of his special status, or the apparent challenges that he faced in passing the ordination examinations.

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312 Minutes of the Port Simpson Ministerial Session and Annual District Meeting, 1884, Port Simpson District, Toronto Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC.

313 Minutes of the Port Simpson Ministerial Session and Annual District Meeting, 1886 and 1887, Port Simpson District, Toronto Conference, The Methodist Church, UCCBC, which included the resolution heartily recommending him to be ordained and admitted into full connexion with the Methodist church.

314 William Henry Pierce, From Potlatch to Pulpit: Being the Autobiography of the Rev. William Henry Pierce, Native Missionary to the Indian Tribes of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia, Edited by Rev. J.P. Hicks, (Vancouver: The Vancouver Bindery, 1933), 61.
In 1890, Pierce married Maggie Hargreaves, an Englishwoman who was teaching at the day school at Kispiox. She joined him at his station at Kitseguecla, where they remained until 1893. After a year’s station on the Glad Tidings mission boat, Pierce spent two years at Bella Coola, before being moved to Kispiox. The Pierces remained at Kispiox until 1909, when the Methodist Missionary Society removed him to Port Essington following political unrest on the Upper Skeena and a dispute with the local Indian agent.315 After his retirement in 1932, Pierce and his wife worked on revisions to his autobiography, From Potlatch to Pulpit, which was published in 1933. Pierce died at Prince Rupert in 1948, a year after his wife’s death.

Robson and Pierce were both recognised as missionary pioneers: Robson as one of the first Methodist missionaries in British Columbia, Pierce as the first Native Methodist ordained minister in British Columbia. In many ways, Robson’s ministerial career exemplified the ideal Methodist career trajectory. His attendance at a Methodist college marked him as relatively well-educated within his peer group, and he steadily progressed from new ordinand to chairman of the Conference. Ebenezer Robson was socially well connected through his family ties: his brother was John Robson, editor of the New Westminster British Columbian newspaper and premier of the province from 1889 though 1892. While he did not leave a published autobiography, his letters and diaries, and denominational writings reveal him to be well-read and a clear and coherent author.316

315 See the correspondence of Alexander Sutherland, Superintendent of Foreign Missions regarding Pierce’s removal from Kispiox in File 103, British Columbia Indian Missions: Correspondence re Kispiox, Upper Skeena, 1906-1910, Methodist Church Missionary society. Foreign Dept. (Sutherland Papers), Incoming correspondence 1900-1910, Box 5, United Church of Canada General Conference Archives.

316 The Robson papers are located in the Ebenezer Robson fond, R/D/R57, British Columbia Archives. For examples of Robson’s denominational writing, see “Our First Christmas in British Columbia,” Western Methodist Recorder 1, no. 6 (December 1899): 7-8; and How Methodism Came to British Columbia
Pierce was a more complex figure within Methodism. As the first Native convert to be ordained to the ministry in British Columbia, the Methodist Church was proud of him, while at the same time, the self-consciously racialised references to Pierce as Native set him apart. While the Board of Examiners made special allowance for candidates from non-English speaking ethno-cultural backgrounds, and provided significantly modified courses of study for Native, Chinese and Japanese probationers, Pierce’s progression to ordination was enabled only by his being “intended for the native work entirely.” This doubling of identity and ambiguity of status was evident in the introduction to Pierce’s autobiography, in which his editor, the Reverend John P. Hicks, praised his “shrewd observation” and Christian devotion while simultaneously drawing attention to his educational deficiencies, coded as picturesque accent and speech, and “unconscious” humour:

Only the merest glimpse has been here given of the more recent years of Mr. Pierce’s ministry - which he did not record in his manuscript - though it may not be necessary to write more. Only those who have met him, heard him give addresses, or in conversation relate his experiences and his views on life - Christian life, his own field of labour, public life, and the Church’s responsibility, can really form any idea of the picturesqueness of his accent and speech - and of his approach to any subject; his shrewd observation; his unconscious, but compelling humour; or the intensity of his Christian devotion. His original, quaint illustrations are captivating, though impossible of realistic reproduction.

The willingness of the Board of Examiners to make allowances for Pierce’s limited

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(See the Minutes of the British Columbia Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, 1894 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1894), 24-25, for an example of the “Course of Study for Chinese Candidates and Probationers,” the Proceedings of the Toronto, London, Hamilton, Bay of Quinte, Montreal, Manitoba and North-West and British Columbia Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, 1899, Abridged for Publication (Toronto: William Briggs, [1899]), 384-385 for an example of a “course of study for native Indian missionaries.”)

318 Pierce, From Potlatch to Pulpit, 97.
education also marks a fundamental difference between the Methodist and Anglican churches. While the Anglican Church hired Native translators and catechists, and recognised the value of their work, the adherence to formal educational requirements for ordination formed an insurmountable barrier to the development of an Indigenous Anglican ministry in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{319} Even the provision for the ordination of literates required the ability to construe in Latin and Greek. By contrast, the minutes of the Port Simpson District make it clear that the Methodist Church in British Columbia was willing to receive on trial a Native convert who showed particular promise in lay exhortation, preaching and teaching, and adapt the process of educational formation for the ordained ministry to the particular abilities of the probationer. It also recognised that even an adapted course might exceed a Native probationer’s ability: when Patrick Russ, who had been received on trial in 1900, was unable to complete the course of study, and was deemed unlikely to be able to do so, the Conference allowed him to be dropped from the list of probationers and continue as a local preacher.\textsuperscript{320}

**Education and Social Class**

Education was an indelible marker of social status among university-educated and class-conscious Anglicans like Bishop Hills, who carefully noted the regional accents of others in

\textsuperscript{319} Of course language and education were not the only barriers to the development of an indigenous Anglican ministry: the ongoing upheavals at Metlakatla and the reluctance of William Duncan to allow converts to be baptised and confirmed, and his increasing hostility to the ordained priesthood undoubtedly hindered any potential Native candidate for ordination. As well, the particular relations of power between White and Native people in British Columbia, extreme class consciousness among some of the clergy, and the insistence that Anglican priests automatically were raised to the status of gentleman upon ordination may have contributed to the reluctance to consider Native converts as potential ordinands. See also a further discussion of the tensions around Native converts in chapter 5 below.

\textsuperscript{320} Manuscript minutes of the British Columbia Annual Conference, 1903, Minutes 1899-1911, British Columbia Conference, Methodist Church, UCCBC.
his diaries. Education also served to create subtle hierarchies within the Anglican Church between university-educated clergy and clergy ordained as literates. Ironically, training at the Church Missionary College in Islington or St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury, provided much needed practical training and therefore better preparation for the rigors of the missionary field than a year at a theological college. For the Methodists, personal holiness and the experience of conversion was equally, if not more important than formal education, and, in fact, most missionaries received no particular training before leaving for the mission field. Formal education was important, in that it ensured that preachers would be completely literate, able to read and preach the Word of God, and expound John Wesley’s theology, but was not an invariable marker of hierarchical status and position within the Methodist Church. Many Methodists, following Wesley’s precepts were deliberately unconscious of, or rejected obvious class distinctions. They clearly saw themselves as the spiritual equals of the better-educated Anglicans, whom they criticised for formalism in worship and prayer, and lack of

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321 For example, see Hills’ comments on James Reynard, who was trained as a schoolmaster at the Battersea Training College. Reynard and his wife and children arrived in Victoria in 1866, sponsored by the SPG. He was ordained to the diaconate the following year, and to the priesthood in 1868 by Hills, who noted that although Reynard was self-taught in Greek, he was able to construe fluently during the bishop’s examination and had written sound papers. Hills also noted that Reynard’s first sermon “was fair — but too full of variety of points. He had a good voice and when he can manage it he will make a useful preacher. He has a good deal of Yorkshire dialect but not offensive.” See George Hills, diary entry for Sept. 21, 1866; and George Hills, diary entry for Sept. 23, 1866. Hills was keenly aware of the nuances of strong British regional accents as markers of the educational attainment and social class of the speaker, making particular mention of accents in his diaries when commenting on people he was meeting for the first time.

322 Wesley’s 1743 Rules explicitly forbid members from “doing what we know is not for the glory of God, as the ‘putting on of gold or costly apparel.’ Reprinted in the History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, vol. 4, 61. See also Wesley’s directions to band societies, “Carefully to abstain from doing evil; in particular...to wear no needless ornaments, such as rings, ear-rings, necklaces, lace, ruffles.” Ibid, 71; and the 1744 Twelve Rules of a Helper [i.e. lay preacher], “7. Do nothing as a gentleman: you have no more to do with this character than with that of a dancing master. You are the servant of all therefore. 8. Be ashamed of nothing but sin: not of fetching wood, or drawing water, if time permit; not of cleaning your own shoes or your neighbour’s.” Ibid, 117-118.
passion in preaching.\textsuperscript{323}

Reading, for Anglicans like John Sheepshanks, was a marker of the common culture of the university. Sheepshanks recognised other university men by their voices and by their reading habits, and recorded acts of reading in his journal as evidence of his own ability to function in inhospitable settings. This function of reading in the wilderness as a connection to home was made explicit by Morley Roberts, in his book \textit{The Western Avernus}, in which he described his surprise at finding a well-equipped library, redolent of calf and morocco and vellum bindings, at the St. Paul’s mission house outside of Lytton. He was invited to stay for a meal, and after dinner sat with his two clerical hosts discussing Greek and Latin poets and dramatists. As he left the mission house to walk to his next stop he reflected that his hosts were:

High Church English clergymen, who had come out there as missionaries for the Indians. What a terrible sacrifice to make! it seems to me waste of such lives; but yet what goodness of heart and strength of conviction must have led these to leave a land of culture and expatriate themselves among these mountains, and men ruder than the mountains!\textsuperscript{324}

For Roberts, the mission house library was the only link between the present and the past, between the world of the university and the world of the colonies. Sitting, reciting passages of Greek poetry, invoked home and emphasised his bonds of solidarity with the two missionary priests.

\textsuperscript{323} For example, Edward White notes in his diary for Sunday, February 20, 1859: “Preached at 10 1/2 from Gen. 5:24. The Lord gave me a comfortable time although suffering from a severe pain in the head. Heard the Rev. Mr. Criddle in the afternoon from 1 Peter 4:18; a sensible but very tame discourse. Sunday, Nov. 18, 1866, at Yale: Went to hear Rev. J.B. Good at 11 am. Cannot appreciate the Church of England service. It took over an hour to get through it. The sermon was middling but poorly delivered.” Edward White, Diary, 1859-1866, Vertical File, UCCBC.

\textsuperscript{324} Roberts’ encounter with Henry Edwardes and Richard Small appears in chapter 12, “Through the Fraser Cañon.” See Morley Roberts, \textit{The Western Avernus, or Toil and Travel in Further North America}, new ed. (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1896), 149.
For the Methodists, like Evangelical Anglicans, reading material was directed at self-improvement, rather than entertainment. Thomas Crosby noted that immediately after his conversion he purchased books of a devotional character, and spent hours in pursuit of “useful knowledge.” Reading also served as a devotional exercise undertaken to encourage spiritual growth and assuage doubts. In his diary, Edward White carefully recorded the books that he was reading and their effect on him. For example, at a time of emotional turmoil, White turned to reading Wesley and Archbishop Fenelon, and reflected, “O how delightful when the soul is panting after God to come into the communion of men so wise and holy, who though dead, they yet speak.” During the same period, reading Wesley’s *Christian Perfection* “proved a great blessing to my soul” on a day when White noted that he was “somewhat depressed.”

**Conclusion**

The education that missionaries received prior to entering the mission field influenced and shaped their attitudes about the importance of education, and in conjunction with denominational preferences, formed expectations about the place of education and literacy in those to whom they ministered. The intersection of education, literacy, and denomination would prove crucial as missionaries strategised for the conversion of non-

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325 The Evangelical Anglican Edward Cridge was shocked to find his fellow passengers reading novels during the six-month long journey to Victoria in late 1854 through early 1855. Cridge and his new wife Mary entertained themselves by reading passages of the Bible to one another. See Cridge Diaries, 1853-54; 1858, volume 6, Edward Cridge fonds, Add Mss. 320, BCA.

326 Crosby, *Among the An-ko-me-nums*, 27. In his attention to devotional reading, Crosby was following Wesley’s own directions to spend time each day in the study of scripture and theological works.

327 Edward White, diary entry for August 2, 1866. Edward White, Diary, 1859-1866, Vertical File, UCCBC

328 Edward White, diary entry for August 3, 1866. Ibid.
Christians, and shaped the culture of print that supported and disseminated information about missionary activity. Education was the means by which literacy practices were mediated in the missionaries’ own lives, and the means by which they would inculcate literacy in others.
PART 2
THE MATERIALITY OF PRINT CULTURE
CHAPTER 4

WRITING THE MISSIONARY LIFE:
DIARIES, LETTERS, REPORTS AND MISSIONARY PUBLICATIONS

Print culture and the artefacts of print were essential to the missionary enterprise in British Columbia in the nineteenth century. Missionaries were encouraged to keep personal diaries, and were required to correspond regularly with their sponsoring societies, and complete statistical reports, which in turn were published in the various denominational missionary periodicals. As the missionary enterprise in the colonies grew throughout the nineteenth century, the printed word became the most frequently utilised method of disseminating information about missions and mobilising support for mission work among metropolitan readers. Thus, missionaries in the hinterland were bound in a textual relationship to their sponsoring societies and to interested individuals in the metropole who were willing to support missions through their prayers, work and monetary donations. In this body of Anglican and Methodist text, represented by both private and public records, by private diaries and published letters, and by the incessant reportage of the missionary periodical press, we can find clear evidence of the permeation of print culture in nineteenth century British Columbia, and explore the particular dynamics of the promotion of the missionary enterprise among metropolitan readers.

Beginnings

The textual relationship between missionaries and their sponsoring societies began at the time of their initial application. The prospective missionary was expected to furnish evidence of educational attainments and religious commitment, as well as testimonials from senior clergy who were able to comment on the applicant’s character, piety, and work record. For example, William Henry Collison, who applied to the Church
Missionary Society in November 1872, in response to a published appeal for missionary volunteers, engaged in an extensive correspondence with the CMS Committee, as well as appearing in person before the Committee in London to answer any questions arising from his application papers.\textsuperscript{329}

Alexander Sutherland, the General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, received many letters of inquiry about missionary work in British Columbia, and indicated to one prospective applicant that it would be necessary to provide information regarding "age, health, Christian character, educational standing, the nature of the work she is accustomed to, the reason why she came away from England and why she now happens to be in Vancouver. These and many other questions would doubtless be asked and satisfactory answers required before the way would be open to engagement."\textsuperscript{330}

\textsuperscript{329} According to information sent via email by Philippa Bassett, Archivist, Special Collections, University of Birmingham, the process by which Collison entered the CMS Training College is recorded in the Candidates Register, supplemented by information from the Committee Minutes of the CMS, indicated here by brackets [ ]. Collison's original letter, offering himself as a missionary, was dated November 9, 1872. His referee was the Rev. E. H. Carr, Lamorbey, with recommendations by the Rev. W. H. Walsh and the Rev. Mr. Cooper. The following sequence was recorded in the Candidates Register. Collison appeared before the CMS Committee in London December 17, 1872 to answer questions and consult medical opinion at Cork. On December 31, 1872, he was seen by members of the Committee [having seen his answers to questions addressed to all candidates]. On January 28, 1873, the Committee determined that Collison was to reside with Rev. R. Bren [for further preparation to help him pass the Islington Entrance Examination next Easter]. On February 4, 1873, the Committee noted that he could not reside [reference to a letter from Collison, January 31, explaining his difficulty of residing at once, so resolved to invite him] to sit Preliminary Examination for Islington at Easter; On April 29, 1873 the Committee noted that he was to go to Islington on Probation [as he had trained as a schoolmaster and had had charge of an Industrial School at Cork and in other respects appeared to be qualified for assisting Mr. Duncan in the Metlakahtla Mission, arrangements were to be made for him to join Mr. Duncan without unnecessary loss of time and in the meantime be received as a student into the Institution]. The minutes of May 20, 1873 indicate letter received from Collison expressing his willingness to go to Metlakahtla. May 28, 1873, the Committee recorded that he was [To be] located at Metlakahtla [to proceed unordained with a view to ordination later 2 years or so and that his marriage with Miss Goodwin be sanctioned], and on July 1, 1873, he was located [i.e., assigned] to Metlakahtla.

\textsuperscript{330} See correspondence between Charles Ladner and Alexander Sutherland, July-August 1908, File 79, British Columbia Indian and Oriental Missions, Correspondence General, 1908; Box 4, Incoming correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary society. Foreign Dept. (Sutherland Papers), accession number 78.092C, UCCA. The potential applicant, a Miss H. Cook, was aware that initial impressions created by the style of letter paper, and general impression were likely to play a significant role
applicants, who made a more favourable initial impression on Sutherland were afforded the opportunity to provide further evidence of their suitability for the work.  

Thus, from the outset, prospective missionaries were expected to conform to textual norms of the presentation of the self, and to “make a good impression” on paper if their applications were to be considered by the sponsoring societies. And by their ability to write an effective letter of application, prospective missionaries from modest family backgrounds were demonstrating their commitment to embourgeoisement and the written norms of bourgeois communication. The introduction in England of the penny post in 1840 brought about gradual and increasing changes in communication strategies among families, and compressed time and space for both writers and readers. However, original composition, and with it, the ability to compose an original letter, was not a significant element of elementary education for most of the literate working class.

in the application process. Her letter to Sutherland concluded, “I am sorry to trouble you with these long details, for Dr. Gregory [her employer in England] I used a typewriter.”

331 See, for example, letters from M. Raynor to Alexander Sutherland, October 1906, regarding his interest in becoming a medical missionary, File 105 Correspondence re the Bella Bella Rivers Inlet Hospital 1906-1910; Box 6, Incoming correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary society. Foreign Dept. (Sutherland Papers), accession number 78.092C, UCCA.


333 Letters written by Native converts to missionaries and their sponsoring societies exhibit, in many cases, the effect that the tradition of teaching writing skills through copying had on written communication. The letters adhere closely to the form laid out in standard manuals of letter writing, and express thoughts through a series of carefully penned clichés. It is only when the writer “breaks free” momentarily from the strict form that the gap between the careful iteration of normative letter-writing style and the writer’s “natural” voice can be heard. See, for example, the letter (written in a fine copperplate hand) from Samuel Marsden to Edward Cridge, dated Metlakatla Mission, October 9, 1873, File 5 Correspondence inward 1870-1877, Vol. 1, Correspondence, Testimonials, Certificates, Printed Material, Edward Cridge fonds, BCA [spelling and capitalisation retained from the original]: “My Dear Sir, I write these few lines to let you know how sorry I am for I dont see so long time but I do not forget you. I am always [obscured by rip in paper] to remember you and your dear wife too, I will tell you what I do Sir, I do not work to any body here, I go to trade with other indians around us, and first in Nass river. It is hard to be with strange indians on Sunday who do not know about God, I do not wish to make trouble or gain among them But because I wish to do what the Lord says Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and
writing therefore was a middle-class activity that brought together particular educational skills, and the ability to organise both resources (paper, ink, pens) and a train of thought on paper. When the missionaries later found themselves in the field, the university-educated SPG missionaries were habituated participants in the norms of letter writing, while some CMS and Methodist missionaries of more modest educational attainments and family backgrounds clearly struggled to compose the required annual letters and statistical reports.

**Chronicling the Life: Diaries**

Missionaries in the field were encouraged to keep careful notes about their work in order to complete the required statistical returns and annual reports, as well as furnish the sponsoring societies with letters describing the progress of the mission. The practice of keeping a diary or journal that could act as an aide-memoire to the missionary in

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glorify your Father which is In heaven St. matthew V 16. I am thankful to God that you are strong to preach the true word of god and you do not fear any man. I will pray for you, My father sent an indian garment for you sir, he was married last spring he is always glad to remember you and your dear wife So he sent his kind love to you sir, and Mrs. Cridge My wife sent a pair mocassins to you and one little mat for Mrs. Cridge. I have nothing more to say, but hoping you and Mrs Cridge and all the children are in your health. God bless you all. I am yours faithfully Sam Marsden."
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335 Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982), 95-96, notes that “high literacy fosters truly written composition, in which the author composes a text which is precisely a text, puts his or her words together on paper. This gives thought different contours from those of orally sustained thought.” I will further discuss missionary letters later in the chapter, but it seems clear that the varied ability of missionaries in the field to comply with the requirements for self-presentation on paper may reflect the varied levels of literacy and fluency in the norms of print and written culture, particularly among lay Methodist missionaries and Native lay catechists and teachers.

336 John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 217, states that “CMS and Wesleyan missionaries of the nineteenth century were required not only to send in annual reports but to keep daily journals for later scrutiny,” but I can find no evidence within the CMS and Methodist materials that I have examined to support Grant’s assertion that daily journals were inspected by the sponsoring societies.
compiling the required letters and reports to the sponsoring societies seems to have been fairly widespread. As well, missionaries in the field were often geographically and psychologically isolated from the support, advice and assistance that would have been provided in urban areas by their clergy peers. For some of these missionaries, diaries seem to have served as an outlet for opinions that could not be expressed in the wider community, and as a means of exploring solutions to personal problems that could not be shared otherwise.\(^{337}\) Private diaries also served as a tool for religious self-examination and reflection, and were particularly adopted by many Evangelicals as a means of recording their progress in faith, and reminding themselves of their shortcomings and failures.\(^{338}\)

John Wesley’s private diaries, which were regularly excerpted and printed in the *Extracts of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley’s Journals*, and which were widely circulated among Methodists, proved a potent model for the interiority of textual self-reflection, and at the

\(^{337}\) John L. Comaroff, “Images of Empire, Contests of Conscience: Models of Colonial Domination in South Africa,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 168, discusses the nineteenth century conception of the bourgeois self as an autonomous individual personality, commenting that “the subjective “I” was in a position to monitor the progress of the objective self.” He further notes the way in which written texts engaged the self, and encouraged the reader to come to “know better both the outer world and their inner selves.” Diaries were a bourgeois textual project that encouraged the diarist to reflect on both the subjective and objective self and explore the presentation of the self through textual representation. It is perhaps not surprising then that diaries would be recommended to missionaries, who were the bearers of bourgeois metropolitan education and culture.

same time, a measure against which personal experience could be compared.339

The diaries of George Hills, first Anglican bishop of Columbia may be the most extensive surviving private record of missionary activity in British Columbia. Hills filled volume after volume of bound notebooks with careful observations of his experiences in the colonies, commented on the people that he met, and frequently expressed his decided opinions about politics, both secular and ecclesiastical.340 The entries vary in length from a terse single line commenting on the weather to extended essays on the new sights and experiences encountered on his travels throughout the province, although the longest and most detailed entries are largely confined to the years before his marriage to Maria King in 1865.341 The diaries in the years before his marriage clearly were a safe place in which he could confide his anxieties about his task as bishop of a new diocese, anxieties that recurred with particular intensity around the anniversary of his consecration, and to a lesser degree, when Hills was dissatisfied with his own ability to preach.342 Typical of

339 Twenty-one Extracts were published between 1740 and Wesley’s death in 1791. See Albert C. Outler, ed. John Wesley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 37. Wesley explained his intention in keeping a diary in the preface to the first published extract: “It was in pursuance of an advice given by Bishop Taylor, in his Rules for Holy Living and Dying, that, about fifteen years ago, I began to take a more exact account than I had done before, of the manner wherein I spent my time, writing down how I had employed every hour. This I continued to do, wherever I was, till the time of my leaving England for Georgia. The variety of scenes which I then passed through induced me to transcribe, from time to time, the more material parts of my diary, adding here and there such little reflections as occurred to my mind.” See John Wesley, An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley’s Journal from His Embarking for Georgia to His Return to London (Bristol: Printed by S. and F. Farley [1740].


341 Tolley, 63, notes a similar pattern in the diary of Henry Thornton, a noted Evangelical and member of the Clapham sect, and speculates that marriage brought “diminished leisure for writing and the opportunity to make confession of his faults directly to a sympathetic yet serious wife.”

342 Hills’ recurrent comments on his lack of eloquence in preaching may be more than rhetorical modesty. The Bishop of Kingston-on-Thames in reminiscences of Hills drew particular attention to his poor preaching skills: “I remember also my father telling me about him, but that was quite on the other side, that he had no power of eloquence to which could be attributed the wonderful success which always attended
these occasions for self-examination and self-criticism is Hills’ diary entry for February 24, 1861, in which he clearly indicated his feelings of inadequacy. Also typical of these passages is the weaving together of familiar phrases from the Psalms in his intercessions:

This is St. Mathias Day – my second anniversary. How rapid is life passing. Alas how full is mine of shortcomings. Sloth is one great trouble now with me. My mind refuses to apply itself and I waste hours over matters once I could quickly despatch...I...am much depressed at the thought of my own insufficiency. I see continually I am uninfluential where the Bishop ought to lead. I fear my clergy will find out my deficiencies and I shall want their confidence... I sometimes feel how gladly would I retire into the most obscure corner to be free from this weight of care. Yet this cannot be. I must do the work as best I can and what should I do had I not my stony Rock to lean on and my safe Refuge to flee to.343 How sweet and refreshing is thy footstool of mercy, O my God. How consoling is the thought of thy Headship and Intercession, O my Saviour. How strengthening is thy help, O Holy Ghost.344 O bring thou me out of my troubles.345 Be then my Guide and lead me.346 O my God, my trust is in thee.347

These private confessional entries were balanced by the carefully crafted record of Hills’ tours throughout the province, which were used to prepare reports to the SPG and

whatever he undertook. My father was asked to supply a preacher on some big occasion, and he sent Hills, as being a person full of enthusiasm, but he was apparently a considerable failure, and my father was very disappointed and he said - “Dear good fellow, stupid fellow, he has got such a lot in his stupid head and he cannot get it out of his mouth.” That was a very good summary of his character perhaps, but there was a persuasiveness about him that was very striking. The reality of his enthusiasm went home to the hearts of those to whom he spoke. See British Columbia Church Aid Society, Yearbook (London: The Society, 1911), 92-93.

343 Cf. Psalm 18, verses 1-2, I love thee, O Lord, my strength. The Lord is my stony rock, my defence, and my Saviour; My God, and my might, in whom I will trust; my shield, the horn also of my salvation, and my refuge.

344 This Trinitarian invocation seems to be scripturally inspired, but original in phrasing, drawing on images of the footstool of God from Isaiah 66:1, the Headship of Christ from Hebrews 7:25, and the strengthening of the Holy Spirit from 1 Thessalonians 3:13. In other passages from his diary during times of anxiety, Hills combined phrases from the Intercessions from the Book of Common Prayer with phrases from the Collects, the Psalms and paraphrased scriptural references.

345 Cf. Psalm 25, verse 17, Relieve thou the sorrows of my heart: O bring thou me out of my troubles.

346 Cf. Psalm 48:15, For this God is our God for ever and ever: he shall be our guide for evermore.

347 Cf. Psalm 25, verse 1, Unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul; my God, I have put my trust in thee. See George Hills, diaries, entry for February 24, 1861. In Anglican public worship, the Psalms are read (or sung) during Morning and Evening Prayer in a thirty day cycle, and it is therefore not at all surprising that Hills would incorporate familiar phrases from the Psalms into his own meditations.
the Columbia Mission Society. In the early years of his episcopacy, Hills took a lively interest in the work being carried out by missionaries throughout the diocese, and the diaries are full of his impressions of the people that he met during his travels, and the progress that was being made towards establishing the Church of England in the new colony. After his marriage, he made fewer tours of the Cariboo and the North Pacific Mission, and the long descriptions of new scenery and experiences were superceded by entries recording his concerns over his wife's health, and brief notes about the state of affairs within the Church of England in Victoria in the difficult years of the Hills-Cridge controversy. However, Hills' emotional reticence and discretion extended to the private space of the diary. During the most difficult periods of dissent, the entries were reduced to the briefest comments on the weather, and his participation in church events. He rarely disclosed his personal feelings about major events, apart from occasional comments that hint at his frustration and anxiety, or short, sharp criticisms of the behaviour of his clergy.

Hills clearly intended to leave his diaries as a public record of his work in the diocese, as late in his life he explicitly named them in his will as a bequest to his nephew, the Reverend William Henry Percival Arden. This doubling of private and public record within a single body of text is in sharp contrast to the intensely personal diary of the Methodist missionary Edward White. Like Hills, White used the textual space of his diary to wrestle with his profound feelings of unworthiness and unhappiness. Unlike Hills, White rarely used his diary to record his impressions of the people that he encountered, except to critique the preaching ability and quality of sermons delivered by other Methodists and Anglicans, and made no attempt to craft formal descriptions of his
work suitable for public consumption. For White, his diary was a place to record his spiritual struggles, note his current reading, briefly describe his domestic endeavours, and chronicle the texts on which he preached his sermons. There are long gaps in the diary, after which he usually exhorts himself to more faithful attention, before falling back into a pattern of infrequent entries and further remonstrances. White was clearly torn between the desire to keep a regular journal, and the need for self-discipline and a measure of free time in which to make the daily entries.

Relatively few manuscript missionary diaries seem to have survived the lifetime of the writer. The common practice of destroying private papers, and the losses occasioned by time and the hazards of transportation mean that the evidence of diary-keeping survives primarily in the printed partial transcriptions published in missionary periodicals,

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348 For example, the diary entry for Sunday, February 20, 1859 noted “Preached at 10 1/2 from Gen. 5:24. The Lord gave me a comfortable time although suffering from a severe pain in the head. Heard the Rev. Mr. Cridge in the afternoon from 1 Peter 4:18; a sensible but very tame discourse. Heard Dr. Evans at 6:30 from Hebrews 9: 13, 14. Very good doctrine but rather dry and lengthy.” See Edward White, diary, 1859-1866, Vertical File, UCCBC.

349 Typical of White’s diary style is the entry for Sunday, August 28, 1859, “Preached from Gen. 5:25 and Luke 8: 9-13. Very small congregation. Felt somewhat discouraged. The people seem to be all leaving for other parts, excepting a few who have no disposition to hear the Word. O, that God would give me power from on high. I feel very weak, but my trust is still in the Mighty One.” Ibid.

350 After a gap in the diary entries from January 16, 1864 to May 1, 1865, White noted “I find it very difficult to keep a journal. I have little to record that is of much interest. This has been a day of much self examination. I feel very unworthy, and have an intense desire to be more useful. I have thought much of the young people and have been trying to devise some way in which I can be more useful than I have been in the past. Have felt much pleasure in my studies and am determined to search the scriptures more and more.” Ibid.

351 The destruction of private papers by the creator, or by the heirs after the death of the creator unfortunately was a relatively common practice. Perhaps the most famous example is Charles Dickens, who destroyed all of his private letters in 1860, lest they be published and expose his private life to public scrutiny. The practice was not restricted only to the famous, however. Edward White noted in his diary that in preparation from his move from Nanaimo to New Westminster in 1866, he was “Busy packing. Burned a great many old letters today. All of Bro. Robson’s and many others. Also nearly all my skeletons [outlines for sermons] and sermons. I am resolved to commence life anew.” See Edward White, diary entry, August 14, 1866, Ibid.
biographies, and autobiographies. For example, among the Anglicans, the diaries of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, first bishop of New Westminster, John Sheepshanks, first rector of Holy Trinity parish in New Westminster, and James Benjamin McCullagh, CMS missionary at Aiyansh were quoted extensively by their biographers, but do not seem to have survived the publication of those biographies. Among the Methodists, the diaries kept by Ephraim Evans exist only in reports printed in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices.

The Methodists, however, were systematic about the preservation of biographical information, and encouraged retired missionaries and other prominent members of the British Columbia Conference to write brief autobiographical sketches. Early issues of

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352 For an overall examination of the role of missionary biographies see Terrence L. Craig, The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography, Studies in Christian Missions, 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1997). Craig, however, does not specifically discuss the role that diaries played in the creation of autobiographies and biographies, although he examines the genre of missionary biographies within the larger framework of biographical narratives.

353 Herbert H. Gowen, Pioneer Church Work In British Columbia: Being a Memoir of the Episcopate of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, D.D., D.C.L., First Bishop of New Westminster (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1899); D. Wallace Duthie, ed., A Bishop in the Rough (London: Smith, Elder, 1909); J. W. W. Moeran, McCullagh of Aiyansh, 2d ed. (London: Marshall Brothers, [1923]). All three biographies noted their indebtedness to the diaries kept by the subject. Henry Edwardes and Richard Small, in their “Preface” to Gowen’s biography, vii, note that “This little memoir has been compiled mainly from Bishop Sillitoe’s own diaries, from old numbers of the New Westminster Diocesan Gazette, and from Mrs. Sillitoe’s and the Bishop’s letters written to various missionary publications.” In the “Preface,” v, to Duthie’s biography, Sheepshanks himself stated that “From time to time, in lectures and addresses and in private conversation, I have been led to relate incidents of my past life which have been received with more or less interest... I had always, even in trying circumstances, at the gold-mines of Cariboo or on the arid steppes of Asia, kept a fairly full journal. And at odd times of my present life, when on my annual holiday... I have found amusement in filling out my journal from my own recollections. I thought that possibly my children might like to have it printed after my decease. But a few months since one of my clergy, the Rev. D. Wallace Duthie, himself an author of repute and experience, most kindly offered to undertake the work of revising and piecing together the portions of my journal and preparing from the Press.” In his “Prologue,” Moeran, 5–6, notes that McCullagh’s, “letters and journals, together with a few booklets and articles written by himself and published during his lifetime by the Church Missionary Society, and also a collection of sketches penned by his hand with the obvious intention of being some day published, have supplied an abundance of material for preparing and linking together the incidents and events which show the strength and beauty of his many-sided character.”

354 See, for example the correspondence George F. Hopkins and John Goodfellow, vertical file, UCCBC, regarding the details of Hopkins’ career in British Columbia. Goodfellow wrote to Hopkins, November 8, 1932, asking for very specific information: “Regarding suggestions as to reminiscences I think that if you would keep in mind three separate lines that this would be most helpful and valuable to us. Of course these
The Western Methodist Recorder published a series of essays and autobiographical sketches of leading figures in the history of the British Columbia Conference that incorporated career details and personal anecdotes clearly drawn from original sources. The Methodist practice of memorialising prominent deceased members at the Annual Conference gave further impetus to the collection of biographical material. And some Methodists later in life enlarged on the spiritual autobiographies, modelled on Wesley’s diaries, that they had written in preparation for their examinations before the Quarterly Board at the beginning of their candidacy for ministry.

The diaries of other missionaries were destroyed or lost in the frequent moves between stations. William Ridley lost all of his personal papers in the disastrous fire at Metlakatla in 1901. The diaries of Alexander Garrett, SPG missionary in British Columbia, who later would necessarily overlap at points, but that is quite a minor detail. (i) An autobiographical sketch. Mr. Tate prepared a very fine sketch of his life for us, and it is a valuable historical document. (ii) Church Life - We are anxious to receive accounts of the beginnings and early work of churches and mission stations. Conditions have changed so very very much within the last half century that it would be a pity if no faithful picture were left of the early struggles and prayers to establish the church - among the whites and among the Indians - in the West. Perhaps you have some old photographs that might help to visualise the past. (iii) Indians and Whites. Some recollection of the Indians as you knew them; and of the white pioneers would be helpful.” Goodfellow evidently received an autobiographical sketch from Hopkins, which he acknowledged in his letter of January 6, 1934, “Many thanks for your letter of 3.1.34. with the enclosed auto-sketch. This covers in a splendid way the story you have to tell, and will be a real addition to our records of Church life and work in this Province of British Columbia. You have gone to much trouble to prepare this record, but I feel that the result is really worth while, for the story of the beginnings should not be lost. It has too much of permanent value, and too much potential inspiration for those who will succeed us to be forgotten. In your letter you hint that later on you may supply a little more detail as it concerns our Province. This will indeed be welcomed. And I think we should have a photograph of yourself to go with the story.” See also Charles Tate, “Autosketch,” vertical file, UCCBC, and James Turner, “Reminiscences of Methodist Church in British Columbia, 1899” H/D/R57/T85r, BCA.

These biographical sketches were not always entirely flattering to their subject. See, for example “Rev. Charles Tate,” Western Methodist Recorder 2, no. 5 (November 1900): 3-4, “Mr. Tate is not a brilliant man in the pulpit, nor could he be described as magnetic, but continued acquaintance means increasing esteem. He is a man of strong personality, who understands regeneration, a man of conviction and common sense, and blessed with the valuable quality of continuity.”

See, for example, the spiritual autobiography of Charles Ladner, vertical file, UCCBC, which begins “When a boy about 10 years of age, the Holy Spirit strove with me so blessedly, that I was constrained to go to my bedroom and fall on my knees in prayer - a most comforting sense of pardon and peace filled me.”
was elected first bishop of Episcopal Missionary District of Northern Texas, apparently
only survive from the time of his election in December 1874.357 Other diaries survived
among the private papers of the missionaries after their return from the mission field, and
were passed on to subsequent generations. For example, the diaries of Robert Dundas,
which were heavily excerpted in contemporary missionary publications, accompanied
him back to Scotland when he left British Columbia.358 William Duncan’s journals were
acquired by Sir Henry Wellcome after Duncan’s death in 1918, in his role as a trustee of
Duncan’s estate.359

Letters and Reports

Anglican and Methodist missions in British Columbia were dependent primarily on
funding provided by the various metropolitan missionary societies. The steady flow of
letters and reports that were sent from British Columbia to the central headquarters of the
societies in London and Toronto were the means by which the societies could monitor the
progress of the work in a particular mission. In return the societies offered advice,

357 Garrett’s post-1874 diaries have been published. See Alexander Charles Garrett, Bishop Garrett’s
Journal, Texas, 1875-1890: Genealogical and Historical Abstracts From the Official Acts of the First
Bishop of the Episcopal Missionary District of Northern Texas, ed. Margaret Ann Thetford and Jeanne
Jordan Tabb (Dallas: The Authors, 1987).

358 The diaries, which have never been published in their entirety, are currently in the possession of his
great-grandson, Simon Carey, who also inherited Dundas’ collection of Tsimshian artefacts, acquired
during a trip to Metlakatla in 1864. The potential sale of the artefacts by Sotheby’s auction house has been
disputed by the Tsimshian people. See “Native Artefacts to Be Auctioned,” Canadian Press Newswire,
November 13, 1999; “Museums Stay Clear of Bidding on Sacred Artefacts,” National Post 2, no. 19
(November 17, 1999), p. A3; “Native Artefacts Belong to Canada, BC Tribe Says,” National Post 2, no. 21
(November 19, 1999), p. A4; “BC Tribe, Sotheby’s Try to Reach Deal: Negotiations Replace Court Action

359 See William Duncan fonds, Finding Aid 499, former record group MG29-D55, National Archives of
Canada, which is a guide to the microfilmed papers, the originals of which are held by the Wellcome
Library in London. Peter Murray, The Devil and Mr. Duncan: A History of the Two Metlakatlas (Victoria:
Sono Nis, 1985), 323-324, notes that Wellcome amassed 105 cubic feet of records pertaining to Metlakatla
and Duncan.
direction, admonition, and encouragement to missionaries in the field, and informed the local authorities of decisions made at the central level which would have to be implemented in the field. These letters, on one hand, frequently reiterated the need for additional funds for mission projects, and reminded the Societies of the self-sacrifice and hard work of the missionaries in the field, and on the other hand reminded missionaries in the field of the financial constraints under which the Societies operated, and urged them to provide quantifiable evidence of success in their work in order to justify continued support.

The sponsoring societies were often quick to note the failure of missionaries to send regular reports, seemingly without recognising that mail service, particularly between England and British Columbia, was often slow, and that many missionaries were stationed in geographically remote locations with infrequent mail delivery. Ernest Hawkins of the SPG repeatedly wrote to George Hills to remind him that letters were owing from the SPG-supported missionaries in the field. On one occasion Hawkins dropped a not-so-subtle hint that Hills was also remiss in his correspondence, noting that “It is long, I think six months, since we heard anything of Mr. Gammage and we shall read your promised report of a visit to the Gold fields with much interest.”

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360 A letter from James Gammage to the SPG, April 11, 1862, Series E, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-229, NAC, began, “We are passing through a very long and severe winter which I trust is nearly at the close although Douglas is still covered with snow and it is still snowing, and the ice on the little lake before the town has not yet broken up. For three months nearly all traffic has been stopped: steam boats have only very recently been able to enter the Fraser. The first arrived at the Douglas end of Harrison Lake, a mile and half below our town, on March 17th.” George Hills, forwarding the reports from Jules Xavier Willemar and Henry Guillod, stationed at Alberni, noted that the reports had been received in Victoria “a few days ago. There had been no means of communication with them for four months previously.” George Hills to the SPG, December 8, 1868, Letters from the Diocese of Columbia from 1860 to 1874, Series D, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-29, NAC.

361 Ernest Hawkins to George Hills, December 14, 1860, File 1, 1859-1867 Correspondence, SPG-Bishop Hills, Box 2, Text 56, Hills papers, ADBC.
Hawkins also made it clear that the funding was tied to regular and systematic reports, stating “May I request you also to call his [i.e. Alexander Charles Garrett] attention and that of the other Missionaries whether wholly or in part maintained by the Society to the preceding bye-law (20) and to say that we require an annual statistical return and a quarterly report of his work to be sent either thru you as his Bishop or direct from himself as you may determine. We have, as yet received no communications whatever from him.”

Some missionaries and parish officials were keenly aware of the link between funding and regular reporting, as a letter from the churchwardens of Holy Trinity, New Westminster clearly demonstrated. In 1868, after fire destroyed the church building, furnishings, fittings and sacred vessels, the wardens wrote to the SPG, beginning their letter with the observation that:

In the Society’s Report for 1867, the reason for the paucity of information under the head of the Columbian Mission is attributed to the small number of reports received from her Eleven Missionaries.

Receiving as this Colony does, so handsome a sum from the Society towards the support and advancement of the Church, it is thought but just that your generous subscribers should be kept informed from time to time of the progress of the noble work here, which, without such timely aid, would certainly languish and die.

The wardens included copies of the Churchwardens’ reports for 1864 through 1868, newspaper clippings describing the fire, photographs of the interior and exterior of the new building, and a balance sheet showing the contributions received to that date to defray the cost of rebuilding. Clearly, they were hoping that the SPG would be moved by their diligence and contribute to the campaign.

362 Ernest Hawkins to George Hills, November 22, 1861, ibid.

363 Letter from Charles Good and W. J. Armstrong, Churchwardens to the SPG, July 28, 1868, Letters from the Diocese of Columbia from 1860 to 1874, Series D, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-29, NAC. The accompanying printed report indicated that the building campaign had succeeded in raising funds for the
On other occasions, it was the missionaries themselves who commented on their lack of attention to correspondence, or the lack of new information to report. The Methodist Amos Russ justified the tardiness of his reports by noting “Since I came to this Mission I have been quite too busy to answer letters or write Mission Reports.” Alexander David Pringle, writing his quarterly letter to the SPG in 1860 noted that “I believe my quarterly letter is due, although there is little news in connexion with your Mission which I have to relate.”

It was a continual problem for the metropolitan centre to understand the challenges specific to the periphery, and the letters and reports sent from British Columbia to England and Ontario sought to reproduce textually the particular contours of missionary practice. The requirement that missionaries regularly report on their activities to geographically remote authorities focused attention on the need for descriptive writing practices, and for the willingness to engage in some measure of self-reflexivity, as the missionary sought to make a strong narrative out of the bricolage of everyday experience, even though many missionaries lacked skill in crafting polished prose.

William Ridley

completion of a bell tower to house the church bells donated by Angela Burdett Coutts.


365 Letter from Alexander David Pringle to the SPG, October 1, 1860, Series E, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-228, NAC.

366 Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 90, draws attention to the difference between the subjectivity of self-reflexivity, which reveals the ethnographer, and the objective reflex of reflection, which hides the observer by eliminating subjectivity. Missionaries, in their reports, spanned a wide variety of subject positions in relation to the convert communities, from a very limited ethnographic self-reflexivity to a completely opaque and distanced reflection, sometimes within the space of a single report. The belief-system that Christian missionaries brought to the mission field included their unshakable commitment to their own religious superiority, which in turn gave rise to feelings of cultural superiority and a commitment to a Hegelian hierarchy of cultural and religious attainment that precluded a deep questioning of the
noted the difficulty of translating experience into narratives that would engage the attention of the metropolitan reader, stating:

How little does even the true Church, much less the crowd of self-centred Christians and the world, know of the travail and joy of the missionary? Not that he thinks of this; his one concern is his work, a commerce directly between him and his Master, Who makes His servant's life as full and complete as may be possible amid the city's concourse, and much more healthy. It makes him self-contained, and this tends to make him reticent and to restrain his pen when a full record of the common incidents of his work would be as fuel to kindle sacrifice of praise in many a pure and devout heart at home. Often do I wish they would write just what they tell me, for though it is the fruit of faithful endeavour, it has the bloom that only the sunshine of heavenly grace can paint.

The real romance of Missions is not yet written, and never will be, because God's greatest works are like the diamond and dew – perfected in the secret places of the Most High, and await the great day to reveal them.367

The reports also encouraged missionaries to act as journalists or travel writers as they tried to write descriptive and engaging reports that would stimulate donations and grants in the face of competition from more exotic missionary fields like China, Japan, and Africa.368 The tension between missions to British colonial spaces with significant populations of White settlers and missions to the “heathen” was a constant. When the CMS withdrew funding to the North Pacific Mission in 1902, the first Resolution, printed by the CMS and circulated among the missionaries, began


368 James Duncan, “Sites of Representation: Place Time and the Discourse of the Other,” in *Place / Culture / Representation*, ed. James Duncan and David Ley (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 40, explores “two of the most important sets of rhetorical devices or tropes that discourses of the Other tend to employ in representing places. The first includes the tropes of mimesis which persuasively claim to represent accurately and objectively the nature of a place... The second set of tropes is comparative; these tropes attempt to assimilate the site being represented to the site from which the representation emanates by arraying both sites along a temporal continuum." Missionary literature utilised both mimesis and comparison in the recreation of the missionary hinterland for the metropolitan reader.
In view of the urgency of the calls for extension of the Missions in the densely populated portions of the Heathen World, and of the difficulty of providing men and means for such extension, and even for the natural development of existing work, the Committee feel it incumbent on them to take definite steps for the reduction of the Missions to the small populations of North-West Canada and British Columbia, the larger part of which is now professedly Christian.  

Missionaries sought in their letters and reports to present the Native peoples of British Columbia as both barbaric and romantic, heathen but with the potential for conversion, utterly foreign but still the brothers and sisters of the Christian reader of the reports, who would be stimulated through pity to support the enterprise of evangelism. At the same time the reports reinforced ideas of civility, decorum and morality, and reminded readers of their own privilege as White Christians. Typical of the discourse of privilege and pitying sympathy in missionary literature, in which the metropolitan reader was invited to make comparisons between the Christian self and the object of missionary endeavour was an article in which children were exhorted to support the missionary cause:

The happy little girls of England are very few of them aware of the great difference there is between their condition and that of Turkish females...Oh how different are the dark abodes of these poor Turkish women to a happy English home! Surely the Christian girls of happy England ought to be the most zealous friends and helpers of Christian Missions; for it is the blessed Gospel that has ennobled them, and multiplied their comforts in this present life, and given them that influence which only Christian

369 See the letter from the CMS to the missionaries of the North Pacific Mission, January 25, 1902, and attached printed “Resolutions Regarding the Administration of the North-West Canada and British Columbia Missions,” G.1. Series, C.2/L British Columbia, Letter books (Out), 1881-1905, CMS papers, microfilm reel 122, NAC. The adoption of the goal of the total Christianisation of the world in one generation at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 had the unintended effect of shifting further attention away from British Columbia (and Canada) as a missionary field, as it was argued that the Native peoples of Canada had all been converted to Christianity, or at least exposed to the possibility of conversion, and therefore were a people in need of pastoral rather than missionary attention. See, for example, William Henry Temple Gairdner, Echoes from Edinburgh, 1910: An Account and Interpretation of the World Missionary Conference (New York: Fleming H. Revell, [1910]); and Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions: Containing a Directory of Missionary Societies, A Classified Summary of Statistics, an Index of Mission Stations, and a Series of Specially Prepared Maps of Mission Fields, Compiled by Subcommittees of Commission I, “On Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World” (Edinburgh: World Missionary Conference, 1910).
women have. Dear Children, will you not help to enlighten the Turks?  

These themes of correctly ordered Christian gender identities, the privileges of English Christians in relation to the “heathen” Other, and the locus of correctly ordered Christianity within the domestic space of the home, reoccur throughout the missionary literature, and were central to missionary discourse in British Columbia.

In their reports, both Anglican and Methodist missionaries sought to situate their missions temporally and spatially, sometimes including sketches or photographs of newly constructed churches and mission houses, sketch maps, and vivid descriptions of the general scenery as well as the flora and fauna of their locations. These visual and verbal representations of the mission field’s terrain reminded the reader that missionaries were also participants in the colonial project of describing, enumerating, classifying and spatialising the colonial terrain, through their privileged status as White, educated men charged with civilising and Christianising Native peoples. The drawings of newly-

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371 See, for example the hand-drawn sketch map of the Nass and Skeena Rivers, showing the relative positions of the Metlakatla, Fort Simpson, Kincolith, and the Nisga’a villages of Kitaix, Kitlacungida, Kit-Aoush, Kit-Winshik, Kit-Laademix on the Nass and Kit-wingac, Kit-Zegukla, Kit-Anmaiks, Kish-Piyouks, Kish-Gagas and Kaulduatq on the Skeena [spelling from map], sent by Robert Tomlinson to the CMS with the *First Annual Report of the Kincolith Mission Hospital with List of Contributions, 1871-1872*, in Class “C”, C.2/0 Original Letters, etc. (Incoming), 1857-1880, CMS papers, microfilm reel A106, NAC; the drawing of the exterior of St. Mark’s, Douglas, which was attached to a letter from James Gammage to the SPG, August 5, 1862, Series E, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-229, NAC, and the sketch of the “Salmon Cannery ‘Inverness’ — on Skeena River, British Columbia,” attached to a letter from John Henry Keen to Christopher Fenn of the CMS, September 6, 1890, G.1 Series, C.2/0 Original Letters (In) to 1900, CMS papers, microfilm reel A123, NAC.

constructed churches and mission houses also reminded the reader that the missionaries physically altered the mission field’s terrain, imposing new, Eurocentric spatial control onto the “untamed” landscape.\(^{373}\)

The first generation of SPG-sponsored Anglican missionaries were particularly inclined to create networks of references to the familiar scenes in their letters and diaries. For example, George Hills compared the mountain scenery around Hope to his memories of Switzerland.\(^{374}\) Similar comparisons between the Coastal Mountain range and the Alps were made by Robert Dundas, who reminded his reader that “from north to south there ran a splendid range, with peaks thrown up in every fantastic shape, many of them recalling to mind the obelisk of the Matterhorn.”\(^{375}\) John Sheepshanks noted the quietness of the woods in British Columbia, as “a contrast to our dear English woods, vocal with the sweet songs of our English birds! Assuredly England is the land of song.”\(^{376}\) Scenic vistas were not admired primarily for their own merit, but because they were a reminder

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\(^{373}\) Brett Christophers, *Positioning the Missionary: John Booth Good and the Confluence of Cultures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 70, argues that “Missionaries had to impose themselves on the colony by ordering its space.” Fabian, 106, argues that the use of maps, charts and tables, as apparatus of the “empirical, scientific tradition” encourages quantification and the diagrammatic representation of a culture or society, a tendency that he calls “visualism.” Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 163-164, remarks that three institutions of power, “the census, the map, and the museum... profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion – the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry.” Missionaries, of course, entered into all three colonising institutions of power identified by Anderson: as census-takers and compilers, as map-makers, and as collectors of Native religious and cultural artefacts.

\(^{374}\) George Hills, diary entry for June 1, 1869 “I went on shore [at Hope] & had a lovely stroll by the pale moonlight. The air was balmy & scenery entirely Swiss. You might have believed yourself in Chamouni [sic] or by the upper Rhine, except that there are no glaciers shining in the clouds.”


\(^{376}\) Duthie, 24.
of "Home," the civilised world that had been left behind. This network of references also aestheticized the landscape and the pleasure of viewing the landscape, and marked the missionaries as well-travelled consumers of the picturesque. 377

The missionaries' particular discourse in letters and reports was often shaped by denominational patterns of language that confirmed pre-existing views and expectations. The reports not only described lived missionary experience, but tested that experience against theoretical expectations of the missionary enterprise. These expectations, in turn, were formed by previously published reports of other missionaries in the field. 378 At the same time, the missionary narratives wove a web of references that placed current missionary endeavour within the larger history of Christian salvation. 379 Thus observation and explication intertwined in missionary narratives, and both were influenced by the references of "Home," the civilised world that had been left behind. This network of references also aestheticized the landscape and the pleasure of viewing the landscape, and marked the missionaries as well-travelled consumers of the picturesque. 377

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377 Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 202-203, discusses the consumption of landscape through sightseeing or "discovery" as a "gesture of converting local knowledges (discourses) into European national and continental knowledges associated with European forms and relations of power," and the aestheticization of the landscape in Victorian discovery rhetoric. See also Dean MacCannell, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 41, and his exploration of the relationship between the tourist, the sight and the marker, or information about the sight. The marker draws the attention of the viewer to the "importance" of the sight as a sacralised touristic experience. Thus the mountain scenery around Hope is noticeable and worthy of comment to Hills because he has a pre-existing grid of markers (the mountains are "like" the Alps) that themselves mark Hills as "well-travelled" and able to appreciate the Romantic terribilis of the mountainous landscape.

378 Craig, 4, refers to missionary biographies and autobiographies as a "ladder of influence, one generation's text or texts providing inspiration for the next generation." It is perhaps worth noting that many of the missionaries in the field were also eager consumers of missionary literature. See for example, David Holmes to the SPG, dated only St. John's Parsonage, Yale B.C., 1872, "Dear Mr. Bullock, I am not personally acquainted with you, but may I take the liberty of asking you to favour me in procuring from the Society the "Mission Life," for the year 1871. We are glad to get hold of any Mission information, as we can thereby compare notes." Letters from the Diocese of Columbia from 1860 to 1874, Series D, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-29, NAC.

379 Christophers, 73-78, convincingly argues that nineteenth-century Anglican missionary strategy was grounded in the model offered by the missionary expansion of early Christianity, as articulated in the narratives of evangelisation in the Book of Acts and the Pauline Epistles. The scriptural imperative for missionary expansion was equally applicable to the Methodists, who took the commandment to go into the world and make disciples of all nations as their authority and motivation for missions (see Matthew 28:19, also Luke 9:1-6, and Acts 1:8 and 16:9). See also Bosch, 289.
particular religious language, theology and imagery of denominational affiliation. For example, Methodist missionaries sometimes compared their experiences in the field, and measured them against, Wesley's successes in the missionary enterprise. Cornelius Bryant, describing his experiences preaching on Burrard Inlet in 1870, stated:

Upon coming out of the service and proceeding to the canoe which was to take me to Hastings — en route to New Westminster, I noticed that the sun was only just beginning to rise over the mountains above what is now called North Vancouver. Truly, I thought, this is a bit of missionary work which would have delighted the heart of John Wesley himself, with his constant habit of early morning preaching! \(^{380}\)

For all of these reasons, missionary reports, should be read more as carefully crafted literary constructs than unmediated reportage.

Missionary strategies for conversion changed as they gained direct experience, the measures of the efficacy of conversion moved over time, and positions about conversion and the self-discipline of the converted subject became increasingly more rigid as the excitement of starting a new mission was replaced with the recognition that the work was ongoing and progress was sometimes hard to measure. Both Methodists and Anglicans decried backsliders, and sought various ways to enforce long-term commitment from Native converts. At the same time, the requirements from funding societies for evidence of progress created particular tensions for missionaries. For example, the printed report forms provided by the SPG quantified missionary activity, and encouraged the missionary to report measurable indicators of successful evangelisation — number of baptisms, average size of congregation, contributions to the support of the missionary — and encouraged an expectation of steady progress towards a definable goal, the complete

conversion of the Native population (see Figures 4 a/b and 5 a/b).\footnote{381} Statistics could also be used to marshal support for the missionary enterprise in the face of flagging interest from the sponsoring society. In 1868, George Hills wrote to the SPG to protest a reduction of £400, or twenty percent, in the Society’s grant to the diocese, and included a “schedule of statistics,” which was clearly designed to impress upon the Society the diligence of the missionaries in the face of geographic and demographic isolation. For each missionary, Hills listed the name of the mission at which they were stationed, the extent of the mission field, the population,\footnote{382} the number of church members, the average size of congregation, the number of communicants, and the number of baptisms and confirmations for the previous year.\footnote{383}


\footnote{382} From the numbers, it is not clear whether Hills counted only the European settlers, and not the Native peoples in each mission field, or combined European and Native numbers.

\footnote{383} George Hills to the SPG, December 8, 1868, attached statistical return, Letters from the Diocese of Columbia from 1860 to 1874, Series D, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-29, NAC.
Figure 4a Recto of SPG Annual Report from Alexander David Pringle, stationed at Hope December 31, 1860. See Appendix 9 for transcript of report
Figure 4b Verso of SPG Annual Report from Alexander David Pringle, stationed at Hope December 31, 1860. See Appendix 9 for transcript of report
Figure 5a Recto of SPG Annual Report from James Gammage, stationed at Douglas, January 20, 1862. See Appendix 9 for transcript of report
Figure 5b Verso of SPG Annual Report of James Gammage, stationed at Douglas, January 20, 1862
The distinction that Hills’ schedule made between “church members,” that is, adherents to the Church of England, and “communicants,” (also known as churchmen), those members of the congregation who regularly received the sacrament of Holy Communion, was typical of Anglicanism in the later nineteenth century. In British Columbia, the English pattern of fairly modest numbers of active communicants was exacerbated by several factors. The Church of England during this period required parishioners to be confirmed before they could communicate. The church-going population in British Columbia was small, the number within that population who adhered to the Church of England was a small percentage of that population, and the number who had been confirmed smaller still. A missionary clergyman and his wife were often the only communicating parishioners, judging from the Quarterly Reports sent from British Columbia to the SPG. As well, the pattern of twice-yearly or quarterly communion was retained by Evangelical clergy, with more frequent communion seen as a marker of Tractarianism. As well, the long probationary period that many missionaries imposed on Native converts before baptism and confirmation, and the reluctance of some missionaries to admit Native converts to the sacrament of Holy Communion meant that in mission fields that were predominantly Native, numbers of regular communicants would

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384 Frances Knight, The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 35-36, argues that Anglican clergy made increasing distinction between people who lived within the parish boundaries, those with “some sort of general affiliation to Anglicanism” and “those who attended the sacrament on a regular basis,” and that by the 1870s, “participation in the Eucharist had become the clergy’s index to measure the commitment of Anglicans...The majority who for whatever reason chose not to participate, were to some degree left unchurched.”

385 Knight, 35, notes that in some English counties, the number of regular communicants were as low as two to five per cent of the total population.
be markedly lower than mission fields where European settlers predominated. Although the schedule was designed to demonstrate the successes of missionaries in the diocese of Columbia, it also demonstrated the racialised distinctions that missionaries made between groups of participants in worship, and inadvertently drew attention to the modest numbers of "churchmen" among Native converts.

The CMS and the Methodist Missionary Society were equally enthusiastic about the bureaucratisation of missions through the centralised organisation control of missions in the hinterland from the metropolitan CMS headquarters in London and the MMS headquarters in Toronto, and through the publication of statistical returns in the annual reports. The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church specified the order of proceedings for each Annual Conference, and required precise statistical reporting on "the number of Church members, churches and other places of worship, and attendance

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386 The statistical return clearly demonstrates that in mission fields where Native converts predominated, the number of "church members" was dramatically lower than the number of "congregation" in comparison to the urban areas of Victoria and Nanaimo. Christ Church, Victoria (Edward Cridge's station) had a population of 2600, 900 of whom were church members (35%), 300 attended church regularly (33% congregation) and 106 were communicants (12% of the church members, 35% of the congregation). In contrast, the Lytton and Lillooet station of John Booth Good had a population of 2305, 25 of whom were church members (1% of the population), 300 were congregation (13% of the population), and 8 were communicants (32% of the church members, 3% of the congregation).

387 Asa Briggs, The Age of Improvement (London: Longmans, Green, 1959), 175, notes that the Evangelical impulse to efficient organisation was reflected in their networks of distribution for denominational literature, and their use of public meetings and societies to organise and shape opinion. The Methodist impulse to quantification, which grew directly out of Wesley's enthusiasm for systematisation is another facet of the same Evangelical impulse to efficient organisation. Alvyn J. Austin, Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 24, noted that the Methodist Church in Canada after the union of the various Methodist connexions in 1884 was a "highly centralised denomination, with a headquarters in Toronto and a mission society that was 'one piece of denominational machinery' " under the "imperious" reign of Alexander Sutherland. Of course, efficient organisation was also central to the various social and educational reform movements of the nineteenth century, which utilised statistical reporting and centralised bureaucratic control in an attempt to reorder social relations.
on worship on each Circuit and Mission," as well as the appointment of a Statistical
Returns Committee. Thus, the emphasis on quantitative measures and the neat
marshalling of statistics in support of a particularly bureaucratic manifestation of print
culture erased the messiness and indeterminacy of missionary work.

Missionary Periodicals and Publications

The nineteenth century in England, and to a more modest degree in Canada, saw a
proliferation of newspapers and periodical literature. Increased rates of literacy, new
technologies of production and distribution, the reduction in the cost of paper and paper
duties, and the reduction and eventual elimination of taxes levied on newspapers all
contributed to the growing popularity among all classes of readers of mass-produced
literature issued on a regular schedule. As the century progressed, the variety of types
of periodicals increased, from the expensive reviews aimed at the upper classes to the
family magazines and illustrated miscellanies that appealed to the growing middle class,
to the instructive penny papers and sensational illustrated papers and novelettes for the

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388 The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church (Toronto: William Briggs, 1884), Part 3, "The

389 Ibid, subsection 28, p. 57.

390 For the development of the periodical press in England and Canada, see Richard D. Altick, The English
Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900, 2d ed. (Columbus: Ohio State
University Press, 1998), 318-364; David Reed, The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States,
1880-1960 (London: The British Library, 1997); Joanne Shatlock and Michael Wolff, eds., The Victorian
Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings (Leicester: Leicester University Press; Toronto: University of
Toronto Press, 1982); Fraser Sutherland, The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789-1989
(Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1989); J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds.,
Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); J. Don Vann and
Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds., Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration (Toronto:
University of Toronto Press, 1996); for the development of the religious periodical press, see Josef L.
Warner Bowden, 22 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989); for the illustrated periodical press see Patricia
Press, 1991); for the readership of the periodical press see Alvar Ellegård, The Readership of the Periodical
working classes, as well as a wealth of specialised genre publications aimed at particular interests, professions, or groups of people.\(^{391}\)

Within the range of specialised publications, the predominant genre was the religious periodical press. In the early part of the century, a general denominational monthly magazine like the *Methodist Magazine* could reach a circulation in Britain of 18,000 to 20,000 copies, compared to the 3,700 copies of a general interest publication like *Blackwood’s*.\(^{392}\) As religious organisations like missionary societies and philanthropic societies expanded and revitalised, many began to publish periodicals and other literature in support of their work. By mid-century, the missionary press was the most popular and widely distributed genre of religious publications.\(^{393}\)

A steady stream of printed literature flowed from the mission presses of eastern Canada and London. Missionary societies wrote, published, printed and disseminated annual reports, pamphlets, magazines, teaching aids, Sunday school literature, biographies, and autobiographies describing work in particular mission fields, drawing in part on the body of letters and reports sent to them by the missionaries. The majority of these missionary

\(^{391}\) Altholz, 1, notes that “the nineteenth century saw the establishment of the periodical press as the preeminent medium of communication on all subjects, secular and religious. It became the rule that every movement, every school of thought, every sect, and every party had to have at least one periodical organ of expression.” The periodical press also met the needs of readers who were unable to afford subscription fees to lending libraries, and for whom the cost of a three volume novel was prohibitive. Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1900-1850* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University press, 1996), 142, noted that “It is not surprising then in a country of ten million people [i.e. England] and with few of our modern forms of entertainment, the average novel from 1800 to 1850 was printed in an edition of between 500 and 1,000 copies. They were simply too expensive for even most of the financially comfortable people.” By the 1850s, although innovation in printing technology had reduced the price books by about one half, periodical literature still filled the need for reading material for all but the affluent, and dominated the reading public’s consumption of print.

\(^{392}\) Altick, 392.

\(^{393}\) Altholz, 11.
publications were designed to capture the interest and imagination of the metropolitan reader through their focus on narratives of successful revivals and deathbed conversions, frightening tales of missionary bravery in the face of heathen opposition, reminders of the awful fate of the unconverted, and romantic (and often highly inaccurate) illustrations of life in the mission field. Missionary periodicals also included news from the sponsoring societies, and regular appeals for funds and material goods.

Reports and letters from missionaries in the field were often recycled through the various periodicals of a missionary society. In part, the repetitive nature of the reprinted material was an outcome of supply and demand. Not all the missionaries were frequent in their communications with the sponsoring societies, apart from the required annual letters and statistical returns required for continued support, while others were competent writers with an ability to construct engaging prose. In part, the cult of the missionary-as-hero that the missionary press promoted was a measure of the willingness of individual missionaries to promote themselves and their work textually. In the British Columbia mission field literature, first William Duncan and later William Ridley served in the CMS publications as the leading exemplar of heroic self-sacrifice. John Booth Good’s work at Lytton was extensively promoted in the SPG publications, while Thomas Crosby was the Canadian Methodist missionary hero. All were prolific writers.394

In other cases, the recycling was a matter of selection and successive editing for length

394 Missionaries who fell out of favour with their sponsoring societies could expect to disappear from the textual record. After Duncan’s dismissal from the CMS, his position as CMS-hero was transposed to Ridley, and no further mention of Duncan or his achievements at Metlakatla appeared in the CMS publications. Similarly, Richard Dowson, an SPG-sponsored missionary who returned to England in 1860, ostensibly because of the ill-health of his wife, had written several long letters to the SPG. These were printed after his return without acknowledgement of the author, as “Extracts from the Journal of a Missionary.” See The Mission Field 5 (1860): 183-186.
and appropriateness from the original manuscript source. This process of private journal to letter to public report can be seen clearly in the annual reports of the Columbia Mission Society, which was organised by George Hills to provide support for his new diocese. The annual reports regularly printed carefully edited extracts from Hills' diary, particularly passages that described his missionary journeys throughout British Columbia, as well as extracts from the diaries of other missionaries in British Columbia, and reports on the diocese reprinted from local newspapers. In turn, the Columbia Mission Society annual reports formed the basis of the summaries of SPG-sponsored mission work in the diocese that were published in the SPG annual reports, and which sometimes reappeared in the SPG’s magazine, The Mission Field. Before publication, the passages from the diaries were edited to remove personal comments and opinion, and any details of the family life of the missionary, as well as incidents or situations unflattering to mission work. As well, the SPG reports carefully excised any mention of CMS-sponsored work

395 The frequency of typographic errors in geographic and personal names is one indication of the difficulty that the missionary periodicals had in deciphering the handwritten reports of missionaries in the field. See for example, “Progress of the Gospel Among the Indians of British Columbia,” The Mission Field 14 (1869): 192, in which Lillooet is mistranscribed as “Silaret” and Kootenay as “Kooteway.”

396 For example, the Report of the Columbia Mission, with List of Contributions, 1860 (London: Rivingtons, [1860]) includes the “Journal of the Bishop’s Tour in British Columbia” on pages 31-83. The Journal is a condensed and edited version of the events described in Bishop Hills’ 1860 diary. See George Hills, diary for 1860, and Hills, No Better Land.

397 See, for example, the Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the Year 1860 (London: The Society, 1860): 92-94, which heavily edited and reprinted the Annual Report. It is probable that Hills took responsibility for selecting and editing not only his own diary but the reports from the other missionaries sent to him for publication in the Annual Report of the Columbia Mission Society. Certainly, the quarterly and annual reports to the SPG from missionaries in the field were sent first to the bishop for review, and then mailed in batches to the SPG headquarters in London.

398 A careful comparison of the manuscript copies of letters received by the SPG and CMS and the printed letters from the missionary periodicals reveals clear evidence of editorial intervention in preparation for publication. Paragraphs revealing failure in the mission field, personal details of family life, personal financial worries, or ill health were marked for excision, usually with a diagonal slash across the offending
in the diocese: no mention was made of the work done on the North Pacific Mission.

Readers of SPG publications might be forgiven for believing that the Church of England presence in British Columbia was limited to Vancouver Island, the Fraser Canyon, and the Cariboo.

Just as the secular periodical press tailored publications to groups of readers based on age, level of education and socio-economic status, so too the missionary presses constructed the readers of missionary literature into categories based on class and age, by creating distinctive periodicals carefully targeted at a particular demographic group within the general missionary press readership. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel published a series of annual reports and the magazines *The Mission Field* and *The Gospel Missionary*, among others. The *Mission Field* was the monthly record of the proceedings of the Society at Home and Abroad, according to its title page, while *The Missionary Gleaner* 3 (1876): 12. See also the frequent and copious letters of John Booth Good to the SPG, which were carefully edited to remove all traces of Good's continuous state of financial disarray. Typical of editorial reworking is the letter from Good to the SPG for the quarter ending September 1876, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-242, NAC, [excisions on manuscript indicated in italics] “I am compelled by the exigency of our circumstance to have my only fellow helper stationed for the coming winter at Yale and I shall be again left alone at Lytton [which will be all the more trying personally to me since I am compelled by strict pecuniary necessity and also for the sake of our eight children to have to remove them with my wife to Victoria where we may avail ourselves of the Educational advantages offered by our church in that city. I shall be all alone for some months to come] An Augustinian [i.e. graduate of St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury] is engaged to come out at the beginning of next year and if I can secure his Services for my Mission I shall feel much encouraged, but the Bishop is hardly pressed for means to pay my present staff of clergy and it can only be by increased offerings at home and also locally that we shall be able to pay for the additional instrumentality so urgently required.”

Missionary publications changed and merged over the years. The advertisement for SPG publications, included in the *Missionary Atlas and Handbook* (London: The Society, 1903), listed *The Mission Field*, into which *The Gospel Missionary* had been incorporated; *The Children of the Church Magazine*, “designed to interest children in the work of the Missions”; *The Church Abroad*, available both as an insertion for parish magazines, and as a separate publication, contained “numerous illustrations”; and *The East and the West*, a new quarterly review, which was dedicated to the discussion of “problems which arise out of Mission work, both in heathen countries and in the Colonies,” as well as reviews of books particularly relevant to missionary work.
Gospel Missionary was “intended to interest persons who have but little time for reading reports and especially to awaken a Missionary spirit in the young, to whom the privilege of working for God and His Church will belong by and by,” and was more extensively illustrated. The Methodist Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada published, at different times, the Wesleyan Missionary Notices and the Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada, the Missionary Outlook, and The Missionary Bulletin, the latter two titles including more extensive and regular illustrations. As well, the Methodist Missionary Society produced annual reports, and a wealth of small pamphlets, tracts, and Sunday school publications that complemented the extensive publishing program carried out by the Methodist Church as a whole. The development of the Young People’s Forward Movement for Missions (YPFMM) in the late 1890s spurred the development of a whole range of publications that could be read and discussed by Epworth League study-groups of teen-agers and young adults. A separate

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publishing program organised under the YPFMM banner by Frederick Stephenson and his energetic wife Annie Stephenson produced missionary biographies, pamphlets on individual missions, complete libraries of missionary literature, lantern slides, and study guides. Epworth Leagues were encouraged to “adopt” a Forward Movement missionary in the field, write regular letters to him, and take special interest in his letters, published in *The Missionary Bulletin*. Readers of the *Bulletin* were exhorted to enter into a “systematic study of the mission work of our Church,” by reading the published letters, which would help the reader to “a personal Christian experience,” prepare for “prayer-meetings and Epworth League Meetings,” and aid in the preparation of sermons.

The most extensive range of missionary periodicals, however, was produced by Church Missionary Society, which published a variety of missionary magazines, including the *Church Missionary Record*, the comprehensive official publication that was an annual review of the work of the Society; the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, a

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403 Sec, for example, “Around the World Missionary Trips,” *Missionary Bulletin* 8, no. 9 (March 1907): 11, “The following pamphlets supply information which may be used for the news agents [instructors who tell about the missions]: The Italian Mission, free; How Methodism Came to British Columbia, 10 cents; The Story of China in Canada, 10 cents; Our Indian Missions in British Columbia, 5 cents; Indian Education in the Northwest, 5 cents; The British Columbia Indian and His Future, 5 cents; The Story of Tong Chue Thom, 5 cents; The above pamphlets will be sent for 25 cents; The Missionary Report in the Missionary Bulletin, Onward and other church papers should be closely watched for suitable material; A map of Canada will be sent free, with Mission stations marked the price is 50 cents; An atlas and geography of Canada will be sent free;...For information regarding the Junior Missionary Trip write to F. C. Stephenson, Methodist Mission Rooms, Toronto.” See also the *Young People’s Forward Movement for Missions 1914-1918: The Secretary’s Quadrennial Report* ([Toronto: The Mission Rooms, 1918]) which described the publishing program, with illustrations of the various materials. For the “Missionary Campaign Library,” a sixteen volume library that covered all aspects of domestic and foreign mission work, see the advertisement at the end of *The Missionary Bulletin* 2, no. 2 (1904-1905). Austin, 97, described the offices of the YPFMM as “a storehouse of missionary ‘stuff’: books, pamphlets, magic-lantern slides (in boxed sets of up to six dozen, postcards, stereopticon views, photographs...posters and maps...The YPFMM organizers were great believers in the value of ‘visual education.’”


monthly journal that included lengthy descriptions of CMS missions, editorials and essays on missionary subjects, book reviews, and correspondence from missionaries in the field; the *Church Missionary Gleaner*, a less expensive monthly magazine designed for home (i.e. English) supporters of foreign missions, which published extracts of letters and pleas for assistance, illustrated with engravings, the *Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor* and the *Quarterly Token*, both heavily illustrated didactic publications for younger children, designed to stimulate interest in missionary work,406 and *Quarterly Papers of the Church Missionary Society*, described as a publication “for cottagers, and simple people generally who help in the missionary cause.”407 Specialised publications were developed for reports of the medical missions of the CMS and the work of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, as well as frequently updated editions of the *Church Missionary Atlas*. 408

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406 *The Church Missionary Quarterly Token, 1856 to 1865, Numbers 1-36* (London: Church Missionary House [1865]), described the purpose of the magazine in the Preface, stating “The several Numbers collected together in one Volume provide a book of Missionary incident and instruction particularly calculated to interest and inform the young. It will be found useful by those who seek stories to read or narrate to the little ones of the family circle. Sunday-school teachers, and others engaged in religious education, will appreciate the assistance it is calculated to afford them. It will, we think, be found serviceable to the conductors of Juvenile working Parties. Being freely illustrated, it will not be unacceptable also as a reading-book to the children themselves. It is a book we should like to see in every Sunday-school library, and in the hands of all who are seeking to interest the young in the sacred work of Christian Missions.”


408 Like the SPG publications, the CMS periodicals changed over time. The 1897 Annual Report of the CMS included “A List of Books, Magazines, Pamphlets, Etc. Etc., Published by the Church Missionary Society. The monthly publications listed were *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, “the official organ of the Society”; *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, “the popular Magazine of the Society”; *Awake!,* “intended primarily for adults who know comparatively little of Missionary work. It is very suitable for circulation in poorer parishes, country districts, etc. etc.”; *The Children’s World*, “A Magazine for Boys and Girls,” *Mercy and Truth*, “A Record of CMS Medical Mission Work,” *Monthly Missionary Letter to Sunday Schools*, “intended for reading to the school or class, or for general distribution,” and the *CMS Lay Workers’ Monthly Paper*, “intended for the use of all Lay Workers for the CMS, and especially of those desirous of promoting the cause of Lay Unions in Country Towns and other Districts.” Quarterly publications included *The Church Missionary Quarterly Paper (Gleanings from The Gleaner)* “intended for general circulation among any who are willing to purchase it,” and *The Church Missionary Quarterly
Material originally published in the *Intelligencer* was often recycled through the *Gleaner*, the *Quarterly Papers*, and the children’s magazines, with an increasing emphasis on dramatic and lively accounts of missionary-as-hero in the publications for younger and less-educated readers. For example, William Duncan’s work was the subject of an article in the *Intelligencer* in 1858.\(^{409}\) Material from the same article was used in breathless tones in the *Quarterly Token* in 1865, under the heading, “An attempt to frighten a Missionary, and put a stop to his School.” (see Figure 6).\(^{410}\)

The article began by commenting on the illustration:

> We have here a party of Indian savages in British Columbia, trying to frighten Mr. Duncan, and to hinder his work. They have clothed themselves in their conjuring garments as medicine-men, and have tried to make themselves appear as fierce and formidable as possible. The scalping knife, and the medicine bag, which is generally the skin of some animal filled with charms, are conspicuous objects. Some of the party are in masks.\(^{411}\)

\(^{409}\) *The Chymsan Indians,* *Church Missionary Intelligencer* 9 (1858): 274-276.

\(^{410}\) *Quarterly Token*, no. 38 (July 1865): 4-6.

\(^{411}\) This scene reappears in the article, “Paul Legaic,” *The Quarterly Token*, no. 68 (January 1873): 3. In the latter article, it is clear that during the altercation in the school-house, his interpreter Clah (later Arthur Wellington Clah) played a critical role, “It seems Mr. Duncan’s Indian tutor, Clah, had also gone to the school at the same time, and, leaning against the wall just inside the door, he stood guard over Mr. Duncan, although seeming not to be noticing what was going on. But the chief Legaic quite well knew if injury was done Mr. Duncan [sic] Clah was ready to punish for it, and that whoever else might escape, he certainly would not.” It is, perhaps, significant that Clah was not included in either the textual or visual account of the altercation in 1865, in favour of the heroic image of Duncan interposing himself between armed “savages” and “frightened” children.
Figure 6 "An Attempt to Frighten a Missionary, and Put a Stop to His School" *Quarterly Token*, no. 38 (July 1865): 5
The illustration shows, on the left, an upright and calm Duncan, a book casually held in his right hand, his left draped across his desk, behind which a group of students cower, their faces expressing their terror at the sight of family members, arrayed in an amazing assortment of fringed buckskin and feathers, brandishing knives, tomahawks, spears, and dead dogs on poles. Duncan’s relaxed, if alert, posture and rather blank expression was the visual representation of his textual self-presentation of heroic Christian calmness in the face of imminent danger:

I saw their point; it was to intimidate me by their strength and frightful appearance; and I perceived the chief too, was somewhat under the influence of rum. But the Lord enabled me to stand calm, and without the slightest fear, to address them with far more fluency, in their tongue, than I could have imagined possible - to tell them of their sin faithfully - to vindicate my conduct - to exhort them to leave their bad ways, and also to tell them they must not think to make me afraid. I told them that God was my master, and I must obey Him rather than them, and that the devil had taught their fathers what they were practicing, and it was bad; but what I was teaching now was God’s way, and it was good, and that all the Tsimshans knew.

The printing, reprinting and editing of the reports for different audiences highlighted the contexts of reading practices in the many appeals that spoke directly to the reader as a participant in the missionary endeavour, who was obligated (or ought to be obligated) to be informed and interested in work in the mission field. The Church Missionary Gleaner published a letter to the editor which raised questions about the appeal of the companion publication, the Church Missionary Intelligencer. The author, whose letter appeared as

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412 Duncan and the CMS expressed particular horror and condemnation at the Tsimshian Hamatsa societies, referring repeatedly throughout reports and publications to the “heathen” Tsimshian as “dog-eaters.” The dead dogs on poles were clearly intended by the artist to graphically reproduce this aspect of traditional Tsimshian spirituality in a way to induce disgust among the readership, who in other articles were reminded of their Christian duty to be kind to animals. See, for example, The British Columbia Mission, Or, Metlahkatlah (London: Church Missionary House, 1871), 12-13, for the explicit condemnation of dog-eating.

413 Quarterly Token, no. 38 (July 1865): 6.
"An Old Friend of the Society," commented that

The *Gleaner* is well got up, but contains little or no information. The *Intelligencer* is too ponderous, argumentative, and prosy for modern readers. It is a labour even to look though it, and I doubt if any young person ever reads it. A periodical at 3d. or 4d., written in a bright, terse, modern style, would obtain many more readers, and create a much more extended interest. 414

The editor replied that "the *Intelligencer* is not intended for ‘young’ readers, but for those who desire and can appreciate solid information." A follow-up article made an explicit appeal to the duty of the reader to take an interest in missionary news, drawing a parallel to the secular press:

It is not a question of literary criticism of the periodicals. It is a question of interest in the facts they record. When Gordon was shut up in Khartoum, or when the General Election was going on, we eagerly snatched at a newspaper, not to enjoy (or the contrary) the literary style or the editorial methods, but to see the news. It is a small thing that the Gleaner or the Intelligencer should be liked for its own sake. What we want is that Christian people everywhere should look upon the Evangelization of the World as their own personal concern, quite as much so as the return of a Conservative or a Liberal candidate to parliament; and that they should want to know how, not the Queen's soldiers, but the King's soldiers are progressing in their campaign against Heathenism. Then, as Christians, they will look out for their *Intelligencer* or their *Gleaner*, in the same way that, as Englishmen, they look out for their *Times*, or *Standard*, or *Telegraph*. 415

By atomising the readership through demographic distinctions, the missionary periodicals created highly specific textual communities of readers who could be addressed directly by the voice of the unnamed editor. 416 This editorial voice often grew ponderously didactic in the publications aimed at children, as the reader was simultaneously coerced, threatened, admonished and flattered into supporting the

414 "A Criticism on the CMS Periodicals," *The Church Missionary Gleaner* 13 (1886): 17, italics in the original.

415 "Criticism on the CMS Periodicals," *The Church Missionary Gleaner* 13 (1886): 44, italics and small caps in original.

416 For an extended discussion of the concept of textual communities, please see chapter 5.
missionary enterprise. Typical of these direct appeals to the reader was the story of a young boy, suffering from a terminal illness who was determined to “do his bit” for the missionary enterprise:

He got a box next day; and during a year of suffering, he kept his object constantly before him. Unable to go out, he pleaded with the friends who came to the house for something to help to buy Bibles for poor heathens, who have nobody to tell them about Jesus. In earnest, he seldom pleaded in vain. From one year’s gatherings - the last he lived on earth - he had above ten shillings, which was given, by his dying request to buy Bibles for the heathen.

This little one really felt for the heathen, and therefore he did what he could. Will you not feel for them? They are in darkness: the Bible is a light. They are perishing: Christ is a Saviour; but “how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard, and how shall they hear without a preacher.” (Rom. X.14) They need the Gospel, which some of them call a “gift-book.” Will you, then be the giver? They must have the Missionary to proclaim its truths: will you aid in sending him?417

As the Quarterly Token made clear, the world was divided into Christian and heathen, English and foreign, supporters of the missionary enterprise and the Other. In many of the published reports and periodical articles, the missionaries constructed themselves (or were constructed) as the heroic conduit for the salvation of the unconverted. They described themselves as a teacher, guide, and moral arbiter for their convert communities, and their work a heroic struggle directly guided by divine will. In this view of missionary work, the missionary’s identity as a hero was constructed through a series of dualities and oppositions between the self and Other, the familiar Manichean dualities that are the

417 “Heartfelt Concern for the Heathen,” Quarterly Token no. 12 (January 1859): 7. See also the article on British Columbia in the SPG publication for young people, “England’s Youngest Daughter, Part 2,” Gospel Missionary 17, no. 195 (March 1867): 44, “But you must not think, because I tell you how childish and wicked the Indians still are, and how much evil they have learnt from white people, that nothing has been done to teach them better. Missionaries have been sent to them, and God has blessed their labours with much success. But the work is a very difficult one, because these Indians, even when sincere Christians, are like children who have never been taught to restrain themselves, and require the same kind care and watchfulness from their teachers which good parents in England give to their boys and girls. I will tell you some stories about them, which I have read in the Bishop of Columbia’s letters.”
central discourses of the colonial encounter. The missionary was civilised, white and Christian, while the Other was uncivilised, dark and heathen. The commonsense racism of colonial discourse negotiated these dualities in the interaction between the missionary and Native peoples in the contact zone of British Columbia, constantly making and remaking the Other through the construction of racialised identities. In the missionary reports, the Native convert was reconstructed through a similar series of binary oppositions that employed many of the same markers that were used to mark social class in contemporary writers on industrialised England.

This point is clearly articulated by Myra Rutherdale, “Revisiting Colonization Through Gender: Anglican Missionary Women in the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic, 1860-1945,” BC Studies, no. 104 (Winter 1994): 3-23. For a broader discussion of dualism in colonial discourse, see Abdul R. JanMohamed, “The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature,” Critical Inquiry 12 (1985): 59-87; Homi K. Bhabha, “The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism,” in The Location of Culture (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). Illustrations in missionary magazines often emphasised the Otherness of both “heathens” and Christian converts, and their essentialised difference of their world, in contrast to the world of the metropolitan reader, creating visual tropes that were paralleled the discourse of Other in the accompanying text. See Gordon Fyfe and John Law, “Introduction: On the Invisibility of the Visual,” in Picturing Power: Visual Depiction and Social Relations, ed. Gordon Fyfe and John Law (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 1, “A depiction is never just an illustration. It is the material representation, the apparently stabilised product of a process of work. And it is the site for the construction and depiction of social difference. To understand a visualisation is thus to inquire into its provenance and into the social work that it does. It is to note its principles of exclusion and inclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalises.”

The “contact zone” is described by Mary Louise Pratt, as the space of colonial encounters, “in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.” Jacques Derrida argues that the writing of one culture about another always involves a violence “of difference, of classification, and of the system of appellations.” Of Grammatology, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 107. Ann Laura Stoler, in “Cultivating Bourgeois Bodies and Racial Selves,” in Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 1995), draws attention to the contingency by which racial identities are constructed in colonial discourse.

Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda,” in Tensions of Empire, 27, note that the language that the British used to describe the colonial other was “remarkably like that used at home to describe the lowest elements of the class order.” See also Susan Thorne, “‘The Conversion of the Englishman and the Conversion of the World Inseparable’: Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain,” in Tensions of Empire, 253, “European conceptions of class played the important role of providing a model on which the racial logics deployed in the colonies were patterned.”
Just as missionaries and the wives of missionaries modelled civilised behaviour for both White and Native communities, and inculcated self-disciplinary norms as part of conversion, not only to Christianity but to civilised standards of behaviour, the Native Christian convert would model civilised behaviour for the unconverted, and willingly participate in the project of self-discipline. The wives of missionaries were expected to teach native women European domestic skills, and model lady-like behaviour, while the female Native convert would become the “future mother of a new generation,” modelling appropriate behaviour for successive generations of Native Christians.

421 Margaret Whitehead, “Women Were Made For Such Things: Women Missionaries in British Columbia, 1850s-1940s,” Atlantis 14, no. 1 (Fall 1988): 144. See also Myra Rutherford, “Models of Grace and Boundaries of Culture: Women Missionaries on a Northern Frontier, 1860-1940” (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1996), especially chapter 5, “Motherhood and Morality.” For contemporary expressions of this belief, see, for example, [Richard Dowson] “Vancouver,” The Mission Field 5 (1860): 186, “Hope for the Indian Women. My wife has been trying to teach some of the women to sew, and they seem to pick it up very readily. I think when we get a place of our own, so as to be able to have them more about us, that teaching the girls female domestic occupations will be one of the most effectual means of introducing some civilization among them”; Miss F. A. T. Copeland, “Kincolith,” North British Columbia News 1, no. 6 (April 1911): 72-73, “Many of the women have been brought up by Mrs. Collison in her own home, with the result that they know how to clean and scrub, wash and bake, sew and knit, and last but not least how to bring up their children to some extent in the fear of the Lord.” See also William Ridley, “Bishop Ridley’s Charge: Delivered at the Opening of the First Diocesan Conference at Metlakahtla, August 16, 1893, Church Missionary Intelligencer 65, n.s., vol. 19 (February 1894), 106-14, “Our family life ought to be a pattern we should like to see our people imitate to their advantage in almost everything. The missionary’s house is and ought to be open to all, and not only be a school of virtue, but a pattern of thrift and frugality, order and peace.”


423 Graduates of the Crosby Girls’ Home in Port Simpson were praised for their Christian faithfulness by the British Columbia Conference of the Methodist Church, and held up as role models for the surrounding community. “A large proportion of the girls thus brought under civilizing and Christianizing influences have given good evidence of conversion to God, several of whom have died triumphant in the faith of Christ and the hope of heaven. Quite a number have married Christian Indians, and their influence for good upon the other Indian women has been very marked.” See “Report of the Committee on Missions,” Minutes of the British Columbia Conference 1887 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1887), 26. See also “Wedding Bells,” Na-Na-Kwa 3 (July 1989): 4, “While it would be unfair to look for much in the way of orderly housekeeping from those who have not had the advantages of the “Home” training. We expect each of “our girls” to be a missionary to her own people and exemplify in her home christianity [sic], order, and cleanliness.” Fiona Bowie, “Introduction: Reclaiming Women’s Presence,” in Women and Missions, Past and Present: Anthropological and Historical Perceptions, ed. Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, and Shirley Ardener (Providence and Oxford: Berg, 1993), 13, notes that “girls who came to a mission for education, expecting
The dualism of missionary discourse made a clear and unambiguous distinction between past and present, the unconverted and the converted, White and Native.

Contrasting the Tsimshian converts of Metlakatla with the neighbouring Kwakiutl tribes, George Hills stated,

They [the Quoquolt, [i.e. Kwakiutl] were a strange contrast to the Metlacatlas, as darkness to light, as barbarism to civilization. Their attire was blankets, hardly enough to cover nakedness; their faces were painted black and red, and their hair was matted and dishevelled. They were greatly astonished [by the Tsimshian converts] and eventually hid themselves away, as if ashamed.424

A similar use of binary opposites can be found in the report on Metlakatla published in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*:

The contrast between the Fort Simpson Indians...and the inhabitants of Metlahkatlah, is like that between darkness and light: at Fort Simpson all is gross ignorance, barbarism, degradation, filth, and evil; whilst at Metlahkatlah, civilization, progress, enlightenment, cleanliness, and Christianity, are everywhere observable.425

In missionary discourse, the unconverted lived in a state of disorder. Illiteracy, personal uncleanliness, uncontrolled sexuality, intoxication, communal habitation, and an economy based on migratory patterns of hunting and gathering were all symbols of the savage. As the missionary brought order and Godliness, the converted subject would be inculcated into literacy, cleanliness, chastity, temperance, nuclear family housing, and non-migratory agricultural subsistence.426 This transformation and reordering of the

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425 *Church Missionary Intelligencer* 16 (1865): 90.

426 See, for example, the report of the lay catechist, William Henry Lomas, stationed at Cowichan, and printed in *The Mission Field* 12 (1867): 435-439, “The school was kept open for a fortnight, with an average attendance of twelve, but at the end of that time all the boys left the village to go with their families to different stations on the coast, to fish for clams and gather roots that grow on the hill-sides, which they
converts and the space which they inhabited was the physical evidence of their moral and religious reordering, and their adoption of the disciplinary norms of industrialised modernity. In the words of one missionary magazine, converts were required to adopt Western dress:

because one great lesson which we have to teach our native converts is, industry; and if they get the habit of wearing good clothes, and living in neat houses, they will be obliged to work for them, and will not be content with spending their time in idleness or fighting, after their old heathen fashion.

“Neat houses” were a particular goal of many missionaries in British Columbia who believed that nuclear family housing was necessary to control disordered and indiscriminate Native sexuality. Images of the Christian model villages of Metlakatla, dry for winter use. This will for some time be one drawback in the work of teaching the young, as at intervals throughout the summer they all go away to fish; but this will, I think, in a great measure be lessened as each family leaves the village, and fences in gardens round their houses which they will not like to leave. The building of houses and the cultivation of land away from the Indian village I look upon as the first step towards civilization, and I think we do right to encourage more of them to do so; indeed I think it very desirable that we should connect an industrial department with the school, in which the women could be taught to knit and make nets, and other useful work, while the men are encouraged to cultivate in a better manner a larger amount of land; perhaps this might be done by offering a prize for the neatest and most improved garden each year."

Just as the language of class and race intertwine in colonial discourse, the language of conversion and morality intertwine with the language of modernity and progress in discussions of culture in the missionary narratives. See also Richard Johnson, “Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class, 1780-1850,” in Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader ed. Roger Dale, Geoff Esland and Madeleine MacDonald, 44-54 (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), 49, discusses the ways in which attacks on working-class life were phrased in the language of morality rather than culture. Johnson notes that “the defenders of industrial capitalism (or ‘progress’) speak the language of ‘morality’...we must understand ‘morality’ in a certain way, as the combination of the culture of ‘manners’ plus that entirely unrelativistic ascription of guilt or blame. It is this translation – from ‘morality’ to ‘culture’ that allows us to penetrate the ideological constructions around such observations and recreate the real relations.” See also E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism,” Customs in Common (New York: The New Press, 1993), 354, for the ways that “the transition to mature industrial society entailed a severe restructuring of working habits – new disciplines, new incentives, and a new human nature upon which these incentives could bite effectively.”


The most explicit linkage of nuclear family housing and morality was made by George Raley, “The Kitamaat Home,” Na-Na-Kwa, no. 2 (April 1989): 2, “When I looked into the old Indian houses I found all the members of one, two, three, four, and five families, herded together in a miserable den, a filthy dwelling, a single room where all ages, and both sexes slept, ate, and dwelt together. Fancy what a picture
Kincolith and Aiyansh repeatedly emphasised the proliferation of individual frame cottages, while the texts praised the Tsimshian of Metlakatla and the Nisga’a of Kincolith and Aiyansh for giving up communal living in favour of the desired Eurocentric norms of respect for capital and private property, and for Christian marriage and family. A pair of illustrations printed in *The Church Missionary Gleaner* made absolutely evident the contrast between old and new building styles, new and old ordering of space (see Figure 7, top). The traditional communal longhouse of the North Pacific coast was captioned “Queen Charlotte’s Islands: Hydah Chief’s House.” Totem poles, which were completely unfamiliar to the metropolitan reader, featured prominently in the illustration, which seems to have been engraved from a photograph. Three dim figures are arranged before the front door of the longhouse in poses that could be described as casual. To the left of the plank walkway leading up to the house, drying racks with salmon arranged upon them, and a partial view of a Haida canoe add to the “local colour” of the scene. The

430 William Ridley, *Snapshots from the North Pacific*, 21, clearly articulated the goals of encouraging nuclear family housing: “The whole clan [at Hazelton] live in the same large and undivided house. In old times such herding together was a defence, but now that imperial law is gaining respect, order is being established, so that it will be safe to break up the old-time clan into families, and each family live apart from the rest in small cottages. This will be a great upward step, and the beginning of a higher morality.” Ridley expresses similar views about the difference between Heathen and Christian villages along the Nass, stating that “It is impossible to heighten the contrast between the Christless and the Christian people of the same tribes.” Ibid., 112. See also John Booth Good, “Mission to the ‘Nanaimo Tribe,’ Vancouver’s Island,” *The Mission Field* 8 (1863): 117, “In the beginning of the year 1862, Mr. Nicol proposed moving away the whole body on to their own Reserve. The village was felt to be a nuisance; and, besides, seriously in the way of contemplated improvements of the Company’s property. I cordially seconded his proposal, but for different reasons; I felt they would be farther removed from temptation. By changing their location I might induce them to live separately in families, and to build after a better style. Physically, morally, and socially they must be benefited by a change, and, therefore, when the proposition was made and the chiefs came to consult me on the subject, I urged it with all my might.” For an extended discussion of nuclear family housing and Tsimshian culture, see Neylan, chapter 10, “Christian Houses and Colonial Spaces.”
Figure 7 Contrast between old and new in the *Church Missionary Gleaner*, n.s., 8 (1881): 114
massive roof beams and generally exotic appearance of the longhouse is in sharp contrast to the second illustration, captioned “CMS Station, Kincolith, Nass River, British Columbia,” which shows the church and the mission house, both neat frame buildings, set against a partially cleared forest (see Figure 7, bottom). Arranged in front of the fence that surrounds the buildings and church are a stiff line of people, clearly the convert community, dressed in Western clothing. Everything about the scene is orderly and spatially controlled. The intentional contrast makes clear the distinct value placed on “neat houses,” with frame construction and modern windows. A similar image from the Gleaner presented the newly constructed frame houses at Aiyansh as a series of carefully placed rectangles, arranged along a wide, straight path resembling an urban sidewalk (Figure 8). To the left of the illustration hangs the mission flag from a flagpole created from a tree stripped of its upper branches, while in the background, mountains that rather closely resemble the Rockies loom majestically (and picturesquely) against a cloud-filled sky. The scene is again one of order, control and neatness, set against the wilderness, “heathen” disorder quelled by the reorganisation of space into a grid of houses and pathways.

Similarly, the Methodist Ephraim Evans praised the development of nuclear family housing among the Methodist convert community at Nanaimo. Evans clearly equated morality with particular domestic arrangements. He stated:
end of the Lake, and then return to the king and report. At first we thought the "arrest" might only be the carrying out of this order. But the mention of 'two days' march from U-Ganda," suggests that the boat did not meet the Bishop, but that the latter went on by land round the north-east corner of the Lake; and if so, the king would no doubt be startled and alarmed at his approach, and might naturally threaten to kill him.

The Government telegraphed at once to Sir John Kirk at Zanzibar, directing him to send quick messengers to U-Ganda. So the matter stands as we go to press (January 14); and we can only look up to the Almighty and All-wise Father who reigneth over all, and trust Him.

THE MISSION AT AIYANSH.

The Indian village at Aiyansh is situated at the head of the Nasa River, about a hundred miles north of the familiar Medakchila Mission in the North Pacific. The mouth of the Nasa River is one of the great fishing resorts of the Indians, and, during the season, besides the settled population, who are of the Niskiah tribe, as many as five thousand Indians gather together, and encamp for miles along both banks of the river, thus affording a grand opportunity to the missionary for making known to them the blessings of the Gospel.

The Mission station at Aiyansh was founded two years ago.
During the last year we have succeeded in inducing several of the young people to erect small houses, where they can live apart from pagan association... I look upon it as a long step in the right direction to get the young people, whether married or single, away from the demoralization inseparable from the mixed mode of living in the old lodges; and doubt not that the best results will follow persevering effort, accompanied by prayer for the blessing of God.

At the same time, the complexity of racialised social relations within colonial spaces, and the endemic anxiety among colonial elites about the destabilisation of racial identity engendered by hybridity, made the subject position of Native converts ambiguous. The Native Christian who adopted Eurocentric norms of dress and demeanor was at once an object of praise and mild condescension, destined to remain an imperfect copy of White European Christians. Image and text often competed in the missionary periodicals for the attention of the reader, and conveyed something of the ambiguity of converts who were at one and the same time Native and Christian.

The Quarterly Token in 1873 reproduced an engraving, copied from a photograph of the Tsimshian convert Paul Legaic (see Figure 9). William Duncan had written extensively about the dramatic difference that conversion had made in the character of Legaic, whom Duncan portrayed as a murderer and dog-eater, and the text that

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431 Ephraim Evans, letter dated January 1868, printed in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 2 (February 1, 1869): 23.


LOSE by the Fort of the Hudson's Bay Company, which lies on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, is an Indian camp. In 1857, it consisted of some 250 wooden houses on either side of the Fort, and stretching along the beach, and the Indians numbered 2,500, belonging to the Tsimshian tribe, and divided into nine tribes or crests. A chief takes his rank from the height of a pole erected in front of him.

* Cut lent by Publishers of "Mission Life."

Figure 9 Paul Legaic from *The Quarterly Token*, no. 68 (January 1873), 3
accompanied the photograph emphasised both Legaic’s pre-converted wildness and his meekness and Christian resignation in the face of his own mortality.434

The engraving presented Legaic as a bourgeois subject, seated on a chair, dressed in a frock-coat, a bowler hat held in his right hand. The illustration emphasised both his respectability and his exoticism in its presentation of Legaic as a mimicry of English respectability: while his dress was correctly English, and his grooming impeccable, his physiognomy marked him as the non-English Other. The framing device further sets off and sets apart the illustration of Legaic. Surrounding the title page is a decorative border, resembling a rustic twig bower, entwined with rose vines. A scrolled title banner with pennant ends, “suspended” from the uprights of the border, further directs the eye to the portrait of Legaic, contained by the narrow frame of the engraved border. All of these decorative framing elements emphasise the tropes of wild and tamed, natural and remade.

An engraving used to illustrate an article about Metlakatla, published in The Church Missionary Gleaner in 1881 at the time of heightened unrest in the community, was a curious composite of portraits drawn from photographs, architectural drawings, portrait sketches, and the imagination of the unnamed artist (see Figure 10). The illustration, captioned “Sunday Morning at Metlakahtla,” shows the reassuring sight of the Tsimshian convert community making their way to church. The grandiose timber church at from a photograph or architectural drawing. The church, with its crenellated tower, dual light “Gothic” windows, timber “buttresses” ranged along the long sides of the church, and

434 Compare with the description of Legaic in, “Metlakatla and the North Pacific Mission,” The Church Missionary Gleaner, n.s., 8 (1881): 113, “Legaic, who before was ‘a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious,’ was baptized by the name of Paul...For seven years this once dreaded savage led a quiet and consistent Christian life at Metlakatla as a carpenter.”
Figure 10 “Sunday Morning at Metlakahtla,” *Church Missionary Gleaner*, n.s., 8 (1881): 115
triple-peaked entrance porch exemplified colonial mimicry: it adopted the architectural language of the English country church, while misunderstanding or misapplying the structural function of elements like buttresses to create an approximation of traditional “church architecture.” Similarly, the throng of respectably dressed Tsimshian, the women in headscarves, the men in frock coats and hats, are both signifiers of the reassuring docility of the convert community, and of their racialised class status equivalency to the poor Irish, a favourite cartoon target of the secular press (see Figure 11). The Tsimshian, who are generic figures of “the respectable poor” are in sharp contrast to the group of black frock coated figures on the right, who are identified by small captions as “Bishop Ridley, Admiral Prevost, Mr. Duncan,” and whose faces are recognisable likenesses copied from photographs. Insofar as the missionary periodicals presented the Native as the heathen Other, a savage agglomeration of feathers, beads and paint, the exciting frisson of horror in the face of heathenism was preserved for the metropolitan reader. The convert community, in contrast, was often found to be disappointingly ordinary and banal.435 When faced with the “neat houses” of Metlakatla, instead of primitive log cabins perched on the very edge of a thickly forested wilderness, one disappointed visitor likened the scene to a suburb of Eastbourne.436

435 William Ridley, “Work Among the Rapids,” *The Gospel Missionary*, n.s., 17 (1897): 19-20, noted tartly that “An honorary lady missionary, on her first introduction to our Christian Indians, complained of their English dress and manners. She wanted to see them in feathers, moccasins, and coloured blankets, as her artistic taste would model them. Very well, said I, you may go among the untutored savages, but I advise you to take sacks full of insect powder and plenty of strong ammonia. When she understood the reason why, she shuddered, and has ever since put up with civilisation.” Ridley clearly linked the “heathen” past of “coloured blankets” and “feathers” with dirt, disease and vermin, “civilisation” with cleanliness, health and order.

436 “Metlakatla,” *British Columbia Church Aid Society Yearbook* (London: The Society, 1913), 104-105. The article, which strove to emphasise the civilised and Christianised character of the Metlakatla community was then in the difficult position of trying to justify continued support for missionary work. The author concluded that the work, while pastoral rather than entirely “missionary” in nature, was still critical.
Figure 11 “Irish Immigrants Wait Before the Government Medical Inspector’s Office,” *Illustrated London News* 16 (July 6, 1850).
The distance of the metropolis from the hinterland also affected the images reproduced in the missionary magazines. In the absence of empirical evidence in the form of sketches or photographs, the anonymous illustrators in the metropole were free to imagine the places and events being described in the text, reinterpreting them through the lens of previous visual schemata. Thus, the Native people of the West Coast of British Columbia could be portrayed in buckskin and feathers, living in wigwams, and looking remarkably like Plains Cree. A remarkable image, published the *Quarterly Token* in 1870, shows a Native person in feathers and fringes, tomahawk tucked into his Métis-style woven sash, pointing with one elegant finger to an unrolled map of North America (see Figure 12). The only places marked on the map are British Columbia, Fort Simpson, Metlakatla, and Vancouver Island. The image is a rich mélange of visual tropes drawn from eighteenth century art (the framing figure, the unrolled map, draped elegantly over a tree branch, the vague suggestion of rocky scenery) with a Native person whose visual identity is drawn directly from “Wild West” stories of the American plains. The accompanying text addressed the readers, directing and controlling their gaze, and asking them to stir themselves to pity:

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437 Christophers, 19-21, discusses John Booth Good’s annoyance and disgust that *The Gospel Missionary* in 1870 chose to illustrate his work with an illustration copied from an American missionary magazine, showing the baptism of a “Pawnee Indian” by a White missionary. Good complained to the SPG that this use of generic illustration would irreparably harm his mission work, as it led people to a false impression of both the Native peoples among whom Good served, and of the particular specificity of his work. As Christophers notes, “It was not the picture itself that bothered Good but its inappropriate use. He was disturbed by the editor’s assumption that any image of Native baptism could adequately represent this particular chief’s conversion. The implication seemed to be that an Indian was an Indian; such stereotypes struck Good as distasteful.”
the principal events of my voyage and doings in England. We sat till midnight, but even then the village was lighted up, and the people all waiting to hear from the favoured fifty what I had communicated. Many did not go to bed at all, but sat up all night talking over what they had heard.

"Such is a brief account of my reception at Metlakatla. I could not but reflect how different this to the reception I had among the same people in 1857. Then they were all superstitiously afraid of me, and regarded with dread suspicion my every act. It was with feelings of fear or contempt they approached me to hear God's word, and when I prayed amongst them I prayed alone; none understood, none responded. Now how things have changed. Love has taken the place of fear, and light the place of darkness, and hundreds are intelligently able and devoutly willing to join me in prayer and praise to Almighty God."

"* * * Juvenile Subscribers and Collectors of One Shilling a year. One Penny a month, One Farthing a week, or Threepence a quarter, are entitled to this "Token" free. Contributions to the Church Missionary Society are received at the Society's House, Salisbury Square, London; or at the Society's Bankers, Messrs Williams, Beacon and Co. Post Office Orders payable to Edward Hutchinson, Esq., Secretary.

Figure 12 Map of North America with Metlakatla from the Quarterly Token, no. 59 (October 1870): 8
We present the readers of the *Token* this quarter with the map of a portion of the British Empire in the Far West of North America....If you will now pass your eye down the map, you will see a range of mountains called the Rocky Mountains, and on the other side of the Rocky Mountains the stations Metlahkatlah and Kincauleth....Now if you have got these places in your mind and thought of them as cold, desolate and dreary in winter, but in summer lovely with woods and rivers, and picture to yourselves the Indians as poor heathens who wander about the country, and pass their lives in hunting and fishing, you will be glad to read some accounts of the work and its results.\textsuperscript{438}

The interchangeability of images, which were often recycled among the various publications of a funding society, suggest to the reader that despite the presence of maps that located the colonial space within the geographic grid, British Columbia was insecurely located in space and place, and that the inhabitants equally lacked specificity, disembodied by their graphic presentation as generic “Indians,” the “poor heathens who wander about the country.” An image of “An Indian Canoe” (again drawn from Cree or Woodlands images) that accompanied an article about the work of John Booth Good at Lytton, published in *The Gospel Missionary* in 1869, reappeared twenty-eight years later in an article by William Ridley, describing his work on the Skeena, with the caption “North American Indians Shooting the Rapids.”\textsuperscript{439}

In the timeless British Columbia mission field of the missionary periodicals, geographic specificity and the identities of the Native subjects captured by the lens of the camera were secondary to the ability of the illustration to engage the attention of the reader through the consumption of the exotic and unfamiliar, even at a time when the missionary periodicals were moving increasingly to illustration and text that clearly showed the growing interest among both the general reading public and the missionary

\textsuperscript{438} *Quarterly Token*, no. 59 (October 1870): 8.

community in anthropology and anthropological classification.

The original source of the illustrations that accompanied missionary narratives can be identified in a few cases where the original photography from which an illustration was engraved has survived. In 1869, *The Mission Field* published an engraving of John Booth Good and a group of Nlha7kápmx children and adults, standing outside a complex of wooden frame buildings, presumably the mission house (see Figure 13). The engraving is rather crude, the human figures extending the line of the picket fence, save for an upright figure on the right of the page, dressed in light-coloured shirt and trousers, who stands, hands in pocket, in front of the door of the building on the right. The only other figure that is given prominence is the somewhat squat, bearded and bowler-hatted missionary, standing just to the left of the centre, surrounded by children seated on benches to his left and right. He is nearly as faceless as the others, but is given importance by his dress and demeanour, and by being the tallest element in the row of flock/fence-picket Native people. The illustration is captioned “The Rev. J. B. Good and His Indian Flock at Lytton,” and reader is left with the impression of a faceless and featureless decorative frieze of suitably subdued Native people arranged around the central focal point of the missionary.

The original photograph, from which the illustration was engraved, is in the collection of the British Columbia Archives. The photographer is identified as Frederick Dally, who made several trips along the Cariboo Wagon Road during the period 1866-1870 (see Figure 14). Comparing the photograph to the illustration, the subtle changes made by

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the illustrator to emphasise the figure of the missionary, who in the photograph is less prominent than his "flock" become apparent. The figures in the illustration are stiff and erect, standing at attention or sitting upright, hands neatly folded into laps. In the photograph, the postures of the photographed are more relaxed, less formally arranged, and less decorously self-contained. The illustration, which emphasises the neatness and crispness of the architecture rather than the individual personalities of the "flock" is generic, the photograph is at once posed and intimate, capturing a group of people who have not entirely interiorised the conventions of photographic demeanour.

It is perhaps not entirely accidental that the caption of the copy of the photograph identifies the building complex as the "Lytton School." In the text that accompanied the image, Good made an impassioned plea for funds to purchase a farm outside Lytton to build a "Mission Training Institution," that would allow him to embark upon "a field of Christian enterprise and of social regeneration."441 The label, "Lytton School," was a fond hope of Good's at the time that the photograph was taken, and one that he never achieved in its entirety.

Certainly, the illustration has the unintended effect of making the buildings the most individuated and lively objects in the field of view, the figures diminished in the face of neat clapboard and twelve-light glazing. The casual reader might be forgiven for mistaking the scene for seaside cottages, so neat and respectable is the architecture, especially when placed against the barren hills and scrub pine of the Lytton countryside.

Figure 13 “The Rev. J. B. Good and His Indian Flock at Lytton,” *The Mission Field* 14 (1869), 224.

Figure 14, “Rev. J. B. Good at Lytton School, British Columbia Archives, D-03971
Photographs and illustrations were also used in the mission presses to making claims to individuals and groups of people as “belonging” to a denomination. The careful placement of pairs of photographs could be used to illustrate the transformation from unkempt and grotesque “heathen,” to neat and bourgeois “Christian,” using visual devices familiar to readers of contemporary rescue literature, in which child-waifs were transformed by soap and water, buttons and bootlaces. The illustration of Paul Legaic, in frock-coat with bowler hat is one form of this visual trope representing “conversion.” Another visual device used to distinguish “our Indians” from the “heathen unconverted” was the construction of the unconverted as a quaint remnant of a past that mercifully was passing away.

In 1884, the Victoria photographer Richard Maynard travelled to the Queen Charlotte Islands. During that trip, he photographed a Haida woman wearing a ring through her pierced septum, and a labret in the chin area under her bottom lip. On the back of the copy of the photograph persevered in the Royal British Columbia Museum collection, the sitter is identified as “Queen Johnny of Massett.” The CMS-sponsored missionary at Massett, the Rev. Charles Harrison evidently acquired a copy of the photograph from Maynard, and sent it with seven others, and an explanation of each photograph, to the Church Missionary Society in London. The following year, the Church Missionary


443 The photograph is number PN5320 in the Royal British Columbia Museum’s photographic collection. In a telephone conversation with Dan Savard, curator of photographs at the museum, he described the inscription on the photograph’s back, and then noted that another copy of the same photograph was identified as Queen Johnny of Gold Harbour.

444 See Harrison to the CMS, letter dated August 26, 1884, C.1/P3, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1882-1892, CMS Papers, microfil reel A-121, NAC. It is possible that the clapboard background in the
Gleaner included an engraved copy of the photograph of "Queen Johnny" as an arresting central image framed by the text of a letter from Charles Harrison, in which he described his opposition to the potlatch and other traditional cultural practices.\(^{445}\) Having explained to his readers that the elders of the village called him "papa," which resulted in Harrison and his wife having their "hands full of children," he went on to describe the celebration of his first Christmas and New Year's among the "children" of his mission. Harrison assured his readers that he had been sent to "lead them and teach them concerning Christ and His Word," even the very old people, who obstinately continued to wear "rings in their ears, rings in their noses, small pieces of silver stuck in their chins, bracelets on their wrists, and beads on their ankles." Harrison interpreted this display of wealth for his readers as evidence of hard-heartedness and wickedness, and as a rejection of the missionary's attempts to bring Christianity and modernity to the Haida. Seen in the context of the surrounding text, "Queen Johnny" the "Hydah Chieftess," becomes a visual representation of the wickedness and obstinacy against which the missionary strove heroically. Her prominent septum ring and labret were the visible mark of her "heathenness" and provided the metropolitan reader with a clear image of not only the exotic Other, but of the retrogressive tendencies of those who clung to the old ways, rather than embracing modernity, consumer goods and corsets.\(^{446}\)

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\(^{445}\) "The Hydah Mission, Queen Charlotte's Islands," *The Church Missionary Gleaner* 12 (February 1885), 22.

\(^{446}\) See Carol Williams, "Race, Nation and Gender: 19th Century Representations of Native and White Women in the Pacific Northwest," *Crosscurrents* 8 (Autumn 1996): 37, notes that "Native women who
Queen Johnny in 1885 was denominationally identified with the world of the Anglican CMS mission at Massett. In the spatialised division of territory on the central and north Pacific coast of British Columbia, a Haida from Massett was, at least potentially, an Anglican Haida.\textsuperscript{447} It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to find Queen Johnny reincarnated in 1914 as “The Queen of Sheba, A Grandmother of the Old Days,” in the Methodist Thomas Crosby’s book, \textit{Up and Down the North Pacific Coast By Canoe and Mission Ship}.\textsuperscript{448} Here “The Queen of Sheba” is contrasted with a photograph of a group of young women in modern shirtwaists, their hair carefully dressed in pompadours, their hands tucked behind their backs in gestures of self-restraint.\textsuperscript{449} The caption under the photo reads “Girls at the Kitamaat Home: The Result of Christian Training.” Whether the image of the unnamed subject of Richard Maynard’s photographic gaze was Anglican or Methodist is ultimately irrelevant. She became a visual trope of the unconverted “heathen,” a reminder of the persistence of cultural practices among those whom the missionaries sought to convert, an uncorseted and ungroomed Other, a transgressor of feminine norms who could be used as an object against which the femininity and modernity of “our Christian girls” could be measured.

\textsuperscript{447} Unless Queen Johnny \textit{was} from Gold Harbour, in which case she was a Methodist Haida, as Gold Harbour was one of the Methodist stations on a circuit that included several points on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

\textsuperscript{448} Thomas Crosby, \textit{Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship} (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914), plate facing page 30.

\textsuperscript{449} Williams, 37, notes that “Christian residential schools trained Native women up in Anglo-modelled female virtues...The assimilated Native woman was outfitted in European garments...Eurocentric qualities of beauty, cleanliness, virtue and affection required to reproduce the preferred race were highlighted.”
Figure 15 “Queen Johnny,” by Richard Maynard, Royal British Columbia Museum, PN5320
Figure 16 “A Hydah Chieftess, Living at Massett,” *The Church Missionary Gleaner* 12 (February 1885), 22.
Figure 17 “The Queen of Sheba: A Grandmother of the Old Days,” from Thomas Crosby, *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast By Canoe and Mission Ship*. 
The Local Press

The vast majority of periodical material was created in London and in Toronto for a metropolitan readership. However, a few missionaries were committed to disseminating print culture and the artefacts of print culture among their convert communities. At the same time, these missionaries were eager to engage in communication with metropolitan supporters without the mediation of the sponsoring societies, and were willing to mobilise print in pursuit of additional external funding.

A hand press was available in the North Pacific Mission in October 1859, when William Duncan had reported to the CMS that he had made "his first attempt at printing in the native language," and had prepared a small Church Service, consisting of Morning and Evening Prayer and a selection of hymns. By 1866, Duncan had acquired a press for Metlakatla, on which he planned to print a book for the use of the adult learners in the community. The records are not clear, however, whether Duncan ever produced the book himself. In the 1870s, Robert Tomlinson, the CMS-sponsored missionary at Kincolith had acquired a small hand press, on which he printed at least two annual reports for the Kincolith Mission Hospital. These small pamphlets were rather amateurish: the type is uneven in places, and the ink alternately faint and heavy. It is possible that the

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451 Church Missionary Intelligencer, n.s., 2 (1866): 351, "The great want I feel for the adults is a book in their own tongue. This I am preparing, and hope ere long to have it ready for printing. We will try to print it on our own press." It seems likely that Duncan had taken the work to be printed in Victoria, as in September, 1867, he reported to the CMS that he had travelled to Victoria in January of that year, and brought back to Metlakatla 700 copies "of our first tract printed in the Tsimshian tongue." See The British Columbia Mission, or Metlahkatlah (London: Church Missionary House, 1871), 115.

Kincolith Mission Press was the same press that Duncan mentioned to the CMS in 1866.

In the 1890s there was a press at Metlakatla that William Ridley referred to as the “Bishop’s Press,” which was used to print an edition of hymns in Tsimshian “for the use of the church at Metlakatla.”453 The production from these presses was sporadic, and little of the printed evidence has survived.

The serious local printers were James Benjamin McCullagh, the CMS-sponsored missionary at Aiyansh, and George Raley, the Methodist Missionary Society-sponsored missionary at Kitamaat, both of whom were self-taught, and both of whom produced small magazines that circulated among their convert communities, as well as among interested metropolitan supporters, and John Booth Good, who used a small press in Victoria to print copies of his translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Nlha7kápmx.454

McCullagh began publication of his magazine, Hagaga in 1891, by cyclostyling each copy, in Nisga’a, on one side of a large sheet of paper.455 The paper was a success, and McCullagh was determined to expand the production. He wrote to the CMS, asking them

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453 Appendix a Shimalgiagum Liami: Hymns in Zimshian for the Use of the Church at Metlakatla (Metlakatla: Printed at the Bishop’s Press, [1896]). The Bishop’s Press at Metlakatla should not be confused with the press used to print copies of The Metlakahtlan newspaper, which was published by William Duncan at New Metlakatla in Alaska from November 1888 to December 1891. See C.2/0, North Pacific Mission (British Columbia), Original Letters (In) to 1900, CMS papers, microfilm reel A123, NAC, in which a page of The Metlakahtlan 1, no. 5 (January 1890) is reproduced.

454 See John Booth Good to the SPG, September 30, 1877, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-242, NAC, “I have arranged after Christmas, DV, to spend two months with my Native Catechist in Victoria for the purpose of printing by means of the Press I brought out, a certain number of copies of my Thompson Liturgy and shall have great pleasure in sending home to the Society a specimen.”

455 Moeran, 45. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, cyclostyling was a method of reproduction that used a pen with a small toothed wheel to make holes in a paper master, which was then used to stencil copies.
for permission to acquire a printing press, “to be used entirely for religious and educational purposes... to issue short tracts and portions of Scripture for circulation among the Indians. He also indicated to the CMS that he would “teach some of the Indians to print, so that in a short time they could work the press in his absence.”

The Society forwarded his request to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and in 1893, Hagaga changed from a cyclostyled single-sheet publication to a multi-page printed and folded magazine. Issue number four, January 1894, included the subtitle, “A Monthly Paper for the Nishgas,” and included the church calendar for the month in Nisga’a. The following issue, number 5, February 1894, contained articles in both English and Nisga’a, a pattern that continued throughout the subsequent issues. Each issue contained a mixture of explicitly pedagogical material, including spelling drills, that was designed to reinforce English language skills, and religious and secular material including proverbs, short stories and brief sermons that instructed the reader in aspects of faith and modernity.

McCullagh figured out how to assemble the press by studying an illustration of a press in his Webster’s dictionary, and began to teach himself how to compose type, discovering by trial and error that the type had to be set in reverse to print correctly. Once he had mastered the basics of type-setting and running the press, he passed on his newly-won

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456 James B. McCullagh to the CMS, December 31, 1891, C.1/P North Pacific Mission, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, to 1914, CMS papers, microfilm reel A121, NAC.

457 In issue number two, September 1893, page 4, McCullagh proudly stated that “In answer to certain queries I wish to state that: - The Hagaga is edited, printed and published by the Revd. J.B. McCullagh, Aiyansh, Nass River. The title is a Nishga word derived from, - Ha, instrumental prefix, and gag, to open, with a, substantive-forming suffix. The Key. The intention is to publish monthly, but the measure of support received will determine as to whether it shall be quarterly or monthly.”

458 Moeran, 46-47.
knowledge to a group of Nisga’a students, and together they began to produce a series of translations of the Gospels into Nisga’a, as well as a Nisga’a grammar, a dictionary, and school texts. In 1910, when a fire at Aiyansh destroyed the mission house, and with it the press, McCullagh received a donation from William Ridley, and a collection from the Nisga’a people of Aiyansh towards the replacement cost of a new press, and slowly he began to acquire new type. His late work shows considerable decorative flair, and a willingness to explore the aesthetic possibilities of type as well as the utilitarian function of producing words on paper in an isolated community for a small group of readers (see Figure 18).

The Hagaga had a Methodist equivalent. In 1894, George Raley, the Methodist Missionary Society-sponsored missionary at Kitamaat, received a small press from Thomas Crosby, who had acquired it in Ontario in 1880. Raley brought the press to Kitamaat, and like McCullagh, began to teach himself typesetting. In January 1898, he began to print a small magazine, Na-Na-Kwa, or Dawn on the West Coast. The first issue was four pages, and Raley indicated that the magazine was designed to respond to requests from “friends, Epworth Leagues, Sunday-schools, in all parts of Canada, asking

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459 Moeran, 47. For the politics of translation on the North Pacific Mission, see chapter 5. By September, 1900, McCullagh and his printing assistants also produced at least five issues of The Caledonia Interchange, a magazine in English. Issue five featured a variety of anti-potlatch articles, as well as news from the North Pacific Mission. The death of McCullagh’s first wife in October, 1900, seems to have interrupted, or terminated, the publication of the magazine.

460 See “News From the Front,” Across the Rockies 1 (1910): 95, for the fire that destroyed the first press. According to the Rev. J. David Retter, Anglican priest at Greenville on the Nass from 1965-1977, remnants of McCullagh’s second press were still in evidence in Aiyansh in the 1960s.

461 Vancouver Province Saturday, April 12, 1952, clipping in George Raley file, Vertical file, UCCBC.
IGNIS.

A PARABLE OF THE
THE GREAT LAVA PLAIN
IN THE
VALLEY OF "ETERNAL BLOOM."
NAAS RIVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

By
The Rev. J. B. McCullagh, C.M.S.
Aiyansh, B. C.

Figure 18 Cover of Ignis. A Parable of the Great Lava Plain, printed by James B. McCullagh at Aiyansh
for information respecting our work here.” He decided to use “the little press I use in connection with the Kitamaat language,” to print a booklet that would answer the questions posed by his correspondents regarding Kitamaat and the mission.\textsuperscript{462} Na-Na-Kwa featured articles about the Kitamaat school, letters and short articles by the school students, and news about the convert community, as well as Psalms and short scriptural passages in the Kitamaat language, and other indigenous languages of the North Pacific. The magazine also served as an informal register of vital statistics, as a list of baptisms, marriages, and burials in the Kitamaat community was included in each issue. In addition to his work on the magazine, Raley also printed around one hundred and fifty text sheets each week for the “text school” at Kitamaat, during which the scriptures were read in both English and Kitamaat, as well as producing textual material for the school and the Sunday school.\textsuperscript{463}

The publication was praised in the local Methodist press as “the only purely missionary paper on the Coast. [Na-na-kwa is] a little eight page quarterly, printed and published by Rev. G.H. Raley, of Kitamaat, and filled full to the brim with interesting facts and fancies anent the work at Kitamaat.”\textsuperscript{464} The circulation of the magazine grew until Raley was printing over one hundred and fifty copies per eighteen-page issue that was mailed to other missionaries and supporters in Canada and England, and Raley acquired a bigger press, which was sent out from Toronto.\textsuperscript{465} When Raley was moved to Port Simpson in

\textsuperscript{462} Na-Na-kwa, no. 1 (January 1898): 1.

\textsuperscript{463} “Nanakwa Fund,” Na-Na-Kwa, no. 4 (October 1898): 8.

\textsuperscript{464} The Western Methodist Recorder 3, no. 1 (July 1901): 14.

\textsuperscript{465} Vancouver Province Saturday, April 12, 1952, clipping in George Raley file, Vertical file, UCCBC.
1906, the magazine seems to have been discontinued.\textsuperscript{466}

Although these products of small hand presses, typeset by self-taught missionaries and their Native assistants were the only missionary periodicals printed in British Columbia, they were not the only religious periodicals produced locally. The British Columbia Conference of the Methodist Church gave its approval to a new magazine, which began publication in 1899. \textit{The Western Methodist Recorder} was a response to problems identified by the Conference:

It was shown that: - from the peculiar geographical position of our Conference; from the great distances separating our fields; from the variety of enterprises involved in our work; from the rapid changes constantly taking place; and also from the cosmopolitan character of our population - British Columbia Methodism greatly needs some unifying medium. We need some Intelligence Department, so to speak, in order to understand the nature and needs of our work; to appreciate one another's difficulties; to preserve the connexional bond, and to develope \textit{sic} our connexional interests, and generally more effectively to promote the claims of Christianity and public morals, in this young, progressive, and yet in many respects perilous Province.\textsuperscript{467}

The \textit{Recorder} published information about the Annual Conference, biographical sketches of leading Methodist clergy and lay leaders, news of work in Methodist...

\textsuperscript{466} The letter from Barnabus Cortland Freeman, February 13, 1906, printed in \textit{The Missionary Bulletin} 3 (1905-1907): 240 describes his adventures with a printing press at Port Essington in support of a temperance campaign: "Then we set to work with an old press and an odd assortment of type we had borrowed to get out a big supply of hand-bills announcing the subject for the day, and a mass meeting at Port Essington in the evening, Dr. Kergin to be chairman, addresses, etc. etc., and Rev. W. H. Pierce with illustrative charts. Brother Hardy warmed to the subject, I can tell you, turning the crank of the rusty old printing press for the bills." This may have been the old printing press from Kitamaat. A small Golding and Company cast iron handpress that belonged to George Raley is now located in the collections of the Vancouver Museum, catalogue H976.36.1. Raley donated his collection of Native objects, and memorabilia from his time as a missionary to the nascent Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia in the late 1940s. The handpress, which was included in the collection, was transferred to the Vancouver Museum in 1976. Unfortunately, there is no indication of when or where the press was used by Raley in the Vancouver Museum records.

\textsuperscript{467} \textit{The Methodist Recorder} 1, no. 1 (July 1899): 2. Western was soon added to the title to distinguish it from other publications of the same name. A subsequent edition further clarified the role of the \textit{Recorder}, which "devotes its energies to the best interests of the annual Conference and has admittedly done wonders for the BC work. It is in no sense an injury, but a direct aid to the circulation of our other Church literature, and its steady progress of late is the best evidence that our people wish it maintained." See "Editorial: A Western Paper," \textit{Western Methodist Recorder} 8, no. 3 (September 1906): 9.
churches around the province, and snippets of information about the missionaries in the
mission field. It was also an effective and timely promoter of the biographies and
memoirs of missionaries who had worked in British Columbia. When Thomas Crosby's
first work of autobiography, *Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums* was published by William
Briggs in 1907, the *Recorder* praised the work lavishly:

The work has been well done and the book is one that holds the interest of the reader to
the end. Every page is thrilling with the character of its incident, while at the same time
affording the reader a splendid idea of Indian life and character. As one reads the book,
the question arises, How could so much be done in so short a time? One is inspired to
emulate the zeal and untiring efforts of the veteran missionary. In this respect it excels
all the missionary biographies I have ever read, and should result in calling numbers of
our young men into this still important field. The book should be in every home in
British Columbia, and we trust its sale will exceed the hopes of its promoters. The book
makes one think of the days of the historic Paul, and it is indeed a worthy successor to
the works published concerning Carey, Livingstone, and Hunt.\(^{468}\)

As a publication with a resident editor, John P. Hicks, who was himself a Methodist
minister, the magazine was able to respond to local demands for information and generate
advertising revenue that helped to offset the always difficult problem of attracting and
retaining sufficient paid subscriptions to make the publication financially viable.

The Church of England seemed to have a more difficult time sustaining local
publications. The Anglican diocese of British Columbia published *The Diocesan
Magazine* and *The Diocesan Gazette*,\(^{469}\) while the diocese of New Westminster published

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\(^{468}\) "Among the Au-Ko-Me-Nums"[sic] *The Western Methodist Recorder* 8, no. 10 (April 1907): 1. A
second review was published as an editorial, "Thomas Crosby's Book," *The Western Methodist Recorder* 8,
no. 12 (June 1907): 12, "The book he has now produced is the first important published record of
missionary work in this Province and is a volume of absorbing and thrilling interest. It deals graphically
with the first twelve years of the noted missionary's unique experiences, wherein the foundations of
Christianity were laid among the Indian tribes of Vancouver Island and Fraser Valley. Not only so, but in a
concise form the early pages of the book contain a good deal of historical and ethnological information of a
reliable and therefore valuable nature."

\(^{469}\) *The Diocesan Magazine* was published from 1872 through 1875, then from 1884 through 1888, and for
a single year in 1892; *The Diocesan Gazette* from 1911 to 1921. The editor of *Across the Rockies* gushingly
described *The Diocesan Gazette* as "a pleasing and convincing piece of evidence as to the way in which the
The sporadic publication record of the publications of both dioceses reflected the tenuous nature of subscriptions, which waxed and waned with the fortunes of the province, and may have reflected the competition for subscribers' attention from many other similar publications.

As the population of British Columbia rapidly increased after 1886, the Anglican church found itself hard pressed to meet the need for expansion into newly settled areas. The English funding societies had an active policy of encouraging missions to become self-supporting, and by the 1890s, funding from both the SPG and the CMS was being steadily reduced with each year's grant applications. The various diocesan societies that had been formed in England to raise additional funds published their own magazines to promote the work of the Anglican Church in British Columbia. For example, The New Westminster Quarterly Paper, The New Westminster Occasional Paper, The Monthly

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470 The Churchman's Gazette. 1883-1892.

471 The Diocesan Gazette for the Diocese of Columbia. A Monthly Magazine 1, no. 12 (December 1911): 1, "The present issue completes the first year's history of the Diocesan Gazette; and the Editor heartily wishes all the subscribers (in number about 450) a Happy and Prosperous New Year. The year that has just passed, though in many ways a very happy one, cannot be fairly described as a prosperous one to him in his capacity of Editor. The truth is that the Gazette was started on too ambitious a scale. It would have been wiser to have begun more modestly, with the hope of growing later on. However, we are not downcast, and we have no intention of being beaten. Our readers may have to be content for a time, with fewer pages; but we hope that even so they will get their money's worth. The price will remain at its present figure [50c a year] and we shall be glad if the faithful 450 will renew their subscriptions, except in the cases of those who have subscribed for two years, and of those who began subscribing later in the year. We ask the clergy to 'push' the Gazette in their parishes; and we ask all present subscribers to try to persuade others to join them." A similar plea had been published in The Churchman's Gazette, July 1888, 529, "It is proposed to enlarge this paper by the addition of three pages of Church news and a Children's Page, as soon as a sufficient number of additional subscribers can be obtained to cover the cost. ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY more 'paying' subscribers will enable us to carry out this improvement. If the clergy will kindly canvas their parishioners, and each of our present subscribers endeavour to get one person to take the paper, we have no doubt the requisite number could easily be obtained. Try and help us."
Record, and Work for the Far West all emanated from the New Westminster Missionary Association, and printed a mixture of letters from missionaries in the field and “home news,” that is, news of the work of the Association in England. The implicit tension between the diocesan magazines and the magazines of the English missionary associations, and the genteel turf wars among the various diocesan missionary associations were occasionally made explicit in the pages of the diocesan magazines. In 1889, the editor of The Churchman’s Gazette, published in Victoria in support of the diocese of British Columbia, noted with considerable irritation:

Moreover, this GAZETTE is a Diocesan paper published to interest and instruct the people in this Diocese rather than the people at home. We send some one hundred or more copies to our English subscribers and friends, but, for every number sent to England, we send four or five to persons within the diocese, and our aim is not only to give Church news but also to instruct our own people in doctrine and Christian duty. Our English friends must therefore bear this in mind and not look upon the GAZETTE as published for their benefit alone. Accounts of missionary work that would interest our English readers would be of little or no use to our own people. The paper is intended to help our missionaries in their work and to stir up their people to live Christian lives and to be live Churchmen.

We have Indian as well as white missionaries, but ten or twelve priests, in a scattered Diocese where their work is personal rather than parochial, can not always be having thrilling incidents or wonderful adventures sufficient to fill a monthly paper and make it worth reading to the people of England. A missionary cannot always be meeting with accidents by land and by sea, neither can his spiritual work be so different from the ordinary experience of parish priests as to justify his ‘writing a book’.

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472 The New Westminster Quarterly Paper, 1884-1885 was designed to replace the Annual Report of the Association, which in turn was replaced by The New Westminster Occasional Paper, 1886-1889. The Monthly Record, 1889-1894, and Work for the Far West, 1896-1910, included articles and letters from missionaries and descriptions of the work, as well as lists of requests for goods to be sent to British Columbia to supply parishes with everything from altar linens and vestments to reading material and lantern slides. Acton Windeyer Sillitoe was surprised to find that during a tour of England in 1887 to raise money for the diocese of New Westminster, his audiences were familiar with the diocese and its missionary work. He stated, “I had no idea of finding ourselves so well known, and our work so popular, and I can only attribute it to the circumstance that most of our clergy have come out from England and have diligently kept up communications both with personal friends, and with the various Missionary magazines, all of which have always freely opened their pages for information concerning New Westminster.” See “The Bishop’s Annual Report for 1887,” The Churchman’s Gazette (1887): 486.

473 “Clerical Negligence,” The Churchman’s Gazette 9, no. 7 (October 1889): 653.
The creation of the British Columbia Church Aid Society (BCYCAS) in 1909, which organised the Missionary Association work for all of the British Columbia dioceses, addressed some of the concerns about the reduced funding situation, and eased tensions between the various groups vying for the attention and money of the rather small population of mission-minded supporters whose loyalty wasn’t already pledged to the older and well-established missionary societies.

The goals of BCYCAS were to represent the Anglican dioceses of British Columbia in England, to stimulate interest in England in the Anglican Church in British Columbia, and to coordinate support for its work. In a period of increased British emigration to British Columbia, the Society was also concerned with maintaining strong links between immigrants and the Church of England, and fostering Imperial loyalties.

The period between 1909 and 1914 were the years of expansion and optimism for the Society. In order to disseminate information about the new Society, and about British Columbia, the Society engaged in an active program of publication.\(^{474}\) Each year between 1911 and 1917, the Society’s Year Book included lengthy reports of work in British Columbia, illustrated by photographs, as well as a report of the previous year’s Annual Meeting, including the texts of speeches made by various dignitaries.

The primary vehicle, however, for promoting the BCYCAS was the Society’s magazine, *Across the Rockies*. The magazine was designed to capture the interest and imagination of its British readers through published descriptions and photographs of scenic wonders, regular letters from missionaries describing their work, news from the

\(^{474}\) The Society changed its name in 1913 to the British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society.
constituent dioceses, and appeals for support. In the words of the editor, *Across the Rockies* published "the thrilling news which constantly reaches us from the Far West." In the pre-war period the magazine provided readers with illustrations of emigrant life, strongly emphasising the heroic and romantic aspects of what the Society called "the Last and Greatest West." In the words of the Bishop of Stepney in the 1915 *Year Book*,

I suppose one ought to say a word or two about our literature. One must not say too much, but I really believe that "Across the Rockies" is one of the best missionary magazines that ever was published (Hear, hear). It has a cover which I often feel tempted to get framed and glazed as a decoration for my room; there are illustrations almost hot from the camera - they don't really come hot from the camera, but that is the only way to express it; and there is the most delightful letterpress imaginable.

In the prewar period, British Columbia was portrayed, alternately, as a rugged and wild frontier, and the benign orchard of the Empire, tensions expressed in the cover of the magazine, with its design of mountains, lakes and ripe fruit.

Although the SPG and the CMS were reducing and withdrawing their grants to British Columbia, there was also a significant measure of territoriality around the funding of individual missions, and the BCYCAS was careful not to compete directly with the older societies in its appeals to readers. Instead, *Across the Rockies* championed projects like the Columbia Coast Mission, with its network of hospital ships and hospitals up and

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475 *Across the Rockies* 1, no. 1 (July, 1910): 3.


477 The problem was a long-standing one. See, for example the Report for Nov 8, 1901, [RG7] IV B15, Reports of Meetings in Connection with the Diocese of New Westminster 1898-1902, The British Columbia and Yukon Church Aid Society fonds (BCYCAS), AEPBC "Mr. Dawson said he felt he had a somewhat difficult task as the work of organisation had been and was still in some ways a source of friction between the parent society (SPG) which he represented and private associations for special missions. He alluded to arrangements still going on by which SPG recognised the advantage of a certain amount of individual work. Mr. Dawson said that the friction was mainly due to bad arithmetic not realising that "The part is not equal to the whole" The individual associations could not take the place of the parent society and yet special interest in a special part of the work was good and not to be discouraged. He thought special associations were inclined to ignore the work of SPG."
down the coast; the creation of an Anglican theological college in Vancouver; the establishment and augmentation of Endowments of Bishoprics; and large scale building campaigns like Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria. Readers were encouraged to rally English support for BCYCAS projects, and was regularly informed of their progress through the magazine. These special projects were also the target of specific appeals, for which an endless stream of heavily illustrated pamphlets were created for mailing to the network of supporters. The organising secretary noted that “unless our regular subscribers receive some printed matter...they are in serious danger of becoming left clean out of touch with the general progress of things in British Columbia.”

Keeping readers “in touch with the general progress” was a primary goal, but not the only function of the magazine. Across the Rockies also encouraged readers to take a particular personal interest in the work of individual missionary and parish priests. Letters and articles were printed each month that described aspects of the work, often recounted in terms of high drama and romance, especially in descriptions of mission work with Native communities. In the process, the magazine, like its nineteenth century missionary magazine predecessors contributed to the process of creating missionary heroes. Figures like Bishop Ridley of Caledonia, James McCullagh of Aiyansh, and John Antle of the Columbia Coast Mission were invoked as exemplars of heroic self-sacrifice and devotion, worthy of emulation, and more importantly, financial support.

The immediate pre-First World War period marked a shift in the emphasis of the Society. The Society was increasingly preoccupied with what was usually known as

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478 Letter from J. Perkins to J. A. B. Mercier, Nov. 30, 1911, BCYCAS Letterbooks, 1: Chair - Executive Committee, 1911-1940, Book 1, BCYCAS fonds, AEPBC.
“white work,” that is, work with English and European immigrants. The shift seems to have been as part of a deliberate refocusing of attention away from missions to Native peoples, although the magazine continued to report the work at the Anglican-run residential schools at Lytton and Alert Bay. An increasing emphasis on mission to British settlers was also accompanied by increasingly racialised discourses of difference. The Asian Other in British Columbia was no longer the brother or sister in Christ of the English metropolitan reader, in need of Christianisation, civilisation, and the helping hand of the missionary supporter, but was instead depicted as an interloper, competing with English workers for jobs that rightfully should go to the English.479

Throughout its publication history, imperialism explicitly shaped the magazine’s narratives of missionary enterprise. Constant reference was made to the Anglican church in British Columbia as “Our Church in the West,” and readers were encouraged to identify with, and support the work as an extension of their own parish activities. The magazine promoted economic opportunities for English emigrants to British Columbia, and published articles on the role of Empire, on Imperial loyalties, and on the particular, dependent relationship between England and the Dominion. The magazine sought to create and sustain interest among its British readership for consumption of information about British Columbia, as a means of garnering support for missionary activities.

479 See, for example, “Impressions of the Far North-West, by the Rev. John Paterson Smyth, L.L.D., D. Litt.”, Across the Rockies 2, no. 1 (January 1911): 6-7, “The great Kootenay region produces abundantly pears and apples and peaches and cherries and grapes and all sorts of small fruit which will bring in even now very large profits, that will be quadrupled when they can get in labour to grow and pick them. That is the trouble - want of men. Labourers in British Columbia can get 2 ½ dollars a day, workmen 4 dollars, domestic servants 25 to 30 dollars a month, Chinese cooks 50 to 60 dollars. And they cannot be got. A Vancouver gentleman told me in the train that he was going to England on a visit and to bring out one or two good servants old enough and ugly enough not to be snapped up in marriage at once. Verily this is a servant girl’s paradise! This labour question is a very serious one in British Columbia, not only for the present loss but for the future danger of the “Yellow Peril” in West Canada.”
The shift in the period immediately before World War One from promoting the work of missionaries among the Native peoples of British Columbia, to “white work” with “Our emigrants” was justified by the argument that after seventy-five years of intensive missionary work, all Natives had either converted or were so beyond the reach of civilization that they could not be converted. As well, the construction of British Columbia as wild and lonely empty territory, and missionaries as heroic workers stoically enduring isolation and hardship was at odds with the promotion of British Columbia as a haven for English settlers, a geographical landscape that would remind the homesick emigrant of “Home.”

At the same time, the magazine unintentionally preserved the image of British Columbia as an unchanging and remote locus, set apart from time. The constant recycling of images dating back to the early years of the twentieth century provided the English reader with the curious impression that travel on the Cariboo wagon road was achieved by horse-drawn wagon, and that no new buildings had been constructed in Vancouver over a forty year period.

**Conclusion**

*Across the Rockies* embodied the final phase of intensive interest within a metropolitan readership for mission work in hinterland British Columbia. The shift in both Anglican and Methodist missionary societies in the period after the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, and the increasing participation of Canadian-born missionaries

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489 Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), Table 5, 363, indicates that the percentage of the population in British Columbia claiming British ethnic origin increased from 14,600 (29.6%) in 1881 to 266,295 (60.0%) in 1911 and 387,513 (70.7%) in 1921. The shift of emphasis from the evangelisation of Native peoples to parish building and the pastoral care of British immigrants was perhaps inevitable, given the changing demographics and the restricted resources available to support Native missions.
in Canadian church-sponsored foreign mission fields meant that the few remaining missionaries in the British Columbia mission field were engaged in an unequal competition for attention from missionary supporters. The certainty with which the missionary periodicals had promoted the cause of the conversion of all Native peoples in British Columbia in the second half of the nineteenth century was transferred to the new goal of the total Christianisation of the world in one generation. Writing the missionary life increasingly became a look backwards to the golden days of mission, a rapidly receding period of missionary heroes working in a pre-modern environment against the significant opposition of a heathen people now converted to Christianity and civilisation.

William Ridley had argued that “the real romance of Missions is not yet written, and never will be, because God’s greatest works are like the diamond and dew – perfected in the secret places of the Most High, and await the great day to reveal them.” By the First World War, it seemed that the great day when the full story of missionary heroism would be celebrated had come and gone, and in the aftermath of the war, metropolitan readers were no longer interested in the pastoral needs of small communities of Native Christians, living on the far edge of a former colony, whom they no longer considered their obligation to support. The news no longer constantly reached the metropolitan reader, and it had ceased to thrill.

481 Ridley, Snapshots from the North Pacific, 81-82.
In 1893, William Ridley, Bishop of Caledonia, delivered the opening charge to his missionaries at the first Diocesan Conference to be held in Caledonia. He stated that it was the responsibility of the assembled clergy to seek out the lost and benighted; to bring them, by God’s grace, into the fold of Christ, and lead them in the green pastures of His Word and Sacraments... [and] never to rest until we have won for Christ, by the attraction of His Cross, every tribe, and consecrated each tongue by translating into it the infallible Scriptures, beginning with the Holy Gospels.\(^\text{482}\)

Ridley’s charge focused on the critical place of print within the activities of missionaries in the field. Both the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodist Church emphasised the importance of missionaries learning the indigenous language of the Native peoples whom they sought to convert. Both denominations also placed primary emphasis on preaching the Word of God, although they differed in the emphasis they placed on the role of print in public worship.\(^\text{483}\) And both denominations saw their work in the missionary field as a response to the Gospel injunction to “go ye therefore, and teach all nations.”\(^\text{484}\) In Ridley’s discourse of the scriptural imperative for missionary activity, missionaries were “God’s ambassadors sent purposely to testify to His claim on


\(^\text{483}\) Of course, in Christian theology, the Word of God is equated with the second person of the Trinity, following the scriptural references in John 1:1 and Revelation 19:13. Missionaries were charged with the complex task of teaching their converts the history of salvation, as revealed by the scriptures (the word of God) and the possibility of individual salvation through the incarnation and atoning sacrifice of Christ (the Word of God).

\(^\text{484}\) Matthew 28:19, in the translation of the Authorised Version. Missionary societies also frequently cited Acts 16:9, in which Paul receives a vision of a man from Macedonia who said “Come over into Macedonia and help us” as the direct scriptural impetus for Christian missionary activity.
every soul in this land.” They were to “invite all men, of whatever nationality, to accept
Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of sinners; to help them by word and example to come to
Him, to trust in Him, to follow him to the end.”

Christianity as a religion places its sacred text, the Bible, at the centre of its doctrine,
teaching, and preaching. However, before the advent of the printing press in the late
fifteenth century, a delicate balance existed within Christianity between textual and oral
transmission of scripture. Textual literacy and the ability to engage in the direct reading
of scripture was confined to a relatively small group of church-educated people. For the
non-literate, the textual authority of the Bible was mediated through oral and visual
means. One learned the scriptures by listening to a priest read passages from the Bible,
by listening to a preacher speaking from the pulpit or town square; and by looking at the
visual representation of scripture in painted altarpieces, stained glass, carvings and
frescoes on the walls of the church. These non-textual means of transmission were

485 “Bishop Ridley’s Charge,” 106.


488 Henri-Jean Martin, *The History and Power of Writing*, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994); originally published as *Histoire et pouvoirs de l’écrit* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1988), 172, makes the helpful observation that for pre-Reformation Christianity, authority rested not only in the textual authority of scripture but in the living tradition represented by apostolic succession, a point that later would come to have increased importance as Protestant Christians debated the authority of non-scriptural writings of traditional historical significance.

489 Visual representations such as the famous *Biblia Pauperum*, the Bible of the Poor, were designed to instruct and exhort the viewer in the main tenets of the faith. Ivan Illich and Barry Sanders, *ABC: The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1988; New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 44 make the observation that the iconography of Christ in Judgement, which was frequently chosen to decorate the entrance of a church, often included a book in which the deeds of the dead have been recorded. As Illich and Sanders point out, the faithful were thus reminded that they wrote the text of their
supplemented by the ritual and ceremonial of worship, and in some locations, by the

The Reformation brought dramatic changes to the balance of textuality and orality

within Christianity, furthered by new textual practices initiated by the printing press. The

Reformation and post-Reformation emphasis within Protestantism on the Bible as the

sole source of revealed truth meant that Protestant Christians focused in new ways on

textuality and the authority of texts.\textsuperscript{490} The Protestant emphasis on a direct and

unmediated interaction with scripture placed increased importance on the translation of

the Bible into the vernacular, and encouraged the spread of literacy.\textsuperscript{491} New patterns of

print consumption grew, as Bibles in the vernacular were mass produced and acquired by

the faithful as a mark of commitment to Protestant norms.\textsuperscript{492} The development within

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\textsuperscript{490} Adrian Johns, \textit{The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making} (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 408-409, states flatly that “Protestantism rested on Scripture. In reading lay definition, practice, power, and propaganda. Accounts of what constituted creditable Scripture and what idolatrous forgery, of how Scripture should be represented and read, and of what effects it should have on which readers consequently stood at the heart of its identity.” Similarly, Elizabeth Eisenstein, \textit{The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe} 2 vols. in one (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 310, makes the explicit connection between Protestantism and printing, and by extension, Bible reading, in her comment that “The advent of printing was an important precondition for the Protestant Reformation taken as a whole; for without it one could not implement a ‘priesthood of all believers.’”

\textsuperscript{491} Eisenstein, 333, notes that “Protestant doctrines which stressed Bible-reading as necessary for salvation did generate unusual pressures toward literacy; while the Catholic refusal after Trent to authorize alternatives to the Latin Vulgate worked in the opposite direction.” However, Harvey Graff, \textit{The Legacies of Literacy: Continuities and Contradictions in Western Culture and Society} (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 117, rightly warns against seeing the development of print as deterministically producing readers and literates, pointing out that literacy and the practice of habitual reading should not be confused. This point is also articulated by Roger Chartier, “Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France,” in \textit{Understanding Popular Culture: Europe From the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century}, ed. Steven L. Kaplan (Berlin: Nouton, 1984), 236, “Between literacy and illiteracy there exists a wide range of reading abilities, which depend on the length, structure, and forms of the written or printed text.”

\textsuperscript{492} For a straightforward overview of the production and distribution of printed Bibles, see the entry “Printing and Publishing” 611-619, and Stephen A Marini, “Family Bible,” 224-225, in \textit{The Oxford
Protestantism of private individual reading and interpretation of scripture focused particular attention on the text as a transmitter of the sacred, even as Protestant worship increasingly focused on the sermon as the primary means of inculcation of faith among worshipping communities.\textsuperscript{493}

Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century were thus the inheritors of particular attitudes and beliefs about the centrality of scripture in Christian worship and devotion, and were enthusiastic advocates for private, devotional reading of the Bible.\textsuperscript{494} Although denominational differences shaped the particular and distinctive uses of print as an agent of conversion, both Anglicans and Methodists, as disseminators of a Protestant

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\textsuperscript{493} As Bernhard Lang, 172, states "The Protestant reformers’ enthusiasm for preaching created a form of worship dominated by the sermon, with the Eucharist given much less emphasis and generally omitted from the normal Sunday service. The ministers or pastors were preachers in the first place for they considered the delivery of the Sunday sermon – and sometimes additional weekday sermons – their essential duty." Christopher B. Turner, "Revivalism and Welsh Society in the Nineteenth Century," in Disciplines of Faith: Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy, ed. Jim Obelkevich, Lyndal Roper and Raphael Samuel (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 332, notes that textual records cannot capture the performative aspect of Methodist sermons, the "intonations, rhythms, dialects, anecdotes, addresses, prayers, the third dimension of music." Donald G. Mathews, "Evangelical America – The Methodist Ideology," in Perspectives on American Methodism: Interpretive Essays, ed. Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe and Jean Miller Schmidt (Nashville: Kingswood Books, Abingdon Press, 1993), 19-20, notes that the spoken word was the substance for early Methodists, the "event and act of preaching and responding" central to the experience of Methodism.

\textsuperscript{494} Frances Knight, The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 38-40, examines the practice of Bible reading in the home as an important facet of lay religion critical to the construction of nineteenth century Anglican piety. Richard Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900, 2d ed. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 99 notes that Evangelicals "stressed the act of reading as part of the program of the truly enlightened life. They believed that the grace of God could, and did, descend to the individual man and woman through the printed page." Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada From the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991), 19, notes that for Evangelicals, "Faith based upon the Bible was...the precondition of learning." Given the close ties between the Evangelicals and the Methodists, Knight’s arguments are equally applicable to the Methodists. While Bible reading in the home was not exclusively an Evangelical practice, Robert Lee Wolff, in Gains and Losses: Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977), 19, makes the observation that "Tractarians maintained, against the Evangelicals, that promiscuous reading of the Bible had its dangers for the unlearned."
Christianity rooted in textual practices, were charged with preaching the Word, teaching the Word, and translating the Word to all they encountered. In the process they hoped to create textual communities of worshippers who listened to the Word, read the Word for themselves, and meditated on its meaning.

Learning the Language

The missionaries' belief in the power of direct experience with the word of God as a means of effecting conversion was challenged when they interacted with the First Nations peoples of British Columbia, who had rich oral literatures, but no written languages, and no fixed culture of the printed word. The ability to preach the Word was further complicated by the multiplicity of Aboriginal languages and dialects of languages among First Nations peoples.

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495 Of course, whether the Church of England was a Protestant church, a Reformed Church, or a reformed church within the Catholic tradition was a source of heated debate between Tractarians and Evangelicals in the nineteenth century. And, although Article VI of the Book of Common Prayer, “Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation” states that “Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation,” and that belief in non-scriptural works is not necessary for salvation, in the Church of England in the nineteenth century the Protestant emphasis on “sola scriptura,” that is scripture alone as the only authoritative text for Christians, was increasingly tempered by the Tractarian emphasis on the importance of the Early Church writings for Christian tradition. “Sola scriptura” was also challenged by the growing importance of modern Biblical criticism within the Anglican tradition in the wake of the publication of Lux Mundi in 1889. See the very helpful summation of the issues in James Barr, “Interpretation, History of,” in The Oxford Companion to the Bible, ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 302-324. By contrast, Gauvreau, 46, noted that John Wesley “championed the Bible as infallibly true, given by inspiration of God, and free from any real error,” although he also allowed for the place of experience, reason and tradition in the formation of faith.

496 The term “textual community” is used by Lang, 139-148, to describe the particular relationship of Jews and Christians to sacred books and the liturgy of the word. A similar concept is discussed by Roger Chartier in The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); originally published as L’ordre des livres (Paris: Editions Alinea, 1992). Chartier talks about “communities of readers” created by the relationship between the text, the book, and the reader.

497 The variety of languages spoken was seen by some missionaries as one of the chief obstacles to their work among Native peoples. The Anglican A. C. Garrett argued in his report attached to a letter to the SPG, dated October 7, 1861, SPG papers, microfilm reel 229, NAC: “The difficulties under which we labor here, are gigantic. While vice in all its appalling and deadly forms, rages with uncontrolled power; diversity of languages raises a mighty barrier in the way of our progress; tribal animosities oppose a determined front to the principles of the Gospel; the tribes being not resident but migratory, causes the pupils to be continually changing, so that a very small opportunity is afforded for making anything of a persuasive impression upon
Thus, missionaries who sought to preach the Gospel to Native peoples were immediately faced with a series of decisions about language and literacy that were determined in part by personal preference and facility with languages, and in part by denominational policies. As a result, different communication strategies were adopted by the missionaries with different groups of people, and at different points in time. These situational determinants that structured the preaching of the Word reproduced the tensions between orality and textuality, and between the mediated transmission of the Word and the direct experience of printed text on the page.

Missionaries who visited Native communities infrequently, or divided their time between White and Native communities, often had neither the time nor perceived the need to acquire fluency in Native languages, and relied on Native translators to interpret their sermons and exhortations. Similarly, missionaries who were new to a Native mission had to use Native translators until they could begin a study of the language. The Methodist George Clarkson, stationed at Chilliwack in 1870, noted that he was accompanied on his visits to the Sto:lo peoples at Cultus Lake, Skowkale, Sumas Lake, and Squiala by the Snuneymuxw class leader and lay preacher David Sallosalton, who acted as his translator. William Pollard had to turn down an invitation to preach to them. Similar opinions about the challenges presented by linguistic variety were expressed by the unnamed editor in the introduction to the letters from missionaries in British Columbia, in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 20 (August 1873): 306, “It is an obstacle in the way of disseminating the knowledge of Christ among the forty thousand pagans who inhabit that part of the Pacific coast that so many dialects exist in the different tribes. Yet, the Society has one devoted and successful laborer [Thomas Crosby], who preaches to at least three thousand of them in one language.”

Sallosalton was a student at the Methodist Native school in Nanaimo, where he came under the influence of Thomas Crosby. After his conversion, he attended “the ‘English’ school in Victoria, and was appointed a lay preacher first to the Songhees people, and then as a class leader at Skowkale, Sumas Lake and Squiala. He was widely praised in the Methodist missionary literature as a singularly effective preacher, and often acted as translator for missionaries unable to speak Chinook or a Native language. He died at the age of nineteen, and in the obituary published in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 19
Sce’exmx people while on a missionary tour of the Interior, when no Native interpreter was available and the White settler who accompanied him refused to translate his sermon.\(^{499}\) In other cases, a resident missionary fluent in the indigenous language of the area would act as a translator for other visiting missionaries.\(^{500}\) While in most cases the use of Native translators was deemed to result in successful collaboration with the missionaries, there was always the possibility of mistranslation of unfamiliar terminology and concepts.\(^{501}\)

For many of the early missionaries, Chinook, a trading language that drew on English, French, and various Native languages was the first choice for their acquisition of language, as Chinook was relatively simple to master and was widely spoken by the

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\(^{499}\) William Pollard, February 3, 1874, printed in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, n.s., no. 23 (May 1874): 364.

\(^{500}\) For example, Crosby, who spoke fluent Halkomelem, acted as a translator for William Pollard on a visit to Nanaimo in 1871. See the letter from William Pollard, August 29, 1871, printed in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, n.s., no. 13 (November 1871): 206. Similarly, William Duncan, who spoke Tsimshian, acted as a translator for Richard Dundas during his visit to Metlakatla in 1863. See the *Fifth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission For the Year 1863* (London: Rivingtons, 1864), 35.

\(^{501}\) The problems raised by cross-cultural translation were enormous, as translators transformed sermons in English into language and thought patterns recognizable to their audiences. Andrew Rettig, “A Native Movement at Metlakatla Mission,” *BC Studies*, no. 46 (1986): 34-35, notes that the religious revival instigated by the new CMS missionary, Alfred John Hall, in 1877 was based in part on the active agency of the translators, who interpreted Hall’s fiery and boisterous sermons. William Carpenter Bompas, Bishop of Athabasca, attributed the outbreak of enthusiasm at Metlakatla to “the neighbourhood of the Methodist services where I suppose such things are encouraged.” See William Carpenter Bompas to H. Wright of the CMS, dated March 22, 1878,” C.2/O, Original Letters, etc. - Incoming, 1857-1880, North Pacific Mission (British Columbia) CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-106, NAC.
coastal First Nations peoples of British Columbia. Missionaries sometimes began their study of the language on board ship on the voyage to British Columbia, either by studying one of the various printed grammars and dictionaries, or by taking lessons with a shipmate who had acquired linguistic facility on a previous voyage. For example, the Anglican missionary Edward Cridge noted in his shipboard diary en route to Victoria that he was engaged in learning “Chenouk” with the assistance of the captain of the ship.

Others began their study of the language as soon as they arrived in British Columbia, and soon after were able to preach in Chinook, or a mixture of Chinook and English. In his diary entry for January 17, 1860, George Hills reported that he had interviewed Chief Freesy of the Songhees people of Victoria during a visit to the reserve by asking Freesy questions in English, which were then translated into Chinook. Hills evidently began to study the language shortly after this interview. In his diary entry for February 16, he

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502 For the history of Chinook, see Charles Lillard with Terry Glavin, A Voice Great Within Us: The Story of Chinook Transmontanus, no. 7 (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1998). Although they utilized the language, the missionaries in the field were often unclear about the origins of Chinook. For example, the vituperatively anti-Roman Catholic Methodist missionary Edward White, in a letter dated March 1, 1870, mistakenly identified Chinook as a trading jargon invented by the Jesuits to further their own trading relationships. See the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 8 (August 1870): 121. Other missionaries thought Chinook to be an invention of the Hudson’s Bay Company.

503 The earliest Chinook dictionaries listed in Barbara J. Lowther, Laying the Foundation 1849-1899, vol. 1, A Bibliography of British Columbia (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1968) are Francis Norbert Blanchet, A Comprehensive, Explanatory, Correct Pronouncing Dictionary, and Jargon Vocabulary, To Which is added Numerous Conversations Enabling Any Person to Speak the Chinook Jargon, 2d ed. (Portland, O.T.: S.J. M’Cormick, 1853), and [Lionnet, Jean], Vocabulary of the Jargon or Trade Language of Oregon (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1853). Two early guidebooks to the gold fields of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers included Chinook vocabularies: Alexander Caulfield Anderson’s Hand-book and Map to the Gold Region of Frazer’s and Thompson’s Rivers. With Table of Distance, To Which is Appended Chinook Jargon, Language Used, etc. etc. (San Francisco: J.J. LeCount, c. 1858), and William Carew Hazlitt’s British Columbia and Vancouver Island...Compiled From Official and Other Authentic Sources (London and New York: G. Routledge, 1858).

504 See, for example Edward Cridge, diary entry, October 10, 1854 “Seemed to get thro’ but little. Spent a part of the forenoon in preparing a sermon. Had a lesson in the Chenouk [sic] with Capt. Mouatt.” Cridge Diaries, 1853-54; 1858, vol. 6, Edward Cridge fonds, Add mss 320, BCA.
transcribed the one-sentence table grace that he had offered in Chinook during a visit to a group of Songhees children, and made a list of the Chinook words of the grace and their English equivalents. By June 3, he noted his ability to hold a brief conversation in Chinook, and on June 27, described a sermon that he had preached in Chinook to a group gathered near Boston Bar.

Chinook was used by both Anglicans and Methodists as a common language not only for preaching but for instruction, particularly in the schoolroom when children or adults from a variety of tribal groups were present. In the 1870s, the Methodist Sunday school for Native children at Victoria used Chinook as the language of instruction. Cornelius Bryant, while stationed at Nanaimo in 1882-1883 reported that he used Chinook with the Methodist class meeting of Native converts, as he had “no regular interpreter.” James Turner, stationed in the Nicola Valley in 1875, organised a Sunday school for both White and Native inquirers, and preached in Chinook, as well as through an interpreter.

In other cases, a multistage translation from English, to Chinook, to the vernacular was employed. The Anglican missionary John Sheepshanks described this process, which he

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505 In the February 16 entry, Hills also noted that he had written down the names of a group of Native children, which had given him the “opportunity of catching sounds.” George Hills, diary, 1860.

506 George Hills, diary, 1860.

507 Letter from the Rev. A. E. Russ, June 13, 1870, printed in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 8 (August 1870): 123, “The Indian school, through white ‘Chinook’ [sic] interpreters, is growing in numbers and spirituality, and has an attendance of twenty-five Indians, under the care of Bro. Wm. McKay and his staff.”


509 Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada, 3d ser., no. 6 (March 1876): 95. By December, 1876 Turner had decided to “relinquish the thought of taking up the Indian work,” and no further mention was made of the integrated Sunday school. Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada, 3d ser., no. 12 (April 1877): 201.
employed while preaching to the St'at'imx peoples at Lillooet. He wrote out his
translation of an English language prayer in Chinook, then read it aloud to a Chinook-
speaking helper, whom he asked to translate the prayer aloud from Chinook into
St'at'imx. Sheepshanks then wrote out the prayer phonetically in St'at'imx, read it out
loud, and then asked his helper to translate it back into Chinook, as a means of verifying
the accuracy of the translation. The multi-stage translation process was also used by
the Methodist missionary Ebenezer Robson, who had begun his study of Chinook while
stationed at Fort Hope and Fort Yale. In one of his first reports to the Wesleyan
Methodist Missionary Society after he moved from Fort Yale to Nanaimo in 1861,
Robson described his method of instructing the Nanaimo peoples. Robson explained:

I use the Chinook language, and one of the Indians renders it into Nanaimo [italics in
original]. First I pray in English (all kneeling) then repeat the Lord's prayer in
Nanaimo, all repeating with me. Then I explain the commandments, and selecting a
suitable portion of Scripture, preach to them as well as I can: after this we sing a verse
in Chinook, and the closing prayer is translated by the interpreter.

510 D. Wallace Duthie, ed. A Bishop in the Rough (London: Smith Elder, 1909), 44. See also the description
of John Sheepshanks preaching in Chinook and using the same multi-stage translation process in J. J.
in The Emigrant and the Heathen: Or, Sketches of Missionary Life (London: Society for Promoting

511 Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, in
Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1859, to June 1860 (Toronto: The Society, 1860), xxv,
"I am doing all I can to obtain a knowledge of the language. My progress is slow, but I am encouraged to
hope. When the Missionaries have once mastered the language, much good may be done.” It is clear from
subsequent reports that “the language” was Chinook. See also Robson’s report in the Thirty-Sixth Annual
Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, in Connexion with the
English Conference, From June 1860, to June 1861 (Toronto: The Society, 1861), xxix, after he was
stationed in Nanaimo “I have been prevented from doing much for the Indians. However, I have done what
I could, with my limited time and means, in visiting them at their lodgings for religious conversation, and
occasionally preaching to them on Sabbath. I have also instructed those of them who were willing to learn,
in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the English language.”

512 Printed in the Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan Methodist
Church in Canada, in Connexion with the English Conference, From June 1861, to June 1862 (Toronto:
The Society, 1862), xxx.
Chinook, however, was not universally seen as the best way to communicate, as most Chinook-speakers had a fairly limited vocabulary, and not all Native peoples spoke Chinook. Many missionaries found that Chinook was essentially unsuited for the subtleties of Christian theology, and was best used as a stop-gap until they had mastered the indigenous language of an area.

The success of Methodist and Anglican missionaries who sought to evangelise First Nations peoples was often attributed to the degree of fluency that they achieved in Native languages, and the speed with which they were able to acquire that fluency. The Wesleyan Missionary Notices were full of praise for Thomas Crosby and his ability to

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513 According to The Encyclopedia of British Columbia (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour, 2000), 127, Chinook had a vocabulary of approximately 750 words. A letter from Robert Whittington to Alexander Sutherland, Dec. 15, 1906, made it clear that there were different forms of Chinook spoken by different groups: “Mr. Barlow [stationed at Clayoquot] has applied for an interpreter as per enclosed letter. I should say that it would be better for him to have one for three months until he gets some hold of the work. I found that he had been studying out of the book and getting hold of French Chinook words instead of English ones so that when I heard him preaching on Sunday morning about three months after he went there it was evidently fun for the boys.” See also the enclosed letter from George Barlow to Robert Whittington, November 26, 1906, “After having been nearly three months in contact with the Indians of this place, during which time, having made myself fairly acquainted with both authorities on the Chinook Jargon, I find it such an imperfect medium of communication that the books are almost useless. I would therefore through you urgently request that I be granted a sufficient sum to allow of my employing an interpreter for three or four months until I thus get thoroughly acquainted with the individual tribal form of this jargon.” File 83 British Columbia; Indian Missions General correspondence 1905-1907, Box 5, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA.

514 For example, in the list of books and translations published by the SPG, Pascoe noted that Chinook was a jargon, “adopted owing to the variety of dialects there [i.e., in British Columbia]. It is imperfect as a medium of religious instruction, but it was the best that could be found at the time of translation.” C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the SPG: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900, vol. 2 (London: The Society, 1901), 801.

515 In a letter to the CMS, dated March 29, 1876, William Duncan used the need for mastering the language as one of his objections to the CMS sending out ordained missionaries: “I previously recommended men to be sent out unordained since Mr. Gribbold’s [sic] failure, because they cannot for some time for want of language officiate as clergymen, and while they are learning the language we wish them to teach the Day School.” See C.1/M9, Mission Books, Copies of Letters - Incoming, 1874-1875, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-81, NAC.
preach to the Halkomelem peoples “in their own tongue.” In describing the mission on Vancouver Island, A.E. Russ noted that Crosby was “a master in the Nanaimo language…which gives him a great influence over the Indians, who think very much of him,” and in his memoirs Crosby explained that from the outset of his ministry, he had chosen to learn the language of the people among whom he was sent, rather than resorting to Chinook. William Ridley praised the wives of missionaries who acquired facility with Native languages, and thus became “valuable yoke-fellows with their husbands in spiritual husbandry.”

The CMS missionary William Henry Collison was so fluent in Tsimshian that when he moved from Metlakatla to Massett in 1876, the people of Metlakatla wrote to the CMS to protest his departure, stating “He can talk our language, the oldest and youngest people are able to understand him in the church.” Collison described his methodology for language acquisition in preparation for his work with the Haida:

The language is rather difficult, more so I consider than the Tsimpshean, as I have

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516 The phrase was used by Ephraim Evans, who noted that “Mr. Crosby can speak to them [the Snuneymuxw people of Nanaimo] in their own tongue, and they are everywhere anxious to hear him speak of Jesus,” as part of his discussion in support of a resolution that Evans moved at the annual conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, as reported in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 2 (February 1869): 20.


518 Thomas Crosby, Among the An-ko-me-nums, 53-56 stated that “At the best it [Chinook] is but a wretched means of communication, poor in expression and almost destitute of grammatical forms,” and that he had “refused to have anything to do with Chinook,” believing that “in no way can one properly preach the truth to a people except in their own language.”

519 William Ridley, Snapshots from the North Pacific, 84. Ridley’s wife, Jane Helmer Ridley, was an excellent linguist, who had assisted Ridley in his translation work while they were stationed on the India-Afghanistan border.

520 See C.2/0, Original Letters, Journals, papers - Incoming, 1857-1880, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-106, NAC.
already acquired a little of it and the acquirement of it I find (as I found in acquiring the Tsimshian) it is of great assistance to one to be able to seize the words as you hear them and commit them in writing to paper using correct orthography so that they can be read again at any time. Now this language is very difficult to the Tsimpseans who use the Chinook jargon in all their intercourse with the Hydahs and hence it would be a difficult task to one of them to learn the language, not being able to write down the words as they are spoken. 521

Conversely, the inability to learn new languages was seen as a major impediment to success in evangelisation. In a letter published in the Notices in February 1869, Ephraim Evans laments “I sometimes wish for youth again, and opportunity to learn their language, and in it place before them the Holy Scriptures.” The difficulties that Robert Doolan, CMS missionary to the Nisga’a from 1864 through 1867, experienced in preaching through an intermediary was seen as evidence that the mission had failed. 522

Subsequent to Doolan’s period in the mission field, the CMS came to place such importance on learning the indigenous language of the area where the missionary was stationed that the successful completion of language examinations was made one of the prerequisites for a new missionary to marry. 523 As well, the Society severely censured missionaries in the field who failed to pass their first or final language examinations, threatening to dismiss them if they didn’t successfully apply themselves to language study. The CMS wrote to William Hogan (missionary at Port Simpson and Port Essington from 1893 through 1910) in 1896, thanking Hogan for his Annual Letter, before

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521 See William Henry Collison to the CMS, July 16, 1875, C.1/M10, Mission Books, Copies of Letters - Incoming, 1875-1876, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-81, NAC.


523 Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society: its Environment vol. 3 (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 356, indicated that in 1889, the Marriage Regulations were revised. Missionaries accepted by the Society for work in the field had to complete three years of service, have a satisfactory bill of health, and pass their language exams before permission to marry would be granted.
discussing his deficiencies. The letter stressed the importance of language acquisition:

I note that you have been nearly three years in the Field, but we have not, I think, received testimony as to your having passed your language examination. In fact I cannot lay my hand upon any evidence that you have passed even your first examination....You well know how strongly the Committee feel with regard to the acquiring of the language. This they ever look upon as of primary importance. Earnestly do I trust that you will be able to assure me that at a very early date you will be able to take not only your first but also your second examination in the language. The Committee are deeply anxious that all their Missionaries should be spiritually-minded men, but they also expect that in order to be efficient Missionaries at all, they be familiar with the language of the people, hence for your own sake, as well as for the sake of the people entrusted to your charge, pray bring all your energies to this great end.”

Similarly, William Edwin Collison, missionary and younger son of pioneer missionary William Henry Collison, was threatened with dismissal for failing to pass his language examinations in Haida, despite his having learned the language as a child.

Among the Methodists, the practice of appointment on a regular cycle to a new circuit, meant that missionaries were usually assigned to a circuit for a maximum of three years.

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524 Letter from B. Baring Gould, secretary of the CMS to William Hogan, dated July 16, 1896, C.2/L, Letter Books, Copies of Despatches, Outgoing, 1881-1905, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-122, NAC. A subsequent letter to Hogan from Baring Gould was even more admonitory. The letter began “Information which has recently reached me from the bishop has filled me with real anxiety and sorrow regarding your immediate future.” Gould then threatened Hogan with dismissal from Society if he failed to acquire “an efficient knowledge of the vernacular.” Letter from B. Baring Gould, secretary of the CMS to William Hogan, dated January 15, 1898, ibid.

525 William Edwin Collison had been recommended to the CMS as a missionary by Bishop Ridley, who stated that Collison was “a first-rate Indian linguist [who] will acquire the Masset language within a year of his arrival.” See Ridley to the CMS, September 14, 1899, C 1/P4, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1892-1907, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-121, NAC. The letter from the CMS to W. E. Collison regarding his failure to pass the language examination stated, in part “That such a report should be possible regarding a missionary who has been resident for some five years amongst the people to whom he has been sent as a spiritual teacher is deplorable...As one who has consecrated his life to work among the Haidas, I cannot but believe that you must be deeply conscious of the humiliation on being unable to speak to these people in their own tongues, on those very topics the dealing of which should alone justify your presence at Masset.” See Letter from B. Baring Gould, secretary of the CMS to W. E. Collison, dated October 28, 1904, C.2/L, Letter Books, Copies of Despatches, Outgoing, 1881-1905, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-122, NAC. See also W. E. Collison’s response, dated March 28, 1905, stating that he was “deeply hurt” by the letter, and that he had with the aid of “full notes preached at least one Haida Sermon every Sunday. Formerly preached through an interpreter.” C.1/P, North Pacific Mission, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, to 1914, CMS papers, microfilm reel A121, NAC.
While this practice was rooted in Wesley's own organisation of ministry, it had serious consequences for missionaries appointed to missionary circuits among First Nations peoples. In the early years of the British Columbia mission, when the rotation among circuits was strictly observed and the number of missionaries in the field was severely limited by financial constraints, the time that an individual missionary remained on a circuit was often too brief to obtain more than an introduction to the indigenous language of the area. The appointment of Thomas Crosby, Charles Tate, Cornelius Bryant and others as missionaries ordained specifically for work among Native peoples partially overcame some of the problems instituted by the three-year rotation. However, even though certain missionaries were clearly noted as serving "among the Indians," a missionary could be reappointed from one circuit to another with very little notice, and would then have to begin to learn the new indigenous language. The Stationing Committee was not always familiar with the complexities of the Native mission field, and seemed to have thought that the designated missionaries could be moved with little inconvenience or difficulty. Crosby had been stationed among the Halkomelem-speaking peoples of southern Vancouver Island and the lower Fraser Valley as a lay teacher from 1864 and as a candidate for the ministry from 1868, and as previously noted, was widely praised for his fluency and translation ability. In 1874, he was sent to the new mission at Fort Simpson, and until he began to learn Tsimshian, was entirely dependent on a

526 Chapter 1, Section 5, "The Stationing Committee," paragraph 4, The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church (Toronto: William Briggs, 1884), specified that no minister or probationer for the Ministry could remain more than three years successively on the same circuit, barring the appointment to specific duties. Specifically excluded from these provisions were "the missionaries among the Indians."
translator to facilitate his preaching and instruction. A similar situation occurred when Charles Montgomery Tate, stationed at Chilliwack from 1876 through 1880, was reassigned by the Stationing Committee to open a new mission at Hazelton. When Tate and his wife arrived in the north, they discovered that the CMS had established a mission at Skeena Forks. After consultation, it was decided by the Missionary Society that the Tates would join William Pierce at the mission at Bella Bella. It is not clear, however, whether Tate, who spoke fluent Chinook and Halkomelem, ever learned to speak Heiltsuk, or whether he relied exclusively on translators. In 1894, the British Columbia Conference, which recognised that missionaries working among Native peoples often lacked adequate language skills, adopted a policy that encouraged “all missionaries engaged in the Indian work, to acquire as rapidly as possible a knowledge of the language of the people among whom they labor.”

The Politics of Translation

From the earliest days of missionary activity in British Columbia, both SPG- and CMS-sponsored missionaries were engaged in the work of translating portions of Scripture and the Offices into various indigenous languages of British Columbia. However, only a few

527 Letter dated January 20, 1875, printed in Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada, 3d ser., no. 2 (April 1875): 87 “Alfred [Dudoward] and his wife still assist, and I hope they will be favourably remembered by the Committee. They are a great help to us indeed; we could not proceed without them. I am trying to get the language, but I am so taken up with building that I could not give much attention to it. However, I hope soon to be able to do without an interpreter.”

528 In 1884, the Tates moved once again, when Tate was sent back to Chilliwack. In Tate’s memoirs, he stated “I cold have accomplished very little but for the assistance of the teachers, and the paramount work of the native preachers.” See Charles Montgomery Tate, “Autosketch of My Life,” [1929], vertical file, UCCBC.

529 The Methodist Church, Minutes of the British Columbia Conference 1894 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1894), 45. The policy lacked the rigor of the CMS’s requirement of formal language examinations, although provision was made for the Annual District Meeting to monitor the progress of missionaries towards the goal of language acquisition.
of these translations were published by the SPG, despite the Society’s extensive history of sponsoring such work.\textsuperscript{530} Alexander Garrett, Anglican principal of the Indian Mission at Victoria taught in Chinook\textsuperscript{531} and led worship services for the Songhees people in Victoria using his own Chinook translation of the liturgy.\textsuperscript{532} John Booth Good, who was appointed in 1861 to the mission to both White and Native communities in Nanaimo, reported in his annual letter of January 1, 1863 that he had completed a “liturgy and hymns in their own tongue and which they [the Snuneymuxw people] join in most heartily.” As no copy of the liturgy seems to have been printed, and he describes his work only as a translation into “their own tongue,” it is unclear whether Good’s translation was in Halkomelem or Chinook.\textsuperscript{533} These SPG-sponsored written translations seem to have been compiled primarily to facilitate preaching in the vernacular, as Good noted in a letter to the Society, dated December 31, 1878. Good, who had founded a mission at Lytton in 1867, had just finished printing his translation of portions of the Book of Common Prayer and selected hymns into Nlha7kápmx. Good noted

\textsuperscript{530} Pascoe, 800-813, lists SPG-sponsored translations into a wide variety of languages, focusing primarily on the indigenous languages spoken in Africa and Asia.

\textsuperscript{531} See the extracts from the journal of the Archdeacon of Columbia, Henry Press Wright, printed in the \textit{Third Report of the Columbia Mission with List of Contributors, 1861} (London: Rivingtons, [1862?]), 28: “I found the school well attended, and the children of both sexes very attentive. Mr. Garrett, the clergyman in charge of the Mission, questioned them; but being ignorant of the Chinook, I could not judge of the answers given.”

\textsuperscript{532} See \textit{Report of the Columbia Mission with List of Contributions, 1860} (London: Rivingtons, [1861?]), 93: “I then read my Chinook Liturgy, consisting of the general Confession, the Absolution, Versicles, Lord’s Prayer, and a special prayer composed expressly for the Indians.” Pascoe, vol. 2, 801, notes Garrett’s translation of “Portions of the Prayer Book” but provides no indication that the translation had ever been published. A careful search of the library catalogues of major research libraries in North America and England and failed to find any record of Garrett’s translation having been issued in print. Garrett’s personal papers during his years in British Columbia do not seem to have survived: his diaries from his election as first bishop of North Texas, in 1874, are deposited in the national Episcopal Archives, Austin, Texas.

\textsuperscript{533} John Booth Good to SPG, January 1, 1863, SPG papers, microfilm reel 230, NAC.
I am thankful further to learn from the Bishop now in England that the Society will
with his consent make a further grant to enable me to print whilst on my short visit
with my family in Victoria the Office for Holy Baptism that is now ready for the Press
and which will when accomplished be a Vade Mecum indeed to the Missionary
hitherto compelled to carry about a cumbersome manuscript and which has made the
administration of the Sacrament of Regeneration one of the greatest anxiety and
perplexity, but will soon be as readily performed in Thompson as English.534

The Methodists were much less actively involved in the publication of translations,
although it is clear from the letters and reports that translations of hymns and prayers
were used extensively in worship.535 Charles Montgomery Tate completed a Chinook
translation of the Gospel According to Saint Mark,536 and published a Chinook
dictionary.537 He also collaborated on an edition of popular Methodist hymns, printed in
both Halkomelem and Chinook.538 These seem to be the only printed Methodist
translations.

CMS missionaries were specifically instructed to acquire the vernacular language of

534 John Booth Good to the SPG, December 31, 1878, SPG papers, microfilm reel 243, NAC.

535 Thomas Crosby reported that Captain John, a prominent Sto:lo convert told an opponent “There is only
one God, and I am very glad to hear God’s word in my own tongue, and to go with the good white men, for
they are very kind to me, and where they go, I wish to be.”

536 Charles Montgomery Tate, tr., St. Mark’s Kloosh Yiem Kopa Nesika Saviour Jesus Christ: The Gospel
According to St. Mark in Chinook Jargon, Tentative Edition (London: British and Foreign Bible Society,
1912).

537 Tate’s dictionary was published in at least two editions: Chinook as Spoken by the Indians of
Washington Territory, British Columbia and Alaska: For the Use of Traders, Tourists and Others Who
Have Business Intercourse with the Indians, Chinook-English, English-Chinook (Victoria: M.W. Waitt,
[1889?]; and Chinook Jargon as Spoken by the Indians of the Pacific Coast: For the Use of Missionaries,
Traders, Tourists and Others Who Have Business Intercourse with the Indians ([Victoria: T.R. Cusack],
1914).

538 Thomas Crosby, Charles M. Tate, and William H. Barraclough, Indian Methodist Hymn-Book, Staylim-
Paypa ta Methodist Ts’hayilth: Hymns Used on the Fraser River Indian Mission of the Methodist Church,
B.C. Conference, To Which Are Appended Hymns in Chinook, and the Lord’s Prayer and Ten
Commandments (Chilliwack: W.H. Barraclough, 1898). While the translations into Halkomelem are signed
with the translator’s initials, there is no indication of who was responsible for translating the Chinook
hymns, which may be reprinted from Myron Eels, Hymns in the Chinook Jargon Language (Portland: Geo.
those whom they sought to convert, so that they could translate Scripture. However, William Duncan, the most prominent early CMS missionary in British Columbia was seemingly ambivalent about the value of translation. In 1865, he reported that he was in the process of preparing a book to be printed in Tsimshian, and stated that he hoped that the book would be printed "with our own press." However, by 1877, he had made little progress in translation work, and assured Bishop Bompas of Athabasca that "the progress the Indians are making in English will make it quite unnecessary to translate the Scripture into their tongue. They prefer reading in English and a translation would not be read if presented." In response, Bompas recognized that "the love of the Natives for their Bibles and their desire for Scriptural knowledge is most encouraging. I should not myself consider it needful to discourage the acquirement of English for fear of any resulting danger," although he also noted that "the use they make of their English Bibles is surprising while they continue most of them unable to speak the English language."

Bompas, who was sent to Metlakatla to report to the CMS on the growing dissent within the North Pacific Mission, and to try to persuade Duncan to admit converts to Holy Communion, was less content with the lack of a translated liturgy. He reported to the CMS in England that

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540 *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, n.s., 2 (1866): 351.

541 Quoted in Murray, 131 [no source for the quotation given]. Duncan was later censured for emphasising literacy in English in preference to Tsimshian, and for failing to continue his translation work. See also Usher, 93-94.


“no natives have yet been admitted to the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper because Mr. Hall and myself are both too ignorant of the language to give instruction on the subject or to read the service in Tsimsean and no translation of the service has yet been made.” Bompas further noted that he hoped to persuade Duncan to allow the circulation of the Book of Common Prayer among the converts, “whether in English or in translation.”544 The source of Duncan’s objections to the BCP was made clear when Bompas summarized his recommendations at the end of his visit to Metlakatla, “6. Translations. I think a simple printed Translation in the Native tongue of Short Church Services, Private prayers, hymns and Catechism would be advantageous and that without danger of Formalism parts of these including the Creed and Commandments might be taught to the young people by rote.”545 Bompas evidently considered that Duncan’s frequently expressed anti-clericalism was at the heart of his reluctance to engage in translating the liturgy, and repeated his recommendations regarding the need for translations in his final report to the CMS, stating:

I should be glad however for some small Translations to be made into Tsimsean namely a Gospel and Extracts from the Prayer Book services, and I have already arranged with a competent Native to prepare a Draft of these. I should like to see a rather more extended Liturgy used in Divine Service to include the Creed and Commandments and that if possible a Native should read in Tsimsean a Chapter from the Bible at Morning and Evening Prayer.546

As Bompas noted in his final report, the lack of written translations at Metlakatla, and the restrictions on the circulation of printed material effectively meant that worship was directly structured by Duncan, who eschewed the Book of Common Prayer, as printed, in place of

544 William Carpenter Bompas to H. Wright of the CMS, dated January 29, 1878, and marked “Not to be copied,” ibid.
545 William Carpenter Bompas to H. Wright of the CMS, dated March 22, 1878, ibid.
liturgies of his own creation, designed to excise any trace of what Duncan and fellow
missionary Robert Tomlinson were apt to call clericalism, sacerdotalism, or formalism in
worship. This view was not shared by all missionaries on the North Pacific mission, however.
William Henry Collison, stationed at Massett from 1876 through 1879, reported that he had
completed a variety of Scriptural and liturgical translations:

In my translations I have succeeded beyond my expectations; and we have now
portions of Scripture [Gospel of St. John], a catechism, the Commandments, and the
Lord's Prayer, the general confession and thanksgiving, several collects and other short
prayers, and ten hymns, besides a series of 'Short addresses on Great Subjects,' all
translated into or composed in the Hydah language...The last hymn which I composed
is a great favourite.547

When Bishop Ridley arrived in Metlakatla in 1879, he was highly critical of Duncan's
failure to complete a translation of the Scriptures, and complained to the CMS that the
Tsimshian converts were for the most part unable to speak English, despite assurances to
the contrary. In one of Ridley's first letters to the CMS, he stated:

I have gathered the few men who know a little English around me and already they
have expressed a strong wish to have some parts of the Holy Scriptures translated. I
assure you the English Bible is no more understood here than the Vulgate among
average Roman Catholics. I find it most difficult to make those who understand the
most English to understand a Chapter of the New Testament. I have resolved to devote
myself to translation as soon as possible. This I hope will not be long hence as I am
giving the whole of my time to study of the language.548

Ridley's commitment to translation reflected CMS policy, which the Society explicitly
articulated in the "Instructions delivered to Rev. T. Dunn, proceeding to the North Pacific
Mission, May 16, 1882." The Instructions were read out publicly at the Valedictory
service for missionaries departing for the mission field, and subsequently were extracted

547 Letter from William Henry Collison, dated August 1878, Church Missionary Intelligencer, n.s., v. 4
(Sept. 1879): 566.
in CMS periodical publications. They provide insight into both official CMS policy and the Society's unofficial concerns, couched in carefully neutral language. Dunn was told:

The Committee regard it as of indispensable importance that the Indians under your care should be made well acquainted with the written Word of God. With this view, portions of Scripture or manuals of instruction expressed in the words of Scripture should as soon as possible be prepared in their own language. As soon as this has been done and the more intelligent among them have been taught to read, it may be expected that with the blessing of God, some will be raised up, able in a humble degree to help forward the instruction of their brethren, and the nucleus of a native Christian ministry will be formed.549

A similar concern with the importance of "systematic Scriptural Instruction" was emphasised in the Instructions issued to James Benjamin McCullagh, who was sent by the Society to the North Pacific Mission in 1883. McCullagh's Instructions also stressed the importance of fluency in spoken language for the missionary in the field. McCullagh was told:

You will doubtless find the children and their parents exceedingly willing that the English language should be taught and that instruction should be given through the medium of English. There is no reason why this should not be done to a certain extent provided that it is always your principal object to set forth before them the wonderful words of God in their own tongue wherein they were born. Hence an absolutely necessary preliminary will be that you do yourself master the vernacular, being able thoroughly and easily to hold communication with the Indians on all subjects. This must occupy your thoughts and efforts from the first, and to it must be postponed so far as practicable, all other employments. Avoid if possible becoming accustomed to hearing the sounds of the Native dialect without learning both the sounds and the meaning. Still more strongly eschew the use of an interpreter. Throw yourself among the Indians to the utmost from the very first, and let them see that your sympathies are with them, and that you are eager to express those sympathies in words that they can understand.550

The Instructions to Dr. Vernon Ardagh, who was proceeding to Metlakatla as a medical


550 "Instructions delivered to Mr. J.B. McCullagh on Tuesday, June 19, 1883, proceeding to the North Pacific Mission." ibid.
missionary in 1889, similarly and succinctly stated "[you] will at once give yourself to the Zimshean language, with the study and mastery of which nothing must be allowed to interfere." Undoubtedly, some of the CMS's concern regarding language acquisition skills among missionaries serving on the North Pacific Mission was a direct inheritance of the struggle between Ridley and Duncan over the politics of translation, and the Society's concern that Christianity at Metlakatla under Duncan had been mediated through Duncan himself, tightly circumscribed by his control of printed and translated liturgy and Scriptures. The emphasis on the importance of translation of liturgy and Scripture into the indigenous languages of the region also reflected the Society's belief in the power of the Bible to effect conversion, and their desire to inculcate Protestant textual practices among the convert community, represented by the ability to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" Scriptures.

551 "Instructions delivered to Dr. Vernon Ardagh, proceeding to the North Pacific Mission, March 26, 1889," ibid. This emphasis on placing language study at the forefront was repeated in the "Instructions of the Committee delivered April 2nd, 1895, to Miss A[lice] Tyte proceeding to the North Pacific Mission," ibid. When Miss R. L. Edwards, stationed at the school at Alert Bay in 1901 was reported not to have found "sufficient time for the study of the language," Baring Gould informed Edwards that she would be relieved from some of her work to have time for language study, in order to acquire "an efficient mastery of the language." See B. Baring Gould to R. L. Edwards, letter dated June 21, 1901, ibid.

552 Ridley, in Snapshots from the North Pacific, 24-25, comments that "the consecutive reading and exposition of the [translated] Gospels has edified the hearers in a marked manner...The translations into the vernacular will make it impossible to any false teachers to impose their errors on a people who can themselves read the words of the Great Teacher." This view is repeated, 47, in his statement that "The pure Word of God, not a haphazard, slipshod, extempore translation, is used in all our congregations."

553 William Ridley, Snapshots from the North Pacific, 48, stated very clearly that "The Bible is the Book for perishing souls. Its words are still winged with a Divine power to covert, to build up, and to ripen for eternity."

554 From the Collect, or prayer, in the Book of Common Prayer for the Second Sunday in Advent, which reads "Blessed Lord, who hast caused all holy Scriptures to be written for our learning: Grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy Word, we may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ."
Ridley’s commitment to CMS official policy resulted in a flurry of translations of liturgy, hymns and portions of Scripture, which were published in the years after 1879. Some of these translations were efforts by individual missionaries, while others were collaborations between missionaries, or translations that were worked on and added to by successive missionaries working within a specific linguistic region. For example, James Benjamin McCullagh, CMS missionary at Aiyansh, was actively engaged in translation work, and in May, 1885 sent the CMS his manuscript of translations of portions of the BCP, noting that he had based his orthography on “Bishop Ridley’s method.” In the same month, William Henry Collison sent his translation of Morning and Evening Prayer into Nisga’a, and noted that while McCullagh’s version of the Litany was in a slightly different dialect of Nisga’a than his own translation, he believed that it might be appended to his translation when published. In June, McCullagh’s translation of the Gospel according to John into Nisga’a was received by the CMS. The CMS evidently consulted Ridley, who stated that he declined to give his sanction to the publication of two different translations, as he believed that there should be one translation for the entire Nass region. Ridley indicated that Collison was willing to withdraw his translation and work collaboratively with McCullagh on a single publication, using a standardised orthography and “Romanized” typeface.

555 McCullagh to CMS, May 13, 1885, C.1/P3, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1882-1892, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-121, NAC.

556 Collison to CMS, May 28, 1885, ibid.

557 McCullagh to CMS, June 15, 1885, ibid. The précis notes that he had used syllabic characters for his translation.

558 Ridley to CMS, August 7, 1885, ibid. Something of the complex nature of interpersonal relationships on the North Pacific Mission is perhaps indicated by Ridley’s comments that although Collison was willing to
Although some of McCullagh’s translations were printed at Aiyansh on his own printing press, the translation of portions of the Book of Common Prayer into Nisga’a, with McCullagh’s name alone on the title page, was finally published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as were some of the other translations completed by CMS missionaries on the North Pacific Mission. Despite its extensive program of Society publications, the CMS, unlike the SPG, preferred to refer translation work completed by its missionaries to the British and Foreign Bible Society or the SPCK for publication and distribution. Thus the majority of the CMS-sponsored translations were published in England and shipped back to British Columbia for use in the mission field. In the process of translation and publication, the missionaries mediated in the creation of a written language, which in turn could be used to collaborate on a single translation, “Mr. McCullagh, however, may refuse to modify his orthography.” Ridley’s letter to the CMS of August 21, 1885, ibid, noted that McCullagh had declined to participate in the Missionary Conference, held at Metlakatla on July 14-15 of that year, and that “Mr. McCullagh will be gently persuaded to acquiesce” in working collaboratively with Collison on a single translation. Ridley later wrote to the CMS, indicating that McCullagh’s translations needed “a little modification of spelling [so that] they can be brought into agreement with the approved system without recopying them,” and that he would “gladly sanction the printing of Mr. McCullagh’s MSS. when corrected.” Ridley further noted that Collison’s manuscripts “are not so good.” See Ridley to the CMS, December 29, 1885, ibid.


560 Stock, vol. 3, 49-50, notes that in the early days of the CMS, it had published a variety of “linguistic works in various languages, grammars, dictionaries, primers, tracts, and translations of the Scriptures, the Prayer-book, &c,” and indirectly suggests that the shift in policy and practice to outside publishing was a matter of economics.

561 See, for example, the correspondence in 1889 between McCullagh and the CMS regarding his Nisga’a Primer, C.1/P3, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1882-1892, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-121, NAC. James B. McCullagh, Nis* a Primer, Part I: Spelling and Reading / Anspelsqum Sim Álgik, For Use in the Day-School at Aiyansh Mission, Naas River, British Columbia (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1897) is evidently a second edition of the 1889 Primer, and may be the manuscript grammar that McCullagh sent to the CMS, April 20, 1896, Précis of Letters, C 1/P4, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1892-1907, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-121. I have been unable to locate a surviving copy of the first, 1889, edition.
inculcate textual literacy among Native converts.  

**The Language of Instruction**

While the CMS had clearly stated in its directions to McCullagh that the convert community were to be offered instruction in English only “to a certain extent,” the complexities of relationships between missionaries and Native peoples within the colonial environment, coupled with the increasing use of the rhetoric of scientific racism among some missionaries, meant that the use of English as the language of instruction was often seen as a marker of the Native convert community’s willingness to enter into a normative, Eurocentric “culture of Christianity.” As well, preferences among missionaries for the language of instruction were shaped by both denominational policy and by individual linguistic ability and pedagogical skill. While Anglican and Methodist missionaries were encouraged to acquire fluency in Native languages for their own work, there was seemingly little interest in inculcating textual literacy in Native languages.

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562 The desire to establish a standardised written language with a standardised orthography was evident in the various negotiations between the missionaries on the North Pacific mission field, Bishop Ridley and the English publishing societies. Charles Harrison, who published a grammar of Haida and several translations of portions of scripture, asked the CMS to return a manuscript, as Ridley “desires to have one mode of spelling only.” Charles Harrison to CMS, August 28, 1885, C.1/P3, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1882-1892, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-121, NAC. See also the correspondence regarding Harrison’s translations and concerns regarding orthography from the SPCK to the CMS (regarding Harrison’s Haida Bible Stories and Haida Grammar), December 16, 1892, and J.H. Keen to CMS (questioning the advisability of publishing Harrison’s translations) June 6, 1894, and June 28, 1895, C 1/P4, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1892-1907, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-121. This concern for the standardisation of language is intimately linked with the colonial project of the classification and arrangement of the colonised Other. For the uses of translation as the colonisation of language, see Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, “The Long Conversation: Establishing a Colonial Discourse,” in *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 1 *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

among the convert communities. Instead, the majority attempted to teach English to the Native communities they sought to evangelize, as literacy in English was often seen as a more valuable skill that would hasten the process of conversion, and was believed by many to be the best means by which Christian teaching could be inculcated. In the words of William Pollard, describing the Methodist Sunday school in Victoria, the work continued to increase slowly; none of them [the teachers] knew a word of the language of the tribe — they knew a little Chinook, and with the aid of the Chinook they soon taught them the rudiments of the English, until some of them can read a little in the New Testament. Thus their minds had been somewhat prepared to receive the truth.

Methodist discourses of conversion employed extensive references to the wretchedness of the unconverted, and the state of misery in which the unconverted wallowed in their own sinfulness. This particular language of sin and suffering was layered onto narratives of formal instruction in literacy skills in the indigenous language of the convert community undoubtedly reflects, in part, the scarcity of resources suitable for such instruction. James Benjamin McCullagh's Nisga'a Primer was one of the few non-scriptural publications in a Native language intended for use by Native people. For example, the Methodist George Raley, wrote to Alexander Sutherland in Toronto to try to obtain printed materials in Tsimshian, “There is published in the Tsimpshean tongue by the SCK, Northumberland Ave., W.C. London the Gospels and Epistles. I have had many inquiries by the Port Simpson people for these translations. They are now educated sufficiently to appreciate them.” George Raley to Alexander Sutherland, Port Simpson, April 4, 1910, File 87, Correspondence re: Port Simpson and Port Essington, 1909-1910, Box 5, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA.

The missionary literature raises the question of preference in the language of instruction among indigenous convert communities only indirectly. John Henry Keen, Anglican missionary at Massett, stated in connection with his report to the CMS on his translation work that “The Indians are strongly prejudiced against their own language, and would like to have the services, &c., entirely in English, but this he [i.e. Keen] will not agree to.” J. H. Keen to CMS, July 7, 1894, C 1/P4, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1892-1907, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-121, NAC.

William Pollard, in a letter dated December 3, 1871, and printed in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 14 (February 1872): 220. For B. C. Freeman, missionary at Port Essington, the ability of Sunday school pupils to speak English was evidence of progress in the mission: “Our Sunday School has been especially well attended this winter. Last Sunday we touched winter high-water mark with an attendance of fifty one children and youths. This is a record breaker for winter attendance since '93 and our records go back no further. About half of them were English-speaking pupils, which is a very satisfying feature.” B.C. Freeman to Alexander Sutherland, letter dated February 2, 1909, File 87, Correspondence re Port Simpson and Port Essington, 1909-1910, Box 6, Incoming Correspondence, 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland Papers), Accession Number 78.092C, UCCA.
of work with Native populations. Both Evangelical Anglicans and Methodists frequently
described the unconverted First Nations people of British Columbia as being in a state of
inevitable decline, tragically certain to become extinct unless saved by the superior
morality and modern technologies of Christianity as represented by the missionaries.⁵⁶⁷
So too some Methodists and Anglicans believed that Native languages were facing
extinction as English gained hegemony among converts, a belief that was enthusiastically
supported and encouraged by some missionaries who saw English as the language of
modernity, rationality, and civilisation.⁵⁶⁸ The goal of the complete assimilation of Native
converts was based, in part, on the belief that a modern Native was an oxymoron, and to
hold a Native identity was to be relegated to a historical artefact. In missionary narratives,
English speaking converts were seen to have adopted modernity, and thus had begun the
process of erasing their old “heathen” Native identity.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁷ Typical of this discourse is the conclusion of a report by Charles Tate, “Cowichan Indian Mission,”
Western Methodist Recorder 8, no. 7 (January 1907): 13, “We are working and praying for a spiritual
revival, which alone can save these poor people from the darkness of paganism, and the abominations of
the white man.” William Ridley, in his first article published in the Church Missionary Gleaner, assured
readers that “To the 60,000 aborigines of the province the Metlakatla community of Christians is as a star
of hope. Before it arose we feared that as a race they were doomed to extinction... Civilisation threatens to
blot out these inferior races, but on it their disappearance leaves a blot and a crime. Its pioneers — drink,
vigour, and debauchery — destroy their few virtues, leaving them more wicked than before, and only less
dangerous because less vigorous.” See “An Appeal From Bishop Ridley,” The Church Missionary Gleaner
6 (1897): 98.

⁵⁶⁸ See, for example, Charles Reddick, missionary at Kitamaat to Alexander Sutherland, dated Dec. 30,
1907: “One very encouraging thing is that many of even the middle aged men are ambitious to become like
the white men. Some want to learn to read and write. I am going to start a night school, and hope to help
them some. Not many men here, but what have some fund of English, and many have a larger vocabulary
than they like to own. I hope to do something in the way of getting them to use English, by the night
school. It seems to me the wisest course to discourage their use of their own language all I can, and to
courage English all I can. Consequently, while I am trying to learn the language, yet I do not plan to use
it more than really necessary.” File 98, Correspondence re Kitamaat Mission 1905-1908, Box 6, Incoming
Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers),
accession number 78.092, UCCA.

⁵⁶⁹ “Report of the Committee on Missions [J.F. Betts, Chairman, C.M. Tate, Secretary]” Minutes of the
Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the British Columbia Annual Conference of the Methodist Church
(Toronto: William Briggs, 1891), 28 stated their reasons for supporting the development of residential
The adoption of English by Native convert communities, however, was not simply the imposition of Eurocentric norms by the missionaries. The directions issued by the CMS to McCullagh ascribed considerable agency to the parents who were believed to actively choose English as the language of instruction for their children. Native converts clearly recognised the strategic opportunities that literacy in English offered for both accessing and challenging the structures of power created and maintained by Eurocentric print culture. In the increasingly capitalist-oriented economy of Fort Simpson and Metlakatla, with its emphasis on record books and ledgers, facility in English could shift the balance of power for those engaged in commerce with White traders and settlers.570

The acquisition of the language of the coloniser also had the result of allowing newly literate Native converts to access information and communicate across time and space in new ways, uncontrolled by the missionary. However the sponsoring missionary societies tended to disapprove of the application of textual skills to activities not controlled and

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570 R. M. Galois, “Colonial Encounters: The Worlds of Arthur Wellington Clah, 1855-1881,” *BC Studies* nos. 115 and 116 (Autumn/Winter 1997-98): 135, makes the argument that “Writing and literacy were probably viewed by the Tsimshian as part of the material and spiritual ‘powers’ accessible to the White world...the acquisition of literacy may have represented a form of initiation into these broader ‘powers.’”
directed by the missionaries. Letters of petition from Native convert congregations regarding land claims, or the wish of the community to retain a particular missionary were regarded with particular disfavour by Alexander Sutherland, the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission Society in Toronto, who saw the petitions as a challenge to the legitimate and benevolent authority of the church and the federal government.

571 See Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 13, “The acquisition of new forms of language from the modern West - whether by forcible imposition, insidious insertion, or voluntary borrowing - is part of what makes for new possibilities of action in non-Western societies.” Douglas Harris, “The Nlha7kāpmx Meeting at Lytton, 1879, and the Rule of Law,” *BC Studies*, no. 108 (Winter 1995-1996): 22-23, notes that in the post-colonial period, Native readers were able to access information about land claims and Aboriginal title in other parts of Canada from newspaper articles. See also the letter from the Tsimshian chiefs of Port Simpson to Alexander Sutherland, “Letter of the Tsimpsean Chiefs and Principal Men, Port Simpson, B.C.” Jan 30, 1909, File 87 Correspondence re: Port Simpson and Port Essington, 1909-1910, Box 5, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA “In spite of the statement of Lord Dufferin, the Government of the Province of British Columbia, have disposed of timber on our hunting grounds from the Canyon on the Skeena River to Kitaks on the Naas River. This land is gone from us to a great extent, the timber has been disposed of by the government, our game is getting scarce, our hunting grounds have been taken away, we have received no satisfaction, and there has been neither treaty nor purchase. So it will be seen we have reason to appeal to the government of Canada not that we are anxious for a Treaty similar to what they have on the other side of the mountains, we do not require to be fed, we do not want blankets, a treaty of this kind is not what we ask. We want the matter looked into and an equitable adjustment arrived at, whereby our rights will be assured to us and our children and the cause for unrest removed. Again, we have seen in the newspaper, paragraphs and statements which give us trouble. We are told that our reserves are too large and as the population of Indian decrease so proportionately the size of our reserves should decrease. It may be true and it is true that we have some large reserves, it is also true that in this northern country there are tracts of land on our reserves by far the largest area of little use for either cultivation or habitation. We think that statements of this kind which are circulated should be discontinued. We wish to avoid difficulty with the incoming population and our desire is to live at peace but we do not want our reserves in any sense touched or interfered with, without our consent and we are desirous that the whole question of our rights shall be settled and our confidence restored.... [signed] A. S. Dudoward, Chief Councillor; G. Legiee, Chief; H. Wallace Neesymkamht, Chief his X mark (witness G. H. Raley); A. McMillan Sheaks chief his X mark (witness G. H. Raley); Committee: Mark Luther, Louis Wekorne, M. J. Lackneedsk, Mr. Joseph Dunidkkskas, William Mosgrane.”

572 See, for example, Sutherland’s response to the letter of petition from the Tsimshian chiefs, sent to George Raley, missionary at Port Simpson, dated March 31, 1909, “At a meeting of our Executive Committee this week I laid before them the letter from the Chiefs and Head Men of Port Simpson respecting the land question and the Committee gave instructions that the General Secretary and Mr. Ferrier bring the matter to the attention of the Government authorities at Ottawa. You are doubtless aware that the whole question of Indian lands in British Columbia is a somewhat complicated affair, and as the Dominion government does not control any public lands outside of the immediate reserves, it is difficult to see just how they can deal with it. I am confident however that the Government at Ottawa desires to do the fair and right thing in so far as that may be in their power, and we will take the earliest opportunity of submitting the matter for their consideration.” File 87 Correspondence re: Port Simpson and Port Essington, 1909-
Similarly, the CMS received several lengthy petitions from the Tsimshian converts and lay teachers of Metlakatla, in which the preferences of the community were carefully and clearly stated. In each case, the CMS responded paternalistically by assuring the petitioners that they were new Christians, and thus should be willing to be guided by their more spiritually mature leaders.573

Denomination and Interaction with Print Culture

Literacy and interaction with the artefacts of Protestant Christian print culture were generally seen as reliable markers of success in the missionaries' project of civilising and Christianising the First Nations peoples. For the missionaries, literacy marked a boundary between the civilised self and the non-civilised Other, and was an integral strategy in evangelisation. As well, the disciplinary norms of print culture habituated the Aboriginal subjects of the missionary activity to the civilising process represented by conversion to modernity. To become literate was to be transformed in a secular conversion that

1910, Box 5, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA. See also the letter sent from Chief Walter Gaal and Chief Robert Williams of Kispiox to Alexander Sutherland, dated February 8, 1910, requesting that William Henry Pierce be allowed to continue as the missionary at Kispiox: “We write you very few lines. We beg to say some few words to you as we are like little children in Kishpiax and you sent Rev. W.H. Pierce to us to preach the Gospel and to teach us and we satisfied and we wish him to stay with us right along, as we have heard that he is going to move next spring and we do not want to see him going away from our Village. So we ask you kindly to let Rev. W.H. Pierce stay with us and we like well. Sign Chief Walter Gaal and Chief Robert Williams, Written by Charles Martin.” File 103, British Columbia Indian Missions: Correspondence re Kispiox, Upper Skeena, 1906-1910, Box 6, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA. There is no indication in Sutherland’s files that the letter from Walter Gaal and Robert Williams was answered.

573 See, for example, the letter sent by the “Christians of Metlakatla” to Bishop Hills, March 27, 1877, that requested him not to come to Metlakatla until he had resolved his dispute with Dean Cridge, C.2/O. Original Letters, Journals Papers – Incoming, 1857-1880, CMS Papers, microfilm reel A-106, NAC. See also the printed letter from the Secretaries of the CMS to the “Indian Christians at Metlakatla,” dated June 20, 1882, “Only a few of you have been Christians for a long time; and scarcely any amongst you are really well acquainted with the Bible. You are not yet, therefore, able to judge rightly for yourselves as to the best mode of public worship and Church government.”
paralleled religious conversion.574

Missionary narratives emphasised the respect that they believed Native peoples had for writing and for the material presence of print. Protestant missionaries distributed printed cards that identified the bearer as a temperance pledge taker, or a candidate for baptism. The missionary narratives made particular note of the efficacy of the printed object in attracting potential converts, who were anxious to acquire paper artefacts of missionary power. The Anglican John Booth Good issued graduated certificates to the people who adhered to the mission, which specified whether the bearer was an inquirer or a catechumen.575 The Methodist William Henry Pierce found that pledge cards, blue ribbons and illustrated lectures featuring charts of "the terrible effect of alcohol on the stomach" encouraged temperance pledging by the community at Kispiox.576

At the same time, some missionary narratives described Native pride in the ownership of these printed artefacts with ill-concealed amusement.577 In the words of Jordayne Cave Brown Cave, at that time an Anglican lay catechist at Comox, on Vancouver Island, "It is astonishing the love they have for a paper with their name on it, especially when it gives


577 See, for example, Jordayne Cave Brown Cave’s description of Natives at Comox “signing the pledge” in the Sixth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1864, 33.
them a good character." Bishop Hills echoed Cave, stated that "these poor people [i.e. Natives] think much of a bit of paper from the whites with something written in their favour," and noted that his own ability to transcribe a tune sung to him by a Native man, and then sing back the melody "from paper" was seen by the Native observer as "powerful medicine."

Native uses of the material presence of print culture were subject to considerable scrutiny and comment by the missionaries, who noted inappropriate uses of print as evidence of the imperfect mimicry of Eurocentric norms of consumption. Under the heading "Indian Progress," Bishop Hills noted in his diary:

I visited the house of "Paul," a young Indian with an intelligent wife. There was considerable comfort. A bedstead, a fireplace and chimney, trunks, and the walls were decorated with illustrated newspapers. Prominent in one place was a picture of the Bishop of Montreal in full canonicals!

In this passage, the illustrated newspapers used as wallpaper are both a sign of "progress," towards Eurocentric notions of civilised habitation, and a source of mild amusement at the incongruence between the printed image of a bishop and its unintended use as domestic decoration. Hills' narratives make clear that the context of the


579 George Hills, diary entry for June 27, 1860.


581 Third Report of the Columbia Mission, 8. The list of material goods also reminds the reader that in the process of conversion to Eurocentric print culture, the Native convert was being inculcated into capitalist consumption of objects. See Martin Marty, "Protestantism and Capitalism: Print Culture and Individualism," in Communication and Change in American Religious History, ed. Leonard I. Sweet, 91-107 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1993). See also Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 229-231, on the ambiguities and tensions of intercultural contestation of the meaning of consumer goods.

582 Anderson, The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 173-175 notes that the use of illustrations cut from magazines and newspapers, and illustrated broadsides as decorative wallpaper. "From
ownership and use of print materials was critical to their meaning as markers of cultural capital. Uses not sanctioned by Eurocentric norms of consumption were seen as evidence that the user was unsophisticated, uneducated, not quite "one of us."

The favour with which missionaries commented on Native uses of printed images, however were tempered by sectarianism. Alexander Garrett was disgusted to find "a picture of the Virgin Mary stuck on the wall, flanked on either side by some American Romanist bishops, cut from an illustrated paper," in the Native church at Lillooet. Other explicitly Roman Catholic images, like the Catholic Ladder, a visual schematic of Biblical events and Catholic doctrinal history, were commented on unfavourably by both the Anglicans and Methodists as evidence of "Romish" superstition.

Methodists were even more scornful of Roman Catholic practices and ritual, which the Wesleyan Missionary Notices disparagingly referred to as "the mummeries of that religion." Thomas Crosby counted a gain for Methodism when an unnamed chief at

what evidence we have, it appears that an interest in adorning the walls of their dwellings was widely shared amongst working people... [I]t was not just relatively prosperous artisans in moderately comfortable accommodation, but also people in much humbler circumstances, who made an effort to brighten their walls and turn their surroundings into a home.... Life in a comfortless cottage or even the meanest tenement room did not necessarily damp people's enthusiasm for imagery or quash their efforts to make their individual dwellings part of the mid-nineteenth century's expanding pictorial world."

583 Eighth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1866, 46.
584 See also The British Columbia Mission, Or, Metlahkatlah (London: Church Missionary House, 1871), 15. For a reproduction of the Catholic Ladder, see Bagshaw, 229-230. See also Margaret Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981), 14, for a full description of the Ladder. For a brief comment on Protestant missionaries' dislike of the Ladder, see John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 124. Thomas Crosby, Among the An-Ko-Me-Nums, 189, describes a version of the Catholic ladder that he had seen in circulation while he was actively seeking converts among the Catholic Sto:lo people of Chilliwack, in which Crosby and the Methodists were consigned to the pit of hell-fire.
585 George Clarkson, letter dated November 10, 1870, printed in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 10 (February 1871): 155.
Cultus Lake agreed to give up “his pictures of Mary.”\(^{586}\) Ebenezer Robson noted with extreme disfavour that Nlha7kápmx Roman Catholic converts had been taught “to cross themselves, and point upwards in reverence to some Being there,” and saw this action as the sole expression of their uncomprehending and wrong-headed religious faith, which he described as being little more than superstition.\(^{587}\)

Anglican strategies for the conversion of Native peoples in areas previously evangelised by the Roman Catholic Oblates of Mary Immaculate stressed the “pure, Biblical Christianity” of the Church of England,\(^ {588}\) further conflating the material presence of a printed object and its contents. Bishop Hills stated that he held up “the Bible, the word of God” before a group of Stl’atl’imx peoples at Seton Lake, in order to express the value in which Anglicans held the Bible, and make explicit the difference between Anglican and Roman Catholic teaching.\(^ {589}\) In his words, “I then addressed them, dwelling upon our possession of the Word of God; showing them the Bible, and bringing

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\(^{586}\) Thomas Crosby, letter dated September 22, 1870, printed in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, n.s., no. 9 (Nov. 1, 1870): 142.

\(^{587}\) Methodist anti-Roman Catholic rhetoric could be remarkably vituperative, dwelling on the themes of Protestant correctness and Catholic error. Thomas Crosby, letter dated September 22, 1870, printed in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, n.s., no. 9 (Nov. 1, 1870): 142, describes an encounter with a “Romish Priest,” in which Crosby pulled a Bible out of his pocket, and assured the priest that he, Crosby, “loved Jesus and I am going to heaven through an infallible Jesus, and not an infallible Pope.” The episode concluded with Crosby and Sallosalton kneeling in prayer for the priest, “and all who are in error.” Similar rhetoric was used by Cornelius Bryant in a letter, dated June 23, 1874, printed in the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, n.s., no. 25 (November 1874): 142, in which he describes exhorting the Nootsak people of Washington State to leave the Pope for Jesus. For the context of Methodist anti-Catholicism, see Dennis Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

\(^{588}\) See, for example, the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, n.s., 3 (1867): 243, “The teaching has been exclusively Protestant and evangelical - Protestant, as purified from the corruptions of Romanism, and evangelical, as not only accepting the cardinal doctrines of Bible Christianity, but adopting them without any dislocation of that divine arrangement in which they are placed one to another.” Throughout his diaries, Bishop Hills refers to “the pure and apostolic church of England.” See, for example, George Hills, diary entry for April 24, 1860.

\(^{589}\) George Hills, diary entry for July 10, 1860.
forward some chief truths." In this passage, the symbolic significance of print was highlighted in a preaching narrative that reified a Bible as a container of the sacred. It perhaps is not surprising that following the address, a young Native man approached the Bishop, and stated “his great love of God, and his desire to be able to understand the ‘Book.’” Similarly, John Booth Good, missionary at Lytton, describes his strategy for countering what he believed to be “misrepresentations and calumny” about the Anglicans spread by the Oblates.

Putting the Bible prominently before them, for which they have so high a regard and reverence, I made them all tell me its name, its nature and character. I then asked them what they would say to any one who should come, and tell them they were all deceived, and that instead of being the good, and harmless, and blessed volume they imagined and felt it to be, it was a deadly rattlesnake? Would they believe him, no matter how often he made this declaration? Would they not say he was mad? So when any one told them we were rattlesnakes, their own experience and convictions would make them laugh down the assertion.

One of the predominant criticisms by both Anglican and Methodist missionaries of the Oblates was the Oblate’s perceived lack of scriptural teaching and their discouraging Bible-reading among their Native converts, familiar anti-Roman Catholic tropes of the nineteenth century. William Ridley explicitly contrasted Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary strategies by noting “The Romans do not, so far as I have seen, educate their

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591 Compare this narrative to another narrative in which the material presence of print signifies the sacred. Annie York (1904-1991), an Nlha7kápmx story teller and translator, described her great-grandmother’s first encounter with a woman missionary: “So all that they could see was an old prayer-book that this woman carried, and she kept on showing it because it had a cross on it. So that’s how they could tell that these people must be religious.” Quoted in Our Tellings: Interior Salish Stories of the Nlha7kápmx People, comp. and ed. Darwin Hanna and Mamie Henry (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), 128.

592 Third Report of the Columbia Mission, 17. A similar example was reported in “Recent Intelligence: Metlahkatlah,” Church Missionary Intelligencer 16 (1865): 92, referring to some of the Tsimshian converts’ “anxiety...to learn ‘the book,’ as they call the Bible.”

Indians, and therefore the Heathen eventually see the difference and value our efforts the more...I have never met a Roman convert who could read and write. It is the rare exception when ours cannot.\footnote{Ridley, \textit{Snapshots from the North Pacific}, 171.}

The desire among potential converts to own a Bible was seen by both the Anglicans and the Methodists as an clear sign of progress in evangelising Native peoples and a marker of their commitment to conversion. Alfred E. Green reported of his attempts to evangelise the Nisga’a people on the Nass River. He concluded the report by stating:

The...conjurers held the people in slavish fear....But the Gospel is destroying their power, the light is entering and the people are asking for books: quite a number have learnt the alphabet, and are now trying to spell out Bible texts and those who don’t know a letter, are anxious to possess a Bible and Hymn-Book.\footnote{Alfred E. Green, letter dated February 8, 1878, printed in the \textit{Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada}, 3d ser., no. 17 (May 1878): 297.}

In a subsequent report to the Missionary Society, Green noted progress in his mission, measured by visible evidence of the possession of a Bible.\footnote{Green’s report noted, in part, “The Word of God is studied with increasing interest, and wherever our Indians go, in a canoe or on the mountains, they always take a Bible with them, and the gospel songs are echoed all along the coast.” See \textit{Fifty Eighth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, From June 1881, to June 1882} (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1882). The possessive, “our Indians” is a standard trope of missionary reports, used to refer specifically to members of the convert community, and more generally to the indigenous peoples of the area surrounding a mission who were at least nominally attached to that mission.}

While ownership of the object did not necessarily mean that the owner was able to read the text, it was seen as a clear first step towards literacy and conversion.

The emblematic power of the Bible as a symbolic representation of the cultural changes brought by Christianity was also clearly understood by Native peoples, both by those willing to engage in the conversion process and by those who actively resisted the intrusion of missionaries into traditional cultural practices. Bible reading was seen by
non-converts as a visible manifestation of conversion, and they were reported to express their hostility to converts who demonstrated their commitment to Protestant Christian norms by engaging in silent Bible study.\textsuperscript{597} Thomas Crosby described David Sallosalton’s response to the refusal of an opponent to Methodist Christianity, who refused to shake hands, stating that he had been taught “not to shake hands with any who walked in his way, as they were all going to hell.” Sallosalton asked in reply if his opponent found that in “the book,” that is, the Bible. He was told “I don’t know that paper.” Sallosalton responded, “I read God’s book, and it says all good people are kind. Now I think if you are angry you are not a good man.”\textsuperscript{598} William Ridley described the way that a spokesman for the Gitksan peoples at Skeena Forks (now Hazelton) objected to the intrusion of Christian missionaries by holding up a “mask and other symbols of the past.” According to Ridley, the spokesperson then said “These were my forefathers. These are my Bibles. Would you give up your Bible? Why then should you require me to give up mine?”\textsuperscript{599}

The ability of the convert to recite Biblical verses and sing hymns from memory were

\textsuperscript{597} Ridley, \textit{Snapshots from the North Pacific}, 21, describes a Bible reader being taunted with the questions, “Why would you read that book? Your fathers did not, nor do we. Would you be wiser than all?” Of course, the descriptions of the reputed persecutions that converts suffered provided opportunities for the missionaries to emphasise the heroic resistance of the converts, and their willingness to conform to new, “modern” textual practices.

\textsuperscript{598} Thomas Crosby, letter dated December 3, 1869, printed in the \textit{Wesleyan Missionary Notices}, n.s., no. 6 (February 1870): 84. From a subsequent letter of Crosby’s, dated September 22, 1870, and printed in the \textit{Notices}, n.s., no. 9 (November 1, 1870): 141, it was clear that the “Indian priest” who refused to shake hands with Sallosalton was a Roman Catholic convert. Crosby confusingly described the convert as a “Chief, or native priest,” and stated that the chief and his small tribe “have left the Church of Rome, and wish, as they say, to know the ‘true light,’ as they have been bound in the chains of the ‘man of sin’ long enough.”

\textsuperscript{599} Ridley, \textit{Snapshots from the North Pacific}, 17. Ridley, 72, also describes a conversation with Sheuksh at Kitkatla, in which he was told that he was not wanted as a teacher. Sheuksh was reported to have said “Let us see no books; biscuits are more nourishing.”
further signs of successful evangelism, while failure of a convert to fully participate in worship or the project of textual literacy was carefully noted in missionary reports as markers of wavering commitment or backsliding. Thomas Crosby reported on his educational work at Port Simpson:

There was never a greater interest taken in the study of the Bible than now; it is very pleasing to see with what earnestness many attend the different meetings held for this purpose. We have had as many as sixty and eighty old people meet after the Sabbath morning service to commit to memory the text in their native tongue....At the same hour there is a large gathering of young or middle-aged people with their Bibles in the Church, memorizing the text both in English and Tsimpshean.

Jane Ridley used similar pedagogical strategies with a class of older, non-literate women, whom she taught to memorise significant passages from the Bible, in order to “[fill] them with the great stores of Holy Scripture.”

Visual aids were also used with non-literate adults, in order to teach Bible stories. The relative scarcity of printed instructional materials encouraged the missionaries to request their sponsoring societies to send them pictures and props that could be used as teaching aids. For example, the Anglican Indian Mission in Victoria in 1860 had a set of SPCK scripture prints that were used to explicate lectures on religious subjects, and the

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601 Ridley, *Snapshots from the North Pacific*, 135. Memorisation of hymns was used by Caroline Knott, [later Caroline Tate], WMS-sponsored missionary at Fort Simpson. She described the method: “not only is the tune to be taught, but every word has to be read out, the whole congregation repeating again and again, till committed to memory.” See Caroline Knott, letter dated September 29, 1877, *Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada*, 3d. ser., no. 15 (December 1877): 266.

602 Close, 16, points out that in the mission field, the difficulties of language and translation were often “compounded by the absence of an infrastructure in the colonies, such as printing presses or locally organised Bible societies.” Missionaries in British Columbia, which had an underdeveloped book distribution system and limited facilities for printing, had to rely on the sponsoring societies and friends in England and Ontario to send them teaching materials that were unavailable locally.

603 George Hills, diary entry for December 30, 1860.
Anglican lay catechist Henry Guillod made similar use of pictures to explain Biblical events at his school in Alberni in 1868. William Ridley identified a “pictorial Bible lesson” as one of his pedagogical strategies used at the day-school that he established at Skeena Forks in 1880. Thomas Crosby began to inculcate scriptural knowledge among the Tsimshian at Fort Simpson with the use of visual aids. He said “Four classes are being taught to read the Bible and all the lessons. Perhaps four or five hundred listen with the greatest attention to the lesson explained from the illustrated paper before them. I hope you will send us a fresh supply out soon.”

For both Anglicans and Methodists, however, the disciplinary act of Bible reading was the clearest signifier of the efficacy of conversion, and a visible commitment to Protestant norms of worship and private Scriptural devotion. Missionaries placed great faith in the ability of direct textual experience with the Bible to effect conversion. Lappigh Kumlee, a Tsimshian at Metlakatla, who was examined by Bishop Hills in preparation for baptism, ascribed his conversion as the result of seeing “a convert reading a book, and [feeling] ashamed that he knew nothing…. He [was] determined to learn, and soon he found his own system false.”


605 Ridley, Snapshots from the North Pacific, 15.

606 Thomas Crosby, letter dated January 20, 1875, Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada, 3d. ser., no. 2 (April 1875): 37.

607 John and Jean Comaroff, “Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa,” American Ethnologist 13 (1986): 14, make the observation that Protestant Christianity “requires the convert to make a self-conscious commitment to the Word.”

Converts who owned a Bible and read it regularly were noted in missionary reports and letters. Bishop Hills, during his visit to Metlakatla in 1865, described a group of young Tsimshian women during a Sunday church service, stating that "in a front row were ten young girls, all with English bibles in their hands, as modest and devout as could be seen in any village church of Old England."\textsuperscript{609} The bishop examined them in reading, and was pleased by their "accurate and devout manner in which they read the word of God."\textsuperscript{610} For Hills, their ability to read scripture was a signifier of their conformity to the desired Eurocentric norms of behaviour, and, like their transformed personal appearances, marked them as "civilised." Of course, in light of the subsequent debates on the uses of English Bibles at Metlakatla, the inescapable question is raised as to the meaning that the ten young girls ascribed to their ownership of a potent textual and visual representation of conversion.

**Remaking the Native Convert Body**

Hills' narrative makes it clear that the docile body of the Native convert had been disciplined and habituated to new postures, new forms of presentation of the self that were the outward and visible signs of their new inward and spiritual grace.\textsuperscript{611} At the same time, Hills' use of the word "modest" in describing the Tsimshian women worshippers


\textsuperscript{610} Ibid., 31.

\textsuperscript{611} The centrality of clothing and demeanor as markers of conversion is discussed by John and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 2, who note that "The unrestrained, unclothed heathen body was, to European Protestant sensibilities, no fit abode for a vigilant Christian conscience," 8. A similar point is made by Paul Stuart Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann; Cape Town: David Philip; London: James Currey, 1995), 58-64. Landau argues that missionaries' concerns about clothing and nuclear family housing were expressions of anxiety about promiscuous relations between groups.
neatly reminds the reader that unconverted Native women were constructed in missionary literature as highly sexualized and uncontrolled by Eurocentric norms of "decency," whereas converts were expected to conform to a Christian discipline of the self, particularly in areas of sexuality and gender role conformity.

In many cases the new presentation of the self extended to the name by which one was called by the community. Anglican and Methodist missionary discourse frequently conflated non-Christian Native spiritual practices with "devil-worship" or "devilry." In the process of conforming to Christian norms, the convert was expected to reject everything connected with the non-Christian past. The naming of a person, which is part of the baptismal liturgy of both the Church of England and the Methodist Church, became such a marker of putting aside the old ways. Converts at the time of baptism were encouraged or required to adopt a "Christian name," that is, a recognisably British name, as a powerful sign that the baptised person had "renounced the devil and all his works," as specified by the liturgy.

Robert James Dundas, who visited Metlakatla in November, 1863, baptised fifty-two candidates on All Saints' Day. He described the

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613 In the baptismal liturgy for children who are unable to speak for themselves, the sponsors are asked to audibly "Name this Child." In the baptismal liturgy for adults, the sponsors for baptism are asked the name of the candidate. The *Catechism* of the Book of Common Prayer begins with a review of the baptismal covenant, beginning with the questions, "What is your Name?" and "Who gave you this Name?" to which the answer is "My Godfathers and Godmothers in my Baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven."

ceremony: "At the proper point in the service, one by one, the candidates stepped forward in front of the assembled congregation. Mr. Duncan called up each by his heathen name. In answer to my request, ‘name this person,’ he gave the new Christian name, and by it I baptized him ‘in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’" Dundas also described the method by which the names were selected:

The choosing of names and other preliminaries of the arrangements for to-morrow occupied us for nearly two hours. In the case of those who had relatives already baptized, — mothers, or sisters, or parents, or children — the same family name was kept. One young lad of sixteen, whose answering had much pleased me, was called Robert Dundas. Lieut. Verney was allowed to name two candidates after himself and his brother. Two very pleasing young women, of not more than sixteen, I was anxious to name after my sisters, but I found that they had already borne English names, being in Mr. Duncan’s class (first) in the school, and as they were known by these he did not wish them altered.615

Missionaries were apt to ventriloquise their Native converts, and it is often unclear whether the reported dialogues of converts, which so closely conform to missionary expectations of normative behaviour were a projection of the missionary’s own discourses of salvation, or whether they were the reproduction of the new forms of language learned by the convert.616 Just as the body was disciplined to new presentations of the self, so too the language of some converts was disciplined into the particular cadences of denominational discourse.617


616 See, for example, the answers given by the Metlakatla converts to Bishop’s Hills’ examination prior to their baptism. Some of the answers strongly echo the phrasing of the Apostles Creed. For example, the phrase “God is the maker of heaven and earth” is repeated several times in responses by various candidates.

617 Peter G. Stromberg, Language and Self Transformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 11, explores conversion narratives as a genre that helps believers to form linkages between the language of Evangelical Christianity and their own personal experiences. He argues that the articulation of a conversion narrative is a ritual action that both integrates the speaker into the canonical norms of the faith
Methodist converts often were reported to present powerful testimony of their own conversion at the many worship services in which worshippers were expected to speak out and tell their story. These conversion narratives, as reported by the missionaries, are distinctively Wesleyan. The converts describe former state of sinfulness, the joy of their conversions, and the blessings that have been bestowed upon them since their conversion. These narratives are at one and the same time formulaic and individual - variations on a familiar theme. The predictable patterns of deathbed speeches, exhortations by the converted to unbelieving friends and family members, and pleas to

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618 Cornelius Bryant, letter dated January 20, 1874, printed in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s. no. 23 (May 1874): 367-368, reports on the revivalist preaching style of Captain John Shwalus, a class-leader at Cultus Lake. Captain John was converted at a camp meeting at Maple Bay on Vancouver Island, in which he announced that he had been saved, cast serious doubts on the state of spiritual salvation of his Roman Catholic hearers, and then graphically described the consequences of eternal punishment for those who were not saved at the Last Judgement. By the 1880s, these dramatic narratives of sin and conversion were seen as rather old-fashioned by the Methodist Church in Eastern Canada, but remained a significant ritual within Native Methodist worship into the early years of the twentieth century. See Alvyn Austin, Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 49.

619 Thomas Crosby, letter dated January 20, 1875, Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada, 3d. ser., no. 2 (April 1875): 38-39, sent messages from the Tsimshian of Fort Simpson to the readers of the Missionary Notices that were models of conversion discourse. For example, Gemk was quoted as saying “Long ago I was as though in a thick fog, and while in this blind state something came to me – it was like something warm – it opened my eyes; yes, I believe it was Jesus, and now it is light – all light. I thank the good people of Canada for sending us help.”

620 Mathews, 22, notes that “the conversion experience or New Birth – a sensible faith – was especially disorderly in Methodism because it rejected those elements so crucial to god order in religion: the Creed, the Covenant, the Confession.” The particular discourses of the conversion narrative, however, seems to have created a measure of order out of what Mathews calls the disorderliness of Methodism. Inquirers who attended Methodist worship services would have learned the structure of the conversion narrative, and its particular rhythms of sin and repentance, in what one scholar refers to as the narrative structure of Wesleyan spirituality. See Diane H. Lobody, “‘That Language Might Be Given Me’: Women’s Experience in Early Methodism,” in Perspectives on American Methodism: Interpretive Essays, ed. Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe and Jean Miller Schmidt (Nashville: Kingswood Books, Abingdon Press, 1993), 136.
renounce tribal customs structure the narratives of lived Native experience within missionary expectations of the transformation wrought by conversion. Just as the physical body of the convert would be disciplined to new norms of cleanliness and order, so too the speech of the convert would be disciplined to new ways of describing and interpreting the self and experience.

Perhaps the most striking use of the Methodist language of the transformed body of the convert is the imagery of the “new heart,” drawn from both Biblical sources and Wesley’s hymns. The imagery in Ezekiel is striking: God will give the people of Israel one heart, and put a new spirit within them. In the Authorised translation, “I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them a heart of flesh: That they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances and do them: and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.”

This image of the transformed physical self was adopted by Wesley, whose sermons referred to the heart converted by grace, and in hymns that directly

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621 For examples of deathbed speeches, see Thomas Crosby, *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship* (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914), 188-190.

622 See, for example, George Read, lay missionary at Hartley Bay, B.C., to Alexander Sutherland, Superintendent of Missions, February 3, 1906: “The sixteen souls above mentioned when pleaded with and asked to get right with God came boldly to the front and kneeling down cried with tears to Our Heavenly Father that He for Jesus sake would be merciful unto them and just like Him Glory be to His ever Adorable Name, forgave them freely. On their part we have every reason to believe that they accepted God on His own terms, i.e. they were to go and sin no more, cease to do evil, learn to do well. Their lives since speak for them. They attend regular [sic] the means of Grace and are always ready to give their testimony and declare what the Lord has done for their souls... Some of them I am sorry to say cannot read their Bibles properly neither do they understand the English Language.” File 107, Correspondence re China Hat, 1906-1910. Box 6, Incoming Correspondence 1900-1910, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. (Sutherland papers), accession number 78.092, UCCA.

623 Ezekiel 11: 19-20. This imagery is echoed in Ezekiel 18:31, “Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed; and make you a new heart and a new spirit.” The image of God giving a new heart to the penitent also occurs in Psalm 51, v. 10 “Make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me,” and v. 17, “The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit: a broken and contrite heart, O God, shalt thou not despise.”

624 See, for example, John Wesley, Sermon 123, “The Deceitfulness of the Human Heart,” preached April
incorporated references to hearts of stone turning into hearts of flesh.625

The distinctive Methodist language of the new heart entered into convert discourse as a marker of the transformation wrought by the conversion experience, which disrupted the connection between the “heathen” past and the “Christian” present.626 David Sallosalton assured an opponent that “if you don’t get a new heart, you will go to hell.”627 Amos Cushan described his ambivalence about conversion as having two hearts, and the direct experience of God in his conversion experience as Jesus becoming chief in his heart.628

For one convert, the new heart and the need for a new name marked his conversion:

Last night...I went home from the meeting and for a long time thought about my sinful heart, then I go to sleep, and I dream I hear some one rap at my door, then I hear a voice say, ‘I give you the blood of Jesus,’ this I hear three times, then I awoke. I was so happy, my trouble was all gone, the blood had taken my heart away. Jesus has given me a new heart, now I want a new name.629

21, 1790, section II, 4. “Hence there is in the heart of every child of man, an inexhaustible fund of ungodliness and unrighteousness, so deeply and strongly rooted in the soul, that nothing less than almighty grace can cure it,” and 5 “But is there no exception as to the wickedness of man’s heart? Yes, in those that are born of God. ‘He that is born of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.’ God has ‘purified his heart by faith,’ so that his wickedness is departed from him.” See the electronic version of Wesley’s sermons, at http://gbgm-umc.org/unhistory/wesley/sermons.

625 See, for example, A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists.. With a New Supplement (London: Wesleyan-Methodist Book Room, 1889), Hymn 106, v. 1 “Break my heart of stone,” Hymn 131, v. 2 “’Tis thine a heart of flesh to give”; Hymn 145, v. 1 “Turn into flesh my heart of stone”; Hymn 158, v. 1 “Take away the heart of stone”; Hymn 391, v. 5 “Give me a new, a perfect heart” and v. 6 “O take this heart of stone away.”

626 See for example, Thomas Crosby, letter dated January 20, 1875, Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church of Canada, 3d. ser., no. 2 (April 1875): 38-39, quoting the convert community at Fort Simpson.

627 Thomas Crosby, letter from Chilliwack, dated December 3, 1869, Wesleyan Missionary Notices, n.s., no. 6 (February 1870): 84.

628 Crosby, Among the An-ko-me-nums, 207.

629 Alfred E. Green, “Naas River,” Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, From June 1878, to June 1879 (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1879). This remarkable narrative combines the new heart from Ezekiel 11:19-20 with the image of the one who knocks at the door from Revelation 3:20.
Salvation through the blood of Jesus was a dominant theme in Wesley’s hymns, and in the revivalist hymns popularised by the American evangelists Dwight Lyman Moody and Ira David Sankey. Blood imagery and the converted heart are frequently referred to in the deathbed narratives of converts, and undoubtedly reproduced the missionaries’ own language of conversion and salvation, utilised in sermons and exhortations. Thus, the convert who dreamed of the blood taking his heart away and giving him a new heart speaks the general evangelical language of salvation, and at the same time reproduces the specific discourses expected by the Methodist missionaries.

Wesley’s hymns draw on Ephesians 1:7, Colossians 1:14 and especially 1 John 1:7 “But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin,” as well as the metaphorical passage of the blood of the Lamb from Revelation 7:13 for their vivid imagery of salvation through blood.

See, for example, Ira D. Sankey, comp., Sacred Songs and Solos (London: Morgan and Scott, n.d.). It seems clear from missionary reports that many converts learned the language of denomination through hymns, as well as through listening to sermons and reading passages of scripture. B. C. Freeman, stationed at Port Simpson in 1905 described the use of hymns to teach doctrine: “We sang hymn after hymn of the familiar Gospel songs, while the people listened attentively. Then we started a chorus in Chinook, a jargon well known to the people, and invited them to join us. Presently they grew familiar with the air of ‘Are You Washed in the Blood of the Lamb,’ and thoroughly enjoyed singing.” Letter from B. C. Freeman at Port Simpson, March 6, 1905, printed in the Missionary Bulletin 2 (1904-1905): 577-578.

See, for example, the narratives that Crosby includes in Up and Down the North Pacific Coast, 373-388. For example, Crosby reports the final speech of Adam, or Weeke-sha-nates, at Port Simpson, who was reported to say “My body is very weak, by my heart is strong; don’t think, my friends, that my heart is weak,” and of Martha Wesley, a convert on the Nass, “Yes, the blood, the precious blood of Jesus washes all my sins away; I am saved by the blood.” Anglican converts also spoke of the heart, usually referring to the “clean heart” of the versicles of Morning and Evening Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer (V. O God, make clean our hearts within us; R. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us), which in turn derives from Psalm 51, v. 10. However, the specific use of the images from Ezekiel are seemingly distinctive to Methodism.

The Methodist language of the heart may also be layered with the particular language of missionary translations. The Chinook word “turn turn” was used for the English words “heart,” “mind,” and “will,” according to Terry Glavin, “A Chinook Lexicon,” in Charles Lillard, A Voice Great Within Us, 82, and was a word frequently employed in missionary translations to indicate Christian goodness. In 1859, the SPG-sponsored Anglican missionary Robert Dowson reported that in response to his attempts to learn the Cowichan language, he was told by a member of the Cowichan people “Heigh taansu kqualoum tnowa, Heigh Cowitchen kqualoum tanowa,” which Dowson translated at “My heart is very good to you, the Cowitchen’s heart is very good to you.” Dowson was also told that “the heart of the Great Chief above was good to the Indians.” He also reported that he had told the Cowichan man, “Yes, my heart is sick because Indian does not know the Great Chief above; my heart is sick because no man teaches the savage good.”
Structuring Worship

The tension within Protestant Christianity between textuality and orality was thrown into sharp focus by the difference that Methodists and Anglicans placed on the role of print in the structuring of worship. Furthermore, denominational differences were emphasised by the varying textual competencies of the convert communities, and by individual preferences of both missionaries and converts for textuality or orality.634

The efforts of CMS-sponsored missionaries on the North Pacific mission under Bishop Ridley and by some SPG-sponsored missionaries under Bishop Hills to translate portions of the Book of Common Prayer into indigenous languages make evident the central role that print and textuality played in Anglican worship, for both Evangelicals and Tractarians. Translations of scripture enabled missionaries to preach effectively, and encouraged at least limited textual literacy among convert communities, while translations of the BCP enabled Anglican worship, which was formed by, and mediated through print. The tension between the oral and the textual is clearly present in the Anglican liturgy, in which repeated prayers and scriptural passages may be both heard and read, as the worshipper both reads the prayer book and listens to the priest audibly recite collects and scriptural passages.635 Anglican missionaries insisted on the centrality


634 Roger Chartier, The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 7, notes that his aim in the study was “to reconstruct social and cultural practices, both as they were proposed in texts that dictated the norm to be respected (and sometimes even followed) and as they adapted to their own uses printed matter, festive and ritual formulas, and the rules imposed by authorities.” It seems clear that Native convert communities and Euro-settler communities both had particular relationships with print culture that was not necessarily equal to the expectations that missionaries brought to their relationship to textuality and worship.

635 Knight, 43, points out that Cranmer’s liturgy was designed to be spoken, and that the strongly rhythmic
of printed sources for rightly ordered public worship, and structured their worship within the disciplinary practices of reading. Throughout the missionary narratives, Anglican public worship is described as reading morning prayer, reading evensong, reading the liturgy. The structure imposed on Anglican public worship by adherence to the scripted formality of the BCP also meant that while the collects and readings varied according to the church calendar, there was a uniformity and predictability to worship. There was no place within the Anglican liturgies of the BCP for extemporaneous prayer, exhortation, or the interjection of personal testimony, as William Ridley made clear when he was asked about ceremonial by a group of Kitakshean converts wishing to start a branch of the Church Army:

When we are ready to burst with emotion may we find relief in crying out in church ‘Amen,’ or ‘Alleluia’? This I saw to be Salvationist infection, and asked, ‘Do you know the meaning of those words?’ ‘No’ ‘Then don’t say words without meaning. God looks for sense from men and noise from dogs. Say aloud the responses, for relief.’ ‘May women preach in a loud voice on the streets?’ ‘Yes, if they speak wisely.’ ‘Then, why not in church?’ ‘Because St. Paul says ‘No.’”

and repetitive structure of the BCP liturgies are meant to “work on the ear,” so that the impact of the BCP was strongly aural.

Walter Ong, Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word (London: Methuen, 1982; reprint London and New York: Routledge, 1988) in exploring the tension between orality and textuality, states concisely “Sight isolates, sound incorporates,” 72. Ong’s comment suggests that the tension between textual and oral liturgy is also a tension between private, individual worship and public, collective worship. The daily Offices (morning and evening prayer) grew out of the monastic Hours, and were in part, private worship adapted to public participation.

Knight, 44, notes that “Compulsory use of the Prayer Book provided a security against the excesses of the theologically illiterate, and could to some extent rein in those prone to Evangelical extemporaneity on one hand or to Ritualism on the other, though it was not of course always successful.” See also David Olson, The World on Paper: The Conceptual and Cognitive Implications of Writing and Reading (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 155, who notes that Thomas Cranmer, architect of the Book of Common Prayer, took for granted that a text had a single meaning that would be perceived by all who read it, and that the BCP, therefore, was designed to act as a single text with a single meaning that would draw people together into one common belief.

Ridley, Snapshots from the North Pacific, 106.
The Anglican emphasis on the centrality of print as a transmitter of structured religious belief was commented on unfavourably by the Methodists, who placed greater value on extempore prayer, personal testimony and worship that was structured in outline but with no formally scripted liturgy. The Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby, in describing the conversion experience of Diex, a Tsimshian woman, made an explicit distinction between written forms of prayer and prayer as direct communication with God, emphasising that the spontaneous oral form of prayer was a precipitating event in the conversion process. He stated that:

[On the Songhees reserve in Victoria] A leading woman said she had been used to going to the Church of England and seeing the people pray from a book, but when she got into the meeting amongst those people [i.e. Methodists] she heard one pray in English and one in Indian and one in Chinook and she looked around for a book but they had none. This was the first time she had seen anyone pray without a book; the blessed Spirit came to her heart and she tried to pray and soon the Lord helped her, and she was soundly converted.

Thus converts who adopted the new language of the self also had to learn the denominationally appropriate responses during worship, responding to the clues provided by the missionary in charge of a station. The Methodist emphasis on experiential religion and personal testimony encouraged Methodist convert communities to learn the language of the dichotomised self, in which the past was disrupted (if not completely severed) by the conversion experience. Methodist convert communities were encouraged to gain

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639 The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church provided liturgies for baptism, the reception of members, the Lord's Supper, Matrimony, Burial, Ordination, Renewing the Covenant, Laying a Cornerstone, and Dedicating a Church, adapted for the most part from the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. There was no formal textual liturgy for morning or evening prayer, and no written collects or occasional prayers.

640 Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast, 20.

textual literacy in order to engage in direct study of scriptures, and so develop an unmediated relationship with the Word. The image of Methodist converts, “singing lustily and with good courage,” and protected from harm by the Bible in their canoe was a powerful and literal reminder of the Methodist belief in the saving power of the Word.

For Anglican converts, the strongly differing patterns of worship and belief within the Church of England in the nineteenth century made the remaking of the self more complex. The Nlha7kápmx people of Lytton under John Booth Good were encouraged to adopt a straightforward reproduction of very moderate Tractarian norms of worship, becoming a Prayer Book community in their sacramental and liturgical practices. In contrast, the convert community at Metlakatla during Duncan’s tenure learned a distinctly non-normative form of Anglicanism, in which the lay missionary both opposed and encouraged deference to textuality, engaging intently with the Word, as mediated through Duncan’s extempore translations, and his recreation of liturgy to meet his own theological standpoint. The advent of Bishop Ridley brought a new, and more intense interaction with textuality, as normative liturgical worship was introduced on the North Pacific coast, and translations brought new ways engaging with the printed Word. And, like their Methodist counterparts, Anglican convert communities learned new presentations of the self, based on expectations of moderate, rational and controlled behaviour that reproduced class-based ideas of respectability, and conformed to denominational patterns of worship.

**Conclusion**

Conversion to Christian culture brought about a new textual self to replace the orality of the Indigenous cultural self. In the process of preaching the Word, missionaries hoped
that converts would become literate textual communities, bound together by their adherence to the Word, focused on listening to the Word, reading the Word for themselves, and meditating on its meaning.

At the same time, missionaries sought to discipline their convert communities to modernity, Eurocentric norms of civilisation, respect for private property and the acquisition of goods, participation in the local cash economy, and regular consumption of store-bought goods within the nuclear family. In the words of Barnabus Courtland Freeman, Methodist missionary at Port Simpson in 1905, the contrast between the Tsimshian people at Port Simpson before and after the introduction of Methodist Christianity was total: “In the place of heathenism with all its diabolical mechanisms, Christianity rules in the hearts and homes of the people. It has brought them into love and fellowship with one another; into self-helpfulness and independence, into cleanliness, tidiness and respectability.”

Native men were praised for adopting muscular Christianity, Native women for adhering to gendered norms of modest behaviour. The missionaries sought to reorder family relations into familiar bourgeois Eurocentric patterns, in which each individual family was headed by and provided for by the husband, and tended to by the angel of the house, the wife who obeyed her husband. Old patterns of tribal allegiance and the extended support of the clan, as demonstrated by the rituals of the potlatch, were to be replaced by a value system based on the “individualistic ideal” of personal achievement, rather than “the prowess of a string of ancestors.”


In this new world of White ways for Native folk, the consumption of Biblical texts was paralleled by the consumption of commercial texts. Mail order catalogues that brought an extended range of consumer goods to the North Pacific Coast were known in one community on the Queen Charlotte Islands as the "Skidegate Prayer Book." Missionaries noted that these catalogues, with their illustrations of fashionable clothing, farm machinery, and household appliances were popular reading material that encouraged participation in the capitalist economy. They clearly believed that the catalogues were a helpful adjunct to the development of appropriate relationships to the acquisition of material goods for personal use, rather than the "non-productive" accumulation and distribution of goods through the system of potlatch, and willingly aided their Native congregations to fill out the necessary order forms.

Thus, the authorised consumption of secular printed materials and consumer goods was seen by the missionaries as furthering the goals of civilising and modernising the Native convert communities, and could be tied explicitly to the project of evangelisation.

Missionary literature made frequent mention of the popularity of Christmas parties vigorously attacked Indigenous values and their underlying religious beliefs and spiritual sanctions, which resulted in the destruction of "the social cohesion of communities based on kinship relations," in favour of "the peculiar individualism of western Christianity.... The concomitant surrender of economic independence by indigenous communities points to a fifth category of missionary violence: individualisation associated with capitalism's intrinsic preoccupation with profit and competition." For many missionaries in British Columbia, cultivation of individualism was a necessary step in the conversion of Native peoples to modernity.

644 Letter from Frank Hardy, January 24, 1906, printed in Missionary Bulletin 3 (1905-1906), 498.

645 See, for example, the pamphlet on the potlatch by the Anglican James B. McCullagh, originally presented as a paper at the CMS annual conference at Metlakatla in 1899, printed by McCullagh in his magazine, The Caledonia Interchange, and reprinted by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, n.d. McCullagh articulated his understanding of the system of potlatch before offering a series of objections, 15-16, "It puffs up while exhausting, and its victims while being destroyed think they are being established...it is destructive of individual liberty, and, consequently, of the development of the race; it is inimical to all social progress and education; although not a religious system it is intensely repugnant to religion, and the civilization of the Indian is an abomination to it."
among convert communities. The celebration of Christmas in some missions was an occasion to introduce “Santa Claus” and the exchange of gifts, and the missionaries thanked generous metropolitan donors who provided the material goods distributed from the Christmas tree. In the process, the Christian convert communities, forbidden by law to distribute goods through the system of potlatch, and discouraged from practicing traditional winter ceremonies, participated in authorised celebrations as yet another occasion on which converts could exhibit denominationally appropriate norms of behaviour, practice and perform new texts in the form of Christmas carols and recitations, and demonstrate their allegiance to the new presentation of the self as respectable members of the community, almost White in dress, demeanour and social relations. Text and the Word had remade them and integrated them into new textual communities.

646 One Anglican report noted that wreaths decorated with cigarettes and tobacco had featured prominently in a Christmas-tide dinner at Lytton, which were then distributed over the course of the evening to the attendees. See “Church News, Lytton,” Churchman’s Gazette (December 1887): 374. Undoubtedly this distribution of tobacco would have appalled the Methodists missionaries, who were required by the Doctrines and Discipline to refrain from all uses of tobacco. Convert communities not only had to learn the appropriate consumption of goods, but inflect correct denominational habits on their patterns of consumption.
CHAPTER 6

THE CONSUMPTION OF PRINT CULTURE

In 1861, the Anglican missionary Christopher Knipe, in his annual report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, assessed the possibilities for missionary activity in the Cariboo among the gold miners. He stated, "A missionary would absolutely need Bibles, Prayer-Books, and hymn books, or [prayer] cards in good number. As far as means go, this provision would be likely to make all the difference between success and failure."\(^{647}\)

His predecessor, John Sheepshanks, had successfully raised money for a permanent church structure at Antler Creek by promising the miners a library. In the summer of 1860 he was sent into the Cariboo goldfields to minister to the miners working in Richfield and Antler Creek. Sheepshanks set about raising funds for a permanent church structure. The biography quoted his diary to describe his fundraising strategy:

In going round the claims I usually found out beforehand the name of the chief man. In the open claims the men would be working from ten to fifteen feet below the surface. I would ask by name for the chief proprietor, or if I did not know his name, would inquire for the 'boss.' A man would pause from his work, roll his quid in his mouth, expectorate, and look up. In a few, very few, words I would tell him of my scheme for a church and library, and add that I had brought up the books.

He would listen but not too many words would pass. 'Wal, doc' have you got a piece of paper about you?' You may be sure that I always had pieces of paper, and one would go floating down into the claim. The boss would take out his leathern bag or purse from his pocket, jerk some grains of gold-dust into the paper, as one might jerk peppercorns out of a packet, screw up the paper, and then, 'Here, doc' catch!' The paper was caught, thanks were given, and 'doc' departed. Sometimes two or three men in a claim would give, the rest being hired workmen. The amount was usually about £2. After a few weeks of this I got nearly all the money.\(^{648}\)

His biographer continued:


Mr. Sheepshanks wisely provided himself with a library, and the books procured him a welcome where the sight of a clergyman's face was otherwise regarded with disfavour. Every one of his publications claimed a reader. Not only "Dickens in Camp," but hard theological works that had to be brazed in the mortar of the mind.\textsuperscript{649}

Both Knipe and Sheepshanks expressed a dominant theme in Anglican and Methodist missionary literature: the role of print culture and printed artefacts in the missionary enterprise among literate, semi-literate and non-literate communities, whether Native or White. As the quotations by Knipe and Sheepshanks make clear, secular printed materials could be used to further religious goals among immigrant communities. In other words, books could be used to procure the missionary a welcome. At the same time, the creation of a library in a mining area, and the belief that Bibles and prayer cards were necessary for successful evangelisation in the mission field are expressions of the missionaries' belief in the power of textuality to effect social conversion among groups that were thought to be living outside the boundaries of normative Eurocentric civilisation. Thus creating textual communities in the hinterland was seen as a transformative act that would reorder social relations and ensure social stability, while simultaneously providing opportunities for evangelism and religious conversion.

Textuality could also be used to organise support for the missionary enterprise among metropolitan dwellers, drawing them into networks of identification and allegiance with missionaries in the field. Libraries created to disseminate information about missions and colonial mission spaces explicitly connected the metropole and the hinterland through the printed and visual artefacts of mission. The regular reader of missionary literature in

\textsuperscript{649} Ibid. Gordon Selman, "Adult Education in Barkerville, 1863-1875," \textit{BC Studies}, no. 9 (Spring 1971): 46, notes that Sheepshanks brought two hundred and fifty volumes with him to his mission at Antler Creek. Presumably it was these books that he offered to make accessible to the miners.
Ontario or England was encouraged to become an active if distant participant in the life of the missionary through the consumption of the printed simulacra of that life in the form of letters and illustrations. Similarly, the patrons of missionary libraries in the metropole were encouraged to survey the entire mission field through the panoptic gaze of missionary magazines, biographies, maps, and magic lantern slides, and thus enter into the textual community created by the print culture of missions.

**Reading and Respectability**

Throughout the nineteenth century, the act of reading was closely intertwined with class status as a mass reading public was created in England and the colonies through expanded educational opportunities. In the first half of the century, debates over the purpose of mass education centred on the utility of a literate workforce, and the ability of schools to discipline the subordinate classes to become self-disciplined. Textual literacy and the cultivation of habits of reading, if channeled into appropriate literature that reinforced religious devotion and acceptance of divinely-appointed social stratification, were powerful weapons against social discontent.

On the other hand, uncontrolled habits of reading were believed to have the potential to destabilise society and encourage unproductive idleness, especially if the printed material that was being consumed was frivolous popular fiction, sensational cheap broadsides, or seditious political tracts. The belief in the ability of fiction, particularly sensational fiction, to corrupt and debase those who read it was widespread. Evangelicals were

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particularly critical of fiction-reading, believing that fiction unnecessarily and unhealthily excited the senses, led to a craving for the sensational, and corrupted moral sensibilities. Both religious and secular reformers, therefore, stressed that while literacy was critical to religious education and moral improvement, and facilitated the adoption of desired Protestant norms of individual Bible reading, the working-classes should be encouraged to read literature that was morally unobjectionable, socially useful and self-improving. Social reformers believed in the transformative disciplinary norms of print

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651 Esther Jane Carrier, *Fiction in Public Libraries, 1876-1900* (New York and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1965), provides evidence of the various anti-fiction arguments. For example, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., “Fiction in Public Libraries and Educational Catalogues,” *Library Journal* 4 (September-October 1879): 334; quoted in Carrier, 113, argued that sensational fiction amused, “but that it educates or leads to anything beyond itself; either in this world or the next, I utterly deny. On the contrary, it simply and certainly emasculates and destroys the intelligent reading power. See also the examples cited by Altick in chapter 5, “Religion.”

652 As noted in chapter three Edward Cridge was shocked to find his fellow passengers on the voyage to Victoria reading novels. See Edward Cridge, *Diaries, 1853-54; 1858*, volume 6, Edward Cridge fonds, Add Mss. 320, BCA. James Gammage noted that he was “well-supplied with tracts and books of a religious character” to distribute to fellow passengers on the voyage to Victoria. See James Gammage, letter dated May 3, 1858, printed in *The Mission Field*, 4 (1859): 170. See also Altick, 108-115 for Evangelical distrust of reading for pleasure.


culture and literacy articulated in the belief that "a taste for something better than mere animal enjoyment may be instilled into them [the working class] through the instrumentality of well-chosen books."\footnote{654}

Throughout the nineteenth century, the term \textit{rational amusement} (or \textit{rational recreation}) was used to describe recreational activities that provided "respectable" social activities for working class men that encouraged order, self-control, self-discipline, self-improvement, and moral uplift.\footnote{655} Working men were encouraged to spend whatever few hours of leisure they might have after their working hours were completed in sober self-betterment in a gendered, classed and raced space separate from the wider "non-rational" community, rather than in uncontrolled and potentially disruptive spaces like the tavern.\footnote{656} The rational space of recreation sites like the mechanics' institute, the public art

\footnote{655 For a discussion of the goals of rational amusement, see Cunningham, especially chapter 3, “Public Leisure and Private Leisure”; Bailey, and Storch, For a discussion of respectability and the working class see Geoffrey Crossick, \textit{An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880} (London: Croom Helm, 1978), especially chapter 7, “The Artisan Elite: Ideology and Values.” The language of rational recreation was strongly gendered and classed. Working-class women did not usually participate in the activities of Mechanics’ Institutes and reading rooms, nor were they expected to participate in Samuel Smilesian projects of self-betterment.


gallery and the public museum mediated middle-class norms of self-discipline. The habits of consuming the literature of self-betterment textually exerted particular disciplinary norms designed to create socially deferent and morally improved workers.\textsuperscript{657} Rational amusement was thus constructed as moral behaviour that reproduced middle-class norms of self-regulation in opposition to what could be described as irrational recreation, that is, drunkenness and licentious behaviour.\textsuperscript{658}

For the supporters of mechanics' institutes and libraries, and other forms of rational amusement, the working man who spent his leisure hours engaged in sober self-betterment through self-education was demonstrating his commitment to work and the social order, at the same time that he was being habituated into the dominant culture and the disciplinary norms of literacy.\textsuperscript{659} In the words of one mid-nineteenth century writer,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{659} Of course, some contemporary observers saw in the mechanics' institute movement a dangerous tendency towards socialism and Chartism. See, for example, the novel of the enthusiastic Tractarian Charlotte Yonge, \textit{Abbeychurch; or Self-Control and Self-Conceit} (London: J and C. Mozley, and J. Masters, 848), cited in Robert Lee Wolff, \textit{Gains and Losses: Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England} (New York and London: Garland, 1977), 120, in which lectures promoting Socialism had been delivered at the local mechanics' institute, which was promoted by a Dissenter (naturally), who was therefore subject to the error of not reading history with correct (i.e. Anglican) religious beliefs. Certainly, there was a direct link between Benthamite ideas of social utility and Lord Brougham's promotion of mechanics' institutes as a method of disseminating "the gospel of the alphabet" among the people. See Henry Brougham, \textit{Practical Observations Upon the Education of the People: Addressed to the Working Classes and Their Employers} (London: Printed by R. Taylor, and sold by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, for the benefit of the London Mechanics Institution, 1825). See also Asa Briggs, \textit{The Age of Improvement} (London: Longmans, Green, 1959), 224-225 on the unpopularity of mechanics' institutes among those opposed to industrialism and what Briggs calls "the new doctrines of political economy"; and Louis James, \textit{Fiction for the Working Man 1830-1850} (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 4.
\item \textsuperscript{660} James W. Hudson, \textit{The History of Adult Education} (London: Longmans, 1851), 55.
\end{itemize}
mechanics' institutes and libraries were the means by which

a taste for rational amusement may be produced, and those hours generally spent in
listlessness and in foolish amusements, may be converted into periods rendered
precious by the inculcation of enlightened and elevating principles. Habits of order,
punctuality, and politeness would be engendered and flow from thence into all the
other relations and departments of life. 660

However, discourses of workers' self-betterment were confined to a relatively narrow
group of skilled tradesmen and clerks, who were already textually literate and
indoctrinated into the norms of print culture, and had sufficient leisure hours to make use
of the facilities offered by mechanics' institutes. 661 Participation in rational recreation
served to stratify social class within the broad spectrum of working-class culture, sorting
out the "respectable" from the "rough" among working-class and artisan-class men, and
by extension, their families. 662

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660 The topic of the social stratification of the working class in Great Britain, and by extension Canada, has
been hotly debated in the literature of mechanics' institutes. Jim Blanchard, in "Anatomy of Failure:
“One might conclude that, like the institutes in England, the mechanics’ institutes in Ontario had been
captured by the middle class and were being used for middle class purposes. Or what is probably closer to
the truth, that most of the communities in question were too small for such class divisions.” By comparison,
see Edward Royle, “Mechanics’ Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1860,” Historical Journal 15
(1971): 312-314, for a discussion of nineteenth-century writers’ understanding of the occupational structure
of membership in mechanics' institutes. Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain
(Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1970), 128 noted “It is clear from surviving lists of members’
occupations, however, that they [mechanics’ institutes] did continue to attract the skilled manual worker,
especially in the North of England and in Scotland.” In the colonial space of British Columbia, social status
in logging and mill communities often accrued to workers according to the level of their managerial and
technical skill, in combination with their ethnicity. See Robert A. J. McDonald, Making Vancouver: Class,
status, and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), for an exploration of class status
in communities like Moodyville on Burrard Inlet. See also Gail Edwards, “Temperance, Rational
Amusement, and the Moodyville Mechanics' Institute and Reading Room,” paper presented at the BC
Studies Conference, May 2, 1997, Nanaimo, B.C.

661 R. J. Morris, Class, Sect and Part: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850
(Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), argues that “‘Respectable’ was a basis
for uniting middle-class identity with higher-status sections of the wage earners and independent
craftsmen,” and both differentiated and subsumed differences in divisions of status within the middle
classes.
Scenes of Reading in Anglican Missionary Narratives

Many of the narratives of the first Anglican missionaries sponsored by the SPG reproduced class-based anxieties about roughness and respectability among the settler population of British Columbia. In their journals and published letters, the missionaries noted evidence of respectable behaviour and rational recreation in a new environment that often seemed to have rejected respectability, at least as defined by middle-class British standards. In drawing attention to class distinctions within Eurocentric British Columbia society, the missionaries reminded their readers that the mission field was rough, and in contrast they were participants in, and promoters of respectable cultural norms. Thus, the SPG missionaries privileged their own status as educated men from the dominant class, and set themselves apart from the “rough” miners, even when their clothing, diet and mode of transportation during their missionary trips into the Cariboo made them indistinguishable from the miners.

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663 See, for example, the comments of James Gammage, stationed at Douglas, who enumerated the challenges that he faced in his mission work, “Among a population assembled from every quarter of the globe and nearly all adult males unsettled in their habits and strangers to the humanizing influences of domestic society, it is exceedingly difficult to gain attention to the vital truths of Christianity, and much more so to obtain an acknowledgement of its obligations or a just appreciation of its manifold blessings. Thirst for God appears in many instances to have absorbed every moral quality that ennobles or dignifies humanity, leaving nothing but a dry and barren stock which the spirit of God alone can vivify.” James Gammage to the SPG, letter dated January 21, 1861, SPG papers, microfilm reel A-228, NAC.

664 J. J. Halcombe, ed., “Mission Work in British Columbia: Chiefly From the Journals of the Rev. R. J. Dundas,” The Emigrant and the Heathen, or Sketches of Missionary Life (London: SPCK, [1870]), 195, in the introduction to Richard Dundas’ description of preaching at Antler Creek and Quesnelle Forks, refers to his experience as “an instance of the rough itinerant kind of work done amongst the miners and settlers in British Columbia.” Dundas’ diary used similar language when describing life at Antler Creek, “At supper, there being present some dozen persons, we were waited upon mainly by Mrs. C—’s sister, a girl of about fifteen. She had been in my Sunday-school at Victoria, and it was painful to see how sadly this rough life had told upon her as regards manner and tone. She, her mother, and her sister (I except three women of infamous character), were the only females in Antler Creek, amid a population of perhaps 1,000 men, and these many of them the roughest and most reckless characters.” See Halcombe, 200-201.
The scarcity of print, and the distance that printed materials had to travel from the metropole before they were available for consumption in the hinterland was a frequent theme in missionary narratives that emphasised the spatial and psychological distance between British Columbia and England. During a preaching tour of the Cariboo, Richard Dundas commented on his delight at finding copies of the *Times* in an upcountry hostel. That the news was out of date was not of importance. “[We] returned to our quarters for the night, where we found some copies of the *Times* - a rare sight in the interior of British Columbia. They were several months old, but contained news to us.”

George Hills made the same linkage of the *Times* with distance and reminders of home in his diary, when he noted a conversation with the editor of the Victoria Gazette.

I spoke of the poor character of his paper and suggested that it would not be difficult to get up a good paper. I had observed that no care was taken to cull from other papers, the *Times* for instance, discussions in Parliament directly affecting this place and America, subjects interesting to all. He said, “Sir I rarely see the *Times* newspaper. Sometimes my mother sends me a copy but generally it is an old one!” What a confession for an editor.

For Hills, a good newspaper was one that copied English news, including British parliamentary news, which he constructed as a subject of interest to everyone. Clearly, Hills defined the potential reading public for the Victoria newspaper as the tiny cohort of university-educated professional men like himself.

In the early years of his episcopacy, Hills seems to have been acutely aware of his own feelings of dislocation in his new locale. He was keenly interested in his surroundings, and made notes in his diary about the flora and fauna encountered on his travels.

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665 Ibid., 220.

666 George Hills, diary entry for September 3, 1860.
throughout the province. At the same time, the roughness and lack of middle-class
civility and religiosity in the hinterland destabilised his sense of order and propriety. In
his diary, he often contextualised the unfamiliar, comparing and contrasting the scenes
before him with places and situations from his life in England. It was within this context
of nostalgia for order and respectability and for the familiar that Hills placed scenes of
reading.

This evening I walked out in the direction of Cornish Bar, down the river. I came to
several miners huts. In one was a fine young man all the way from Tipperary. His
companion boasted of being a Yankee and looked like one... Another miner was sitting
with Indians and as an Indian. A fourth was sitting at the door of his log hut reading a
Christian Knowledge Society tract. He came from Herefordshire and longed for the old
country once more.667

On Strawberry Island an elderly and respectable man came out and placed an easy
chair outside his hut as though he wished to stop and have a talk. He was reading a
newspaper and had on spectacles. At Hill’s Bar two miners were gathering roses and
other flowers. Perhaps to adorn their huts for Sunday.668

In the first passage, Hills contrasted disorder with order, Native with White. The miner
who had transgressed racial and class boundaries, who in Hills’ words “sits with Indians
as an Indian” was contrasted immediately with the tract-reading miner, who “longs for
the old country,” who was marked as practicing a culturally specific act that invokes
England.669 In Hills’ discourse, reading was also an act that placed the reader into a
specific social class. He described the elderly reader in the second passage as
“respectable,” reminding the reader that the distinction between the respectable and the
unrespectable poor was signified, in part, by the willingness of the respectable poor to

667 George Hills, diary entry for June 2, 1860.
668 George Hills, diary entry for June 9, 1860.
669 For the ways in which the languages of race and class intersect in colonial discourse, see John L. and
participate in middle-class normative behaviour. Reading tracts and serious works of non-fiction was an approved “rational” pursuit. Participation in the disciplinary norms of print culture marked the reader at Strawberry Island as respectable, despite his rough surroundings.\textsuperscript{670}

This same use of scenes of reading to invoke cultural attachment and class status can be found in John Sheepshanks narrative of an encounter with someone that he considered to be a social equal.

You will be interested in hearing how singularly one sometimes runs up against University men. Last year, when going down country, Knipe and I stopped at a wayside house, a wretched hovel, where the only food that we could get was American beans and bread. A young man with a wild head of hair, who as we entered was employed in baking a loaf of bread on the hearth, welcomed us courteously. He was in his shirt-sleeves, and was clad in a flannel shirt - of course not over clean - pants, and moccassins. There was no woman in the house, as usual. He was the landlord, and did, I fancy, all the work, and was a Cambridge Senior Optime.

We rolled ourselves in our blankets, and lay down on the not over-clean floor of the one room. I conversed a little while about Cambridge with mine host, who threw himself down upon a bunk above me; and then he took down a book from a shelf above his head, and I fell asleep.

Having the curiosity to see in the morning what book it was with which he had beguiled the time, I found that it was Goodwin’s Course of Mathematics.\textsuperscript{671}

Despite transgressing expectations of appropriately gendered activity and social norms of cleanliness, the host was the missionary’s peer by virtue of his education, confirmed by his reading a work that connected him to the world of education and the shared university experiences of host and guest.\textsuperscript{672}

\textsuperscript{670} In describing the miners who gather flowers, “perhaps to adorn their huts for Sunday,” Hills linked his observation of the scene and correct interpretation, that the miners were conforming to Christian calendar time in their observation of the Sabbath. Hills makes no mention of other possible interpretations of that same pastoral scene – observation and explication intertwine.

\textsuperscript{671} Duthie, 88-89.

\textsuperscript{672} In the same passage quoted by Duthie, 89, Christopher Knipe passed a gang of men working on the Cariboo wagon road. One of them asked if Knipe had any tobacco, and then seemed to recognise him,
In all of these scenes of reading, the cultural capital that accrued to owners of books was an unspoken subtext. The editor who failed to extract the latest news from the Times was not, despite Bishop Hills interpretation, negligent in his newsgathering. Rather, in 1860, the editor would have been hard pressed to obtain a current copy of a British newspaper in Victoria. The province's relative geographic remoteness ensured that current news continued to be a precious commodity until the completion of a telegraph link between New Westminster and the United States in 1865 facilitated the transmission of information from the outside world. The transcontinental rail link, which enabled the fast transportation of goods from Eastern Canada and Britain,

asking him “Haven’t I seen you before up the country?” [i.e. in the Cariboo]. Knipe replied no, adding “but I have seen you at Oxford.” The university-educated man who through circumstance took a job as a manual labourer was still marked as a participant in the common culture and class-status of the university, despite his unfortunate circumstances.


Cole Harris, “The Making of the Lower Mainland,” in The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 84, notes that until 1869, and the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad to San Francisco, it took about two months to receive letters, magazines and newspapers shipped from London. After 1869, the time was reduced to about a month. There has been almost no published research that identifies patterns of the distribution of print in nineteenth century British Columbia, but the evidence provided by merchants’ advertisements and known library inventories provides clues to the importance of books and the status of book ownership as a mark of civility in the colonies.

The completion of the telegraph link to New Westminster was mentioned in the Sixth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1864 (London: Rivingtons, 1865), 4. The first message to be received, the assassination of President Lincoln, is described as a reminder to British colonists of the “order, security, peace and contentment of the British Empire,” where, presumably, political assassinations did not occur. For the work of newspapers in constructing and maintaining national identities, see Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 32-36.
furthered the dissemination of materials printed outside British Columbia.\textsuperscript{676} In all of these examples, the book was a physical representation of culture, education, and social status, transferred to the remote geographic space of the colony. The maintenance of a personal library and subscriptions to English newspapers and periodicals, however out-of-date they might be on arrival, demonstrated continued allegiance to Britain, and sustained connections between the civilised norms of home and the hinterland.\textsuperscript{677}

Few equivalent scenes of reading occur in Church Missionary Society and Methodist narratives. Most CMS and Methodist missionaries had relatively modest educational backgrounds, compared to the normally university or theological college-educated SPG missionaries, and did not usually mobilise the language of class status and cultural capital to describe their own interaction with print culture, or the interaction with print by those around them. References to their own personal reading in letters and diaries tended to place primary importance on theological and scriptural reading, rather than encounters with the \textit{Times} and texts read at university. For example, the Methodist Edward White occasionally noted in his diary the titles of books that he was reading and described the spiritual effect that the books had upon him, as one component of his introspective examination of the state of his soul:

\begin{center}
Tuesday, 12th July, 1864. Busy most of the day helping to repair roof of the parsonage, and do other work about the parsonage premises. Have [read] this p.m. with intense
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{676} Harris notes that while freight charges were high, the rail link “opened up possibilities for transcontinental travel and trade that had not previously existed. Rail integrated British Columbia in a new transcontinental state, marking the final nineteenth-century stage of an extraordinary sequence of time-space compressions.” \textit{The Resettlement of British Columbia}, 166.

\textsuperscript{677} Margaret A. Ormsby, \textit{British Columbia: A History} (Toronto: The Macmillans in Canada, 1958), 241, briefly discussed the role of the personal libraries of British officials and ranchers in the maintenance of the “customs of home.”
interest George Smith on Isaiah 6: 1-7. The whole of last vol. of learned Cornish local preacher called the Harmony of the Dispensations, is full of thrilling interest. Have myself [been] well today. Praise the Lord.

Saturday, 16th July, 1864. I have been busy all week looking after the building of school room and parsonage improvements. Have [read] Smith’s “Harmony of the Dispensations” with much delight. His discourse on the Tabernacle of David has quite enraptured me. Quite showery towards the last of the week. \( ^{678} \)

Similarly, one of William Ridley’s few references to his own personal reading described his single-minded ability to shut out distractions on a particularly rough crossing to the Queen Charlotte Islands, and at the same time subtly reminded his reader that he was up-to-date with current theological scholarship, despite his isolated geographic location:

No meal could be served that day. I jammed myself in a recess of the pantry and managed to drink a basin of soup and eat a chunk of bread. Then I robbed some unoccupied berths of their pillows, and with them contrived in my own berth a sleepy hollow, where once made snug, I spent the rest of the day reading, admiring the all-round correction of “Working Substitutes,” by his Grace of Canterbury, and the doctrinal tracery of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, in their recent charges. \( ^{679} \)

The suspicion of pleasure-reading shared by many Evangelical Anglicans and Methodists meant that they placed primary emphasis on Bible and devotional reading as markers of spiritual capital, which became the primary measure of status for both groups. The use-value of reading as an encouragement to spiritual conversion and sustenance superseded all other uses of print in missionary narratives that focused on the moral state of those whom they sought to convert and sustain in the faith.

Typical of the few reported scenes of reading in non-SPG narratives is the letter from the Methodist missionary Arthur Browning, stationed at New Westminster in 1863:

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\( ^{678} \) Edward White, diary entry, July 12, 1864, Edward White, Diary, 1859-1866, Vertical File, UCCBC.

\( ^{679} \) Ridley, Snapshots from the North Pacific, 96-97.
At our most distant appointment a rare case of conversion has occurred. An old man of singular natural ability, but sunk to such a depth in the “horrible pit” as to seem to common sinners almost unfathomable, was reached by the hand of sovereign mercy, and almost miraculously delivered. He at once everywhere and to everybody became a preacher of righteousness; and a wonder of grace himself, he does good as much by the evident personal change in his life, as by his fervent and peaceful conversation. Glad was I to hear that he read one of Wesley’s sermons to his neighbours on watch-night, and otherwise conduced to their godly edification.680

For Browning, the converted sinner made use of his ability to read not as a marker of respectability or cultural capital, but as an exemplar of his own conversion and spiritual resolve, and as an exhortation to others.

William Ridley, in describing the reading habits of a Tsimshian convert from Metlakatla, emphasised both the convert’s textual ability and his own success as a teacher in inspiring an interest in theological speculation:

We lapsed into silence. I was steering. Near me sat the Haida counting eggs, and beyond sat the Zimshian, one of my former pupils who had lived under my roof nearly eight years. “May I read?” he asked. “Certainly,” I replied. He was absorbed. “Let me hear what you read; what is it?” Turning the back of the octavo towards me he said, “Pearson on the Creed. I am reading the second article.” So there we were borne slowly along on the broad Pacific by the gentle breath of heaven, while an Indian, whose parents had been heathen, read with intelligence to his Bishop the proofs that “Jesus is Lord” and “our” Lord! He would occasionally stop to ask the meaning of hard words, such as “presage,” “invalid,” “economical,” Immarcessible.” Suddenly looking up, he asked, “What is the difference between attrition and contrition?” “Why do you ask? It is not on that page” “Oh, I came to them in my reading some time ago, and my dictionary said both meant ‘rubbing.’ I couldn’t understand it.” “Well,” said I, “attrition means feeling a little sorry about some bad thing; contrition is real sorrow for felt sin.” “Ah, one is the crying of the eyes, the other of the heart.” I assented.681

The passage also makes it clear that Ridley saw an interest in theological literature as a marker of effective conversion and progress towards a mature understanding of Christian faith.


681 Ridley, *Snapshots from the North Pacific*, 102-103.
Print and the Culture of Worship

Within SPG narratives, scenes of reading that were specifically associated with religious worship brought together the culture of the printed word shared by university-educated missionaries, the context of reading practices and the material presence of print. The missionary narratives repeatedly refer to printed cards that were used as a substitute for prayer books in the mission field with European congregations. The missionaries frequently lamented the lack of Bibles and copies of the Book of Common Prayer in British Columbia, seeing their absence as evidence of the ungodly and uncivilised nature of settler and mining communities. James Gammage noted with indignity that at Douglas, the settlers lacked the obvious markers of commitment to Christianity:

Of the most important subject that can occupy the mind of man, religion, they appear, for the most part, to be entirely ignorant. I have met with very few who possess a Bible; most of them do not know whether they have been baptized or not; and I have not met with one who has shown in conversation any idea of privilege or responsibility connected with that ordinance. Many of them say they have not attended any place of worship three, five, seven, or ten years; and, as might be expected, they have no idea of reverence.682

Like their CMS counterparts, the SPG-sponsored missionaries noted approvingly their interaction with the few people within the settler communities who owned Bibles or Prayer Books.

Robert Dundas described the use of the prayer cards:

At length it was time to begin. Some forty persons assembled. We distributed among them printed cards, two to each: on one was the litany and selected prayers and collects, on the other some thirty hymns. Thus each man had prayer-book and hymn book, and was able to join in worship, which very many did.683


683 Halcombe, "Mission Work in British Columbia," 199. The cards are also described in the Fifth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1863, 14. Other descriptions of the hymn cards state that only
He went on to say:

Very often I find it impossible to have the closing hymn. My voice is all used up, and of course we have to lead, sometimes wholly to sustain the singing. The plan of service and hymn cards is a most useful one, and might be adopted with success, I think, in mission services at home. Here they are absolutely necessary, as often there are not three Prayer-books to be found amongst hundreds of men.\(^{684}\)

It is notable that in none of the scenes of reading involving the prayer cards was the issue of literacy raised. The actual use of the cards by the missionary congregations was never questioned. On the surface it would seem that most English-speaking miners were textually literate. In a speech delivered in England in 1863, Bishop Hills reported that the miners “present...an amount of intelligence that is not to be found in any other labouring class....We found books among them such as Macaulay, Gibbon, Plutarch’s Lives and Shakespeare.”\(^{685}\) Furthermore, he explained that the miners were fond of reading, the evidence being the quickness of their use of the prayer cards to follow the unfamiliar Anglican liturgy, which Hills equated with being “unused to the worship of God.”\(^{685}\) For Hills, knowledge of the Book of Common Prayer equaled knowledge of Christianity.

There were, however, small signs of slippage between the missionaries’ faith in the printed word and the ability of the worshippers to participate in the written Anglican liturgy. That Robert Dundas had to lead, and in his words, wholly sustain the singing of hymns suggests several possible alternatives: the worshippers could not read, or could not

ten hymns were printed per card.


\(^{685}\) Ibid. Hills makes a similar remark in his 1860 diary, “I saw there [Christ Church, in Victoria] men who knew not how to use the Prayer Book, but who made anxious efforts as though they had made up their minds after long neglect to serve God in his house.” George Hills, diary entry for January 22, 1860.
sing, or would not sing. Bishop Hills noted varying degrees of success in his use of the prayer and hymn cards on board the Pacific steamer *Golden City*, in February 1865. The passengers were primarily American, and unfamiliar with Anglican liturgy. Hills described some success in his service for the ship's first and second class passengers, in which he used the cards to show "the beauty and order and convenience of liturgical worship." He noted that the congregation made "very general use" of the prayer cards, and responded audibly during the recitation of the Creed. The service for the steerage passengers was less successful, as the gathered congregation failed to make any audible response to the liturgy, and "were mere listeners." On that occasion, Hills noted that the only familiar hymn on the hymn card was the "Old Hundredth." Unpacking the unspoken assumptions about social class and participation in public worship, the description of the steerage passengers is a reminder that the difference between respectable and rough was made in part on the basis of interaction with print. The steerage passengers who failed to participate appropriately in the unfamiliar service may have been uninterested in worship, or they may have been unable to read the prayer cards. Their willingness to sing the Old Hundredth, and not the "common Evening Hymn tune" may be less a function of nationality and indifference than the ability to sing a familiar tune from memory, without reference to the printed hymn card.

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687 *Sixth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission for the Year 1864*, 18. Hills notes that he considered the services on board to be a special opportunity for doing good, and felt that his adaptation of Anglican liturgy, specifically the English State prayers, to be a purposeful adaptation of his accustomed style of worship.
Reforming the Hinterland

While the discourses of mission work among miners did not employ the direct colonial metaphor of the racialised Other, the class anxieties of some missionaries reproduced the miners and settlers living outside the boundaries of civilisation and organised religion as Other, unable or unwilling to discipline the self adequately, and insufficiently civilised to conform to middle-class normative behaviour. In the words of the Methodist Ephraim Evans:

Those who have come from other gold countries are generally unsettled and migratory in their tendencies and habits – men of energy and impulsiveness. They are distinguished by many traits of intelligence, generosity and manly character, but are exceedingly impatient under attempted legal and religious restraints. Many of this class, and of immigrants from other countries, have been members of Christian churches, but their isolation from the established means of grace has exerted a damaging influence upon their piety.

A similar opinion was expressed almost twenty years later by the Methodist James Turner, about the settler community in the Nicola Valley:

The population, thinly scattered throughout this vast field, is composed of men from nearly every country, embracing a variety of creeds too numerous to mention. Many of them are in the country since the first gold excitement in 1858, and the greater part of them have enjoyed no religious advantages since then. So you can easily imagine the spiritual state of the people. No Sabbath, practically acknowledged hitherto; no Gospel message; none of the refining, moulding influences of good society; away from home and friends where a loose rein could be given to lust and passion – consequences have followed which it will take years of the most careful, prudent culture and unflagging missionary zeal and toil to counteract. They are a strange race of men, those old miners and packers and pioneers of this country. A more liberal class I never met; No man is

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688 For the intertwining of race and class in missionary discourse, see Susan Thorne, “‘The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable’: Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain,” in Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures In a Bourgeois World, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 238-262 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

689 Extract from the journal of Ephraim Evans, March 7, 1859, printed in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, no. 19 (May 25, 1859): 305.
more welcome at their houses than the missionary, and none will contribute towards his support more readily than they, only don’t intrude religion.\textsuperscript{690}

At mine sites like Antler Creek, and staging posts like Douglas and Yale, the absence of White women and family ties were of particular concern to both Anglican and Methodist missionaries.\textsuperscript{691} In the gendered middle class religious culture of nineteenth century Protestant Christianity, wives and mothers acted as moral missionaries within their families. Home and family were the initial arena in which sin and temptation were combatted. Religious virtue was linked to the religious household through the moral influence exerted by women.\textsuperscript{692}

In missionary discourse, the presence of White women, and more specifically middle-class English and Canadian women, in hinterland communities moderated uncivilised masculine behaviour, and quelled disorder.\textsuperscript{693} For the missionaries, the lack of church-sanctioned family structures meant that men were without the crucial mediating influence

\textsuperscript{690} Letter from James Turner, November 15, 1875, printed in Missionary Notices of the Methodist Church, 3d ser., no. 6 (March 1876): 94.

\textsuperscript{691} For example, a speech by John Garrett, given in London November 30, 1860, in support of the Columbia Mission draws particular attention to gender imbalance and the “mingling together of various races” at Douglas. That two hundred and four of the inhabitants of Douglas were men, and only two were women, [by which he presumably means White women], meant that there was “a want of those bonds of Christian sympathy which keep men together in this land; telling us also, that as yet there is hardly such a thing as a home in all that district!” Report of the Columbia Mission (London: Rivingtons, 1860), 14.


\textsuperscript{693} For an extended discussion of the construction of women as agents of civility, see Adele Perry, “Oh I’m Just Sick of the Faces of Men’: Gender Imbalance, Race, Sexuality, and Sociability in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia,” BC Studies, nos. 105-106 (Spring/Summer 1995), 27-43.
of wives and mothers, who would have fostered religious practices and moral sanctity, and safeguarded against the disorder, intemperance and ungodliness of the uncivilised hinterland.

Some Anglican and Methodist missionaries in British Columbia sought to combat the preponderance of saloons and gambling houses and the lack of social constraints in the behaviour of the single men who made up the majority of the towns by creating alternate sites of recreation where civilised norms of behaviour could be encouraged. The SPG-sponsored missionaries were particularly enthusiastic about creating space for rational recreation. John Booth Good established St. Paul's Literary Institute at Nanaimo in 1863, in the newly-constructed “European school” and planned to use it for “a Sunday-school, a girls’ day-school and boys’ night-school, a reading-room, lecture-room, and library, and for parish meetings on particular occasions.”694 James Gammage at Douglas in 1864 noted that he had dispersed the volumes, mostly from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge that comprised the parish lending library to “houses on the road” between Douglas and Lillooet, as:

they will fulfil the intention of their publishers more completely than if retained in my possession, as in these houses men frequently stop for a night, and in many instances are glad to have an entertaining and instructive volume. I have also distributed a few Bibles, in cases where I deemed it judicious to do so.695

James Reynard established a Church Institute at Barkerville in 1869. Reynard offered Bible study, band lessons, and organised recreational activities like chess, choir practice,

694 John Booth Good, “Vancouver’s Island,” The Mission Field 8 (1863): 8. See also Good to the SPG, letter dated August 25, 1862, SPG papers, microfilm reel 230, NAC, “A very spacious and pretty school has also this last year been erected on the same property [as St. Paul’s church] and is used in week days for a girls’ school room and night school or Hall of Improvement whilst the class and office Rooms attached are thrown open in the Evenings for Reading, Chess and other Recreations under the name of the “St. Paul’s Literary Institute and Society.”

public lectures, and a reading room. David Pringle established a reading room and library at Hope that served the miners along the Fraser River. He described the lectures that he offered as an explicit alternative to the saloon:

I have given notice of a course of devotional meetings every Wednesday evening; subject of lectures, “Progressive teaching of the Bible,” comprising an introductory lecture, and afterwards showing the fact from the books of the Old Testament, taking as much of one book as is practicable. I have given one of my series of secular lectures, on Thursday evenings, which was well attended. One has much to struggle with in the influence of the American “bar” alias tavern. Miners have no better places to go to, and when provided seem to prefer bad whiskey and gambling to anything more sober or intellectual. But there are many exceptions, and some of these by their example do much good… I believe the creation of a church in spring will do much good; the way is prepared for it; I can anticipate the attendance of the most respectable portion of our community, and with some help from home I trust it may be done.

Methodists initially established fewer institutes and reading rooms than their Anglican counterparts. However, in the latter part of the century, as moral purity and social reform became particular Methodist concerns, reading rooms as sites of alcohol-free rational recreation became increasingly promoted. Thomas Crosby was the moving force behind the establishment of a public reading room at Sardis in 1906. At the opening ceremonies, the Reeve of Sardis, F. C. Kickbush, noted the importance of the institution as a regulator of social morality:

The Reeve, in his opening remarks, dealt principally with the educational and social factors of the movement. Owing to the present cosmopolitan mixture of the adult population of a young province like ours, it is necessary to create strong social centres to induce not only intellectual but social growth and strength. The Reeve wished the undertaking every success and added that perhaps excepting a night school he knew of

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697 See George Hills, diary entry for January 20, 1860 and Peake, 31.

no other institution which would bring more lasting benefits to a community than a well regulated reading room. 699

The Methodist Church in Salmon Arm established a Literary Committee, which intended to provide a “well-equipped reading room, open to the public, in which will be found local, coast and Toronto papers, periodicals, magazines, etc.” 700 John Peake Hicks, who established and edited the Western Methodist Recorder, was the Methodist chaplain to the Wesleyans in Her Majesty’s Navy, stationed at Esquimalt. The Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Home, opened at Esquimalt explicitly linked their recreational facilities with temperance:

This Home is intended as a place of resort for “Jack” and “Tommy” when “on leave” from their ship or barracks. It aims at offering them attractions such as a refreshment room - where tea and coffee and any other temperance drink may be got, also light meals at cheap rates - a reading room, a games room, a smoking room and sleeping accommodation. 701

Similar goals were expressed by J.P. Westman at Cranbrook in 1906, who was reported to have solved “The Young Man Problem” by opening a Recreation Hall where “young men of the city could meet and amuse themselves rationally and in a manly fashion, away from the influences of the liquor bar.” 702 The hall was well-equipped to promote muscular Christianity:


700 Western Methodist Recorder 1, no. 4 (October, 1899): 13.

701 Western Methodist Recorder 3, no. 8 (February 1902): 1-3.

702 Western Methodist Recorder 7, no. 8 (February 1906): 2. Declining levels of male participation in church going in the late nineteenth century was often ascribed to the feminisation of religion. The preponderance of YMCAs and recreation halls like the one established at Cranbrook, offered an explicitly male-gendered environment designed to appeal to “manly men” who would be put off by the more genteel activities offered by the mainstream church, which was believed to be strongly gendered female in appeal. See, for example, David MacLeod, “A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada 1870-1920,” Social History / Histoire Sociale 11, no. 21 (1978): 5-25.
Off the main hall is a room for table games and another for reading room, both of which are well and comfortably furnished. The large room is fully equipped as an up-to-date gymnasium, having travelling rows of ropes and rings, parallel bars, trapeze, dumb-bells, single sticks, foils and punching bags. It is open to all who will conduct themselves with propriety, and is proving a strong attraction to the large number of men in the town.\(^{703}\)

A subsequent report noted that a parlour had been added to the hall:

Here is to be found a comfortable spot, well lighted and heated. Cushion seats and cosy corners. Writing material on the table, and last but not least, a library of 175 volumes has been sent from London, Ontario, and will be for the use of those wishing to enjoy themselves.\(^{704}\)

The missionaries sought to achieve social stability within structures that reproduced familiar cultural values and class allegiances, and promoted self-discipline and respectability. For both Anglican and Methodist missionaries, temperance was critical to self-discipline and social order, especially in the hinterland towns where the abundant presence of liquor seemed to be contributing to social disorder. In the rhetoric of rational recreation, the respectable working-class man, like Bishop Hills’ elderly person reading *The Times*, who spent his leisure hours engaged in sober self-betterment through self-education was demonstrating his commitment to the social order, morality and normative Christianity. Thus missionary-founded and supported reading rooms and libraries provided an alternate site to the saloon, and offered recreation that was congruent with religious belief. The contradiction was that reading rooms and rational recreation were hoped on one hand to encourage the civilised norms of behaviour otherwise inculcated within the family bosom, while on the other hand were designed to reinforce particular gendered constructions of masculinity and muscular Christianity.

\(^{703}\) Ibid.

\(^{704}\) *Western Methodist Recorder* 8, no. 5 (November 1906): 13.
Healthy Literature For the Young

Methodist missionaries, who were seemingly less concerned than their Anglican counterparts with offering direct opportunities for adults to participate in rational recreation, were nonetheless advocates for the distribution of printed literature, particularly Methodist printed materials. The section on Sabbath Schools in *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church* specified that the officers elected to manage each Sunday school included a Superintendent, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian.\(^\text{705}\) The Methodist Book Room in Toronto published a wide selection of magazines and papers aimed at different age groups and levels of reading ability in support of Sunday school instruction, as well as lesson plans and teacher’s aids. Sunday schools were expected to maintain subscriptions to these publications, referred to in the literature as Sabbath School papers.\(^\text{706}\)

The statistical report of Methodist Sabbath Schools, printed in the annual reports of the British Columbia Conference of the Methodist Church quantified various aspects of Sunday school programs, including an enumeration of the extent of Sunday school libraries. These reports provide valuable evidence of the flow of denominational materials printed in Toronto to British Columbia. In 1887, for example, the thirty-three Sunday schools established on circuits in the Victoria, Westminster and Simpson districts had a total of one hundred and seventy-three teachers and officers and 1,543 scholars.

\(^{705}\) *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1884* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1884), Part 6, Section 2, item 331, page 153.

\(^{706}\) In contrast to the hyper-masculine world of the Recreation Hall at Cranbrook, Sunday Schools were largely taught by women and were seen as an extension of the world of home and mother. See Douglas, 111-113. See also Mary Anne MacFarlane, “Gender Doctrine and Pedagogy: Women and ‘Womanhood’ in Methodist Sunday Schools, 1880 to 1920. (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1991).
The libraries attached to the Sunday schools contained a total of 1,523 volumes, and 2,322 Sunday school papers. The report named six papers that were in circulation: *Pleasant Hours* (for intermediate classes); *Home and School* (promoting temperance and missionary activities); *Sunbeam* (for young children); *Happy Days* (for junior classes); *Berean Quarterly* and *Berean Leaves* (devoted to Bible Study); and *Sunday School Banner* (a magazine for Sunday school teachers), as well as copies of "other" papers, that is, papers not published or distributed by the Methodist Book Room. By 1894, the number of Sunday schools had increased to fifty-two, the total number of teachers to four hundred and forty-nine, and the total number of scholars to 4,020. Volumes in the Sunday school libraries had increased to 4,498 and 6,412 Sunday school papers were in circulation. The Epworth League publication, *Onward* was added to the list of Sunday school papers available through the libraries.

The number of Sunday school papers in circulation represented both subscriptions paid for by the Sunday school and by individual scholars. Some of the papers were sent at no charge to Sunday schools in mission districts, while others were offered at a discounted rate for bulk subscriptions sent to a single address. As well, papers were sent from metropolitan communities to circuits in missionary districts who were unable to afford the cost of a subscription. Metropolitan Church in Victoria sent three hundred and fifty....

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709 See the Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Central Section of the Book and Publishing Committee, May 4, 1908, File 4, Book Committee, Western Section Annual Meeting minutes 1898-1913, Box 1, United Church of Canada Board of Publications, accession number 83.061C, UCCA.
Sunday School papers north to Rivers' Inlet, Bella Bella, Port Essington, Skidegate, Kitkatla, Namu, Carlisle Cannery, Claxton and Standard Cannery, the expense of the subscriptions and the cost of shipping being defrayed by a special collection taken during Sunday worship service.\textsuperscript{710}

Promotion of strict temperance was a significant aspect of the Methodist Sunday school curriculum.\textsuperscript{711} In the words of the Sabbath School Committee of the British Columbia Conference in 1895, "When the evils of intemperance, tobacco using and profanity are so rife, we recommend that the triple pledge, as found in our 'Discipline,' be urged on every scholar."\textsuperscript{712} Sunday school papers, which heavily promoted temperance and encouraged conversions and personal morality among its young readers, were explicitly noted by the Committee to be "healthy literature for the young," as opposed to unhealthy, that is, morally suspect literature.\textsuperscript{713} Horace Knott of Metropolitan Methodist Church in Victoria praised one young member:

A boy who was once one of our brightest and liveliest scholars, but is now a cripple, scarcely able to leave the house, yet who takes a great interest in the work and who looks forward with pleasure to the time when the Sunday school papers are to arrive, and also the Youth's Companion, which the school subscribes to for him.\textsuperscript{714}

For young adults, past the age of Sunday School participation, the Methodist Church instituted the Epworth League, dedicated to Christian and Biblical education, the

\textsuperscript{710} Western Methodist Recorder 1, no. 2 (August 1899): 7.


\textsuperscript{713} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{714} Western Methodist Recorder 1, no. 2 (August 1899): 7.
nurturance of faith, and the study of missions. The League promoted the formation of small reading circles and study groups, who engaged in systematic study of mission work and other church-related subjects, around a particular theme:

The Epworth League Reading circle, composed of members of the various Leagues of New Westminster which has been meeting semi-monthly at the College is awakening a desire of good reading in the minds of many of our young people. The books which are being read are those of the ELRC for 1903-4, entitled “Our Church” “Nature’s Miracles,” “Lessons from Life.” About forty persons are connected with the Circle and are reading the books. The course has consisted of lectures on the several books as well as the reading of the same.715

As with adult consumption of approved literature, the Methodist child or young adult who read the approved Sunday school papers and Epworth League publications accrued spiritual capital in the eyes of the community, and demonstrated personal commitment to the particular disciplinary norms of Methodism.

The Distribution of Print

The willingness of Metropolitan Church in Victoria to send bundles of Sunday School papers to the mission circuits in Northern British Columbia is only one indication of the uneven access to print in both hinterland and urban areas. As previously mentioned, in the years before the completion of the transcontinental rail link, the limited evidence provided by merchants’ advertisements and known library inventories suggest that the geographic remoteness of the colony ensured that books and newspapers continued to be a precious commodity into the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The personal and institutional financial constraints faced by many missionaries meant that even if they had been able to access current books and newspapers, they would have had insufficient financial resources to make significant purchases, either for their

715 Western Methodist Recorder 5, no. 9 (March 1904): 6.
personal use or for the use of their missions.\textsuperscript{716} Most missionaries, therefore relied on friends and family, or interested sponsors, to ship them copies of newspapers, magazines and books from England or Ontario. The Methodist Edward White carefully noted in his diary the bundles of papers that he received from Ontario, and repeatedly expressed his pleasure at receiving news from home. In February, 1859, he noted that he was “somewhat disappointed at not getting any letters and greatly disappointed at not getting any papers,” when the steamship Northerner arrived in Victoria with mail.\textsuperscript{717} When he received a copy of the Christian Guardian newspaper “with the account of the doings of the Canada conference and the stations of the preachers” he thought it was “a great treat.”\textsuperscript{718} On another occasion, he listed the letters that he had received with “a great number of papers” when the mail arrived from San Francisco.\textsuperscript{719}

Missionaries stationed in remote northern areas found it particularly difficult to predict the flow of mail, which was entirely dependent on weather conditions and shipping patterns. In 1885, the CMS noted in September that the Missionary Leaves Association, the CMS charitable organisation that handled missionaries’ requests for goods and funds for special projects, did not expect to ship parcels out to the North Pacific until the following spring. In the same letter, the CMS responded to the request by Alfred James

\textsuperscript{716} See, for example, the comments of James B. McCullagh, “Progress Under Every Discouragement,” Across the Rockies 3 (1912): 32, “I have ventured to list my books, or rather my need of books. My present library consists of three working books Bible, Concordance and Dictionary. I want a Greek Testament with large margin for translational notes, and a good Greek lexicon if possible for work this winter, but I can’t possibly afford to order them. If you think it likely that books might possibly transpire as contributions I should be glad to send you a list of those I require for working with.”

\textsuperscript{717} Edward White, diary entry, February 24, 1859, Edward White, Diary, 1859-1866, Vertical File, UCCBC.

\textsuperscript{718} Ibid, diary entry, August 5, 1859.

\textsuperscript{719} Ibid., diary entry, August 24, 1866.
Hall, stationed at Alert Bay, for hymn books, by indicating that the Missionary Leaves Association planned to advertise Hall’s requirements in their periodical, in the hope that someone would be moved to donate copies.\textsuperscript{720}

A letter from the CMS missionary James McCullagh, stationed at Aiyansh, emphasised the isolation of the mission, and the irregularity of mail delivery:

Travelling and freighting are all done by canoe: The rate of pay for a full-sized canoe capable of carrying from one and half to two tons with a crew of five or six men, varies between $50.00 and $75.00 according to the time of year, the state of the weather and the stage of river flood. In winter, when the ice is good and solid, sleds and dogs are used. It takes three or more days to make the trip from Arrandale to Aiyansh. Postal facilities there are none. Mails for Aiyansh are delivered at Arrandale, Kincolith or Naas Harbour, where there are post offices, and are kept there until an opportunity offers for sending on by canoe. Letters sent via Naas Harbour stand hardly any chance of being delivered for months at a time. If sent there in the fall they may reach us about the end of April following.\textsuperscript{721}

The solicitation of supplies for the mission field was a regular feature of missionary magazines. “Special Notices,” included in \textit{Work for the Far West: A Quarterly Magazine for the Diocese of New Westminster}, published on behalf of the Diocese of New Westminster Missionary Association by Mowbray’s in Oxford, explained that

Papers and Periodicals, especially Church and Illustrated Papers, are much valued by the Clergy. The Secretary would be very pleased to hear from anyone willing to send a

\textsuperscript{720} H. J. Malaher of the Missionary Leaves Association to the CMS, September 11, 1885, C.1/P3, Précis of Letters, Printed, Incoming, 1882-1892, CMS papers, microfilm reel A-121, NAC.

\textsuperscript{721} See James B. McCullagh, “Isolation Complete,” \textit{Across the Rockies} 2 (1911): 53. See also the printed regulations for the mailing of letters and packages, in the British Columbia Church Aid Society \textit{Year Book}, (London: The Society, 1912): 17-18, which included the following specifications: “Mails are transmitted to British Columbia: 1. By Direct Packet via Liverpool every Friday morning; 2. By Direct Packet via Bristol every alternate Wednesday; 3. By British Packet via USA every Wednesday evening and every Saturday afternoon; 4. By American Packet via USA every Saturday morning. Correspondence intended for transmission by this route must be specially so addressed. Magazines, British Newspapers and trade Journals may be sent by Direct Canadian Packet from Liverpool every Friday at the rate of one penny per lb. and for each fraction of a lb. Such packets must be posted either without a cover or in a cover open at both ends and easily reviewable for the purpose of examination; and they must contain nothing but properly registered Newspapers, magazines and trade Journals. No packet intended for transmission at the magazine rate of postage may exceed five lbs in weight, or two feet in length, or one foot in width or depth.
paper out regularly, and requests those who already post any to notify the same, as a list is being made to prevent duplication. Contributions of Books, especially good theological ones, are gratefully received, also useful lesson-books and healthy works of fiction, also old music, songs, and part songs. If anyone be willing to send a parcel of the above, it would be best to write a line to the Secretary, with a list of the books, etc., to ask whether they would be useful, and where they would be most acceptable.\footnote{Work for the Far West, (July 1898): 2.}

The carefully worded request is a sharp reminder of the difficulty of building a library collection with donated books, no matter how well-meaning the donor.

\textit{Across the Rockies}, the magazine that succeeded \textit{Work for the Far West} encouraged readers to provide material aid to churches in British Columbia. Each month, the magazine published an “Acknowledgements and Wants” column, which consisted of a long list of individual parish requests for a wide variety of goods, including church furnishings, vestments, linens, and books, as well as letters of thanks from the missionaries for requests fulfilled by supporters in England. Typical of the requests for print material are the following lists of acknowledgments and wants, from \textit{Across the Rockies}, January 1914:

Acknowledgements: For a Lending Library at Aiyansh. - A gift of books, from Mrs. Longlands, 18, Belmont, Bath; and from Miss C.P. Hall, 4, The avenue, Brondesbury, N.W. (Rev. J. McCullagh); For All Saints’ Mission City - The “Mission Field” sent regularly and other papers, from Miss F.A. Gubbins, The Hollows, Belvedere Drive, Wimbledon Hill (Rev. J. Weatherdon); For the Library of the Seamen’ Institute - A gift of books, from Miss C. Hedley, Heathville Lodge, Gloucester; For Shawnigan Lake - “Punch” sent regularly, from Miss Pott, Little Place, Clifton Hampden, Abingdon (Rev. G. Aikens)

Needs: Galiano - Books suitable for use in the Sunday School; Fort George - Any newspapers will be gratefully received for the many Construction Camps’ Magic Lantern and Slides for camps; also a Bell; and a Communion Set. (Rev. R. Sadler); Metlakatla - “The Graphic” and all illustrated papers. Few of the Indians in this Mission can read English readily but such papers are very useful in the case of sick people among them who
pass many an otherwise tedious hour in looking at the pictures.\textsuperscript{723}

The regular publication of requests made and fulfilled provide insight into the flow of print material across the Atlantic, and emphasise the differences between Anglican and Methodist print culture. The Methodists restricted their participation in print culture to explicitly denominational productions and literature of serious moral intent. There is no equivalent in Methodist sources to the Anglican requests for secular illustrated weeklies like \textit{Punch}, \textit{The Graphic}, or \textit{The Illustrated London News}. At the same time, the requests served to emphasise the congruent class status between the reader in England and the missionary in the field in British Columbia. Both participate in a shared culture of print that could be transferred, intact, across oceans and continents. Furthermore, the image of the Tsimshian consuming illustrations of life in the Imperial metropole of London while lying sick in bed at Metlakatla reminded the reader of \textit{Across the Rockies} of the extent of the Imperial reach.

\textbf{To Increase the General Interest in British Columbia}

The flow of printed material from England to British Columbia was reciprocated by a trickle of letters, journals and photographs, which flowed back to England, as the missionaries and their sponsoring societies sought to create networks of support for the work among consumers of missionary literature. At the same time, the British Columbia

\textsuperscript{723} \textit{Across the Rockies} 5 (1914): 30-31. McCullagh had previously announced his attention to form a “backwoods lending library,” and had solicited donations of “books on history, romance (i.e., the historic novel), fiction, travel, science, agriculture, religions (evidential), miscellaneous, poetry, etc. Oh, the number of shelves in many an English home full of books unused, unread, unconsulted, cumbering the walls! And yet they could be made to do work for God, if applied wisely to the purpose. Think of the men, evening after evening, in cabins and shacks, with nothing to read, and far from all touch with civilised surroundings. I am sure if people knew they would contribute freely to this Library. Old magazines and illustrated papers are always in demand.” See “Plans for New Work at Aiyansh,” \textit{Across the Rockies} 4 (1913): 339-340.
and Yukon Church Aid Society, through *Across the Rockies* also actively promoted interest in the emigration of English men and women to the province, which was described as a haven of English and Imperial values.\(^{724}\) For several years before World War One, the Society publicised various schemes for the reception of immigrants, including hostels for working men and women, and supported the work of an immigration chaplain, whose task it was to meet incoming trains and boats in Vancouver, in order to ensure that Church of England emigrants would maintain their denominational membership.\(^{725}\) Print was seen as critical to the maintenance of links between Home and Abroad, and the parcels of magazines and newspapers sent from England to British Columbia were mentioned explicitly as drawing cards for maintaining contacts with emigrants. Appeals for support of missionary work among English emigrants were couched in language that constructed the emigrants as the family, the kin, the very flesh of the reader.\(^{726}\) In the words of one speaker at a BCYCAS meeting in London,

> British Columbia is especially the home of the English, especially settled by English and very often by English of the more cultivated and educated classes. It is just the one part of Canada which such people as those who are here meeting to day in this room ought to make our own and do our best to help.\(^{727}\)

In 1912, the Society also established a library in London, to remedy what the editor of *Across the Rockies* described as “widespread ignorance of the Far West and all that

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\(^{724}\) See, for example, Lady Laura Ridding, “Women and the Empire,” *Across the Rockies* 2 (1911): 233, who sought to encourage women’s immigration by pleading that the Empire called for “British wives and Mothers Oversea”; “Appeal to Empire Builders,” *Across the Rockies* 2 (1911): 116-118, which concluded by asking, “Who will volunteer for this vast Empire-building work?”


\(^{726}\) British Columbia Church Aid Society, *Year Book* (London: The Society, 1911), 11.

\(^{727}\) Ibid., 14-15.
appertains thereto.” As a first step, a bibliography of books relating to British Columbia was compiled “only after the expenditure of an immense amount of spade work in the Library of the British Museum.”728 The Society then hired a librarian, rented an additional room adjoining their offices in Church House in London, and obtained a grant from Lord Strathcona to purchase copies of the works identified by the bibliography. The Year Book for 1912 describes the intention of the Society:

Thanks to the generosity of Lord Strathcona it has been made possible for us to establish a Library dealing with British Columbia in particular and Canada in general. Hitherto, it has been a matter of really serious difficulty to collect information whether ecclesiastical or secular on the subject of British Columbia. The books dealing with that Province are at present comparatively few in number and many of these are out of print. Hence, in order to gain an adequate knowledge of this wonderful Province it has been found necessary to dip into an immense number of volumes which contain perhaps one or at the most two chapters on British Columbia - a task quite beyond the reach of most people. We have now, however, succeeded in securing practically all that will be required and it will be possible for our readers to be provided with any book they require on British Columbia without any fee, save the cost of postage.729

Initially, the library systematically collected books about all aspects of British Columbia, including history and geography, missionary literature, novels with a British Columbia or Yukon setting, advice to emigrants, reminiscences of travels in the province, and selected government literature, as well as a small selection manuals on fruit growing. As might be expected, English authors and English editions predominated, although forty-seven of the two hundred and nineteen surviving volumes are imprints of Canadian publishers. The collection also included a selection of SPG and CMS publications on British Columbia missions, as well as pamphlets published by the Society.

The library functioned as a reference collection and information clearing house for the

728 "Editor’s Notes,” Across the Rockies 2 (1911): 203.

729 British Columbia Church Aid Society Year Book (London: The Society, 1912), 5.
Society, as well as a lending library to interested supporters, as indicated in the Editor’s Notes in *Across the Rockies* for May 1912:

Constantly do people write to us saying something to this effect. “Will you be so good as to put me in the way of collecting a certain amount of knowledge respecting British Columbia sufficient to enable me to preach or lecture about that land with a reasonable hope of success?”730

To support lectures on British Columbia, the Library also assembled a comprehensive collection of lantern slides that illustrated “every phase of life, whether spiritual or secular in the Province of British Columbia.”731 A supporter willing to give an illustrated lecture on British Columbia was assured that enthusiasm and a loud clear voice, and not an intimate knowledge of the subject were all that was needed, as the Society provided exhaustive lecture notes with the slides. *Across the Rockies* heavily promoted lantern slide lectures as fundraising events, and readers were encouraged to organise lectures in their home parishes in aid of the Society. As well, when bishops and priests from British Columbia travelled to England, they were usually engaged in an extensive schedule of public speaking engagements in support of the work, the details of which were duly reported in the magazine.

The First World War took a heavy toll on the Society. Restrictions on paper limited the size of the magazine, and the use of the Society’s library dwindled. Donations dropped precipitously, and the editorials agonised over the propriety of asking for support for distant British Columbia in the face of the more pressing home situation. At the same time, the magazine grew increasingly insistent on the loyalty of British Columbia to the

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730 “Editor’s Notes,” *Across the Rockies* 3 (1912): 130.

Empire, its whole-hearted support of the war effort, and the desperate need for financial support of war-depleted parishes.

**Conclusion**

The literature in support of the missionary enterprise in the distant hinterland of British Columbia initially presented the province to metropolitan readers as a place of savagery and barbarism, as a godless place in need of conversion, and at the same time as a delightful paradise in-the-making, suitable for immigrants to reproduce familiar religious and cultural patterns. Missionary narratives were always somewhat ambivalent about the depiction of the urban or pastoral mission field. If the urban area was entirely like home, and exactly reproduced familiar norms of society, then the exotic attraction which engendered support for the work was jeopardised. If no progress towards civility and respectability seemed possible, then readers would come to question the efficacy of the work and the validity of claims for continuing support. The scenes of reading in missionary narratives and reports of the consumption of print in the hinterland struck a delicate balance between the familiar and the Other. A miner might be a wild and untamed semi-barbarian, but would find comfort, recreation and conversion if presented with a reading room. Missionaries were expected to model civilised norms of behaviour and morality to those whom they sought to evangelise. At the same time, the interactive dynamics of print culture meant that missionaries were both producers and consumers of missionary literature. They were bound by their own textuality, and sought to make others consumers of textuality, participants a shared culture of the Word. The books, it was hoped, would indeed procure the missionaries a welcome.
Print culture and the artefacts of print were central to the missionary enterprise, and to the methodologies of mission employed by Anglican and Methodist missionaries active in British Columbia in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the words of William Ridley, “the printing-press is now a precious auxiliary to our work.”

The working lives of missionaries were bounded by textuality. Their educational formation encouraged them to carry on the pattern of regular and systematic reading established during their candidacy for ministry. Their commitment to Christian ministry charged them with preaching and interpreting the Word to all listeners. In the mission field among Native peoples, they were responsible for translating the Word into the indigenous language of an area, and inculcating textual literacy among convert communities. Among communities of Euro-Canadian settlers, print culture was mobilised by the missionaries to reorder social relations and impose particular self-disciplinary norms on an unruly population. And in their reports and publications, textuality was used to organise support for the missionary enterprise among a metropolitan readership. Print both textually created and recreated the mission field, and influenced relations of power between the missionaries and those whom they sought to convert. Print culture permeated every aspect of life for the missionaries, and their own interaction with print culture shaped the lives of others.

Through the textual record, both manuscript and printed, we can explore the diversity

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732 William Ridley, Snapshots from the North Pacific, 47.
and complexity of the missionary endeavour. Profound differences existed between Anglican and Methodist missions, resulting from denominational theology, missiology, ecclesiology, and structures of organisational support for missionary work. Equally, there were differences within each denomination among groups of missionaries supported by the various sponsoring societies, and a diversity of opinions, practices and beliefs held at a personal level by individual missionaries. This diversity is a reminder that throughout the period, there was no one single way to “do” mission. Any attempt to describe a totalising missionary practice in British Columbia fails to capture the specificity of the interaction between missionaries and the communities that they sought to evangelise, and ignores the importance of time and space for the way that practices varied in the mission field.

Print, however, was not the only factor that shaped the mission field in British Columbia, although it was deeply imbedded in all aspects of the missionary endeavour. Several key variables also affected missionary practice. The history of Anglican and Methodist missions in British Columbia demonstrates the critical importance of external funding for the development, expansion and maintenance of missions. Missionary work was largely extrinsic to the economy of the hinterland. Missionaries working in Native convert communities could emphasise the importance of participation in the project of modernity, with its fetishisation of private property and the acquisition of material goods, but usually lacked the necessary skills, and the consensus from the community, to generate a local cash economy on a scale sufficient to fully support their work. In communities of European settlers, the willingness of the worshippers to support the missionaries’ work was limited by their own marginal existence within the cash economy.
of the colonial space. Whatever funds were available were needed for their own survival, and little, if anything, was left over to support a missionary and his family.

Without an elaborate structure of support from the metropole, therefore, work in the mission field was difficult, if not impossible to sustain. Missionaries largely relied on their sponsoring societies to fund their salaries, provide some material goods, and disseminate news of their work to a metropolitan readership. At the same time, missionaries working in urban areas with primarily European settler communities were also charged with building self-supporting, self-sustaining and self-replicating congregations of believers. The tension between the various goals of evangelisation of the “heathen,” missionary expansion into newly settled areas, and the development of institutional church structures was never fully resolved by the sponsoring societies. And as external funding was reduced and eventually withdrawn, despite extensive negotiations by the supervisory authorities and pleas from the missionaries in the field, the missionary enterprise contracted and in some locations ceased entirely.

If external funding was critical to the maintenance of missionaries in the field, their educational formation, in which print culture and the artefacts of print were inextricably intertwined, shaped their missionary practices. Education for ministry involved a deep commitment to the printed text, and to the Word. Ordained missionaries were expected to have critically engaged with a body of theological literature, with denominational literature, and with scriptural exegesis, and to have developed careful and sustained habits of reading and writing in support of both professional practice and spiritual development. Lay missionaries, whose educational formation varied widely from extensive formal schooling to basic literacy, were equally involved in textuality, as they
sought to convince their hearers of the eternal truths contained in the Bible, the central text for Christianity. Both lay and ordained missionaries sought to inculcate Protestant norms of private devotional reading and meditation on scriptures among their congregations of worshippers, whether Native or European, as a means of effecting conversion, supporting faith, and creating textual communities centred on the Word.

At the same time, the extent to which missionaries had engaged in formal education was not a predictor of their “success” in the mission field, or of their ability to adapt to new situations and experiences. Personal character traits like stamina, flexibility and curiosity, as well as practical life skills, like a basic knowledge of carpentry, cooking and medicine were important to the success of mission work in isolated communities, while mission work in urban areas benefited from missionaries with skills in organisation and administration. In both environments, personal zeal, pastoral sensitivity and a devotion to the work were another set of skills that could not be inculcated solely by educational formation, and if lacking, usually were indications that the missionary would not remain long in the mission field.

Particular requirements for formal education could also be a hindrance to the fostering of indigenous ministry. Missionary work in British Columbia among Native peoples was dependent on the work of Native interpreters, catechists, exhorters, lay teachers, and translators. The work of White missionaries was built upon a foundation laid by lay Native leaders, whose role in the missionary enterprise was consistently under-reported and under-recognised in the missionary presses, a pattern common in missionary work among other populations of Indigenous peoples.

What was anomalous in British Columbia missions was the almost complete failure of
both denominations to promote and encourage Native ordinands. The reasons why Native ordinations were so rare were complex, residing in part in formal structural obstacles, and in part in the particular dynamics of mission work in the province. The seeming unwillingness of the Anglican bishops to adapt their requirements for ordination, and their continuing insistence on the ability to construe passages of Latin and Greek as a prerequisite for the bishop’s examination was one obvious barrier that impeded Native ordination within the Church of England. The critical determinant in the North Pacific Mission, however, was William Duncan’s stubborn opposition to what he saw as sacerdotalism and creeping ritualism, and his intractable rejection of ordination for missionaries serving within his sphere of influence. It is certainly not surprising that no Native ordinands were prepared during Duncan’s more than twenty year tenure at Metlakatla, when Native converts were discouraged, if not prevented from receiving the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and Eucharist. The division of the Tsimshian Christian community in 1887, when Duncan and his followers moved to the New Metlakatla in Alaska, and the enduring suspicion engendered by the dispute between Duncan and William Ridley deeply tested the loyalties of the convert communities throughout the North Pacific Mission. By the time that the work had been re-established and relationships repaired, the CMS was in the process of withdrawing funding and support.

The failure to foster Native ordinands also reflected the realities of funding of missionary work. Most missionaries, whether Anglican or Methodist, worked in relative isolation, each missionary assigned to a separate mission station. It was difficult for a missionary, no matter how committed to the work, to extend the education of potential
candidates for ordination in the face of the endless round of daily tasks. Seemingly, there were no funds available to send prospective candidates for education elsewhere in the province, let alone Eastern Canada or England.

Among Methodists, this inability to provide adequate educational opportunities for prospective Native candidates seems to have been an extension of the unwillingness of the Methodist Missionary Society and the Toronto Conference of the Methodist Church to allow White candidates the opportunity to study at a college. Before the creation of the British Columbia Conference in 1887, lay missionaries in the field who wished to be ordained normally engaged in a program of self-education through reading, a method that presupposed adequate pre-existing education. Even though the only Native Methodist ordinand, William Henry Pierce, had been able to access educational opportunities that elevated him above other potential candidates in educational attainment, he was able to complete the required course of study only because it was significantly adapted to suit his particular needs. At a time when the Methodist Church of Canada was undergoing a transformation to a denomination with a professionalised ordained ministry, the old Methodist pattern of nurturing leadership through class meetings and local preachers was thought to be inadequate. In the last years of the nineteenth century, educational attainment largely replaced the conversion experience as the necessary qualification for Methodist ministry.

The Church of England, which had no educational institution in British Columbia that could prepare White candidates for ordination, relied on the candidates’ previous educational experience and ability to engage in self-education in preparation for the Bishop’s Examinations. For Anglicans, the intertwining of class consciousness and
educational attainment, and the belief that ordination elevated the class status of the ordinand to gentleman, placed further barriers in the path of potential Native candidates. The playing field for the Anglicans never would be level enough to allow significant numbers of Native ordinands to come forward until new models of ministry were developed in the second half of the twentieth century.

The textual world of British Columbia missions was consciously produced and reproduced by missionaries committed to particular forms of the presentation of the self on paper. Their narratives were deliberately shaped for a metropolitan reader, whether that reader was the secretary of a sponsoring society or the enthusiastic supporter of mission work “at Home.” Missionary work was dialogic. The missionary spoke of new knowledge, new modes of being, feeling, and believing to groups and individuals who might or might not hear what was being said. Certainly, they interpreted missionary discourse through their own subject positions and narratives, and in turn created their own narratives of repentance, conversion, and salvation. This dialogue was often reduced in the missionary record to a monologue, in which the missionary presented his or her personal narrative as the dominant voice, with the subject of the missionary enterprise given voice only through an act of ventriloquism. In the missionary record, only the missionary speaks with a distinctive voice as an autonomous subject who acts. Converts speak through the missionary, their distinctive voice muted, their autonomy suppressed. In missionary discourse, Native converts become mute objects acted upon by the missionary. Native subjectivity was erased by the missionary records, just as the Native lay leaders and teachers became the nameless and faceless “helpers” of the missionary narratives.
However problematic these missionary records are, however, they are the best evidence of the extent of the missionary enterprise in British Columbia. They speak about the expectations and the framework of knowledge that the missionaries brought with them to the mission field. Missionaries in Ontario or England who consumed the product of the missionary presses already had a model for missions before they arrived. Prospective candidates “at Home” also went to meetings, at which they heard visiting or returned missionaries speak of their experiences, or viewed lantern slides that visually represented the mission field for the metropolitan gaze while a volunteer read from a prepared text. They heard of the pressing need for missionary volunteers to take up the work, and were provided with pamphlets and publications that emphasised the exoticism and danger of the mission field, and that praised the missionary heroes who carried out the work under such difficult conditions. This textual ladder of missionary narratives also provided a rationale for the missionaries’ engagement in the work — each subsequent generation saw themselves building on the work of the missionaries who came before (or repairing and remaking the damage caused by their predecessors).

My research focuses on a particular space and time within the larger sphere of Christian missionary endeavour. I have limited my gaze to two particular denominations in order to deconstruct the idea of a monolithic and unchanging Protestant missionary practice. I have addressed the ways that missionary practices changed over time, and examined the inter-relationship between work in the field and the controlling presence of the metropolitan missionary societies that funded, directed, and determined the shape of that work. And, most importantly, I have explored the role of print culture and the artefacts of print in the missionary enterprise in nineteenth century British Columbia.
My research answers a particular set of questions, posited in the introduction: the relationship that nineteenth-century Anglican and Methodist missionaries saw between evangelism, the promotion of Eurocentric civilisation, and the role of print culture and the artefacts of print in the civilising process. This research is a foundation for further explorations of the role of print culture in the missionary enterprise. My research suggests that it would be illuminating to place the body of evidence presented in this dissertation within the broader context of missionary endeavours in other colonial spaces in which missionaries interacted with both Indigenous and settler communities. A comparative study of print culture and the Church of England missionary fields of British Columbia, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, which shared a common colonial infrastructure and drew on a common applicant pool of missionaries supported by the CMS and the SPG would help to elucidate those features of both missions and print specific to British Columbia and further expand knowledge of the context of missionary practices.

Much work still needs to be done in the area of missionary diaries and biographies, in order to place the distinctive presentation of the self in these documents into their broader historical and literary context, and to expand the somewhat limited biographical information on many of the missionaries who served in British Columbia. Similarly, my research into missionary presses in British Columbia is preliminary, and could be expanded by a careful search of the archives of the SPG and CMS in England to determine the extent to which the products of the missionary presses, sent to England as examples of work in the mission field have survived. More work is needed to further document the process by which the presses were sent to the province, and to determine whether any of these presses still exist. The materiality of missionary print culture could
be further explored by a close examination of those missionary periodicals and printed ephemera that have not been microfilmed or are not available in North American libraries. And finally, there is a critical need to explore the ways in which Native voice and Native agency can be read back into the missionary record, to reintroduce the dialogic conversation of the work in the mission field that is absent in the written missionary records.
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APPENDIX 1

ANGLICAN AND METHODIST STATIONS
BY DATE THAT THE STATION WAS ESTABLISHED

Anglican stations in plain type
Methodist stations in italics

Note: Variations from the modern place name and spelling, found in the original sources, are indicated in brackets. Underlined place names have not been identified on a current map.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1854-1892</td>
<td>Victoria, Christ Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858-1875</td>
<td>Victoria (Fort Victoria)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-1860</td>
<td>Fort Langley (Derby)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-1863</td>
<td>Douglas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-1864</td>
<td>Fort Hope and Fort Yale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-1864</td>
<td>Hope</td>
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<tr>
<td>1859-1864</td>
<td>Upper Fraser</td>
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<tr>
<td>1859-1864,</td>
<td>Thompson River (Thompson’s River)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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1860-1910  New Westminster, Holy Trinity
1861-1864,  Esquimalt
1866-1879  
1861-1879  Metchosin, St. Mary the Virgin [as part of Esquimalt]
1861-1863  Nanaimo Indian Mission
1862-1871,  Saanich
1874-1882  
1862-1873,  Yale and Hope
1877-1880  
1862-1920  Metlakatla
1863-1864, 1866,  Cedar Hill
1874, 1878,  
1889-1892  
1863-1865,  Alberni
1868-1870  
1864-1866, 1869,  Comox, St. Andrew’s
1871-1895  
1864-1867  Gwinaha (Quinwoch)
1864-1870,  Cariboo [also referred to as Gold Fields, BC]
1871-1900  
1865,  Kootenay
1888-1890  
1866-1870,  Cowitchen (Corohitchem, Vancouver Island)
1897-1900  
1866-1885  Quamichan, St. Peter’s
1867-1881  Quamichan, Indian Mission
1867-1882  Lytton and Yale
1867-1922  Gingolx (Kinclolith)
1868-1871,  Barkerville, St. Saviour’s
1881-1883  
1872, 1874-1876,  Lytton
1884-1909  
1872-1873,  Burrard Inlet (Hastings)
1875-1881
1872-1900  Sumas and Chilliwack
1874-1900  Nicola (Nicola Valley)
1875-1876,  Wellington
1885-1900
1875-1881  Victoria, Chinese and Indian Mission [Victoria]
1875-1885  Burrard Inlet
1875-1900  Port Simpson (Fort Simpson)
1876-1883  Chilliwack, St. Thomas
1876-1918  Masset, St. John the Evangelist
1877-1900  Maple Ridge
1877-1900  Laxgalts’ap (Naas River, centred at Greenville)
1878-1914  Alert Bay (Fort Rupert)
1879-1880  Skeena River
1879-1883  Anikihtlast [near Kispiox]
1879-1894  Kuper Island
1880-1883  Yale and Lytton
1880-1900  Bella Bella
1881-1884,  Victoria, Indian Mission [Indian Tribes]
1888-1896
1899-1900
1881-1884,  Hazelton
1886-1918
1881-1886,  Kitladamax (Kit-la-tamux or Kit-lach-tamux)
1888-1890
1881-1891  Gitwinksilhkw (Kit-wan-silk or Kit-wan-Silth)
1881-1900  Kitamaat (Kit-a-maat)
1881-1900  Port Essington
1881-1900  Revelstoke and Donald
1882-1886  Oweekeno (Wee-kee-no)
1882-1891  Hyhise (Hy-hies) [near Klemtu, east of Millbank Sound]
1882-1900  Bella Coola
1882-1900  Queen Charlotte Islands
1882-1900  Victoria, Chinese Mission
1883, 1888-1900  Langley
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<td>Claxton</td>
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APPENDIX 2

ANGLICAN STATIONS BY NAME OF STATION, DATES AND NAME OF MISSIONARY

Aiyansh
1883-1921 McCullagh, James B.

Anikihtlast (Kispiox)
1879-1883 Tomlinson, Robert

Alberni
1863-1865 Knipe, Christopher
1868-1870 Guillod, Henry (lay catechist)
1868-1870 Willemar, Jules

Alert Bay (Fort Rupert)
1878-1914 Hall, Alfred James
1912-1914 Price, Alfred Edward

Alert Bay, Boys' School
1892-1925 Corker, Arthur William

Ashcroft
1893-1895 Yolland, Field

Ashcroft and Nicola
1893 Macduff, Alexander Ramsay

Atlin
1900-1906 Stephenson, Frederick Lambert

Barkerville, St. Saviour's
1868-1871 Reynard, James
1881-1883 Blanchard, Charles

Bulkley Valley (Telkwa)
1907-1913 Stephenson, Frederick Lambert

Burrard Inlet (Hastings)
1872-1873 Owen, Henry Burnard
1875-1877 Newton, Henry Swift
1878-1881 Baskett, Charles Robert

Cariboo Gold Fields
1860-1862 Knipe, Christopher
Cassiar
1883-1884 Sheldon, Alfred Harold C.

Cedar Hill
1863-1864 Garrett, Alexander Charles
1866 Woods, Charles Thomas
1874 Mason, George (Cedar Hill and Lake)
1878 Mogg, Henry Herbert (with Burnside)
1889-1890 Stephenson, Frederick Lambert (St. Luke’s Cedar Hill with St. Michael’s Lake)
1891-1892 Browne, Michael Charles (St. Luke’s Cedar Hill with St. Michael’s Lake)

Cheminus, All Saints and St. Michael and All Angels
1890-1894 Holmes, David

Chilliwack, St. Thomas
1876-1877 Newton, Henry Swift
1878-1881 Ditcham, George
1881-1883 Baskett, Charles Robert

Claxton
1911-1912 Gurd, Robert Winter

Comox, St. Andrew’s
1864-1866 Cave-Brown-Cave, Jordayne (catechist, Indian mission)
1869 Owen, Henry Burnard
1871-1895 Willemar, Jules Xavier (Sandwick)

Donald, St. Peter’s
1887-1889 Irwin, Henry

Douglas
1859-1863 Gammage, James

Enderby and Armstrong
1899-1900 Mount, Charles Arthur

Esquimalt
1862-1864 Woods, Charles Thomas
1866-1867 Garrett, Alexander Charles
1868-1875 Gribbell, Frank B. (St. Paul’s)
1875-1876 Blunden, Thomas
1877-1878 Wright, Henry Press (St. Paul’s, Royal Naval Station and Garrison Church)
1879 Mogg, Henry Herbert (St. Paul’s)
Fairview
1900-1901 Irwin, Henry

Fort Langley (Derby)
1859-1860 Crickmer, William Burton

Fraser River
1886-1901 Ditcham, George

Gardner’s Inlet
1891-1894 Price, Alfred Edwin

Golden
1893-1894 Kemm, James Cornelius

Hazelton
1881-1883 Faulconer, William Gower
1886-1918 Field, John

Hope
1859-1864 Pringle, Alexander St. David

Kamloops
1884-1893 Shildrick, Alfred
1884-1887 Horlock, Darrell Holled Webb
1885-1887 Irwin, Henry
1888-1889 Cooper, William Henry
1890-1892 Kemm, James Cornelius

Kincolith
1867-1878 Tomlinson, Robert
1867-1868 Willemar, Jules Xavier
1878-1881 Schutt, Henry
1881-1882 Leask, David (Native lay catechist)
1882 Dunn, Thomas
1883-1922 Collison, William Henry
1887-1888 Nash, Charles Barnett

Kitkatla
1891-1894 Stephenson, Frederick Lambert
1898-1911 Gurd, Robert Winter

Kitwanga (Gitgwangak)
1889-1911 Price, Alfred Edwin
Kuper Island
1879-1894  Roberts, Robert James

Lillooet
1860-1865  Brown, Robert Christopher
1868-1882  Good, John Booth (with Lytton)

Lytton
1872      Owen, Henry Burnard
1874-1876  Ditcham, George (lay catechist)
1884-1888  Edwardes, Henry
1884-1890  Small, Richard
1885-1886  Wright, Edwin Lench
1888-1891  Wright, Edwin Lench
1892-1895  Edwardes, Henry
1898      Edwardes, Henry
1915-1918  Ewardes, Henry

Lytton and Yale
1867-1882  Good, John Booth

Lytton, New England Company School (St. George's)
1901-1910  Ditcham, George

Maple Ridge, St. John the Divine
1883-1884  Shildrick, Alfred

Masset, St. John the Evangelist
1876-1879  Collison, William Henry
1879-1882  Sneath, G.E.
1882-1890  Harrison, Charles
1890-1899  Keen, John Henry
1899-1910  Collison, William Edwin
1910-1914  Hogan, William
1916-1918  Price, Alfred Edwin

Metchosin, St. Mary the Virgin
1862-1863  Glover, Octavius
1875-1876  Gribbell, Frank B.
1877-1878  Newton, Henry Swift
1878      Mason, George
Metlakatla
1862-1882 Duncan, William
1864-1867 Doolan, Robert Reid Arthur
1866 Gribbell, Frank B.
1867-1868 Owen, Henry Burnard
1873-1876 Collison, William Henry
1876-1878 Schutt, Henry
1877 Hall, Alfred James
1879-1883 Collison, William Henry
1879-1904 Ridley, William
1883-1884 Dunn, Thomas
1885-1888 Nash, Charles Barnett
1886-1898 Gurd, Robert Winter
1899 Stephenson, Frederick Lambert (St. Paul’s)
1899-1914 Keen, John Henry
1904-1907 Du Vernet, Frederick Herbert
1913-1915 Gurd, Robert Winter
1919-1920 Price, Alfred Edwin

Moodyville
1895-1896 Ford, Frank Alfred

Nanaimo Indian Mission
1861-1863 Cave-Brown-Cave, Jordayne (lay schoolteacher)

Nanaimo, St. Paul’s
1860 Lowe, Richard Lomas
1861-1866 Good, John Booth
1867-1868 Jenns, Percival
1869-1871 Owen, Henry Burnard
1871-1874 Reynard, James
1874-1878 Mason, George
1878-1880 Newton, Henry Swift
1882-1899 Good, John Booth

Nelson
1892-1893 Reid, Alfred John (with Ainsworth, Balfour and Pilot Bay)
**New Westminster, Holy Trinity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Priest Name</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860-1867</td>
<td>Sheepshanks, John (away in England 1864-1866)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-1866</td>
<td>Jenns, Percival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-1868</td>
<td>Hayman, William Edward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-1889</td>
<td>Woods, Charles Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873-1874</td>
<td>Mason, George</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1883</td>
<td>Sheldon, Alfred Harold C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-1885</td>
<td>Blanchard, Charles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-1894</td>
<td>Gowen, Herbert Henry (and Trenant, All Saints)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-1891</td>
<td>Irwin, Henry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-1894</td>
<td>Sillitoe, Acton Windeyer</td>
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<td>1894-1910</td>
<td>Shildrick, Alfred</td>
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**New Westminster, St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton**

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861-1865</td>
<td>Wright, Henry Press</td>
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<td>1865-1866</td>
<td>Jenns, Percival</td>
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<tr>
<td>1866-1868</td>
<td>Hayman, William Edward</td>
</tr>
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<td>1867-1868</td>
<td>Cave-Brown-Cave, Jordayne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-1877</td>
<td>Newton, Henry Swift (Miss. at Burrard Inlet, Hastings, including Sapperton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-1880</td>
<td>Baskett, Charles (Miss. at Burrard Inlet, Hastings, including Sapperton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880-1889</td>
<td>Sillitoe, Acton Windeyer</td>
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<tr>
<td>1889-1891</td>
<td>Woods, Charles Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>Davis, John Hardwick (and Trenant)</td>
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**New Westminster, St. Barnabas**

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894-1897</td>
<td>Gowen, Herbert Henry</td>
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**Port Essington**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Priest Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884-1888</td>
<td>Sheldon, Arthur Henry</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888-1890</td>
<td>Browne, Michael Charles</td>
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<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Cope, James</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892-1894</td>
<td>Pyemont, Temple Chevallier Pymont</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895-1900</td>
<td>Appleyard, Benjamin</td>
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**Port Simpson (Fort Simpson)**

<table>
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<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>1857-1862</td>
<td>Duncan, William</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860-1861</td>
<td>Tugwell, Lewen Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893-1910</td>
<td>Hogan, William</td>
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<td>1895-1898</td>
<td>Stephenson, Frederick Lambert</td>
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</table>

**Quamichan, Indian Mission**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Priest Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867-1881</td>
<td>Lomas, William Henry (lay catechist)</td>
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<td>Location</td>
<td>Period</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Quamichan, St. Peter's</strong></td>
<td>1866-1873</td>
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<td>1874-1875</td>
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<td>1884-1885</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Quinwoch</strong></td>
<td>1864-1865</td>
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<td>1867</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Revelstoke</strong></td>
<td>1896</td>
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<td>1897-1899</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1899-1900</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rossland</strong></td>
<td>1896-1899</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Saanich</strong></td>
<td>1862-1865</td>
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<td>1879-1882</td>
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<td><strong>Stewart</strong></td>
<td>1910-1912</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Stickine River</strong></td>
<td>1897-1901</td>
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<td><strong>Trail</strong></td>
<td>1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vancouver, South, and Moodyville</strong></td>
<td>1897</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1900</td>
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<td>Location</td>
<td>Years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victoria (Fort Victoria)</td>
<td>1858</td>
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<td>1859-1860</td>
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<td>1860-1875</td>
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<td>Victoria, Christ Church</td>
<td>1854-1874</td>
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<td>1878-1884</td>
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<td>Victoria, Chinese Mission</td>
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<td>Victoria, Collegiate School</td>
<td>1860-1863</td>
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<td>1874</td>
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<td>1876-1879</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victoria, Indian Mission</td>
<td>1859-1869</td>
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<td>1868-1869</td>
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<td>Victoria, St. John’s</td>
<td>1859-1865</td>
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<td>1868-1914</td>
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<td>1904-1905</td>
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<td>Yale and Hope</td>
<td>1862-1866</td>
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<td>1867-1873</td>
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<td>1877-1878</td>
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<td>1880</td>
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<td>1880-1881</td>
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<tr>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860-1862</td>
<td>Crickmer, William Burton</td>
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<td>1866-1867</td>
<td>Good, John Booth</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882-1884</td>
<td>Horlock, Darrell Holled Webb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-1888</td>
<td>Wright, Edwin Lench</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
METHODIST STATIONS BY NAME OF STATION, DATE AND NAME OF MISSIONARY

Aberdeen
1890 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Port Essington
1891 Hopkins, George Franklin (Port Essington)

Agassiz and Hot Springs
1892-1897 To be supplied
1900 Stoney, Akroyd

Ainsworth
1892 Smith, E. Victor
1900 One to be sent
1893 One to be sent (Ainsworth and Kaslo)
1894 To be supplied (Ainsworth and Kaslo)
1895 Procunier, Charles Ault (Ainsworth and Kaslo)

Aldergrove
1892 Hicks, James
1893 Moody, William Edward
1894 Irwin, Robert J.

Alma
1884 Hemlaw, Robert Bruce

Ashcroft
1898-1900 Laidley, Robert

Atlin
1899 Turner, James under General Board of Missions
1900 Under General Board of Missions

Balmoral Cannery
1890 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Port Essington
1891 Hopkins, George Franklin (Port Essington)

Bella Bella
1880 One wanted
1881-1883 Tate, Charles Montgomery
1884-1886 Cuyler, William Benjamin
1888-1889 Beavis, Reuben Benjamin, under Superintendence of Glad Tidings (Crosby)
1890 Beavis, Reuben Benjamin
1891-1892 Hopkins, George Franklin
1893-1896 Beavis, Reuben Benjamin
**Bella Bella, cont.**

1897-1898   One to be sent (WJ, MD)
1899-1900   Large, Richard W.

**Bella Coola**

1882   Wood, James Alexander
1883-1885   Pierce, William H.
1886   One wanted
1888-1889   Crosby, Thomas (Glad Tidings Mission)
1890   To be supplied, under Chairman of District (Glad Tididings)
1891   Crosby, Thomas (Port Simpson)
1892   To be supplied
1893   One to be sent
1894   Neville, Thomas
1895-1896   Pierce, William H.
1897   Neville, Thomas
1898   One to be sent
1899-1900   Spencer, John Clark

**Burrard Inlet**

1875-1877   Derrick, Thomas
1878-1880   Bryant, Cornelius
1881-1883   Thompson, Christopher L
1884-1885   Hall, Joseph

**Cariboo [also referred to as Gold Fields, BC]**

1864   One wanted
1865   One to be sent
1866-1867   One wanted
1868   One to be sent
1869-1870   Derrick, Thomas
1872-1874   Hall, Joseph
1875-1876   Thompson, Christopher L
1877-1879   Sexsmith, William B.
1880-1881   Turner, James
1882   One to be sent
1883-1884   To be supplied
1888-1889   To be supplied, under Superintendence of Clinton
1890   One wanted, under Superintendence of Clinton
1891   To be supplied
1892   One to be sent
1893-1895   To be supplied
1896-1897   One to be sent
1898-1900   To be supplied
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cascade City</td>
<td>1897-1899</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cheam</td>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendence of Sumas and Chilliwack</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Hicks, John P. under Superintendence of Sumas and Chilliwack</td>
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<td>1891</td>
<td>One to be sent, under Superintendence of Maple Ridge</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Knox, John David Phillim</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Gaebel, A. J.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1894-1895</td>
<td>Moody, William Edward under Superintendence of Chilliwack</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1896</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendence of Indian Mission</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Nelson, Charles Wesley, under Superintendence of Chilliwack</td>
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<td>1899</td>
<td>Mahon, William G.</td>
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<td>One to be sent (JEP)</td>
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<td>Chilliwack</td>
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<td>1893-1895</td>
<td>Ladner, Charles</td>
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<td>1896-1899</td>
<td>White, James Henry</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>Hall, Thomas Wellington</td>
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<tr>
<td>China Hat</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Native agent (GE[George Edgar]) under Superintendence of Chairman</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>Edgar, George under Superintendence of Chairman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clayoquot</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1898-1899</td>
<td>One to be sent (medical missionary)</td>
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<td>Service, Charles W., medical missionary</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>Native agent wanted</td>
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<td>Clinton</td>
<td>1884-1886</td>
<td>Hall, Thomas Wellington</td>
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<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>Wood, James Alexander</td>
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<td>1890</td>
<td>Stevens, Matthew J.</td>
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<td>1891</td>
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<td>1892</td>
<td>Gaebel, A. J. under Superintendence of Kamloops</td>
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<td>1893</td>
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<td>1894</td>
<td>Harris, P. C. L.</td>
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<td>1895-1897</td>
<td>Turner, James</td>
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<td>1898</td>
<td>One to be sent (RH)</td>
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</table>
### Cloverdale
- **1896**: One to be sent
- **1897**: To be supplied, under Superintendence of Langley
- **1898**: To be supplied
- **1899**: One wanted
- **1900**: One to be sent (CW [Charles Whittaker])

### Clue
- **1890**: To be supplied, under Superintendence of Queen Charlotte Islands
- **1891**: Miller, Arthur Noble (Queen Charlotte Islands Mission)

### Comox
- **1888-1889**: Stevens, Matthew J.
- **1890**: Irwin, Robert J.
- **1891**: One to be sent, under Superintendence of Nanaimo

### Cowitchen [first called Corohitchem, V.I.]
- **1866-1867**: One to be sent
- **1868**: One wanted
- **1869-1870**: To be supplied
- **1897**: Winslow, Joseph Wesley (Cowichan and Salt Spring Island)
- **1897**: Cropp, George Albert (Cowichan and Salt Spring Island)
- **1898**: One to be sent (AS [Alfred Seymour]) (Cowichan and Salt Spring Island)
- **1898**: One wanted (Cowichan and Salt Spring Island)
- **1899-1900**: Osborne, G.Howard (Duncan)
- **1899**: Nelson, Charles Wesley (Chemainus)
- **1900**: One to be sent (AS [Alfred Seymour])

### Cranbrook and Fort Steele
- **1899**: Smith, George Edwin
- **1900**: Bowering, John W.
- **1900**: Mahon, William G.

### Cumberland
- **1898-1900**: Hicks, William

### Cumberland, Japanese Mission
- **1899-1900**: Under Superintendent of Cumberland

### Delta
- **1884**: Dowler, Wellington J.
- **1885**: Wood, James Alexander (Delta and Alma)
- **1886**: Wood, James Alexander (Delta and Surrey and Langley)
- **1888-1890**: Calvert, James
- **1891**: One to be sent
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>Delta, cont.</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Bayley, H. E.</td>
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<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>Sutherland, Charles Henderson M.</td>
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<td>Hall, Joseph</td>
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<td>Denman</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>One wanted</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duncan</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Manuel, Elihu</td>
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<td>Misener, William D.</td>
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<td>Enderby</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Hicks, John Peake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1893-1895</td>
<td>Misener, William D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1894-1900</td>
<td>Rosomon, John E., supernumerary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1896-1898</td>
<td>Hall, William Lashley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>Powell, R. Newton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairview</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Moody, William Edward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernie</td>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>Stillman, R. Forbes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishery Bay</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendence of Naas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>One to be sent (Naas Mission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Hope and Fort Yale</td>
<td>1859-1860</td>
<td>Robson, Ebenezer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1861-1862</td>
<td>Browning, Arthur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Robson, Ebenezer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgetown</td>
<td>1890-1891</td>
<td>Crosby, Thomas (Port Simpson)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glad Tidings Mission</td>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>Crosby, Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Chairman of Simpson District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>One to be sent (in Victoria District)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1892-1893</td>
<td>To be supplied (in Victoria District)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Pierce, William H. under direction from District Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1895-1897</td>
<td>Under Chairman (1897 under Pres. of Conference [Thomas Crosby]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>Left in hands of Missionary Board</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gold Harbour
1889-1890 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Queen Charlotte Islands
1891 Miller, Arthur Noble (QCI Mission)

Golden
1897 Smith, George Edwin
1898 Cropp, George Albert under Superintendence of Revelstoke
1899 Westman, James P.
1900 Kinney, George B.

Goose Island
1891 Hopkins, George Franklin (Bella Bella Mission)

Grand Forks
1897 Calvert, James
1898 One wanted
1899 One to be sent (GKB [George K. Bradshaw])
1900 Bradshaw, George K.

Greenwood
1899-1900 Balderston, B. Hedley,

Gulf Islands
1888-1889 One to be sent

Hag-Qwul-Get [or Hough-wul-get]
1886 One wanted
1888-1889 Spencer, John Clark (Upper Skeena Mission)
1890 To be supplied under Superintendence of Upper Skeena
1899-1900 Missionary teacher (RHC) under Superintendence of Chairman

Hammond
1896 Sharpe, Allen Kennedy

Hartley Bay
1899-1900 Missionary teacher (GR[George Reid]) under Superintendence of Chairman

Howe Sound [Texada and Howe Sound]
1891 One to be sent
1892-1893 Manuel, Elihu, under Superintendence of Chairman [E. Robson]
1894-1898 To be supplied
1899 Stoney, Akroyd
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1882-1886</td>
<td>Hy-hies Native Assistant, under Superintendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>of Bella Bella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Chairman of District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>(Glad Tidings)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hy-hies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860-1864</td>
<td>Indian Tribes, £. Coast of Vancouver Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-1874</td>
<td>[Flathead Indians (Chilliwack)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-1877</td>
<td>One wanted, to labour under the direction of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-1879</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Crosby, Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Tate, Charles Montgomery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-1893</td>
<td>Robson, Ebenezer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Robson, John A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-1897</td>
<td>Charles Montgomery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>Crosby, Thomas (Lower Fraser, Sardis)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indian Tribes [Flathead Indians (Chilliwack)]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>Indian Tribes, E. Coast of Vancouver Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Inverness Cannery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendent of Port</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>Essington</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indian Tribes, E. Coast of Vancouver Island [Duncan]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884-1886</td>
<td>Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>One wanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1892</td>
<td>Ladner, Charles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>Hall, Thomas Wellington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1897</td>
<td>Betts, John F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1900</td>
<td>Robson, John A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Gardiner, John Endicott, superannuated (Newmarket)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kamloops, Chinese Mission
1897 To be supplied, under Superintendent of Thompson River
1898-1900 To be supplied, under Superintendent of Kamloops

Kaslo
1896-1897 Procunier, Charles Ault
1898-1900 Wood, James Alexander

Kettle River
1896 One wanted

Kimsquit
1888-1889 Crosby, Thomas (Glad Tidings Mission)
1890 To be supplied, under Chair of District (Glad Tidings)
1891 Crosby, Thomas (Port Simpson)
1899-1900 To be supplied by native agent under Superintendence of Chairman

Kish-ga-gash
1888-1889 Spencer, John Clark (Upper Skeena Mission)
1890-1891 To be supplied, under Superintendent of Upper Skeena

Kishpiax
1888-1889 Spencer, John Clark (Upper Skeena Mission)
1890-1891 To be supplied under Superintendence of Upper Skeena
1899-1900 Pierce, William H.
1900 Wrinch, H.C., medical missionary

Kit-a-maat
1881-1883 To be supplied
1884 Hopkins, George Franklin
1885-1886 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Port Simpson
1888-1889 To be supplied under Superintendence of Glad Tidings
1890 To be supplied, under Chairman of District (Glad Tidings)
1891 One to be sent
1892 Anderson, Geo. L.
1893-1900 Raley, George Henry

Kit-eeks
1890 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Naas
1891 One to be sent (Naas Mission)

Kitkahtla
1888-1889 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Glad Tidings (Kitamaat)
1890 To be supplied, under Chairman of District (Glad Tidings)
1891 One to be sent (Kit-a-maat Mission)
Kit-la-tamux [Kit-lach-tamux]
1881-1882 Native assistant, under Superintendence of Naas
1883 Native Teacher, under Superintendence of Naas
1884-1886 Native assistant, under Superintendence of Naas
1888-1890 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Naas

Kit-loup
1888 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Glad Tidings (Kitamaat)
1889 To be supplied under Superintendence of Glad Tidings
1890 To be supplied, under Chairman of District (Glad Tidings)
1899-1900 To be visited from Kitamaat

Kitselah
1899-1900 To be visited from Port Essington

Kit-wan-silk [or Kit-wan-Silth]
1881-1886 Native assistant, under Superintendence of Naas
1888-1889 Jennings, Dennis (Naas Mission)
1890 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Naas
1891 One to be sent (Naas Mission)

Kit-ze-gulcla
1888-1891 Pierce, William H. (Kit-ze-gulcla and Kit-wan-cool)
1892-1893 Pierce, William H.
1894 One to be sent (ABO) under District Chairman [Crosby]
1895 Neville, Thomas (also Upper Skeena)
1896 To be supplied from Upper Skeena (Kit-ze-gulcla and Kit-wan-cool)
1897 Tate, Charles Montgomery (Kitzegucla and Hugwilget)
1898 One wanted (Kitzegucla and Hugwilget)
1899 Native agent under Superintendence of Chairman(PR[Patrick Russ])
1900 Native agent (LG[Louis or Lewis Grey]) under Superintendence of Chairman

Kit-Ze-Quilk
1886 Pierce, William H.

Kokite
1890 To be supplied under Superintendence of Bella Bella

Kootenay
1865 One wanted
1888-1889 Irwin, Robert J.
1890 One to be sent
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kul-dawth</td>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>Spencer, John Clark (Upper Skeena Mission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890-1891</td>
<td>To be supplied under Superintendence of Upper Skeena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladner</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Robson, Ebenezer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Misener, William D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Misener, William D., under Superintendence of Langley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>Manuel, Elihu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langley</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Dowler, Wellington J. (Langley, Surrey and Delta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1888-1890</td>
<td>Misener, William D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>One wanted, under Superintendence of New West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Knox, John David Phillim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Winslow, Joseph Wesley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>One to be sent (A. N. Miller)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>Miller, Arthur Noble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Hardwick, Edward Ernest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1896-1897</td>
<td>Manuel, Elihu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Hall, William Lashley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Sharpe, Allen Kennedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lardeau</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lillooet [Lillooet and Clinton]</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Clegg, H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Gardiner, John Endicott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Wright, John H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowe's Island</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendence of Port Essington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Hopkins, George Franklin (Port Essington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maple Bay</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Sexsmith, William B. (Maple Bay and Saltspring)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1875-1876</td>
<td>Sexsmith, William B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1877-1878</td>
<td>Martin, John J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>One wanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Sexsmith, William B. (Maple Bay and Saanich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>To be supplied (Maple Bay and Saanich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>One to be sent (Maple Bay and Saanich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Wood, James Alexander (Maple Bay and Saanich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Wood, James Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1885-1886</td>
<td>Hemlaw, Robert Bruce</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Maple Bay, con't.
1887 Sutherland, Charles Henderson M.
1888-1889 Bowell, John Perry (Maple Bay and Saltspring)
1890 Sutherland, Charles Henderson M. (Maple Bay and Saltspring)
1892 Sutherland, Charles Henderson M.
1893 Calvert, James (Maple Bay and Saltspring)
1894 Manuel, Elihu, under Superintendence of Nanaimo
1895-1896 Winslow, Joseph Wesley (Maple Bay and Saltspring)

Maple Ridge
1877 Thompson, Christopher L (Maple Ridge and Langley)
1878-1879 Gilbert, Thomas H. (Maple Ridge and Langley)
1880-1881 One wanted (Maple Ridge and Langley)
1882 Dowler, Wellington J. (Maple Ridge and Langley)
1883 Seccombe, W.B.
1884-1886 Seccombe, William B. (Maple Ridge and Yale)
1888-1891 Bryant, Cornelius
1892 To be supplied
1892 Bryant, Cornelius, left without a station at his own request
1893-1895 Hicks, William
1897-1899 Sharpe, Allen Kennedy
1900 Hall, William Lashley

Michel
1900 Wright, Thomas Hall

Mission City
1892-1894 Winslow, Joseph Wesley
1895-1897 Miller, Arthur Noble
1898-1900 Wilkinson, Robert

Mission to Lumbermen [Cape Mudge and Lumber Camps]
1888-1889 One wanted
1890 One to be sent
1891 One to be sent, under Superintendence of Glad Tidings
1892 To be supplied
1893 One to be sent
1894 To be supplied (RW) under Chair of Dist [S.Cleaver]
1895-1900 To be supplied (RJW [Robert J. Walker])

Mount Lehman
1885 One wanted, to reside at Centreville
1886 Patterson, J.W.

Mount Sicker and Lumber Camps
1900 Nelson, Charles Wesley under Superintendence Nanaimo Wallace
### Naas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1877-80</td>
<td>Green, Alfred Eli, under Superintendence of Fort Simpson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-87</td>
<td>Green, Alfred Eli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>Jennings, Dennis (Kitwansilth)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Jennings, Dennis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Stone, William John</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Osterhout, Smith Stanley under District Chairman [Crosby]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-97</td>
<td>Osterhout, Smith Stanley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>One to be sent (Medical Missionary)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>Rush, William T., medical missionary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Native agent under Superintendence of the Chairman [S.S. Osterhout]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Native agent under Superintendence of the Chairman [R Whittington]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Naas Harbour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendence of Naas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>One to be sent (Naas Mission)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Nanaimo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859-60</td>
<td>Browning, Arthur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-62</td>
<td>Robson, Ebenezer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-65</td>
<td>White, Edward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-68</td>
<td>Evans, Ephraim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869-70</td>
<td>White, Edward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-73</td>
<td>Derrick, Thomas (Nanaimo and Maple Bay)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Derrick, Thomas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-76</td>
<td>Bryant, Cornelius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Bryant, Cornelius (Nanaimo and Wellington)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-80</td>
<td>Hall, Joseph (Nanaimo and Wellington)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Gilbert, Thomas H. (Nanaimo and Wellington)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-83</td>
<td>Bryant, Cornelius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-86</td>
<td>Robson, Ebenezer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>Hall, Joseph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-92</td>
<td>Baer, Walter W.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Nanaimo, Chinese Mission

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888-90</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendence of Nanaimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>One wanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendence of Nanaimo Wallace Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-96</td>
<td>To be supplied (T.C. ie Thom Chu Tom) under Superintendence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Liu Yick Pang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>One to be sent (YWS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>One to be sent, under Superintendence of Haliburton St</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>To be supplied (FD [Fong Dickman])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nanaimo, Haliburton Street
1893  Smith, E. Victor, under Superintendence of Nanaimo Wallace Street
1894  Wilkinson, Samuel, under Superintendence of Nanaimo Central
1895  Wilkinson, Samuel
1896-1897 Knox, John David Phillim
1898  Osborne, G. Howard
1899  Baer, Walter W.
1900  Calvert, James

Nanaimo, Indian Mission
1896  Lay agent
1900  Missionary teacher (EN[E. Nicholas]) under Superintendence of Chairman

Nanaimo, Japanese Mission
1899-1900 To be supplied, under Superintendence of Wallace Street

Nanaimo, Wallace Street [Central]
1893-1895 Maitland, Robert R.
1896-1899 Hall, Thomas Wellington
1900  Baer, Walter W.

Nelson
1891  Turner, James
1892-1893 Turner, James (Nelson and Slocan)
1893  Birks, David Dalton (Nelson and Slocan)
1894-1897 Morden, George Herbert
1897  Hicks, James
1898-1899 Robson, John A.
1900  White, James Henry

New Denver [New Denver and Slocan City]
1897  Powell, R. Newton
1897  Robins, Joseph U.
1898  Powell, R. Newton
1899-1900 Roberts, Arthur E.

New Westminster
1859-1862 White, Edward
1863-1864 Browning, Arthur
1865  Robson, Ebenezer (New Westminster and the Lower Fraser)
1866-1868 White, Edward (New Westminster and the Lower Fraser)
1869-1870 Browning, Arthur
1872-1874 Russ, Amos E. (New Westminster and the Lower Fraser)
1875-1877 Pollard, William
1878  Derrick, Thomas
1879  Derrick, Thomas (New Westminster and the Lower Fraser)
New Westminster, con’t.

1880-1883
Robson, Ebenezer

1884-1886
Watson, Coverdale

1888-1889
White, James Henry

1890
Robson, Ebenezer

1890
Thompson, Samuel James

New Westminster (Central)

1892
Robson, Ebenezer

1892-1900
Pearson, Thomas David, superannuated

1893-1895
Hall, Thomas Wellington

1893
Whittington, Robert

1894-1896
Whittington, Robert, Principal of Columbian Methodist College

1896-1897
Watson, Coverdale

1897
One to be sent

1897
One to be sent, as Principal of Columbian College

1898-1899
Betts, John F.

1899-1900
Sipprell, Wilford J., Principal of Columbian College

1899
Misener, William D., superannuated

1900
Betts, John F.

1900
Robson, Ebenezer, Bursar of Columbian College

New Westminster (Sapperton)

1892
One to be sent

1893-1894
Bayley, H.E.

1895-1896
To be supplied

1897-1900
To be supplied, under Superintendence of West End

New Westminster (West End)

1892
Thompson, Samuel James

1893-1894
Hicks, John Peake

1895
Knox, John David Phillim

1896-1897
Wilkinson, Robert

1898-1900
Bowell, John Perry

New Westminster, Chinese Mission

1888-1890
To be supplied, under Superintendence of New Westminster

1891
Chan Sing Kai, under Superintendence of New Westminster

1892-1893
Chan Sing Kai

1894
Liu Yick Pang, under District Chairman

1895-1896
Liu Yick Pang

1897-1900
To be supplied (TCT, ie Thom Chu Tom)

New Westminster, Japanese Missions

1894-1895
To be supplied
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Thompson and Nicola Valley</td>
<td>Nicola Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-1880</td>
<td>Turner, James</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1890</td>
<td>Winslow, Joseph Wesley</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1890</td>
<td>Calvert, James</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Ashton, John Joseph</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-1895</td>
<td>Hall, William Lashley</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Hardwick, Edward Ernest</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1900</td>
<td>Neville, Thomas</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
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<tr>
<td>1884-1886</td>
<td>Bowell, John Perry</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
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<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Hemlaw, Robert Bruce</td>
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<td>1890</td>
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<td>One to be sent</td>
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<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Moody, William Edward</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
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<tr>
<td>1898-1900</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
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Nicola [Nicola Valley]

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Thompson and Nicola Valley</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875-1880</td>
<td>Turner, James</td>
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<tr>
<td>1894-1895</td>
<td>Hall, William Lashley</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
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<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Hardwick, Edward Ernest</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1900</td>
<td>Neville, Thomas</td>
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Nicola Indians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884-1886</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
<td>Nicola Valley and Kamloops</td>
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Nitenat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Stone, William John, under District Chairman [S.Cleaver]</td>
<td>Nitenat</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895-1900</td>
<td>Stone, William John</td>
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Nootka Sound

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>To be visited</td>
<td>Nootka Sound</td>
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North Pacific Cannery

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Superintendence of Port Essington</td>
<td>North Pacific Cannery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Hopkins, George Franklin (Port Essington)</td>
<td>North Pacific Cannery</td>
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</table>

Northfield

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891-1892</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
<td>Northfield</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>One to be sent, under Superintendence of Nanaimo Wallace St</td>
<td>Northfield</td>
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<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Wilkinson, Robert</td>
<td>Northfield</td>
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Okanagan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Hicks, James</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>One to be sent, under Superintendence of Vernon</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>One to be sent (GES)</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>One to be sent (GES) under Superintendence of Vernon</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Moody, William Edward</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>One wanted</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phoenix
1900 One to be sent (TWH [T.W. Hunter])

Port Essington
1881-1882 Native assistant, under Superintendence of Port Simpson
1883-1885 Jennings, Dennis, under Superintendence of Port Simpson
1886 Jennings, Dennis
1888-1890 Hopkins, George Franklin
1891-1900 Jennings, Dennis

Port Moody
1884 One wanted

Port Simpson (Fort Simpson)
1875-1886 Crosby, Thomas
1888-1889 Green, Alfred Eli
1888-1889 One to be sent, as Principal of Training Institute
1890-1896 Crosby, Thomas
1897 Robson, Ebenezer
1898-1900 Osterhout, Smith Stanley
1899-1900 Bolton, Albert E., medical missionary

Princeton
1900 One to be sent

Queen Charlotte Islands
1882 To be visited
1883-1884 To be supplied
1885-1887 Hopkins, George Franklin
1888-1891 Miller, Arthur Noble
1892 One to be sent
1893-1900 Freeman, Barnabus Cortland

Revelstoke and Donald
1888-1890 Turner, James
1891-1892 Ladner, Charles
1893 One to be sent
1894 Procunier, Charles Ault
1895-1897 Wood, James Alexander
1896 One to be sent
1898-1900 Thompson, Samuel James

Richmond
1888-1889 Thompson, Samuel James
1890-1892 Wood, James Alexander
1893-1896 Green, Alfred Eli
Richmond, con’t.
1897   Baer, Walter W.
1899-1900   Miller, Arthur Noble

**Rivers Inlet**
1886   Native Assistant
1890   To be supplied under Superintendence of Bella Bella
1891   Hopkins, George Franklin (Bella Bella Mission)
1899   Lay agent (E.Nicholas) under Superintendence of Chairman
1900   To be supplied under Superintendence of Chairman

**Rivers Quilk**
1886   Native Assistant

**Rossland**
1895   One wanted
1896-1897   Ladner, Charles
1898-1900   Morden, George Herbert
1900   Birks, David Dalton supernumerary

**Saanich**
1884   To be supplied
1886   Dowler, Wellington J. (Saanich and Saltspring Island)
1890   Hall, Joseph
1891-1893   Irwin, Robert J.
1894-1895   Ashton, John Joseph
1896-1897   Bowell, John Perry
1898-1900   Winslow, Joseph Wesley

**Salmon Arm**
1890   Morden, George Herbert
1891   One to be sent
1892   Birks, David Dalton, under Superintendence of Revelstoke
1893   One to be sent
1894-1896   Calvert, James
1897   To be supplied
1898-1899   One to be sent (R.H. Peardon)
1900   Misener, William D.

**Saltspring and other islands**
1891   One to be sent, under Superintendence of Maple Bay
1892   Archer, Thomas E., under Superintendence of Maple Bay
1894   One to be sent (A.Lund), under Superintendence of Nanaimo Central
1899   Scott, David W. under Superintendence of Cowichan
1900   Irwin, Robert J.
San Juan
1895        Hicks, James under Superintendence of Chairman [S. Cleaver]

Sandon
1897-1900   Sanford, Albert M.

Similkameen [Fairview]
1891        One to be sent
1892        Sharpe, Allen Kennedy under Superintendence of Kamloops
1893        One to be sent
1894        Hicks, James, under District Chairman [J.F. Betts]
1895        Williams, Roland
1896        Robins, Joseph U.
1897        One to be sent
1898        Moody, William Edward

Simpson District Japanese Missions
1894-1896   To be supplied

Skeena River
1879        One wanted
1880        Tate, Charles Montgomery

Skidegate
1890        To be supplied, under Superintendence of Queen Charlotte Islands
1891        Miller, Arthur Noble (QCI Mission)

Slocan
1894        Gaebel, A.J. under Superintendence of Nelson
1895        One wanted
1896        One to be sent

Spallumcheen and Okanagan
1884-1885   Patterson, J. W.
1886        One wanted
1888-1889   To be supplied, under Superintendence of Revelstoke
1890        One wanted
1891        Hicks, John Peake (Spallumcheen)

Standard
1891        Hopkins, George Franklin (Port Essington)

Sumas and Chilliwack
1872        Clarkson, George C.
1873-1874   Bryant, Cornelius
### Sumas and Chilliwack, con’t.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1875-1877</td>
<td>Hall, Joseph</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878-1880</td>
<td>Thompson, Christopher L.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881-1883</td>
<td>Hall, Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-1886</td>
<td>Bryant, Cornelius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>Hall, Thomas Wellington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1891</td>
<td>Bowell, John Perry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Michener, Edward (Sumas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Sharpe, Allen Kennedy (Sumas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Hardwick, Edward Ernest (Sumas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895-1900</td>
<td>To be supplied (Sumas)</td>
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### Surrey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Hicks, William</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893-1895</td>
<td>Bowell, John Perry</td>
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### Talliome

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888-1889</td>
<td>Crosby, Thomas (Glad Tidings Mission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>To be supplied, under Chairman of District (Glad Tidings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Crosby, Thomas (Port Simpson)</td>
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### Thompson’s River

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859-1864</td>
<td>One wanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>One to be sent (JCA) under Superintendence of Kamloops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Osborne, G.Howard</td>
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<tr>
<td>1898-1900</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
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### Trail

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>One to be sent, under Superintendence of Rossland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-1899</td>
<td>Calvert, James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Pye, John S.</td>
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</table>

### Trout Lake City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898-1899</td>
<td>One to be sent (JEP) under Superintendence of Revelstoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>One to be sent (AES[Alfred E. Stephenson]) under Superintendence of Revelstoke</td>
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### Union

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>One to be sent (John Robson, B.A.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>Robson, John A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Morrison, John C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Sutherland, Charles Henderson M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-1897</td>
<td>Hicks, William</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Upper Fraser
1859-1864 One wanted

Upper Skeena
1887-1888 Pierce, William Henry
1890-1892 Spencer, John Clark
1892-1893 One to be sent
1894 Spencer, John Clark
1895-1896 Neville, Thomas
1897-1898 Pierce, William H.

Van Anda
1900 Schlicter, William C.

Vancouver [Homer Street]
1886 Hall, Joseph
1888-1889 Robson, Ebenezer
1890-1892 Maitland, Robert R.
1893-1895 Watson, Coverdale
1896-1898 Eby, Charles S.
1899-1900 Scott, Edward E.

Vancouver, Chinese Mission
1888-1889 One to be sent, under Superintendence of Vancouver
1890 One to be sent, under Superintendence of Mt. Pleasant
1892 Liu Yick Pang under Superintendence of Homer Street
1893 Liu Yick Pang
1894 Chan Sing Kai under Superintendence of Princess Street
1895-1896 Gardiner, John Endicott
1897 To be supplied
1898 Chan Sing Kai
1899 One to be sent under Superintendence of Mount Pleasant
1900 To be supplied (CWT)

Vancouver, East [Princess St.]
1888-1892 Betts, John F.
1892 To be supplied
1893-1896 Baer, Walter W.
1897-1899 Whittington, Robert
1900 Robson, John A.
1900 Turner, James superannuated

Vancouver, Fairview
1900 Green, Alfred Eli
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Names</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vancouver, Japanese Mission</strong></td>
<td>1896</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1897-1900</td>
<td>Kaburagi, Goro</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Vancouver, Mount Pleasant</strong></td>
<td>1891-1892</td>
<td>Hall, Joseph</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>Thompson, Samuel James</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>White, James Henry</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Maitland, Robert R.</td>
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<td>1897-1899</td>
<td>Green, Alfred Eli</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>Sutherland, Charles Henderson M.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Vernon</strong></td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Neville, Thomas under Superintendence of Enderby</td>
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<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>Wood, James Alexander</td>
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<td>1895-1897</td>
<td>Thompson, Samuel James</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1898-1899</td>
<td>Robson, Ebenezer</td>
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<td>Westman, James P.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Victoria</strong></td>
<td>1859-1865</td>
<td>Evans, Ephraim</td>
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<td>1866-1868</td>
<td>Browning, Arthur</td>
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<td>1869-1870</td>
<td>Russ, Amos E.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1872-1874</td>
<td>Pollard, William</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1875-1877</td>
<td>Russ, Amos E.</td>
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<td>1878-1880</td>
<td>Smith, Robert Hall</td>
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<td>1881-1883</td>
<td>Watson, Coverdale</td>
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<td>1884-1886</td>
<td>Percival, W.W.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Dowler, Wellington J.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Victoria, Chinese and Indian Mission [Victoria]</strong></td>
<td>1875-1876</td>
<td>One to be sent</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>One wanted</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1878-1881</td>
<td>Pollard, William</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Victoria, Chinese Mission</strong></td>
<td>1882-1885</td>
<td>One wanted</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>To be supplied</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1888-1890</td>
<td>Gardiner, John Endicott, under Superintendence of Wesley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1891-1892</td>
<td>Gardiner, John Endicott, under Superintendence of Pandora Av</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1893-1894</td>
<td>Gardiner, John Endicott</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1895-1897</td>
<td>Chan Sing Kai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>One to be sent (CWT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Chan Sing Kai, under Superintendence of Centennial</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Chan Sing Kai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Victoria, Gorge Road [North, Centennial]**
1888-1889  Baer, Walter W.
1888-1891  Pollard, William, superannuated
1890-1892  White, James Henry
1893-1894  Hall, Joseph
1893-1900  Bryant, Cornelius, superannuated
1895-1897  Betts, John F.
1898-1900  Barraclough, William H.

**Victoria, Indian Mission [Indian Tribes]**
1881-1884  One wanted
1888-1889  To be supplied
1890-1891  One wanted
1892-1893  To be supplied
1894-1896  Tate, Charles Montgomery
1896  Spencer, John Clark
1899-1900  Lay agent (WHG) under Superintendence of Cowichan

**Victoria, Japanese Missions**
1894-1895  To be supplied
1898-1900  Lay Agent under Superintendence of Metropolitan

**Victoria, South [James' Bay]**
1891-1892  One to be sent, under Superintendence of Pandora Avenue
1893  Robson, Ebenezer
1894  One to be sent
1899  One to be sent (RHH[Robert H. Hughes]) under Superintendence of Centennial
1900  Hughes, Robert under Superintendence of Centennial

**Victoria, Wesley [Pandora, Metropolitan]**
1888-1889  Starr, John E.
1890-1892  Watson, Coverdale
1893-1896  Cleaver, Solomon
1895-1898  One to be sent
1895  Bryant, Cornelius, superannuated
1897-1899  Speer, James C.
1900  Rowe, Elliott, S.
Victoria, West
1891  Morden, George Herbert, under Superintendence of Victoria North
1892  Morden, George Herbert, under Superintendence of Centennial
1893  Morden, George Herbert
1894  Turner, James
1895-1897  Hicks, John Peake
1898-1900  Knox, John David Phillim

Wardner
1898  One to be sent

Wee-kee-no
1882  Native Assistant, under Superintendence of Bella Bella
1883  To be supplied
1884-1886  Native Assistant, under Superintendence of Bella Bella

Wellington
1875-1876  One wanted
1885  Hadden, Thomas
1886  One wanted
1888-1889  One to be sent
1890-1892  Green, Alfred Eli
1893  One to be sent, under Superintendence of Nanaimo Wallace Street
1894  Southall, John F.
1895  Wilkinson, Robert
1896-1899  Sutherland, Charles Henderson M.
1900  Hicks, James

Works Channel
1890-1891  Crosby, Thomas (Port Simpson)

Yale and Lytton
1880-1882  One wanted
1883  Hall, Thomas Wellington

Ymir
1898-1899  Hicks, John Peake
1900  One to be sent
## APPENDIX 4

### METHODIST DISTRICTS, WITH STATIONS AND YEARS

**Bella Bella District (1897-1899)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bella Bella</td>
<td>1897-1899</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bella Coola</td>
<td>1897-1899</td>
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<td>Cape Mudge</td>
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<tr>
<td>China Hat</td>
<td>1897-1899</td>
<td>under Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clayoquot</td>
<td>1897-1899</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cowichan Tribes, Duncan</td>
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<td>1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glad Tidings</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>under President of Conference</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1898</td>
<td>in charge of Chairman of the District</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Kimsquit</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Kit-a-maat</td>
<td>1897-1899</td>
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<td>Kit-loup</td>
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<td>under Kitamaat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lower Fraser</td>
<td>1899</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nanaimo, Indian Mission</td>
<td>1899</td>
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<td>Nitenat</td>
<td>1897-1899</td>
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**British Columbia District (1859)**

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**British Columbia District (1868-1880)**

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<td>Cowitchen</td>
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<td>Indian Tribes</td>
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<td><strong>Cape Mudge</strong></td>
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<td><strong>China Hat</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Cowichan Tribes, Duncan</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Glad Tidings</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Kishpiax</strong></td>
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Indian District (1900), con’t.

Lower Fraser

1900

Naas

1900

Nanaimo, Indian Mission

1900 under Chairman

Nitenat

1900

Nootka Sound

1900

Kamloops District (1887-1895)

Ainsworth

1892

1893-1894 Ainsworth and Kaslo

1895

Ashcroft

1898-1900

Cariboo

1888-1889 under Clinton

1890-1900

Clinton

1888-1891

1892 under Kamloops

1893-1898

Enderby

1892-1900

Fairview

1898-1899

Golden

1897-1900

Kamloops

1888-1900

Kamloops, Chinese Mission

1897 under Thompson River

1898-1899 under Kamloops

Kootenay

1888-1890

Lillooet

1898

1899 Lillooet and Clinton

1900

Port Essington

1900

Port Simpson

1900

Rivers Inlet

1900

Skidegate

1900

Victoria, Indian Mission

1900 under Chairman

Kamloops District (1887-1895)

Nelson

1891

1892-1893 Nelson and Slocan

1894-1895

Nicola

1888-1900

Nicola Valley

1895-1896

Okanagan

1893

1894

1895

1896 under Vernon

1897-1900

Princeton

1900

Revelstoke

1888-1896 Revelstoke and Donald

1897-1900

Rossland

1895

Salmon Arm

1890-1891

1892

1893-1900 under Revelstoke

1900
Kamloops District (1887-1895)

Similkameen
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895-1896
1897
under Kamloops
under Chairman
Similkameen, Fairview
under Nelson

Spallumcheen
1888-1889
1890
1891
Spallumcheen and Okanagan (under Revelstoke)
Spallumcheen and Okanagan

Thompson River
1894
1895-1899
under Kamloops

Trout Lake City
1898
1899-1900
under Revelstoke

Vernon
1892
1893-1900
under Enderby

New Denver
1897
1898
New Denver and Slocan
1899-1900
New Denver and Slocan City

Phoenix
1900

Rossland
1896-1900

Sandon
1897-1900

Slocan
1896

Trail
1897-1900

Wardner
1898

Ymir
1898-1900

Kootenay District (1896-1900)

Ainsworth
1900

Cascade City
1897-1899

Cranbrook
1899
Cranbrook and Fort Steele

Fernie
1899

Grand Forks
1897-1900

Greenwood
1899

Kaslo
1896-1900

Kettle River
1896

Laradeau
1897

Michel
1900

Nelson
1896-1900
New Westminster District (1885-1886)
Burrard Inlet
1885
Clinton
1885-1886
Delta and Alma
1885
Delta and Surrey and Langley
1886
Indian Tribes
1885-1886
Kamloops
1885-1886
Maple Ridge and Yale
1885-1886

Mount Lehman
1885-1886
New Westminster
1885-1886
Nicola
1885-1886
Nicola Indians
1885-1886
Spallumcheen and Okanagan
1885-1886
Sumas and Chilliwack
1885-1886
Vancouver
1886

Port Simpson District (1881-1886)
Bella Bella
1881-1886
Bella Coola
1881-1886
Hag-Qwul-Get
1886
Hy-hies
1881-1886 under Bella Bella
Kit-a-maat
1881-1884
1885-1886 under Port Simpson
Kit-la-tamux
1881-1886 under Naas
Kit-wan-silk
1881-1886 under Naas
Kit-Ze-Quilk
1886
Naas
1881-1886

Port Essington
1881-1882 under Port Simpson
1883-1884 under Port Simpson
1885
1886
Port Simpson
1881-1886
Queen Charlotte Islands
1882
1883 Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands
1884-1886
Rivers Inlet
1886
Rivers Quilk
1886
Wee-kee-no
1881-1882 under Bella Bella
1883
1884-1886
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<td>Upper Skeena</td>
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<td>Kit-a-maat, under Glad Tidings</td>
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<td>Port Simpson</td>
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**Vancouver District (1896-1900)**

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<td>Texada and Howe Sound</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vancouver, Chinese Mission</td>
<td>1896-1898</td>
<td>Mount Pleasant</td>
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<td>Vancouver, Fairview</td>
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<td>Vancouver, Homer Street</td>
<td>1896-1900</td>
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<tr>
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Vancouver’s Island and British Columbia District (1860-1867)

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<tr>
<td>Fort Hope and Fort Yale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thompson’s River</td>
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<td>Kootenay</td>
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Victoria and Westminster District (1881-1884)

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<tr>
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<td>Nicola Indians</td>
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<td>Saanich</td>
<td>1884</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kamloops</td>
<td>1884</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spallumcheen and Okanagan</td>
<td>1884</td>
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<tr>
<td>Langley, Surrey and Delta</td>
<td>1883</td>
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<td>1881-1884</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maple Bay</td>
<td>1881-1883</td>
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<td>1881</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maple Bay and Saanich</td>
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<td>Maple Ridge</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881-1882 Maple Ridge and Langley</td>
<td>1882-1883</td>
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<td>1884 Maple Ridge and Yale</td>
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<td>Wellington</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1881-1884</td>
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## Victoria District (1885-1900)

### Cape Mudge and Lumber Camps
- 1890
- 1891 under Glad Tidings
- 1892-1895

### Comox
- 1888-1890
- 1891 under Nanaimo

### Cowichan and Salt Spring Island
- 1897-1898
- 1899 Cowichan, Chemainus
- 1899-1900 Cowichan, Duncan

### Cumberland
- 1898-1900

### Cumberland, Japanese Mission
- 1899-1900 under Cumberland

### Denman
- 1899-1900

### Duncan
- 1895-1896

### Duncan, Indian Mission
- 1896

### Glad Tidings
- 1891-1892
- 1892

### Gulf Islands
- 1888-1889

### Indian Tribes
- 1886

### Indian Tribes, E. Coast of Vancouver Island
- 1888-1894

### Japanese Mission
- 1894-1895

### Maple Bay
- 1885-1886
- 1888-1890 Maple Bay and Saltspring
- 1891-1892
- 1893 Maple Bay and Saltspring
- 1894 under Nanaimo
- 1895 Maple Bay and Saltspring

### Mount Sicker and Lumber Camps
- 1900 under Nanaimo, Wallace Street

### Nanaimo
- 1885-1892

### Nanaimo, Central
- 1894-1898

### Nanaimo, Chinese Mission
- 1888-1890 under Nanaimo
- 1891-1892
- 1893 under Wallace Street
- 1894-1895 under Central
- 1897-1898
- 1899-1900 under Haliburton

### Nanaimo, Haliburton Street
- 1893 under Wallace Street
- 1894 under Central
- 1895-1900

### Nanaimo, Indian Mission
- 1895

### Nanaimo, Japanese Mission
- 1899-1900 under Wallace

### Nanaimo, Wallace Street
- 1893
- 1899-1900

### Nitenat
- 1894-1895

### Northfield
- 1891
- 1892 under Wellington
- 1894 under Central

### Saanich
- 1886 Saanich and Saltspring Island
- 1890-1900

### Salt Spring Island
- 1891 Saltspring and other islands
- 1892
- 1894 under Nanaimo Central
- 1899-1900 under Cowichan
Victoria District (1885-1900), con’t.

San Juan
1895 under Chairman

Union
1892-1897

Victoria
1885-1886

Victoria, Centennial
1892-1900

Victoria, Chinese Mission
1885-1886
1888-1890 under Wesley
1891-1892 under Pandora Ave
1893-1898
1899 under Centennial

Victoria, East Coast Indians
1895 Victoria, Indian Tribes
1896

Victoria, Gorge Road
1888-1889
1889

Victoria, James Bay
1892 under Pandora Street
1893-1894
1899-1900 under Centennial

Westminster District (1887-1895)

Agassiz and Hot Springs
1892-1894
1895 under Central

Aldergrove
1892-1894

Cheam
1888-1890 under Sumas and Chilliwack
1891-1894
1895 under Chilliwack
1896
1897 under Superintendence of Indian Mission
1898-1900

Victoria, Japanese Missions
1898
1899-1900 under Metropolitan

Victoria, Metropolitan
1895-1900

Victoria, North
1890-1891

Victoria, Pandora Avenue
1891-1894

Victoria, South
1891

Victoria, Wesley Church
1888-1890

Victoria, West
1891 under Victoria North
1892
1893-1900 under Centennial

Wellington
1885-1886
1888-1892
1894-1900

Chilliwack
1892
1894-1900

Cloverdale
1896
1897 under Langley
1898-1899
1900 Cloverdale and Langley

Delta
1888-1895
### Westminster District (1887-1895), con’t

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<td><strong>Mission to Lumbermen</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Surrey</strong></td>
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APPENDIX 5

BIOGRAPHIES OF ANGLICAN MISSIONARIES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1854-1902

The list of male Anglican missionaries was compiled from lists published in the following: for the CMS, *The Centenary Volume of the Church Missionary Society For Africa and the East, 1799-1899* (London: The Society, 1902), supplemented by the *Register of Missionaries (Clerical, Lay and Female and Native Clergy) From 1804 to 1904* ([London]: Printed for private circulation [by the Society], 1904), and the relevant years of the annual *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East* (also called the *CMS Report*). For the SPG, the missionary roll, published in *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892* (London: The Society, 1893), and the fifth edition of the same title, published by the SPG in 1895. I also made extensive use of the invaluable card index of clergy that was compiled by former archivists of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia and Yukon. The list of female Anglican missionaries was compiled from the CMS *Register of Missionaries*, with additional information from Myra Rutherdale, "Models of Grace and Boundaries of Culture: Women Missionaries on a Northern Frontier, 1860-1940," (Ph.D. Diss., York University, 1996). In all cases, where stationing information and dates were unclear, or were contradictory, I have tried to locate external validation in the CMS and SPG papers, Bishop George Hills' diary, and the relevant diocesan periodicals.

Abbreviations used: C. Curate; P.C., Priest-in-charge; I., Incumbent; V., Vicar; R. Rector; Dio., Diocese; b. born; d. died;

1. Male missionaries sponsored by the CMS, SPG and other Anglican missionary societies

**Appleyard, Benjamin;** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1894-; Education: Huron Divinity College; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Toronto for Caledonia, 1894; Priest, Bishop of Caledonia, 1896; Married: Florence Appleyard, CMS missionary, and cousin. **Career in BC:** 1894-1895, Kootenay; 1896-1897, Nelson


**Baskett, Charles Robert;** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1876-1883; Education: Kings College, London, Th.A. (Theological Associate), 1875; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1876; Priest, Bishop of Columbia, 1878; Career After Leaving BC: C.
Whitchurch Canonicorum, Dorset 1883-86; Stinsford, Dorset 1886-90; St. Mary’s Kingston on Hull, 1890-1893; Birtwithal Vicarage, Ripley, Yorks 1892-
Career in BC: 1876-1877, Victoria, Curate of Christ Church cathedral; from Jan 23, 1876 to May 27, 1877; 1877-1878, Missionary of the Fraser Mission and Acting Chap. Of the Br. Col. Penitentiary; 1878-1880, Mission at Hastings (including St. Mary the Virgin); 1880-1882, Priest in Charge of St. Thomas, Chilliwack.
Honorary positions in BC: 1880-1883, Chap. to Bp. Of New Westminster

Career in BC: 1898, Lytton


Blunden, Thomas; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1872-1877; Education: St. Augustine’s College, 1869; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Honolulu, 1872; Priest, Bishop of Honolulu, 1874.
Career in BC: 1875-1876, Esquimalt

Brown, Robert Christopher Lundin; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1860-1865; Education: University of Edinburgh, B.A. Hons. Philosophy, 1853, M.A. 1854; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of London, 1858; Curate of St. Mark’s, North Audley St. London, 1858; Priest, Bishop of London, 1859; Career After Leaving BC: Vicar of Lyneal with Colmere, Shropshire, 1865-1876; Vital Statistics: b. 1831; d. 1876.
Career in BC: 1860-1865, Lillooet; 1866-1867, on sick leave

Browne, Michael Charles; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1888-; Education: Trinity College, Dublin, B.A. 1873, M.A., 1876; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Tuam, Killala and Achonry, 1870; C. of Lackan, County Mayo, 1870-1871; Assistant Master Marine School, Dublin, 1871-1872; Priest, Bishop of Tuam, Killala and Achonry, 1872; Incumbent of Kildakey, County Meath, 1872-1874; C. of Castledarmot, County Kildare, 1876-1878; CMS tests 1875; R. of Compton-Veney, Worcester, 1878-1880; Unknown 1880-1888; Vital Statistics: d. Cedar Hill, Aug. 27, 1893.
Career in BC: 1888-1890 Port Essington, Rector of St. John the Baptist; 1891-1893, Cedar Hill, Rector of St. Luke’s and St. Michael’s, Lake

Cave-Brown-Cave, Jordayne; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1863-1870; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1867; Priest, Bishop of BC, 1867; Career After Leaving

Career in BC: 1861-1862, Nanaimo, schoolteacher at Native School; 1863, Nanaimo, probationary catechist, Indian Mission; 1864-1866, Comox, Catechist, Indian Mission; 1867-1868, Sapperton, C. of St. Mary the Virgin, from Sept. 1867-Sept. 20, 1868; 1869-1871, Saanich, V.


Honorary Positions held in BC: Rural Dean of Nanaimo, 1922-31; Archdeacon Emeritus 1924-1939;


Collison, William Edwin; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1899-1914 as missionary; Education: Rathmines School, Dublin; Private tuition; short course in medicine and surgery; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Caledonia, 1899; Priest, Bishop of Caledonia, 1899; Notes: Son of W.H. Collison; Accepted as CMS missionary in local connection, Sept. 26, 1899, Justice of the Peace, 1901, Indian Agencies, 1914-1925, Retired at Prince Rupert 1925-1944; Vital Statistics: b. Kincolith, June 9, 1874; d. Vancouver, November 20, 1944; Married: Bertha Davies, missionary.

Career in BC: 1899-1910, Masset; 1910-1912, Stewart; 1912-1914, Seal Cove, Prince Rupert;

Collison, William Henry; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1873-; Education: Church of Ireland Training College, Dublin; C.M. College, Islington, 1873; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Athabasca, 1878; Priest, Bishop of Athabasca, 1878; Vital Statistics: b. County Armagh, Ireland, Nov. 12, 1847; d. Kincolith, January 21, 1922; Married: Marion M. Goodwin, Aug. 19, 1873.

Honorary Positions held in BC: Secretary to North Pacific Mission, 1880-1883; Commissary for Bishop of Caledonia, 1888-1889; Archdeacon of Metlakatla 1891-1922; Secretary to North Pacific Mission and Bishop's Commissary, 1894;

Career in BC: 1873-1876, Metlakatla; 1876-1879, Masset; 1879-1883, Metlakatla; 1883-1887, Kincolith; 1887-1888, on furlough in England, May 16, 1887 to April 21, 1888; 1888-1889, Metlakatla; 1889-1922, Kincolith, from June, 1889.
Cooper, William Henry; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1888-1889; Education: Ensign, Cheshire Regiment, 1855-1857, Lieutenant, Staffordshire Regiment, 1857-1860, 1st Class Certificate, Hythe School of Musketry, 1859; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Cashel, 1860; C. of Doon, County Limerick 1860-1861; Priest, Bishop of Cashel, 1861; Tallow, County Waterford 1862-1864; Incumbent of Woods Points, Victoria, Australia 1864-1865; SPG Missionary in Dio. Melbourne. d 1864-1869; Christ Church, NZ, 1869-1873; Incumbent of Akaroa, New Zealand 1873-1878; Glen Innes, New South Wales, 1878-1881; Chaplain and Commissary to Bishop of Grafton and Adelaide 1881-1883; SPG Special Missionary, Manitoba and North West Canada 1883; Founder and Honorary Secretary, Church Emigration Society 1886-1887; Career After Leaving BC: Founder and Honorary Secretary, St. Luke’s Hostel (Nursing Home for Clergy) 1892-1895; Honorary Canon of Saskatoon, 1883; Founder and Honorary Secretary, Home of St. Barnabas for aged and incapacitated clergy, 1895; Career in BC: 1888-1889, Kamloops

Cope, James; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1889; Education: Durham, Hatfield Hall, Matriculated in Theology, 1887; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Caledonia (at St. Stephens, Sheffield by commission from York, 1889); Career After Leaving BC: C. of St. Luke’s, Toronto, 1889; R. of St. Thomas, Ont. 1894-1908; Career in BC: 1889, Port Essington


Cridge, Edward; Sponsor: Hudson’s Bay Company, SPG; Years in BC: 1855-1874 (as Anglican); Education: Cambridge, St. Peter’s College, Admitted Sizar, St. John’s, April 23, 1844, matriculated Michelmas term, 1844, migrated to Peterhouse, Oct. 22, 1844,
Scholar 1846, B.A., 1848; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Norwich, 1848; C. of North Walsham, Norfolk, 1848, and Schoolmaster, the Endowed Grammar School in South Molton, Devon, 1848-1851; Priest, Bishop of Norwich, 1849; C. of All Saints, West Ham 1851, Incumbent of Christ Church, West Ham 1852; Notes: Parents John Cridge and Grace, of Combmartin, Ilfracombe, Devon. Elected first inspector of the colonial schools. Initiated the founding of the Royal Jubilee Hospital, Victoria. Governor Douglas issued an Ordinance which gave the two Church Wardens power to hold and administer the property of the Colonial Church and for the Chaplain to conduct services, so that the Rev. Cridge was able to hold the first service in the Colonial Church building on Sunday, Aug. 31, 1856. Cridge joined the Colonial and Continental Society in 1858; Vital Statistics: b. Bratton Fleming, Devon, Christening, Jan 11, 1818, December 17, 1817; d. Victoria, May 6, 1913;

**Career in BC:** 1854-1857, Hudson’s Bay Chaplain, Fort Victoria; 1858-1865, Victoria, Rector of Christ Church; 1866-1874, Victoria, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral; resigned from Church of England, 1874

**Davis, John Hardwick;** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1899; Education: Oxford, St. Alban’s Hall; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Lichfield, 1871; Priest, Bishop of Lichfield, 1874;

**Career in BC:** 1899-1900, Trenant; 1900, Sapperton

**Ditcham, George;** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1877-; Education: St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury, 1873; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1877; Priest, Bishop of New Westminster, 1881; Vital Statistics: d. Oak Bay, April 5, 1938; Married: Hannah Isabel Swinburne (Reddish) by the Rev. H Edwardes at St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton

**Career in BC:** 1874-1876, Lytton, lay catechist; 1877-1878, Yale, St. John the Divine with Christ Church, Hope, to April 1878; 1878-1881, Chilliwack, Curate in Charge of St. Thomas’, to March 1881; 1881-1885, Granville, V. of St. James’; 1886-1887, on leave in England; 1888-1901, Fraser River, including Dewdney, Matsqui, Mission, Abbotsford and Hatzic; 1901-1910, Lytton, Supt. Of St. George’s Indian Boys’ school from June 7, 1901; 1910-1912, Superannuated


**Career in BC:** 1864-1865, Metlakatla and Quinwoch; 1866, Metlakatla; 1867, Metlakatla and Quinwoch
Dowson, Richard; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1859-1860; Education: Cambridge, Queen’s College, Admitted Pensioner, Dec. 15, 1848, matriculated Lent term, 1849, BA 1853; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Chester, 1854; Priest, Bishop of Chester, 1855; Career After Leaving BC: Fellow of St. Mary’s College, Windermere, 1854-1865; Vital Statistics: b. Liverpool, Oct. 20, 1827; d. 1876
Career in BC: 1859-1860, Victoria, Miss. At Craigflower from Feb. 2, 1859; 1860, Miss at Fort Simpson; Miss at Fort Rupert; Miss at Nanaimo, Resigned

Du Vernet, Frederick Herbert; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1904-; Education: School, Clarenceville Academy, Clareville, Que, University of King’s College, Windsor, N.S., 1879, Wycliffe College, Toronto, 1880, B.D. by examination of the Board of Examiners, Provincial Synod of the C of E. in the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada, 1893; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Montreal, 1883; C. of St. James the Apostle, Montreal, 1883-1884; Priest, Bishop of Montreal, 1884; Diocesan Missioner of Dio. Montreal, 1884-1885; C. of St. Paul’s, Toronto, 1885-1895, Professor of Practical Theology and Assistant Chaplain, Wycliffe College, 1892-1895, Editor, Canadian Church Missionary Gleaner, Toronto, 1894-1901, Secretary Treasurer, Canadian Church Missionary Society, Toronto 1895-1902, R. of St. John’s Church, Toronto Junction, 1895-1904. Honorary Positions held outside BC: Secretary and Treasurer, Canadian CMS, from 1894; Editorial Secretary, Canadian CMS, 1896-1902, Associated Editor of New Era, the official missionary publication of the Canadian Church, from 1902; Notes: Consecrated Second bishop of Caledonia in Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, Nov. 30, 1904. D.D., Hon. Caus., Trinity College, University of Toronto, 1904; D.D. Juge Dignitatis, Kings College, Windsor, N.S., 1905, D.D., Hon. Caus. Wycliffe College, 1921; Vital Statistics: b. Hemmingford, Que, Jan. 20, 1860; d. Prince Rupert, Oct. 22, 1924; Married: Stella Yates, 1885.
Honorary Positions held in BC: President, Anglican Theological college, 1912-1924, First Metropolitan of BC and Abp. Of Caledonia, Feb. 24, 1915
Career in BC: 1904-1907, Metlakatla, St. Paul’s Church; 1907-1924, Prince Rupert, St. Andrew’s Cathedral,

Duncan, William; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1857-1882 (as CMS missionary); Education: Highbury Training College for Schoolmasters, 1854-1856; Vital Statistics: b. Stokes Burton, Yorkshire, April 10, 1832; d. 1918.
Career in BC: 1857-1862, Fort Simpson; 1862-1870, Metlakatla; 1870, to England January 28, returned September 28; 1871-1881 Metlakatla; 1882-1887, at Metlakatla but released from CMS; 1887-1912, New Metlakatla, Annette Island, Alaska

Dundas, Robert James; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1859-1865; Education: School, Charterhouse, Oxford, Exeter College, matriculated June 12, 1851, 2nd class Mod., 1854; 5th Lit. hum 1856; B.A. 1856, M.A. 1859, Wells Theological College, 1856, Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Norwich, 1858; C. of Great Yarmouth, 1858; Priest, Bishop of Norwich, 1859; Career After Leaving BC: C. of Chelmsford 1866-68; P.C. of St. John Gt. Yarmouth, 1868-71; Organising Secretary of the SPG for Archdeanery Of Surrey 1876-1893, R. of Albury with Chapel of St. Martha-on Hill, Chilworth, Dio. Winchester


Honorary Positions in BC: Chaplain to Bishop of Columbia, 1859-1866

Dunn, Thomas; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1882-1884; Education: Durham, Training College before 1874. C.M. College, Islington, 1881; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop Perry for London, 1882; Priest, Bishop of London for Colonies, 1882; Career After Leaving BC: Deputy Secretary in England, 1884-1886; CMS Missionary in Osaka 1886-1891; Principal, Boys High School, Osaka, 1889-1890; V. of Stretton, 1894-1901; C. of St. Paul Tiverton 1901-02; Okeford 1902-1904; R. of Weare, Gifford 1904-1910; C. of Eaton with Eastwell, Melton Mowbray, Dio. Peterborough 1910-; Notes: Vice-Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, 1874-1878; Acting Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, 1878-1880, returned to England, Feb. 5, 1881 to attend CM College; Vital Statistics: b. Wallhouses, near Hexham, c.1842; Married: Jane A. Ford, 1874.

Career in BC: 1882, Kincolith, sailed June 10 from England; 1883-1884, Metlakatla to May 24, 1884.


Career in BC: 1884-1888, Lytton; 1889-1890, Vancouver, Curate of St. James’, and Chaplain To Missions to Seamen at Burrard Inlet; 1892-1895, Lytton; 1899-1914, Vancouver, Rector of St. James’; 1915-1918, Lytton, Assistant, Indian Mission of St. Mary’s and St. Paul’s

Faulconer, William Gower; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1881-1883; Education: Preparatory Institute and C.M. College, Islington, 1878-1879, 2nd Class Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Theological Examination; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of London for Colonies, 1881; Priest, Bishop of Caledonia, 1881; Career After Leaving BC: C. of Southwick, 1883-85; St. Edmund, Whalley Range, 1885-1886; SPG. Miss. At St. Sylvestre, Quebec 1886-1888; R. of Cookshire, Que. New Ireland, 1890-1905; R. of Levis with New Liverpool, Que, 1905-1909; retired Portsblade-by-Sea, Sussex, 1909-1930; Notes: Father Thomas Faulconer, Mother Harriet Gower; Vital Statistics: b. Hurstmonceaux, Sussex, February 20, 1856; d. 1930?; Married: Beatrice Mary Cartman, July 1, 1881 (also CMS missionary)
Career in BC: 1881, Skeena Forks (Hazelton), appointed July 8; 1882, Metlakatla and Skeena Forks (Hazelton); 1883, Skeena Forks (Hazelton), returned to England Sept. 18, 1883

Field, John; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1886-; Education: Preparatory Institute, 1875; C.M. College, Islington, 1876-1877, and 1879-1880; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of London for Exeter, 1880; Curate Pitt Portion, Tiverton, Devon, 1880-1882; Priest, Bishop of Exeter, 1881; CMS Missionary at Trinity College, Kandy, Ceylon, as Assistant Tutor, 1882-1885; Vital Statistics: b. Schull, County Cork, Ireland, 1846; d. Duncan, August 19, 1918; Married: Emily Jane Mattock, Feb. 17, 1872. Transferred to North Pacific Mission because of Mrs. Field's health.

Career in BC: 1886-1889, Hazelton, appointed Feb. 20, 1886; 1889, in England May-July; 1890-1894, Hazelton; 1894, on furlough from June 21; 1895-1918, Hazelton

Forbes, James Herbert; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1890; Education: Cambridge, Selwyn College, Admitted Pensioner Oct. 10, 1885, Matriculated Michelmas term, 1885, B.A. 1889; Lichfield College 1889; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of New Westminster, 1890; Career After Leaving BC: Assistant Collector to British South African Co. in North East Rhodesia, 1897, Disappears from Crockford's, 1902, Assistant mining commissioner, 1905-1910? Notes: Son of Alexander Clark Forbes. Alumni Cantabrigienses records name as James Hubert; Vital Statistics: b. Whitchurch, Reading, Mar. 20, 1865;

Career in BC: 1890-1891, Kamloops, curate of St. Paul's, from Dec. 20, 1890

Ford, Frank Alfred; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1886-1899; Education: St. Boniface College, Warminster; Notes: Came to Vancouver from Plymouth in 1888, and worked there for some time in a printing office. He taught Sunday School at St. James'. In 1890, he joined Henry Edwardes in the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Died from injuries received while trying to enter a railway carriage in motion; Vital Statistics: b. Plymouth, Sept. 29, 1868; d. Jan 27, 1899

Career in BC: 1895-1896, Moodyville; 1897-1899, Revelstoke

Gammage, James; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1859-1863; Education: St. Mark's College [for schoolteachers], Chelsea, 1842, St. Bees College, 1855; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Chester, 1857; Curate of St. Mary's Newton, Hype 1857-1858; Priest, Bishop of Chester, 1858; Career After Leaving BC: C. of St. Paul's Bury Lane 1864-1866, Belbroughton, Stourbridge 1866-1872; Incumbent of St. Margaret's Church, Hillingdon, Uxbridge, Eng. 1872-1890; Vital Statistics: b. London, Oct. 11, 1822; d. 1893

Career in BC: 1859-1863, Douglas

Garrett, Alexander Charles; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1859-1869; Education: Trinity College, Dublin, Hebrew Prizeman, BA 1854; Hon. D.D., Nebraska Coll, Lincon, 1872; Hon. L.L.D., Univ. of Mississippi, 1876, D.D., Trinity College, Dublin, 1882; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Winchester, 1856; Curate of Worldham near Alton.; Priest, Bishop of Winchester, 1857; Career After Leaving BC: Rector of St. James, San
Francisco, 1869-1872; R. and Dean of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Omaha, 1872-1874; Consecrated Bishop of Northern Texas, Dec. 20, 1874 at Omaha, U.S.; Notes: Father John Garrett, Mother Elizabeth Fry; Vital Statistics: b. Ballymote, Sligo, Ireland, November 4, 1832; d. 1924; Married: Letitia Hope, May 29, 1854.

Career in BC: 1859-1861, Victoria, Principal of Indian Mission; 1862-1863, Victoria, Principal of Indian Mission and Assistant Minister at Christ Church; 1863-1864, Victoria, Principal of Indian Mission, Assistant Minister of Christ Church; Minister of Cedar Hill District; 1865, Victoria, Principal of Indian Missions; 1866, Victoria, Principal of Indian Mission, Assistant Minister of Cathedral and Ministerof Esquimalt; 1867, Esquimalt, Missionary; 1868-1869, Victoria, Principal of Indian Mission


Honorary Positions in BC: 1864-1867, Archdeacon of Vancouver; 1875-1876, Archdeacon of Vancouver

Career in BC: 1864-1867, Victoria, Rector of St. John’s, to March 15, 1867; 1875-1876, Victoria, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral


Career in BC: 1860-1861, Victoria Vice-Principal of Collegiate School; 1862-1863, Victoria Vice-Principal of Collegiate School, Miss. Of St. Mary the Virgin, Metchosin

Good, John Booth; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1861-; Education: St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury 1857; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Lincoln, 1857; R. of Pugwash, N.S. 1858-61; Priest, Bishop of Nova Scotia, 1858; Notes: retired to California, Vital Statistics: b. Wiawby, Lincolnshire, 1833; d. 1916.
Career in BC: 1861-1862, Nanaimo; 1863-1866, Nanaimo, Min. of St. Paul’s church and the Indian Mission; 1866-1867, Yale, Missionary from June 2, 1866 to June 16, 1867; 1868-1874, Lytton and Yale; also Missionary at St. Mary the Virgin, Lillooet; 1874-1875, on leave in England; 1876-1878 Lytton and Yale; also Missionary at St. Mary the Virgin, Lillooet; 1879-1882, Lytton, St. Paul’s Indian Mission and Yale, also Miss. at St. Mary the Virgin, Lillooet; 1882-1883, Nanaimo, locum tenens of St. Paul, Nov. 20, 1882 to Jan. 16, 1883; 1883-1899, Nanaimo, Rector of St. Paul

Gowen, Herbert Henry; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1892-1896; Education: St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury 1883 1st Class Preliminary Theological Exam 1883; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Honolulu, 1886; C. of St. Andrew’s and Mission to Chinese in Honolulu, 1886-1891; Priest, Honolulu, 1889; Great Yarmouth, Norfolk 1891-1892; Career After Leaving BC: Rector of Trinity Church, Seattle, 1897-1903; Notes: Fellow of the Royal Geographic Society, 1900; Vital Statistics: b. 1864
Career in BC: 1892-1894, New Westminster, C. of Holy Trinity, and V. of All Saints, Trenant; 1894-1897, New Westminster, R. of St. Barnabas

Gribbell, Frank Barrow; Sponsor: CMS 1865-1867, SPG; Years in BC: 1866-1878; Education: C.M. College, Islington 1863-1865; B.D. by Archbishop of Canterbury 1881; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of London, 1865; Priest, Bishop of Columbia, 1865; Career After Leaving BC: Commisary to Bishop of Columbia 1879-1902; V. of Christ Church, Erith, 1881-1891; Organising Secretary SPG for Archdeanery of Maidstone and Rochester 1883; V. of Ringmer, Dio. Chichester 1891-1905, Retired 1906; Married: Liza Morrell, 1865.
Honorary Positions in BC: Chaplain to Bishop of Columbia 1873-1878
Career in BC: 1866, Metlakatla (for 7 weeks); 1866-1867, Saanich, Missionary of Saanich and Lake, (Esquimalt etc.); 1867, Victoria, R. of St. John’s; 1868-1872, Victoria, R. of St. John’s; Principal of Collegiate School and R. of St. Paul’s, Esquimalt; 1873-1875, Victoria, Principal of Collegiate School and R. of St. Paul’s, Esquimalt; 1875-1876, I. Of St. Mary the Virgin, Metchosin; 1877-1878, Miss. Of St. Stephen’s Saanich

Grundy, John; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1899-; Education: Preparatory Institute, 1874, CM College, Islington, 1876-1878; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of London for Colonies, 1878; Curate of Kimberley, Nottinghamshire; Sept. 26, 1878 to Hong Kong; Priest, Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, 1880; Kuangtung Itinerant Mission, residing at Canton, 1882-; Vital Statistics: b. Sneinton, Nottinghamshire, c1853; Married: Jane Poole, Sept 5, 1878
Career in BC: 1899-1900, Victoria, Chinese mission

Guillod, Henry; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1867-; Notes: lay catechist; Vital Statistics: d. Alberni, June 24, 1906
Career in BC: 1866-1867, Victoria, Catechist, Indian Mission; 1868-1871 Alberni, Catechist; 1871-1874, Comox, catechist, St. Andrew’s from Oct. 13, 1871

Gurd, Robert Winter; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1886-; Education: Preparatory Institute, 1882, C.M. College, Islington, 1883-1886; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop

Career in BC: 1886-1893, Metlakatla, appointed June 10, 1886; 1893-1894, on leave in England, August 12, 1893 to May 3, 1894; 1894-1898, Metlakatla; 1898-1911, Kitlatla; 1911-1913, Claxton; 1913-1915, Metlakatla

Hall, Alfred James; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1877-1911; Education: Preparatory Institute, 1873, C.M. College, Islington 1874-1877, B.D. by Archbishop of Canterbury 1894; Clerical career: Deacon, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1877; Priest, Bishop of London for Col., 1877; Career After Leaving BC: Rector of Tickenham, 1912; Vital Statistics: b. Thorpe, Surrey, c.1853; d. England, April 18, 1918; Married: Elizabeth Thimbleby, 1879

Honorary Positions held in BC: Secretary, CMS North Pacific Mission, 1885-1911; Rural Dean of Alert Bay, 1896-1911;


Harrison, Charles; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1882-1890 (as CMS Missionary) to 1919 as resident; Education: Preparatory Institute 1878-1880, C.M. College, Islington, 1880-1882; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of London for Colonies, 1882; Priest, Bishop of Caledonia, 1885; Notes: Designated by CMS to Gond Mission, 1882, but on exigency, transferred to North Pacific Mission. Returned to Massett after resignation as CMS missionary, retired to England in 1919; Vital Statistics: b. Bishop Auckland, c.1857; Married: Mary Anne Hill, 1882

Career in BC: 1882-1886, Massett, appointed Oct. 21, 1882; 1887-1890, Massett; V of St. John the Evangelist; 1890, on furlough in England and resigned

Hayman, William Edward; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1866-1869; Education: Member of the Royal College of Surgeons; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1866; Priest, Bishop of Columbia, 1867; Career After Leaving BC: 1870-1871, P.C.of Garforth, Yorkshire, 1871-1874, V. of Garforth, Yorkshire; 1874-1886, V. of Dudley with Capel, Tonbridge, Kent; resigned 1886; Notes: parish surgeon in England, medical practitioner in Victoria before his ordination; returned to England by 1870; Vital Statistics: d. 1888; Married: Jude Haynes, Sept. 26, 1868

Career in BC: 1866-1867, New Westminster, C. of St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton from June 5 to Dec.; 1866-1867, C. Of Holy Trinity, from Dec. 1866 to March 1867; 1867-1868, C. of St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton, March, 1867 to Aug. 1868; 1868, C. of Holy Trinity, Aug-Sept.; 1868, Victoria, Assistant Minister of Christ Church Cathedral
Career in BC: 1860-1877, Victoria; 1878-1889, Victoria, Rector of Christ Church Cathedral; 1890-1892, Victoria, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral

Hogan, William; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1893-; Education: Trinity College Dublin, 1893; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Caledonia, 1893; Priest, Bishop of Caledonia, 1894; Notes: member of the Royal Irish Constabulary before CMS. April 18, 1893, accepted by CMS and appointed to North Pacific Mission, June 15. Vital Statistics: b. Dublin, 1852; d. Masset, Feb. 1, 1914; Married: Margaret Louisa Hutchinson, 1893  
Career in BC: 1893-1910, Port Simpson; 1910-1914, Massett

Holmes, David; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1867-; Education: St. Augustine’s College, Cant. 1865; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1867; Priest, Bishop of Columbia, 1868; Career After Leaving BC: 1885-1890 at Virginia City, Montana, Watsonville, CA, Bakersfield, CA, Clarendon; Notes: Started as lay catechist at Yale; Vital Statistics: b. Old Bollingbrooke, Lincolnshire, Sept. 7, 1837; d. Duncan, October 19, 1915; Married: Susan Abercombie Nagle  
Career in BC: 1867-1868, Yale and Hope, lay catechist, Indian Mission; 1869-1873, Yale and Hope; 1873-1883, Cowichan, St. Peter’s Mission; 1884, Cowichan, Agricultural College; 1885-1890, General Licence, Dio Columbia; 1890-1894 Chemainus, St. Michael’s, Missionary Clergyman; 1895-1895, Duncan, St. John the Baptist; 1905, retired

Career in BC: 1882-1884, Yale, V. of St. John; 1884-1887, Kamloops

Irwin, Henry (Fr. Pat); Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1885-1901; Education: Oxford, Keble College, matriculated Oct. 14, 1878, B.A., 1882, Ely Theological College, 1883, M.A. Keble, 1884; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Worcester, 1882; Priest, Bishop of Worcester, 1884; C. of St. Andrew’s Church, Rugby, Waarwick, 1883-1884; Assistant
Priest of St. Andrew’s Church, 1884-May 1, 1885; Notes: Oldest son of Henry, cleric. Is model for Father Mike in Ralph Conner’s *The Prospector*; Vital Statistics: b. Inniskillen, Co. Fermagh, Aug 2, 1859; d. Montreal, January 13, 1902; Married: Frances Stuart Innes, sister-in-law of Alfred Shildrick in 1890; wife and infant child died in late 1890.

**Career in BC:** 1885-1886, Kamloops, asst. priest of St. Paul’s Mission, from May 28, 1885; 1887, Kamloops, asst. priest of St. Paul’s Mission, Donald, in charge of St. Peter’s Church, Feb. 1887; 1888, Donald, in charge of St. Peter’s Church, to Nov.; 1888-1889, on leave in Ireland to summer of 1889; 1889-1891, New Westminster, Senior Curate of Holy Trinity, from July 26, 1889; 1891-1894, on leave in Ireland Jan 30, 1891 to May 1, 1894; back again to Ireland, Sept. 21, 1894 to Jan. 1896; 1896-1899, Rossland, St. George’s from Jan 27, 1896 to Nov. 5, 1899; 1899, Trail, Miss. at St. Andrew’s, from Feb. 1899; 1900-1901, Fairview, Miss of Holy Trinity with Midway

**Jenns, Percival:** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1865-; Education: St. Aidan’s College, 1860, Winchester Theological College, 1860; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Winchester, 1862; C. of St. paul, Southwark, 1862-1864; Priest, Bishop of Winchester, 1863; Vital Statistics: b. London, Baptised Dec. 23, 1834; d. Victoria, January 22, 1915

**Career in BC:** 1865-1866, New Westminster, Holy Trinity and St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton to May 1866; 1866-1868, Nanaimo, R. of St. Paul’s from May 20, 1866 to July 1868; 1868-1912 Victoria, R. of St. John the Divine, from July 13, 1868 to Dec. 22, 1912


**Honorary Positions held in BC:** Hon. Canon of St. Andrew’s, Dio. Caledonia, 1911-1914

**Career in BC:** 1890-1899, Massett, appointed April 24, 1890; 1899-1914, Metlakatla

**Kemm, James Cornelius Canning:** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1890-1894; Education: Lichfield College, 1885; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Lichfield, 1887; C. of Coseley, Staffordshire 1887-1889; Priest, Bishop of Lichfield, 1888; Assistant minister of St. John’s Cathedral, Denver Colorado 1889-1890; Career After Leaving BC: C. of Normantton 1895-1898; R. of Whitwood, York, 1898-1905, Vicar of Ormsby, Yorkshire, 1905-1929, Retired, 1929-1930; Vital Statistics: d. June 19, 1930

**Career in BC:** 1890 Kamloops, C. of Kamloops Mission, Missionary of St. Paul’s Cathedral Church; 1891-1892, Kamloops, C. of Kamloops Mission district, Missionary of St. Paul, Golden with St. John the Evangelist, Field, with St. Peter, Donald; 1893-1894 Golden, P.C. of Golden mission district

Career in BC: 1860-1862, Van Winkle, Williams Creek, Richfield, Antler Creek, Keithley’s Creek, Dec. 1860 to July 1861; 1862, Missionary at Hope, Yale, Lytton, Lillooet and Douglas; 1863-1865, Alberni

Lambert, James Hiley; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1900-; Education: Oxford, Magdalene College, B.A. M.A.; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Hereford for Edinburgh, 1876; Priest, Bishop of Hereford, 1879; St. Michael’s, Saskatchewan, 1898; and the Forks of the Saskatchewan, 1898-1900

Career in BC: 1900, Vernon

Lomas, William Henry; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1867-1874 (years served); Notes: lay catechist. Left the Mission in 1874 and became Indian Agent in Duncan; Vital Statistics: d. Somenos District, October 27, 1899; Married: Mary, who was born in Cowichan Valley, and baptized at St. Peter’s Quamichan

Career in BC: 1867-1874, Quamichan (Cowichan), lay catechist, Indian Mission

Lowe, Richard Lomas; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1860-65; Education: Durham, Hatfield Hall, BA; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Lichfield, 1858; C. of Christ Church, Stafford 1858-60; Priest, Bishop of Lichfield, 1859; Career After Leaving BC: C. of Saxby 1865-66, C. of Muckton with Burwell 1866-69, V. of Bradley, Dio. Lichfield 1869-1904; Vital Statistics: d. 1905

Career in BC: 1860-1861, Nanaimo, Missionary of St. Paul’s Church; 1862, Saanich, Lake and Salt Spring District, 1863-1865, Saanich, Minister of North and South Saanich, and Lake District

Macduff, Alexander Ramsay; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1893-; Education: Trinity College, Dublin, B.A.; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop Anderson for Carlisle, 1869; Priest, Bishop of Carlisle, 1890; Vital Statistics: b. Chelsea, Jan 26, 1846

Career in BC: 1893, Ashcroft and Nicola

Mason, George; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1873-1881; Education: Oxford, Oriel College, matriculated Nov 6, 1846, B.A. from New Inn Hall, 1853, M.A. 1860; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Sarum, 1853; C. of Burleston, Dorset, 1853-1854; Priest, Bishop of Exeter, 1854; Incumbent of Devon? 1854-1858, Perpetual Curate of St. Stephen’s, Devonport 1858-1862, Archdeacon of Honolulu 1864-1873; Career After Leaving BC: V. of Long Cross, Chertsey, Surrey, 1884-; Notes: Oldest son of Thomas, cleric; Vital Statistics: b. Handley, Dorset, 1829; Married: Ellen Mary Jones
Honorary Positions held in BC: Bishop’s Commisary, 1878; Executive Standing Committee, Dec. 1875-1878; Archdeacon of Vancouver, 1880-84; Executive Committee, BC, 1880-84; Select Committee on Sunday Schools, 1880; Commissary to Bishop of Columbia, 1884

Career in BC: 1873-1874, New Westminster, Holy Trinity; 1874, Victoria, Principal of Collegiate School, minister at Cedar Hill and Lake; 1874-1878, Nanaimo, St. Paul’s, rector from Sept 27, 1874 to June 23, 1878; 1878-1879, Victoria, Dean of the Cathedral; Saanich and Metchosin, Missionary; 1880, Victoria, assistant R. of the Cathedral; 1881-1882, Victoria, assistant R. of the Cathedral and St. Paul’s Church, Esquimalt; 1883-1884, Victoria, assistant R. of the Cathedral

McCullagh, James Benjamin; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1883-; Education: CMS Training College at Cheltenham; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Caledonia, 1890; Priest, Bishop of Caledonia, 1890; Notes: In Army before volunteering as a lay missionary, 1883, Stationed in Malta; Vital Statistics: b. Newry, County Down, Ireland, 1854; d. Prince Rupert, May 1, 1921; Married: 1. Mary Philippa Webster, (daughter of English Chaplain at Malta, d. Dec 18, 1900) 1 daughter, Melita Mary, and 2. Eleanor Wharton (daughter of Rev. A. P. Wharton) married 1907, children Jean, Nancy, Pat, Chris


Mogg, Henry Herbert; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1876-1880; Education: School, Clifton College, Cambridge, Pembroke College, admitted Pensioner Oct 5, 1870, Matriculated Michelmas Term, 1870, scholar, 1870, B.A. 1874; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Norwich, 1874; C. of East Bilney, 1874-1876; Priest, Bishop of Norwich, 1875; Career After Leaving BC: C. of All Saints, Clifton, 1881-1884; I. of Doulting, Somerset 1884-1886; V. of Chittoe, Dio. Sarum, 1886-1907; V. of Bishop’s Canning, Dio. Sarum, 1907-1927; Editor of Sarum Diocesan Year Book 1916-1921; Diocesan Kalendar 1919-1921; Rural Dean of Cannings portion Avebury, 1919-; Prebendary of Wilsford and Woodford in Sarum Cathedral 1919-1929; Vital Statistics: b. Bristol, Sept. 18, 1850; d. St. Martin’s, South Cornwall, July 30, 1929

Honorary Positions held in BC: Clerical Secretary of the Diocesab Synod of BC, 1876-1880; Organising Secretary for the Bishop of New Westminster, 1880; Commissary to Bishop of New Westminster, 1880-1922; Secretary of the English Committee for the Dio. New Westminster, 1885-1896;

Career in BC: 1876-1877 Victoria, Principal of Collegiate School and curate of Christ Church Cathedral, from December, 1876; 1877, Victoria, Principal of Collegiate School and C. of Christ Church Cathedral, and Missionary of St. Philips, Cedar Hill; 1878, Victoria, Principal of Collegiate School and C. of Christ Church Cathedral, and Missionary of St. Philips, Cedar Hill and Burnside, Missionary; and St. Mary the Virgin, Metchosin; 1879, Victoria, Principal of the Collegiate School, R. of St. Paul’s (Garrison Church) Esquimalt from Dec; 1879
Career in BC: 1899-1900, Enderby and Armstrong

Nash, Charles Barnett; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1885-1888; Education: Preparatory Institute, 1876, and C.M. College, Islington, 1876-1880; 2nd Class. Oxford And Cambridge Preliminary Theological Examinations; University College Durham, 1883-1885; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of London for Colonies, 1880; C. of Parkgate, Rotherham, 1880-1881; Priest, Bishop of London, 1881; CMS Missionary at Hangchow 1881-1883; Career After Leaving BC: C. of St. Margaret Ipswich, 1889-1891 and 1893-1895, CMS Missionary at Jaffa 1891-1893, wife invalided; C. of Holy Trinity, South Heigham, Norwich 1896-1898, V. of Watton, Dio. Norwich 1898-1923; Rector of Nelmingham, Norwich, 1923-; Notes: CMS register notes: one of the men kept back [in 1880] for want of funds. Invalided from Hangchow, Jan 18, 1884, retired from CMS in 1892; Vital Statistics: b. Lambeth, c.1856; Married: Ethel Phoebe Freston, April 9, 1885
Career in BC: 1885-1887, Metlakatla, left England May 2, 1885; 1887-1888 Kincolith; 1888, Metlakatla, left for England Sept. 5, invalided

Newton, Henry Swift; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1874-1880; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1875; Priest, Bishop of Columbia, 1878
Career in BC: 1874-1875, Cowichan, lay catechist; 1875-1876, New Westminster and Burrard Inlet from Dec. 19, 1875; 1876-1877, New Westminster; and P.C. of St. Thomas’ Chilliwack; 1877-1878, South Saanich, V. of St. Stephen’s Church, with St. Mary the Virgin, Metchosin to July 7, 1878; 1878-1880, Nanaimo, R. of St. Paul’s Church to Nov. 7, 1880

Owen, Henry Burnard; Sponsor: CMS, SPG; Years in BC: 1867-1873, 1885; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1868; Priest, Bishop of Columbia, 1872; Career After Leaving BC: I. of Creemore, Ont. 1887-1889; I. of Scarborough, Ont. 1891-1893; R. of St. Phillip’s Unionville, Dio. Toronto 1893-; Notes: Owen left BC in 1873 through ill-health and insufficiency of income to support a family of six children. Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature
Career in BC: 1867, Metlakatla; 1868-1869, Victoria, Indian Mission, from Sept. 20, 1868; 1869, Comox, St. Andrew’s, Mission from Nov 9 to Dec. 16; 1869-1870, Nanaimo, St. Paul’s, C. in charge, from Dec. 19, 1869; 1872, Lytton, St. Paul’s Church, from Jun 1 to June 11; 1872-1873 Burrard’s Inlet and Fraser Valley, from Dec. 1, 1872 to Dec. 1, 1873; 1884-1885 Cowichan, R. of St. Peter’s, from Oct. 1, 1884

Paget, Edward Clarence; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1899-; Education: Oxford, Keble College, B.A. M.A.; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, 1875; Priest, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, 1876; Career After Leaving BC: Dean of the Cathedral, Calgary, 1901-;
Career in BC: 1899-1890, Revelstoke

Career in BC: 1897-1901, Stickine River, St. Mary Magdalene, Tahlta; 1909, Stickine River, St. Mary Magdalene, Tahlta, during summer

Praeger, Emil Arnold; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1883-1885; Education: Licentiate of Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow, Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, London; Notes: House surgeon at Hitchin Infirmary. Jan 4, 1877 to East Africa, Frere Town, on eighteen months' engagement; then to return and complete qualifications at College of Surgeons; July 19 to England, ill, and connection closed. 1883 offered again. Resigned from CMS 1885

Career in BC: 1883, Metlakatla, appointed Oct. 9; 1884 Victoria (not authorised?)

Price, Alfred Edwin; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1885-1915; Education: Preparatory Institution, Mary-Nov. 1884; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Caledonia, 1889; Priest, Bishop of Caledonia, 1890; Notes: Appointed to North Pacific Mission as Lay Agent, Mar 28, 1885. Received into full connection with CMS, Sept. 27, 1892. Retired to England 1920; Vital Statistics: b. Bradford on Avon, Wiltshire, 1863; d. Nov. 18, 1931; Married Bessie Anstee, May 10, 1888, who had some medical training before joining him.


Price, Arthur Danvers; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1891-1894; Education: St. John’s Coll, Manitoba, 1888;

Career in BC: 1891-1894, Gardner’s Inlet

Honorary Positions held in BC: Chaplain to the Bishop of Columbia 1860-1864

Career in BC: 1859-1864, Hope, Miss ionary of Christ Church

Pymont, Temple Chevallier Pymont; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1892-1894; Education: Gloucester Theological College, 1881; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Lichfield, 1883; C. of Sutton, Derbyshire, 1883-1884; Priest, Bishop of Lichfield, 1884; Assistant Priest of Sutton, Derbyshire, 1884-1885; I. of Ansty with Shelton 1885-86, V. of Ansty with Stilton, Dio. Worcester 1886-1892; Career After Leaving BC: V. of Ansty with Shilton, Worcester, 1894-1928, Retired at 80 London Road, St. Leonards -on-Sea, 1928-; Vital Statistics: b. Heidelberg, Jan 4., 1857

Career in BC: 1892-1894, Port Essington and Port Simpson, from May 1892 to March 1894


Honorary Positions held in BC: Archdeacon of Vancouver, 1868-1873

Career in BC: 1863-1864, Victoria, Vice-Principal, Collegiate School, and Mininster of Craig Flower District; 1865, Victoria, Vice-Principal, Collegiate School; 1866-1873, Quamichan (Cowitchen), Missionary

Reeve, Henry; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1862-1866; Education: C.M. College, Islington, 1848-1852; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of London for Colonies, 1852; Priest, Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, 1853; CMS Missionary in Shanghai, China, 1853-57, resigned 1857; C. of Papworth St. Agnes 1857-1858; Associate Secretary CMS 1858-1860; C. of Gt. Malvern 1860-1862; Career After Leaving BC: P.C. of St. Matthias, Islington 1866-1868; Chaplain Leeds Borough Gaol 1868-1870; C. of St. James, Birkdale 1870-1873; V. of Wickham Skeith, Dio. Norwich 1873-1886; Vital Statistics: b. London, c. 1830; Married: Louisa Carvosso.
Career in BC: 1862 Yale, Missionary of St. John the Divine, from June and Missionary to the Chinese; 1863, Yale, Missionary of St. John the Divine; 1864-1866, Yale, Missionary of St. John the Divine and Missionary of Christ Church, Hope to June 1866

Reid, Alfred John; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1892-1893; Education: St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury 1882, 1st class Prelim. Theol. Exam 1884; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Fredericton, 1885; Curate of St. George’s Moncton 1885-1886; Priest, Bishop of Fredericton, 1886; Assistant Priest, St. Paul, Portland, Maine, 1886; I. of St. John the Divine, Fredericton, New Brunswick 1886-1890; St. Luke, Toronto 1890-1892; Career After Leaving BC: R. of Clayton, N.Y., 1893-1901; R. of Campbelford with Warkworth, Ont. 1901-1911; St. Mark, West Toronto, 1911-1919; St. Chad, Earls court, Toronto, 1919-1936; Retired, 1936-1957; Notes: Christened Sept. 28, 1861, Father Thomas Reid, Mother Mary Jane, Arrived in Victoria, Sept. 14, 1866, Vital Statistics: b. Newport, Shropshire, Sept. 27, 1861; d. 1957

Career in BC: 1892-1893, Nelson, with Ainsworth, Balfour and Pilot Bay, from May 15, 1892 to July 17, 1893, and Missionary Of St. Saviour’s Pro-Cathedral, Nelson, July 17, 1892 to May 1, 1893

Reynard, James; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1866-; Education: Battersea Training College; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1867; Priest, Bishop of Columbia, 1868; Notes: became ill in 1874. Buried at St Stephen’s Churchyard, Saanich; Vital Statistics: b. Hull, Oct 31, 1829; d. June 19, 1875

Career in BC: 1866, Victoria, Principal of the Indian Mission; 1867, Victoria, Principal of the Indian Mission and Assistant Minister of the Cathedral; 1868, Victoria, Principal of the Indian Mission; 1868-1870, Barkerville, I. of St. Saviour’s, from Aug. 16, 1868; 1870-1871, V. of St. Saviour’s from Sept. 18, 1870 to Aug. 1871; 1871-1874, Nanaimo, R. of St. Paul’s from Aug 27, 1871 to Aug. 16, 1874; 1874-1875, Mt. Newton, Missionary of St. Stephen’s with St. Mary’s Saanichton to death on June 19, 1875


Career in BC: 1879-1880, Metlakatla; 1880-1881 winter to early spring at Skeena Forks; 1881, Metlakatla; 1881-1882, in England, Dec. 1881 to April 1882; 1882-1894, Metlakatla; 1894, to England in May; 1895-1904, Metlakatla

Roberts, Robert James; Sponsor: New England Company; Years in BC: 1879-; Education: Trinity College Dublin, B.A. 1857; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Huron,
1858; Priest, Bishop of Huron, 1859; Missionary In Trinity, Colborne with Ashfield with Wawanosh Township, Ont. 1859-1860; Rector of Boyheed, Ont. 1860-1862; Missionary To Six Nations (New England Company) and Missionary Of St. Paul, Kanyengen, with St. Peter, Ohsweken, Ont. 1862-1871; Missionary Of Christ Church, Cayuga, Ont. 1871-1872; Notes: Columbia Mission Report, 1886-1887 notes that Roberts was superannuated from Diocese of Huron. Retired at Chemainus, 1894-1905; Vital Statistics: b. d.
Chemainus, Feb. 19, 1905
Career in BC: 1879-1894, Kuper, Indian Mission

Schutt, Henry; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1876-1881; Education: Battersea Training College; Vital Statistics: b. Ashbourned; Married: Name unspecified, when accepted for CMS service
Career in BC: 1876-1878 Metlakatla, accepted as Schoolmaster, Aug. 1876; 1878-1881, Kincolith, connection closed October 1881

Honorary Positions held in BC: Chaplain to the Bishop of Columbia 1859-1867

Sheldon, Alfred Harold C.; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1880-; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of New Westminster, 1881; Priest, Bishop of New Westminster, 1883; Vital Statistics: b. c.1850; d. drowned at sea, off Port Essington, Feb. 20, 1888
Career in BC: 1881-1883 New Westminster, Holy Trinity, C. from Sept. 18, 1881; 1883-1884, Cassiar; 1885-1888, Port Essington, Missionary Of St. John the Baptist

Honorary Positions held in BC: Executive Committee, New Westminster, 1902-1909
Career in BC: 1881, Victoria, C. of Christ Church Cathedral; 1882-1883, Victoria, Assistant Priest of Christ Church; 1883-1884, Maple Ridge, V. of St. John the Divine; 1884, Kamloops, C. of Kamloops Mission; 1885-1888 Kamloops, Assistant Priest of St. Paul’s Church, with Spallumcheen, from Oct. 27, 1885; 1890-1894, Kamloops, P.C. St. Paul’s, from April, 1890 to April 1894; 1894-1903, New Westminster, R. of Holy Trinity; 1903-1904, on leave in England; 1904-1910, New Westminster, R. of Holy Trinity

Sillitoe, Acton Windeyer; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1879-; Education: Cambridge, Pembroke College, matriculated at Trinity, Feb. 22, 1859, Matriculated Michelmas, 1859, migrated to Pembroke, Sept. 24, 1860, B.A. 1862, M.A. 1866, D.D. 1879, D.C.L. (Doctor of Civil Law, Honoris Causa), Trinity College, University of Toronto, 1893; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Lichfield, 1869; C. of Brierly Hill, 1869-1871; Priest, Bishop of Lichfield, 1870; All Saints, Wolverhampton, 1871-1873; Ellenbrook 1873-1876; Chaplain At Geneva, 1876-1877; Chaplain to the British Legation at Darmstadt, 1877-1879; Consecrated Bishop at St. John the Baptist, the Parish Church of Croydon, Surrey by Archbishop of Canterbury (A.C. Tait) on Nov. 1, 1879; Notes: Eldest son of Acton, London merchant. Travelled to England with family in 1854; Vital Statistics: b. Sydney, New South Wales, July 12, 1840; d. New Westminster, June 9, 1894; Married: Violet Emily, who died July 1, 1934 in Victoria

Career in BC: 1880-1889, New Westminster, St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton; 1889-1894 New Westminster, R. of Holy Trinity from July 19, 1889 to death


Honorary Positions held in BC: Examining Chaplain to Bishop of New Westminster, 1895-1898, and 1900-1909; Archdeacon of Columbia, 1896-1897; Executive Committee, 1896-1897; Archdeacon of Yale, 1897-1909; The Board of Discipline, New Westminster, 1900-1909

Career in BC: 1884-1885, Lytton, St. Paul’s Indian Church from May 31, 1884 to Oct. 1885; 1885-1890, Lillooet, Indian Missionary At St. Mary the Virgin with St. John the Divine, Yale; 1891-1893, Lytton, Missionary of St. Mary’s and St. Paul’s Indian Church; 1893-1894, Lytton, Missionary Of St. Barnabas, Church, Lytton, and Chaplain of St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, Lytton, from Aug. 26, 1893; 1894-1895, on leave in England from Oct. 24, 1894 to April 1895; 1895-1896, Lytton, Missionary of St. Mary’s and St. Paul’s Indian Church, Missionary Of St. Barnabas, Church, Lytton, and Chaplain of St. Bartholomew’s Hospital; 1897-1903, Lytton, Superintendent of the Indian Missions and Missionary of St. Mary’s and St. Paul’s Indian Church, Missionary of St. Barnabas,
Church, and Chap. Of St. Bartholomew’s Hospital; 1904-1909 Lytton, Superintendent of the Indian Missions and Missionary of St. Mary’s and St. Paul’s Indian Church

Sneath, George Edward; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1879-1882; Education: Preparatory Institute, Oct. 1878-Mar. 1879; Notes: Joiner. June 21, 1877 to East Equitorial Africa - Nyanza Mission, as Industrial Agent; Aug, 1877 invalided to England; Dec. 5, 1877 shipwrecked in English Channel; Mar. 28, 1878 appointed to East Equitorial Africa, returned in April in ill-health; Oct. 8, 1878 admitted to Preparatory Institution, with view to transfer to a cooler climate, Mar. 14, 1879, appointed to Queen Charlotte’s Island, North Pacific. July 18, 1882, connection closed; Vital Statistics: b. Barrowby, Lincolnshire, c. 1857; d. 1883 in US during an asthma attack?

Stephenson, Frederick Lambert; Sponsor: SPG, CMS (in local connection); Years in BC: 1883-; Education: Trinity College, Dublin, B.A., 1883; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of New Westminster for Columbia, 1889; Priest, Bishop of British Columbia, 1890; Notes: Accepted for temporary employment with CMS, Dec. 22, 1885, Oct. 18, 1887 as Missionary in local connection, connection closed in 1888. Rejoined CMS North Pacific Mission in local connection. Resigned CMS in 1894 to take charge of church at Port Simpson in connection with SPG. Took up medicine, the knowledge of which was to stand him in good stead when called upon in later years in northern and central BC to do emergency surgery and accident victims and sickness generally. Failing eyesight made it impossible for him to continue his medical studies after the first year. Arrived in Victoria in late 1883, where he took up teaching for a time. (Obit, Jan 16, 1941, Canadian Churchman). Chaplain of the 49th Edmonton Battalion, wounded and gassed and invalided home, 1917-1919; Vital Statistics: b. Stratford on Avon, Warwickshire, 1866; d. Victoria, Jan 5, 1941; Married: E. Fisher, 1889.
Career in BC: 1889, Esquimalt, St. Paul’s (Garrison Church) and Metchosin; 1889-1890, Cedar Hill, V. of St. Luke’s with St. Michael’s, Lake with Cadboro Bay with Craigflower, from Oct.1889; 1890-1894, Kitkatla, Missionary of St. Peter’s; 1894-1898, Port Simpson, St. Katherine’s; 1899, Metlakatla, St. Paul’s; 1900-1906, Atlin, V. of St. Martin’s 1907-1913, Telkwa (Aldermere), Bulkley Valley; 1913-1914, Ladysmith, R. of St. John; 1914-1917 and 1919-1922, Quamichan, St. Peter’s with St. Andrew’s Cowichan; 1922-1924, Ladysmith, R. of St. John’s; 1924-1926, Victoria, R. of St. Saviour’s, Victoria West, from November 1924; 1926-1941, Licenced to Preach, Dio. BC

Tomlinson, Robert; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1867-1881 (as CMS); Education: Trinity College, Dublin, B.A., Licentiate in Theology; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop Anderson for Bishop of London, 1866; Notes: Connection with CMS closed June, 1883; Vital Statistics: b. Cork, Ireland, c. 1840; d. Meanskinish, BC, Sept 18, 1913; Married: Alice Mary Woods (niece of Archdeacon Charles Woods) on April 24, 1868 in Victoria.
Career in BC: 1867-1879 Kincolith, Christ Church; 1879-1880, Ankihtlast (Kispiox) from Spring 1879 to August 1880; 1880-1881, in England to Feb. 1881; 1881-1883, Ankihtlast (Kispiox), connection closed in June 1883

Career in BC: 1897, Kitkatla; 1898-1900, Alert Bay, returned to Australia, May 1900

White, Algernon Silva; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1899-; Education: St. John’s College, Winnipeg, B.A., M.A.; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Rupertsland, 1893; Priest, Bishop of Rupertsland, 1894; Carman, 1893-1894; St. Paul’s, 1895-1898
Career in BC: 1899-1900, New Westminster

Willemar, Jules Xavier; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1867-; Education: Maynooth College, Ireland?; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Victoria, Modeste Demers, 1864; Priest, Bishop of Victoria, Modeste Demers, 1865; Professor in St. Louis, Roman Catholic Coll, Victoria, 1865-1867; Notes: Received into the Anglican Church, May 8, 1866.; Vital Statistics: b. Luxueil, France, Dec. 9, 1845; d. Sandwick, July 30, 1935; Married: Mary Isobel Munro of Victoria, 1879. (Mary’s obit - born Hamilton, Ont, came to BC with her parents. Mrs. Willemar was also well known in Victoria, where a sister, Mrs. K. Guilford, resides.) J. Gresko notes that Willemar’s birth name was Villemard. Career in BC: 1867-1868, Kincolith, Indian Mission; 1868-1871, Alberni from July 15, 1868; 1871-1892, Comox (Sandwick), P.C. of St. Andrew’s Mission; 1892-1906, Comox, Priest in charge of St. Andrew’s with St. Peter’s, Comox Bay, from Aug. 2, 1892; 1906-1913, Comox, V. of St. Andrew’s Church, Sandwick with St. Peter’s, Comox, 1906-1912; 1913-1914, in England; 1913-1935, Comox (Sandwick), R. Emeritus of St. Andrew’s

Woods, Charles Thomas; Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1860-; Education: Trinity College, Dublin, B.A., 1849, Divinity Testamur, Trinity, 1849, M.A. 1855; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Worcester, 1849; Curate of St. Nicholas, Warwick, 1849-1851; Priest, Bishop of Worcester, 1850; St. Michael, Badbrook, 1851-1854; Minister of Quebec Chapel 1854-1858; Woburn Chapel, Tavistock-square, 1858-1860; Notes: Uncle of Alice Woods, who married Robert Tomlinson. Mrs. Woods was the Lady

**Honorary Positions held in BC:** Archdeacon of Columbia. July 11, 1868-Jan 2, 1895, Executive Committee, New Westminster, 1884;

**Career in BC:** 1860-1862, Victoria, Principal of Collegiate School, from August 1860; 1862-1866, Victoria, Principal of Collegiate School, Missionary Clergyman of Esquimalt and Craigflower, Assistant Priest of St. John the Divine, and Chaplain Of Gaol; 1867-1868, Victoria, Principal of Collegiate School; Assistant Minister of St. John’s and Minister of Cedar Hill District; 1868-1889, New Westminster, R. of Holy Trinity from July 25, 1868; 1889-1895, Sapperton, R. of St. Mary the Virgin


**Career in BC:** 1883-1885, Yale, Missionary of St. John the Divine; 1885-1886, Lytton, C. of St. Paul’s Mission, from June, 1885; 1886-1888, Yale, I. of St. John the Divine; 1888-1891, Lytton, Assistant Priest of St. Mary’s and St. Paul’s Indian Church

**Wright, Francis Ellington;** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1889-1891; Education: Cambridge, Down College, matriculated non-college from Ayerst House, Michelmas, 1884, admitted Downing, Jan 18, 1886; Lichfield College 1887; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of New Westminster, 1889; Priest, Bishop of New Westminster, 1890; Career After Leaving BC: Priest in charge of Holy Spirit Mission, Abbeyhill, Edinburgh, 1891-1892; Diocesan Chaplain, Dio. Edinburgh, 1892-1894; R. of Christ Church, Falkirk with St. Mary’s Mission, Grangemouth, Stirling, 1894-1913

**Career in BC:** 1889-1890, Kamloops, C. of Kamloops Mission District, Missionary Of St. Paul’s Kamloops with St. Peter’s Donald; 1890-1891, New Westminster, Assistant Priest of Holy Trinity and P.C. of All Saints’, Ladner (alternate Sundays)

**Wright, Frederick George;** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1880-1883; Education: Oxford, St. Mary Hall, Matriculated Oct. 23, 1876; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Columbia, 1880; Priest, Bishop of Columbia, 1882; Career After Leaving BC: C. of Purleigh, Essex, 1883-1885, Chaplain to the Forces, Portsmouth, 1885-1886; Devonport, 1886-1890; Malta, 1890-1896; Preston, 1896-1899; Aldershot, 1899; South Africa, 1900-1902; R. of Victoria Hospital, Netley, Hampshire, 1902-1910, R. of Lady Alexandra Hospital, Cosham with Hilsea Barracks, 1910-1913; R. of St. Michael’s, Hopton-Wafers with Church of St. John the Baptist, Doddington, Shropshire, 1913-1916; Honorary Chaplain, Chester, Blue Coat Hospital, and Perpetual Curate of St. John’s Hospital with St. George’s Home, Chester, with the Licence to Preach, 1916-1924, Poor Law Institution, Hool, 1923-1924; V. of St. Martin’s Church, Barholme, with St. Mary’s church, Stow, Linconshire, 1924-1925; Notes: son of Henry Press Wright. Listed in *Alumni Oronienses*

**Honorary Positions held in BC:** Executive Committee, BC, 1880-1882;

**Career in BC:** 1877-1879, Victoria, Vice Principal of Collegiate School; 1880-1883, Saanich, C. of St. Stephen’s, Mount Newton Cross Road, South Saanich with St. Mary’s, Saanichton with Holy and Undivided Trinity, Patricia Bay, North Saanich (R. of same 1882-1883)

**Wright, Henry Press;** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1861-1865, 1876-80; Education: Durham, Late Scholar, University Essay Prize 1836; Late Gisborne and Hale Scholar and Classics Prize of St. Peter’s College Cambridge, B.A. 1841, M.A. 1861; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1841; C. of Croscombe, Somerset, 1841-1842; Priest, Bishop of Gloucester, 1842; Assistant Priest of Croscombe, Somerset, 1842-1843; I. of St. John the Baptist, Frome Selwood, Somerset, 1843-1844; I. Of Guiseley, Yorkshire, 1844-1845; Perpetual Curage of St. Mary’s, Leeds, 1845-1846; Chaplain to the Forces, 1846-1861 (Cephalonia and the Southern Ionian Islands, 1846-1851; Corfu, 1851-1854, Chaplain General to British Forces in Crimea, 1854-1856, Chaplain to the Forces at Canterbury, 1856-1861), Commissary for Auditing Accounts, 1860-1861; Career After Leaving BC: Chaplain to the Forces at Portsmouth, 1865-1876; R. of St. John the Baptist, Greatham, Hampshire, 1880-1890; Notes: 1860 *Columbia Annual Report* notes that Wrigth was an intimate friend of Bishop Hills, and Principal Chaplain in the Crimea; Vital Statistics: b. India, Dec. 9, 1816; d. near Petersfield, England, Sept. 18, 1892

**Honorary Positions held in BC:** Archdeacon of Columbia, 1861-1865. Archdeacon of Vancouver, 1876-1880, Executive Committee, BC, 1877-1880, Canon of Christ Church Cathedral, 1877-1880;

**Career in BC:** 1861-1865, New Westminster, R. of St. Mary the Virgin, Sapperton, 1876, Victoria, Honorary Canon of Christ Church Cathedral; 1877, Victoria, R. of St. Paul’s Royal Naval Station and Garrison Church, Esquimalt; 1878 Esquimalt, Archdeacon of Vancouver and Honorary Canon of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria; 1879-1891, Victoria, Honorary Canon of Christ Church Cathedral

**Yolland, Field;** Sponsor: SPG; Years in BC: 1893; Education: Lichfield College; Clerical career: Deacon, Bishop of New Westminster, 1891; Priest, Bishop of New Westminster, 1892;

**Career in BC** 1893-1895, Ashcroft; 1896, 1896 Revelstoke; 1897, South Vancouver and Moodyville

### 2. Female missionaries sponsored by the CMS

**Appleyard, Florence;** Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1893-; Education: Trained nurse; Notes: Accepted Apr. 28, 1893, June 1 to North Pacific Mission, Metlakatla; Vital Statistics: b. Finsbury Park, 1863; Married: Benjamin Appleyard, SPG missionary and cousin.

**Career in BC** 1893-1895, Metlakatla
Beeching, Edith Grace; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1894-1901; Education: Highbury Ladies Training Home; Notes: Accepted April 3, 1894 by CMS and appointed to North Pacific Mission, to assist in the work at Alert Bay; June 7, to North Pacific Mission; Vital Statistics: b. Dover, 1871. 
Career in BC: 1894-1898, Alert Bay; 1899, At home, 1900-1901, Alert Bay.

Carleton, Christine; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1895-1899; Education: Draper’s Assistant, ed. at Highbury, 1894; Notes: Accepted April 23, 1895 as Missionary CMS; Oct. 17 departed for British Columbia Mission - Alert Bay. Nov. 28, 1900 to England. Nov. 5, 1901, transferred to Western China Mission. Jan 3, 1902, to Mien-cheo; Sept., Wei-cheng.; Vital Statistics; b. Thornton Heath, cl871. 
Career in BC: 1895-1899, Alert Bay; 1900, At Home

Davies, Bertha; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1897-; Accepted Feb 16, 1897 as missionary CMS, April 22, departed for British Columbia Mission, Metlakatla. Married June 8, 1900 to the Rev. W.E. Collison. Honorary missionary; Vital Statistics: b. near Buckfastleigh, c1874, d. Vancouver, Sept 3, 1956; Married W.E. Collison, recorded after 1900 as missionary’s wife. 
Career in BC: 1897-1899, Metlakatla (hon)

Davies, Rose Margaret; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1896- ; Education: Trained Nurse; ed. at Highbury, 1893, also training at Mildmay Hospital, Bethnal Green, and Aston Nursing Home; Accepted Dec. 3, 1895 as Missionary CMS, Oct. 1 departed for British Columbia Mission - Metlakatla; Mar. 1898 to England with Miss West, returning on medical certificate); April 7, 1898 to Metlakatla. Oct. 26, 1901 to England. Mar 13, 1902 to Metlakatla. Sister of Bertha Davies, CMS missionary; Vital Statistics: b. Brockley, 1870. 
Career in BC: 1896-1899, Metlakatla (Hon.); 1900, Metlakatla (Hon.), Nurse; 1901-1903, Metlakatla (Partly Hon.), Nurse; 1904-1905, Metlakatla (Partly Hon.), Nurse, Girls’ Home; 1906, At home

Career in BC: 1890-1895, Metlakatla, Girls Home

Career in BC: 1898, Metlakatla; 1899, Alert Bay; 1900, Metlakatla; 1901, Metlakatla, Indian Girls’ Home; 1902-1903 at home

Edwards, Rebecca Loxton; Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1899-1904; Education: Telegraphist, ed. at Highbury, 1897, The Olives, 1898; Notes: Accepted April 4, 1899 as

**Career in BC:** 1899, Metlakatla, Girls Home (Partly supported by All Saints, Hitcham Park Girls’ Union); 1900-1902, Alert Bay, Girls Home (Partly supported by All Saints, Hitcham Park G.U.); 1903-1904, Quayasdums, Girls Home (Partly supported by All Saints, Hitcham Park G.U.)


**Career in BC:** 1896-1900, Metlakatla (supported by a friend); 1901, at home; 1902-1906, Metlakatla (supported by a friend); 1907, at home; 1908-1912; Metlakatla (supported by a friend); 1914, at home

**Soal, Elizabeth Jane;** Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1901-; Education: ed. at Highbury, 1899, The Olives, 1900-1901; Notes: Accepted June 18, 1901 as Missionary; July 30 departed for British Columbia Mission, Metlakatla, White Home; Vital Statistics: b. Lewisham, c1873.

**Career in BC:** 1901-1904, Metlakatla, White Home; 1906, Hazelton; 1907, At home; 1908-1914, Hazelton

**Tyte, Alice Jane;** Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC: 1895-1898; Education: Bath High School and in Germany, ed. at The Willows, 1892, Mildmay Hospital, Bethnal Green, and Home and Colonial Training Instution; Notes: Accepted April 25, 1894 as Missionary by CMS, May 2, 1895 departed for British Columbia Mission, Metlakatla. May 23, 1899 to England, Feb 5, 1901, resigned on her approaching marriage, resignation accepted. Vital Statistics: b. Bath, c1862

**Career in BC:** 1894, On way out; 1895-1898, Metlakatla; 1899, On way home

**West, Margaret;** Sponsor: CMS; Years in BC 1891-; Notes: Accepted June 12, 1891 by CMS, Aug. 13 to N. Pacific mission, Metlakatla; May 1, 1894 to England; Vital Statistics: b. Theydon Bois, c1859, d. Prince Rupert, Mar 3, 1931

**Career in BC:** 1891-1893, Metlakatla; 1893-1894, at home; 1894-1896, Metlakatla; 1897, at home; 1898-1900, Metlakatla; 1901-1904, Metlakatla White Home; 1905, at home; 1906-1909, Metlakatla, Ridley Girls Home; 1910-1912, At home; 1914, Metlakatla, Ridley Home (hon) (Resides at Prince Rupert)
APPENDIX 6

BIOGRAPHIES OF METHODIST MISSIONARIES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1858-1902

The list of male probationers and ministers was compiled from the reports of the Stationing Committee, and the Alphabetical List of ministers and probationers, published in the Minutes of the Annual Conference, and from the lists of ministers and probationers in George H. Cornish, *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada*, vol. 1, to 1880 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881) and vol. 2, 1881-1903 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1903.) I also made extensive use of the list of Methodist ministers active in British Columbia, compiled by the Rev. W. P. Bunt in 1969, and located in the United Church of Canada, British Columbia Conference Archives.

The list of women sponsored by the W.M.S. was compiled from the list published in George H. Cornish, *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada*, vol. 2, 1881-1903 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1903), and from the published Annual Reports of the WMS. I have been unable to locate any comprehensive published information about the family and educational background of the WMS-sponsored women missionaries who served in British Columbia, although it appears that none were university-educated, or held degrees.

Abbreviations used: F.S. Financial Secretary; Ass’t. Sec. Assistant Secretary; Sec. Secretary; Ch. of Conf. Chairman of Conference; Pres. of Conf. President of Conference; Gen. Conf. General Conference; b. born, d. died

1. Male missionaries sponsored by the Methodist Missionary Societies

**Adam, Alexander L**; Years in BC: 1882-1884; To Bay of Quinte Conference, 1884; Education: Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal; Appointed to attend college, 1883; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1882, subject to completing preliminary studies. At Montreal, Wesley Theological College, 1883. Transfer to Bay of Quinte Conference, 1884. Received into Full Connection and ordained, 1886; Year Ministry Commenced: 1882
**Career in BC**: 1882 Flat-head Indians

**Anderson, George Levi**; Years in BC: 1891-1893; 1893 Withdrew, ill health
Education: Lansdowne College, Portage La Prairie; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1891. Probationer of one year, 1892; Year Ministry Commenced: 1891; Vital Statistics: b. Belleville, Ont. c1867, d. Chilliwack, May 10, 1942
**Career in BC**: 1891-1892 Kit-a-maat
Archer, Thomas E; Years in BC: 1892-1893; Resigned, 1893 to go as a Missionary to Africa; Progression to Ordination: Permitted to be employed with view to reception as candidate, 1891. Received on trial, 1892; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892; Vital Statistics: d. Oct. 14, 1927
Career in BC: 1892 Salt Spring Island

Ashton, John Joseph; Years in BC: 1893-1897; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1893; Resigned, not to receive credentials, 1897; Education: Queen's University, B.A. B.D; Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, B.D., 1891; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial 1887, Bay of Quinte. Received into full connection and ordained, 1892; Year Ministry Commenced: 1888; Vital Statistics: b. Durham county, Ontario, 1861, d. New Westminster, October 14, 1927; Married: Eliza Trevleaven, from Ontario, 1898
Career in BC: 1893, Nicola; 1894-1895 Saanich; 1896, Left without a station at his own request; 1897, Withdrew

Baer, Walter W; Years in BC: 1888-1906; From Niagara Conference, 1888; Resigned 1906; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1886, Niagara Conference. Received on trial, 1887. Transferred to BC Conference, 1888. Probationer of three years, 1889. Received into full connexion with the conference (already ordained) 1890; Year Ministry Commenced: 1886; Vital Statistics: b. cl865, d. April 23, 1939
Positions held in BC: 1892, Ass't.. Sec. Of Conference, 1894, Sec. Of Conference; 1896-97, F.S., Vancouver District; 1901-02, F.S., Victoria District
Career in BC: 1888-1889 Victoria, Gorge Road; 1890-1892, Nanaimo; 1893-1896, Vancouver, Princess Street; 1897, Richmond, Eburne; 1898, Left without a station at his own request; 1899, Nanaimo, Haliburton Street; 1900-1902 Nanaimo, Wallace Street

Balderston, Benjamin Hedley; Years in BC: 1899-; From New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Conference, 1899; Education: Mount Allison University, B.A., 1889; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1894, N.B. and PEI Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1896; Year Ministry Commenced: 1886; Vital Statistics: b. Prince Edward Island, c1864, d. Burnaby, February 2, 1947
Career in BC: 1899-1900, Greenwood; 1901, Victoria, James Bay; 1902 New Westminster

Barraclough, William H; Years in BC: 1895-1909; From Niagara Conference, 1895; To London Conference, 1909; Education: Victoria University, B.A; 1892; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1886, Niagara Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1891; Year Ministry Commenced: 1885; Vital Statistics: b. Ingersoll, Ont., Aug. 30, 1865, d. 1926; Married: Edith Rowe, daughter of Rev. R.B. Rowe
Positions held in BC: 1897, F.S., Westminster District; 1900-01, Ch., Victoria District; 1902, Ch., Yukon District; 1900, Sec. Of Conf.; 1901, Pres. Of Conf.
Career in BC: 1895-1897, Sardis; 1898-1901, Victoria, Centennial; 1902, Dawson, Yukon Territory

Bayley, Henry E; Years in BC: 1892-1896; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1892; Out of the BC Conference, 1896; withdrew, 1897; Education: B.A; Progression to Ordination:
Received on trial, 1883, Bay of Quinte Conference, from the Bible Christian Church. Received into full connection and ordained, 1890; Year Ministry Commenced: 1883; Vital Statistics: d. Victoria

**Positions held in BC**: 1893, Ass’t. Sec. Of Conf.

**Career in BC**: 1892 Delta; 1893 New Westminster; 1894 Sapperton; 1895 Left without station at own request

**Beavis, Reuben Benjamin**: Years in BC: 1888-1898; Resigned and received credentials, 1898; Education: Victoria College, 1891-1892; Permitted to attend college; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1888. Candidate for the ministry received on trial, 1889. Probationer of one year, 1891. Probationer of two years, 1891. Probationer of two years, 1892. Probationer of three years, 1893. Toronto Conference requested to ordain, and granted permission to marry, 1893. Received into full connection, 1894; Year Ministry Commenced: 1889; Vital Statistics: b. Hastings County, Ontario, 1861, d. Vancouver, March 21, 1937; Married: Christina Hall Fitzgerald of Peterborough, Ont. **Career in BC**: 1888 Bella Bella, under Super of Glad Tidings; 1889-1890 Bella Bella; 1891-1892 Victoria College; 1893-1896 Bella Bella; 1897 Left without station at his own request

**Betts, John F**: Years in BC: 1888- ; From Manitoba Conference, 1888; Education: Mount Allison; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1871. Received on trial, 1871, Sackville, N.B. Transferred to Toronto Conference, 1882; and to Manitoba and N.W. Conference, 1883; Year Ministry Commenced: 1870; Vital Statistics: b. Middleboro, Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, 1843, d. Vancouver, May 13, 1913; Married: Alice Chesley, “lady principal” of Mount Allison **Positions held in BC**: 1890, F.S., Westminster District; 1891, Ch. Westminster District; 1893-94, Ch. Kamloops District; 1896-97, Ch. Victoria District; 1898, Ch. Westminster District; 1891, Pres. of Conf.; 1894 and 1898, Delegate to Gen. Conf. **Career in BC**: 1888-1889 Vancouver, East; 1890-1891 Vancouver, Princess Street; 1892 College Agent; 1893-1894 Kamloops; 1895-1897 Victoria, Centennial; 1898-1899 New Westminster, Central; 1900 New Westminster, Queen’s Avenue; 1901-1902 Grand Forks

**Birks, David Dalton**: Years in BC: 1891-1902; From Guelph Conference, 1891; Withdrew, 1902; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1888, Guelph Conference. Received on trial, 1889. Transferred to BC Conference, 1891. Probationer of two years, 1892. Probationer of three years, 1893. Probationer of three years, 1894. Received into full connection and ordained, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1889. **Career in BC**: 1891-1892 Salmon Arm; 1893 Nelson and Slocan; 1894-1898 Left without station at his own request; 1899-1901 Rossland, supernumerary

**Bolton, Albert Edward**: Years in BC: 1899- ; Education: Queen’s University, and University of New York for MD in 1888; Year Ministry Commenced: (to Port Simpson in 1899); Vital Statistics: b. Newboro, Ont., Sept. 9, 1862, d. Vancouver, December 26, 1914 **Career in BC**: 1899-1900 Port Simson - medical missionary
Bowell, John Perry; Years in BC: 1883-; From Newfoundland Conference, 1883; Education: Mount Allison; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1873, Newfoundland Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1878; Year Ministry Commenced: 1874; Vital Statistics: b. St. John’s, Newfoundland, Aug. 8, 1851, d. New Westminster, May 26, 1928

Positions held in BC: 1887-89 F.S., Victoria Dist; 1889, Journal Sec. Of Conf.; 1895-96 Sec. Of Conf

Career in BC: 1883 Nicola Valley and Kamloops; 1884-1886 Nicola; 1887 Maple Bay; 1888-1889 Maple Bay and Salt Spring; 1890-1891 Sumas and Chilliwhack; 1892 Chilliwhack; 1893-1894 Surrey; 1895 Surrey, Cloverdale; 1896-1897 Saanich, Sidney; 1898-1900 New Westminster, West End; 1901-1902 New Westminster, superannuated

Bradshaw, George K; Years in BC: 1899-1904; 1911-1915; From Hamilton Conference, 1911; To Hamilton Conference, 1904; and To Hamilton Conference, 1915; Education: Victoria University, student, 1901-1902; Progression to Ordination: Permission to employ, 1899. Probationer of one year, ordained for special purposes, 1900; Year Ministry Commenced: 1899.

Career in BC: 1899-1900 Grand Forks

Browning, Arthur; Years in BC: 1859-1870; From Canada West, 1859; To Ontario, 1870; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1856, Percy circuit. Received on trial, 1857, travelled Sidney circuit. Travelled Artemesia circuit, 1858. Ordained Dec. 31, 1858 in Toronto. To British Columbia, 1859. Received into full connection, 1860; Year Ministry Commenced: 1856; Vital Statistics: b. Cornwall, England, c1834, d. Ontario, Jan 7, 1905.

Career in BC: 1859-1869 Nanaimo; 1861-1862 Fort Hope and Fort Yale; 1863-1864 New Westminster; 1865-1868 Victoria; 1869-1870 New Westminster


Career in BC: 1872 Nanaimo and Maple Bay; 1873-1874 Sumas and Chilliwhack; 1875-1876 Nanaimo; 1877 Nanaimo and Wellington; 1878-1880 Burrard Inlet; 1881-1883 Nanaimo; 1884-1886 Sumas and Chilliwhack; 1887 Nicola; 1888-1891 Maple Ridge; 1892 Left without a Station; 1893-1894 Victoria, superannuated; 1895-1902 Victoria, Mount Tolmie, superannuated

Calvert, James; Years in BC: 1887-; From Bay of Quinte conference, 1887; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1883, Bay of Quinte Conference. Transferred to BC Conference, 1887. Received into full connection and ordained, 1887; Year Ministry Commenced: 1883; Vital Statistics: b. Driffield, Yorkshire, Mar 8, 1862, d. Kaslo, January 28, 1927

Career in BC: 1887 Bella Bella; 1888 Delta; 1889-1890 Ladner's; 1891-1892 Nicola; 1893 Maple Bay; 1894-1896 Salmon Arm; 1897 Grand Forks; 1898-1899 Trail; 1900 Nanaimo, Haliburton Street; 1901-1902 New Westminster

Carpenter, George; Years in BC: 1887-1888; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1887; To the Niagara Conference, 1888; Education: Wesley College, Winnipeg.; Wesley Theological College, student, 1886; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1882. Received on trial, 1883, Toronto Conference. Transferred to BC Conference, 1887. Received into full connection and ordained, 1887; Year Ministry Commenced: 1882.

Chan Sing Kai; Years in BC: 1890-1901; Resigned, 1901, with credentials; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, and given standing as probationer of two years, 1891. Probationer of three years, 1892. Probationer of three years, 1893. Probationer of three years, 1894. Probationer of one year, 1894. Probationer of one year, 1896. Candidate of two years, 1897. Received into full connection (previously ordained) 1898; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892; Vital Statistics: b. Hong Kong

Career in BC: 1890 Vancouver, Chinese Mission; 1891-1893 New Westminster, Chinese Mission; 1894 Vancouver; 1895-1897 Victoria, Chinese Mission; 1898 Vancouver, Chinese, including Richmond; 1899 Victoria, Chinese Mission, under Super. Of Centennial; 1900 Victoria, Chinese Mission

Chappell, Benjamin; Years in BC: 1881-1883; From NB and PEI Conference 1881; To N.B. and PEI Conference, 1883; 1889, withdrew and removed to Japan to engage in educational and missionary work; Education: Mount Allison, B.A., 1882; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1873, New Brunswick and PEI Conference. Received on trial, 1874. Received into full connection and ordained, 1877; Year Ministry Commenced: 1873; Vital Statistics: d. Tokyo, May 3, 1925

Career in BC: 1881 Nicola Valley; 1882 left without an appointment at his own request

Clarkson, George C.; Years in BC: 1871-1874; Education: Victoria College 1872-73; Progression to Ordination: Began ministry, 1870. Transferred to BC, 1871; Year Ministry Commenced: 1871; Vital Statistics: d. New Westminster, 1874

Career in BC: 1872 Sumas and Chilliwack

Cleaver, Solomon; Years in BC: 1893-1897; From Niagara Conference, 1893; To Manitoba and North West Conference, 1897; Education: University College, Toronto, B.A. 1879, M.A.; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1876, London Conference. Received on trial, 1877. Received into Full Connection and Ordained, 1880. Transferred to Niagara Conference, 1884; Year MinistryCommenced: 1876; Vital Statistics: b. Lowville, near Hamilton, Ont., April 1, 1855; Married: Ida Anna Edgar, daughter of Dr. James Edgar of Toronto, 1879.

Positions held in BC: 1894-95, Ch. Victoria District; 1895, Pres. Of Conf.

Career in BC: 1893-1894 Victoria, Pandora Avenue; 1895-1896 Victoria, Metropolitan
Clegg, Herbert; Years in BC: 1898; From Newfoundland Conference, 1898; Education: Mount Allison, B.A; 1898; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1892, Newfoundland Conference; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892
Career in BC: 1898 Lillooet

Cropp, George Albert; Years in BC: 1897-1903; To Toronto Conference, 1903; Education: Victoria University; Recommended to be sent to College, 1899-1900; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1896. Received on trial, 1897. Probationer of two years, 1898. Probationer of three years, 1899. Probationer of four years, 1900. Received into full connection and ordained, 1901; Year Ministry Commenced: 1897; Vital Statistics: d. Hamilton, Feb. 15, 1940
Career in BC: 1897 Cowichan and Salt Spring Island (Duncan’s); 1898 Golden, under Super. Of Revelstoke; 1899-1900 Toronto, Victoria University; 1901 Nicola; 1902 New Denver

Positions held in BC: 1881-1896, Ch. Simpson District; 1897-1899, Ch. Bella Bella District; 1897, Pres. Of Conf, 1898 Delegate To Gen. Conf.
Career in BC: 1869-1874 Indian Tribes; 1875-1887 Port Simpson; 1888-1889 Glad Tidings Mission; 1890-1896 Port Simpson; 1897-1898 Victoria, Indian Missions on East Coast Vancouver Island; 1899-1900 Lower Fraser, Sardis

Cuyler, William Benjamin; Years in BC: 1884-; From London Conference, 1884; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial 1882, London Conference. Transferred to BC, and ordained, 1884. Probationer of three years, 1885. Received into full connection, 1886; Year Ministry Commenced: 1884; Vital Statistics: b. Bervie, Ontario, 1859, d. Nicola, Apr 6, 1887
Career in BC: 1884-1886 Bella Bella

Derrick, Thomas; Years in BC: 1868-1874; From Canada East, 1868; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, Danville, Canada East, 1857-1860. Travelled under Chair, Actonvale, 1861 and Leslieville, 1862. Received on trial, Leslieville, 1863. Received into full connection and ordained, 1865; Year Ministry Commenced: 1857; Vital Statistics: b. Cornwall, c1815, d. Buried in Sacramento, March 29, 1880
Career in BC: 1868-1870 Cariboo; 1871-1873 Nanaimo and Maple Bay; 1874 Victoria and Saanich; 1875-1877 Burrard Inlet; 1878-1879 New Westminster

Dowler, Wellington J; Years in BC: 1882-1888; From Ontario, 1882; Withdrew from ministry to enter secular life, 1888 BC Conference Minutes. Education: Victoria College, Cobourg, B.A., 1880; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1881. Transferred to BC, 1882. Probationer of one year, 1882. Probationer of two years, 1883. Probationer of three years, 1884. Received into full connexion, previously ordained, 1885; Year Ministry Commenced: 1881; Vital Statistics: b. c1860, d. Vancouver, July 1, 1927
Career in BC: 1882 Maple Ridge and Langley; 1883 Langley, Surrey and Delta; 1884 Delta; 1885 Victoria; 1886 Saanich and Salt Spring Island; 1887-1888 Saanich

Eby, Charles Samuel; Years in BC: 1896-1899; In Transferred into Conference, 1896; To the Toronto Conference, 1899; Education: Victoria University, A.B., 1871, D.D. Victoria University, 1886; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1866. Received on trial 1867. Received into full connection and ordained, 1871; Year Ministry Commenced: 1866; Vital Statistics: b. 1845.

Career in BC: 1896-1898 Vancouver, Homer Street

Edgar, George; Years in BC: 1900; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1900 and ordained Native Indian Missionary; Year Ministry Kommenced: 1900; Vital Statistics: b. Aug. 24, 1854, d. Nov. 7, 1931

Career in BC: 1900 China Hat, under Super. Of Chairman; 1901-1902 China Hat

Evans, Ephraim; Years in BC: 1859-1868; In From Canada West, 1859; Education: D.D; Progression to Ordination: Methodist Episcopal conference, 1827-1832. Travelled under Chair, Augusta, 1827. Received on trial, Cobourg, 1828. Ordained deacon, 1830, Ordained, 1833; Year Ministry Commenced: 1827; Vital Statistics: b. Hull, Yorkshire, c1803, d. Ontario, June 14, 1892

Career in BC: 1859-1864 Victoria; 1865-1868 Nanaimo

Freeman, Barnabus Cortland; Years in BC: 1893-; From Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1893; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1892, Manitoba and N.W. Conference. Transferred to BC Conference, 1893. Probationer of one year, and ordained, 1893. Probationer of two years, 1894. Probationer of four years, 1895. Received into full connection, 1896; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892; Vital Statistics: b. Frontenac county, Ontario, July, 1869, d. Cape Mudge Indian Reserve, December 17, 1935; Married: Ida Lawson of Frontenac County

Positions held in BC: 1920, Pres. of BC Conference

Career in BC: 1893-1899 Queen Charlotte Islands; 1899-1910 Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands

Gaebel, Albert J.; Years in BC: 1891-1896; dropped in silence, 1896; Progression to Ordination: Permitted to be employed with view to his reception as a candidate for the ministry, 1891. Probationer of one year, 1892. Probationer of two years, 1893. Probationer of one year, 1894; Year Ministry Commenced: 1891.

Career in BC: 1892 Clinton; 1893 Cheam; 1894 Slocan

Gardiner, John Edward; Years in BC: 1899-1900; From Toronto Conference, 1899; To Toronto Conference, 1901; Education: Victoria University, B.A., 1897, M.A; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1889, Toronto Conference. Received on trial, 1890, Received into full connection and ordained, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1889.

Career in BC: 1899 Lillooet; 1900 Kamloops
Gardiner, John Endicott; Years in BC: 1888-1896; Resigned, to receive credentials, 1897; Education: B.A; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1889. Probationer of one year, 1890. Probationer of two years, 1891. Probationer of three years, 1892. Probationer of three years, 1893. Received into full connection and ordained, 1894; Year Ministry Commenced: 1889. 
Career in BC: 1888 Victoria, Chinese Mission, under super of Wesley Church; 1889-1895 Victoria, Chinese Mission; 1896 Vancouver, Chinese Mission

Gilbert, Thomas H.; Years in BC: 1878-1881; ceased to be recognized as minister among us (noted as probationer withdrawn) 1881 (ill health); Progression to Ordination: Received on trial (previous ordination in another church recognized, 1878). Travelled one year, 1879. Probationer of two years, 1880; Year Ministry Commenced: 1878. 
Career in BC: 1878-1879 Maple Ridge and Langley; 1880 Nanaimo and Wellington

Green, Alfred Eli; Years in BC: 1875; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1875. Transferred to BC and Received on trial 1877. Travelled one year, 1878. Travelled two years, 1879. Probationer of three years, 1880. Received into full connection and ordained, 1881; Year Ministry Commenced: 1877; Vital Statistics: b. Tiffield, England, June 16, 1850, d. Vancouver, Jan. 28, 1914; Married: Elizabeth Jane Gilbert, (b. Cornwall, came to Nanaimo in 1872), 1872. 
Positions held in BC: 1896-98, Ch. Vancouver District, 1900; Ch. Vancouver District 
Career in BC: 1875 Wellington; 1877 Naas; 1878 Naas, under Super of Fort Simpson; 1879-1887 Naas; 1888-1889 Port Simpson; 1890-1892 Wellington; 1893 Richmond; 1894 Eburne; 1895-1896 Richmond, Eburne; 1897-1899 Vancouver, Mount Pleasant; 1900-1902 Vancouver, Fairview

Haddon, Thomas; Years in BC: 1884-1887; From Ontario, 1884; Ceased to be recognized as Minister among us, 1887; Progression to Ordination: Traveled under chair, 1868, Montreal Conference. Received on trial, 1869. Received into Full Connection and Ordained, 1872. Transferred to Toronto Conference, 1876. Transferred to BC, 1884; Year Ministry Commenced: 1868. 
Career in BC: 1884-1885 Wellington; 1886 left without a station for one year at his own request

Hall, Joseph; Years in BC: 1872--; Education: Victoria College, 1869-1870; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, Waterdown, 1866. Transferred to BC, received into full connection and ordained, 1871; Year Ministry Commenced: 1866; Vital Statistics: b. Binbrook, Wentworth county, Ontario, Sept. 28, 1842, d. Victoria, Feb 9, 1913; Married: Bessie Pollard (d. of William Pollard), 1872. 
Positions held in BC: 1876-1878, F.S.; 1885-86, and 1887-90, Ch. Victoria District; 1881-92, F.S., New Westminster District; 1887, Sec. Of Conf.; 1889-93, Pres. of Conf.; 1890, 1898, Delegate To Gen. Conf.; 1893, Ch. Victoria District; 1897, Ch. Westminster District; 1899-1900, Ch. Westminster District, 1901, F.S., Westminster District 
Career in BC: 1872-1874 Cariboo; 1875-1877 Sumas and Chilliwack; 1878-1880 Nanaimo and Wellington; 1881-1883 Sumas and Chilliwack; 1884-1885 Burrard Inlet; 1886 Vancouver; 1887-1889 Nanaimo; 1890 Saanich; 1891-1892 Vancouver, Mount
Pleasant; 1893-1894 Victoria; 1895 Delta, Ladner's; 1896-1902 Sardis, Principal of Coqualeetza

**Hall, Thomas Wellington**; Years in BC: 1883-; From Manitoba Conference, 1883; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1871, Methodist New Connexion Conference. Travelled for two years, 1875. Travelled three years, ordained for special purposes, 1876. Received into full connection, 1877; Year Ministry Commenced: 1871; Vital Statistics: b. Ontario, 1847, d. Sardis, Nov 16, 1911

**Positions held in BC:** 1879, F.S., Westminster District; 1890-92, Ch., Kamloops District; 1893-95 Ch. Westminster Dist, 1900, F.S. Westminster D., 1901, Ch. Westminster Dist, 1894, President of Conf.; 1894, Delegate To Gen. Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1883 Yale and Lytton; 1884-1886 Clinton; 1887-1889 Sumas and Chilliwack; 1890-1892 Kamloops; 1893-1895 New Westminster; 1896-1898 Nanaimo, Central; 1899 Nanaimo, Wallace Street; 1900-1902 Chilliwack

**Hall, William Lashley**; Years in BC: 1893-; Education: Columbian College, Arts and Divinity (U of T affil), 1895, and B.D. 1895; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1893. Received on trial and ordained, 1894. Received into full connection, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1894; Vital Statistics: b. London, Dec. 31, 1865, d. White Rock, December 11, 1947

**Career in BC:** 1893 Ainsworth and Kaslo; 1894 Nicola; 1895 Nicola Valley; 1896-1898 Enderby; 1899 Langley; 1900 Maple Ridge; 1901-1902 Maple Ridge (Hammond)

**Hardwick, Edward Ernest**; Years in BC: 1894-1897; From Manitoba and North West Conference, 1894; resigned, to receive credentials, 1897; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1890, Manitoba and Northwest. Received on trial, 1891. Received into full connection and ordained, 1894; Year Ministry Commenced: 1890; Vital Statistics: b. c1867, d. Princeton, January 29, 1941

**Career in BC:** 1894 Sumas; 1895 Langley, Fort Langley; 1896 Nicola Valley

**Harris, P.C. Laverton**; Years in BC: 1893-1895; From Methodist Episcopal Church, 1893; resigned, 1895; Education: Mount Allison, B.A, 1888; Progression to Ordination: Transferred to BC, probationer of two years standing in the Puget Sound Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, ordained for special purposes, 1893. Probationer of three years standing, 1894; Year Ministry Commenced: 1891 (date entered Methodist Church).

**Career in BC:** 1893-1894 Clinton

**Hemlaw, Robert Bruce**; Years in BC: 1882- ; From Newfoundland Conference, 1882; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1881, Newfoundland Conference. Transferred to BC, 1882. Probationer of three years, 1884. Received into full connection and ordained, 1885; Year Ministry Commenced: 1881; Vital Statistics: b. Liscombe Harbor, Nova Scotia, March 11, 1855, d. Chilliwack, May 1, 1889; Married: Lily Wells of Sardis

**Positions held in BC:** 1888, Journal Sec. Of Conf.
Career in BC: 1882-1883 Nicola Valley and Kamloops; 1884 Alma; 1885-1886 Maple Bay; 1887-1888 Maple Ridge

Hicks, James; Years in BC: 1891-; Education: Columbian Methodist College; To attend College 1895; Progression to Ordination: Permitted to be employed with view to his reception as a candidate for the ministry, 1891. Received on trial, 1892. Probationer of one year, 1893. Probationer of two years, 1894. Probationer of two years, 1896. Received into full connection and ordained, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892; Vital Statistics: b. Cornwall, England, c1870, d. Victoria, Jan 27, 1914
Career in BC: 1891 Comox; 1892 Alder Grove; 1893 Okanagon; 1894 Similkameen; 1895 San Juan; New Westminster, Columbia Methodist College; 1896 Left without a station at his own request; 1897 Nelson; 1898-1899 Ymir; 1900 Wellington; 1901-1902 Mission City

Hicks, John Peake; Years in BC: 1890-; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1890. Probationer of one year, 1891. Probationer of three years, 1892. Received into full connection and ordained, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1890; Vital Statistics: b. Cornwall, c1863, d. Esquimalt, November 15, 1946
Positions held in BC: 1896-1900 F.S., Victoria District; 1897, Ass’t. Sec. Of Conf.; 1902, Sec. Of Conf.
Career in BC: 1890 Cheam; 1891 Spallumcheen; 1892 Enderby; 1893-1894 New Westminster; 1895-1897 Victoria West; 1898-1902 Esquimalt, Chaplain to Wesleyans in HM Navy (by permission of Conference)

Hicks, William; Years in BC: 1891-1903; resigned, 1903, Progression to Ordination: Permitted to be employed with view to his reception as a candidate for the ministry, 1891. Received on trial, 1892. Ordained for special purposes, 1893. Probationer of three years, 1894. Received into full connection, previously ordained for special purposes, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1891.
Career in BC: 1891-1892 Surrey; 1893 Maple Ridge; 1894 Port Hammond; 1895 Maple Ridge, Hammond; 1896-1897 Union; 1898-1900 Cumberland; 1901 Victoria; 1902 Left without a station at his own request

Hopkins, George Franklin; Years in BC: 1884-1894; Resigned, 1894, associated himself with one of the conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. Education: University of South Dakota, B.A., 1900, M.A., Dakota Wesleyan University, 1906, D.D. Kimball College of Theology, 1916; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1884. Probationer of one year, 1885. Probationer of two years, 1886. Probationer of three years, ordained for special purposes, 1887. Received into full connection, 1888; Year Ministry Commenced: 1884; Vital Statistics: b. Chicago, Ill., July 20, 1862; Married: Mary A. Green, sister of A.E. Green, 1886.
Career in BC: 1884 Kit-a-Maat; 1885-1887 Queen Charlotte Islands; 1888-1890 Port Essington; 1891-1892 Bella Bella; 1893 Richmond

Hughes, Robert; Years in BC: 1896-; Education: Victoria University, 1901-1902, student; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1898. Permission to employ,
1899. Probationer of two years, 1900. Received into full connection and ordained, 1903; Year Ministry Commenced: 1898; Vital Statistics: b. 1870, d. June 12, 1955

Career in BC: 1896 No Station; 1899 Victoria, James Bay; 1900 Victoria, James Bay, under Super. Of Centennial

Irwin, Robert James; Years in BC: 1888-1904; From Montreal Conference, 1888; resigned 1904; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1886, Bay of Quinte Conference. Transfer to Montreal Conference, 1887. Transfer to BC Conference, 1888. Probationer of three years, 1889. Received into full connection and ordained, 1890; Year Ministry Commenced: 1886

Career in BC: 1888-1889 Kootenay; 1890 Comox; 1891-1893 Saanich; 1894 Alder Grove; 1895-1899 Left without station at own request; 1900 Salt Spring island, Burgoyne Bay; 1901 Ladysmith; 1902 Cheam

Jennings, Dennis; Years in BC: 1883-; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, for Indian missionary work, 1883. Probationer of one year, 1884. Probationer of three years, 1886 and 1887. Ordained, 1887. Received into full connection, 1888; Year Ministry Commenced: 1883; Vital Statistics: b. England, c.1838, d. Victoria, Dec 6, 1905


Career in BC: 1883-1887 Port Essington; 1888-1889 Naas (Kitwansilth); 1890-1891 Naas; 1892-1902 Port Essington

Kaburagi, Goro; Years in BC: 1897-; Education: B.Sc., M.A; Progression to Ordination: Received from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1897.

Career in BC: 1897 Vancouver, Japanese work in the Conference; 1898 Vancouver, Japanese Mission, and Victoria, Cumberland, Steveston, New Westminster; 1899-1902 Vancouver, Japanese Mission, including Sapperton and Steveston

Kinney, George Rex Boyer; Years in BC: 1900-; Education: B.A.; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1901. Ordained into full connection, 1905; Year Ministry Commenced: 1900; Vital Statistics: b. New Brunswick, 1872

Career in BC: 1900 Golden; 1901 Phoenix; 1902 Cloverdale

Knox, John David Phillim; Years in BC: 1891-1913; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1891; To Bay of Quinte Conference, 1913; Education: Columbian Methodist College; Appointed to attend college, 1893-1894; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1889, Bay of Quinte Conference. Transferred to the BC Conference, 1891. Probationer of three years, 1892. Probationer of three years, 1893. Probationer of three years, 1894. Received into full connection and ordained, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1889

Positions held in BC: 1898-99 Ass’t. Sec. Of Conf.

Career in BC: 1891 Langley; 1892 Cheam; 1893-1895 New Westminster; 1896-1897 Nanaimo, Haiburton Street; 1898-1900 Victoria West; 1901-1902 Greenwood
Ladner, Charles; Years in BC: 1888-1902; From Manitoba and NW Conference, 1888; 
Education: study under private tutors; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1861, 
Newfoundland. Received into full connection and ordained, 1865. Transferred to 
Manitoba and NW Conference, 1883; Year Ministry Commenced: 1861; Vital Statistics: 
b. Penzance, Cornwall, April 2, 1839, d. Kamloops, May 3, 1928; Married: Maria 
Beminster (father, the Hon. John Beminster, Colonial Secretary of Newfoundland) 
**Positions held in BC:** 1889, Ch. Kamloops Dist; 1891-92, F.S. Kamloops District; 1893- 
95 F.S. Westminster District; 1896-97 Ch. Kootenay District; 1898-1901, Ch. Kamloops 
District; 1896, Pres. Of Conf.; 1898, Delegate to Gen. Conf. 
**Career in BC:** 1888-1889 Kamloops; 1890 Portland, Ore.; 1891-1892 Revelstoke; 1893- 
1895 Chilliwhack; 1896-1897 Rossland; 1898-1900 Kamloops; 1901-1902 Revelstoke

Laidley, Robert; Years in BC: 1896-1897; From Manitoba and NW Conference, 1896; 
Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1874, Montreal Conference. Received 
on trial, 1875. Transferred to Toronto Conference, admitted into full connection and 
ordained, 1881. Transferred to Manitoba and NW Conference, 1884; Year Ministry 
**Career in BC:** 1896-1897 Kamloops; 1898-1900 Ashcroft; 1901-1902 Golden

Large, Richard Whitfield; Years in BC: 1899-; Education: University of Toronto, 
Trinity Medical College, M.D, 1897; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1899. 
Ordained “For Special Purposes” at Annual Conference, 1899. Probationer of one year, 
1900. Received into full communion, 1910; Year Ministry Commenced: 1899; Vital 
**Career in BC:** 1899-1902 Bella Bella

Liu Yick Pang; Years in BC: 1892-1898; desisted from travelling for satisfactory 
reasons and received official letter, 1898; Progression to Ordination: Recommended by 
the Westminster District as a candidate for the ministry, 1891, and permitted to be 
employed with a view to his reception as a candidate. Candidate for the ministry 
Received on trial, 1892. Probationer of one year, 1893. Probationer of two years, 1894. 
Probationer of one year, 1896. Probationer of one year, 1897; Year Ministry 
Commenced: 1892. 
**Career in BC:** 1892 Victoria, Chinese Mission; 1893 Vancouver, Chinese Mission; 
1894-1896 New Westminster, Chinese Mission; 1895-1896 New Westminster, Chinese 
Mission; 1897 Nanaimo, Chinese Mission

Love, George A.; Years in BC: 1896-1897; From Manitoba and NW Conference, 1896; 
Resigned, to receive credentials, 1897; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 
1885, Bay of Quinte Conference. Transferred to Manitoba and NW Conference, 1892 
(1893-1895 No Station, ill health); Year Ministry Commenced: 1891. 
**Career in BC:** 1896-1897 Left without station at his own request

Lovering, Henry L.; Years in BC: 1891-1894; From Toronto Conference, 1891; 
Dropped in silence, 1894; Education: Appointed to attend College, 1893; Progression to
Ordination: Received on trial, 1889, Toronto Conference. Transferred into BC
Conference, 1891. Probationer of three years, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1889.
Career in BC: 1892-1893 Indian Tribes

Lucas, Daniel Van Norman; Years in BC: 1862-1863; From Wesleyan Methodist
Conference, Ontario; To Wesleyan Methodist Conference, Ontario, Smithville;
Education: Victoria College, Hon. M.A. conferred in 1876 by University of South
Carolina at Columbia, in the US; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial 1860,
Farmersville, Wesleyan Methodist Conference, Ordained 1862, Victoria, Received into
full connexion 1865; Year Ministry Commenced: 1860.
Career in BC: 1862-1863 Victoria

Mahon, William Gibson; Years in BC: 1899-1904; Dropped in silence, 1904;
Education: Columbian Methodist College, 1901-1902; Progression to Ordination:
Received on trial, 1899. Probationer of one year 1900; Year Ministry Commenced: 1899;
Career in BC: 1899 Cheam; 1900 Cranbook; 1901-1902 New Westminster

Maitland, Robert R.; Years in BC: 1890-1897; From Niagara Conference, 1890;
resigned, not to receive full credentials, 1897; Education: Victoria University, L.L.B,
1892; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1875, London Conference.
Received on trial, 1876. Received into full connection and ordained, 1879. Transferred to
Niagara Conference, 1884; Year Ministry Commenced: 1875; Vital Statistics: b. c1856,
d. Vancouver, April 10, 1921
Career in BC: 1890-1892 Vancouver, Homer Street; 1893-1894 Nanaimo; 1895
Nanaimo, Central Church; 1896 Vancouver, Mount Pleasant

Manuel, Elihu; Years in BC: 1891-; Education: Wesleyan College, St. John’s;
Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1891. Received on trial, 1892.
Probationer of one year, 1893. Ordained for special purposes, 1893. Probationer of two
years, 1894. Received into full connection, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892; Vital
Statistics: b. Exploits, Newfoundland, March 13, 1865, d. Chilliwack, April 14, 1941;
Married: Emily Allen of Lethbridge, Nfld. 1887
Career in BC: 1891-1893 Howe Sound; 1894-1895 Duncans; 1896-1901 Langley; 1902
Eburne

Martin, John J.; Years in BC: 1877-1879; Dropped, 1879; Progression to Ordination:
Received on trial, 1877. Travelled one year, 1878; Year Ministry Commenced: 1877.
Career in BC: 1877-1878 Maple Bay

Michener, Edward; Years in BC: 1892-1896; To Alberta Conference, 1896; resigned,
1909; Education: Victoria University; To college, 1895; Progression to Ordination:
Received on trial, 1892 and 1893. Probationer of one year, 1894 (left without
appointment on account of illness). Probationer of one year, 1895, Transferred out of the
BC Conference, 1896. Ordained, 1896. Received into full connection, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892.

**Career in BC**: 1892-1893 Sumas; 1894-1895 Victoria University

**Miller, Arthur Noble**; Years in BC: 1885-; Education: Victoria University, (left in 2nd year for mission); Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1885. Probationer of one year, 1886. Probationer of two years, 1887. Probationer of three years, 1888. Received into full connection, and ordained, 1889; Year Ministry Commenced: 1885; Vital Statistics: b. Vaughan Township, Ontario, 1861, d. South Vancouver, July 19, 1919; Married: Henrietta Reinhart, Port Essington, 1888

**Positions held in BC**: F.S., Vancouver District; 1896 Journal Sec. Of Conf.; 1900, Ass’t. Sec. of Conf.; 1919, Pres. of Conf.

**Career in BC**: 1885-1887 Port Simpson; 1888-1891 Queen Charlotte Islands; 1892-1894 Langley; 1895-1897 Mission City; 1898-1901 Richmond, Eburne; 1902 Ladner

**Misener, William Dunstan**; Years in BC: 1887-1905; resigned 1905; Education: Victoria College; Permitted to attend college, 1891-1892; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1887, Probationer of three years, and required to complete his studies, 1890. Probationer of four years, continued on trial subject to the completion of his studies, 1891. Received into full connection and ordained, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1887; Vital Statistics: b. c1863, d. Vancouver, Sept 13, 1946

**Career in BC**: 1888-1890 Langley; 1891-1892 Victoria College; 1893-1895 Enderby; 1896 Duncan's; 1897 Ladner; 1898 Ladner, under Super. Of Langley; 1899 Address not known, Superannuated; 1900-1901 Salmon Arm; 1902 Kaslo

**Moody, William Edward**; Years in BC: 1893-1900; Dropped in silence for Irregular Withdrawal from Our Work, 1900; Education: Columbian Methodist College; Appointed to attend college, 1896; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1893. Probationer of one year, 1894. Probationer of one year, 1895. Probationer of three years, 1896. Received into full connection and ordained, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1893.

**Career in BC**: 1893 Aldergrove; 1894-1895 Cheam; 1896 New Westminster, Columbian Methodist College; 1897 Okanagan; 1898-1899 Fairview (Kamloops District)

**Morden, George Herbert**; Years in BC: 1890-1911; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1890; resigned 1911; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1889, Bay of Quinte Conference. Transferred to BC Conference, 1890. Probationer of one year, 1890. Probationer of two years, 1891. Probationer of three years, 1892. Received into full connection and ordained, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1889; Vital Statistics: b. c1868, d. North Vancouver, May 16, 1945

**Positions held in BC**: 1894 Ass’t. Sec. Of Conf

**Career in BC**: 1891-1893 Victoria West; 1894-1897 Nelson; 1898-1900 Rossland; 1901-1902 New Westminster

**Morrison, John C.**; Years in BC: 1894; Dropped in silence, 1894; Year Ministry Commenced: 1894

**Career in BC**: 1894 Union
Nelson, Charles Wesley; Years in BC: 1898-1901; Dropped in silence, 1901; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1898. Probationer of one year, 1899. Probationer of two years, 1900; Year Ministry Commenced: 1898; Vital Statistics: b. c1849, d. New Westminster, Mar 17, 1939
Career in BC: 1898 Cheam, under Super. Of Chilliwack; 1899 Cowichan (Cheminus); 1900 Mount Sicker and Lumber Camps, under Super. Of Wallace St. Nanaimo

Neville, Thomas; Years in BC: 1891-1901; To Manitoba and NW Conference, 1901; Education: Appointed to attend college, 1893; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1891. Received on trial, 1892. Probationer of two years, 1893. Probationer of two years, and ordained for special purposes, 1894. Probationer of four years, 1895. Received into full connection, 1896; Year Ministry Commenced: 1891.
Career in BC: 1891 Salt Spring Island; 1892 Vernon; 1893 New Westminster; 1894 Bella Coola; 1895-1896 Upper Skeena; 1897 Bella Coola; 1898-1900 Nicola

Osborne, George Howard; Years in BC: 1897-1901; Dropped in silence, 1901. Progression to Ordination: Received from the Primitive Methodist Conference of England, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1897.
Career in BC: 1897 Thompson River (Kamloops); 1898 Nanaimo, Haliburton Street; 1899-1900 Cowichan (Duncan)

Osterhout, Smith Stanley; Years in BC: 1894-; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1894; Education: Student 1891, Cobourg, 1892-93; Victoria College, Toronto. B.A., M.A., Ph.D., D.D; Progression to Ordination: Received to BC Conference, 1894. Probationer of two years, and ordained for special purposes, 1894. Received into full connection, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1893; Vital Statistics: b. Northumberland County, Ontario, June 20, 1868, d. Vancouver, October 9. 1953; Married: Amy Humber of Victoria, 1894
Positions held in BC: 1898-1899, Ch. Port Simpson District; 1900-1902, F.S. Indian District; 1916, Pres. Of BC Conf.
Career in BC: 1894-1897 Naas; 1898-1902 Port Simpson

Patterson, John W.; Years in BC: 1884-1888; From Primitive Methodist Church of Canada, 1884; Withdrawn, 1888; Progression to Ordination: Transferred to Toronto Conference (BC), 1884 from Primitive Methodist Church of Canada; Year Ministry Commenced: 1880
Career in BC: 1884-1885 Spallumcheen and Okanagan; 1886-1887 Mount Lehman

Pearson, Thomas David; Years in BC: 1891- ; From Niagara Conference, 1891; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1852, Wesleyan Methodist Conference. Received on trial, 1853. Received into full connection and ordained, 1856; Year Ministry Commenced: 1852; Vital Statistics: b. Forest of Dean, Gloucester, England, 1827, d. New Westminster, Sept 13, 1911; Married: Isabella Robson, June 17, 1856, sister of Ebenezer Robson
Career in BC: 1891-1894 New Westminster; 1895-1902 New Westminster, Superannuated
Peck, Harcourt Warren; Years in BC: 1893-1897; From Methodist Episcopal Church, 1893; resigned, to received full credentials, 1897; Education: Victoria University, B.A. 1884; M.A., 1887; B.Sc., 1888; Progression to Ordination: Transferred to BC Conference, 1893. Received into full connection and ordained, 1894 having presented credentials of standing as having held Deacon's orders in the California Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Year Ministry Commenced: 1890.

Career in BC: 1893 New Westminster, Columbian Methodist College, Professor; 1894 No station; 1895-1896 Left without station at own request

Percival, William W.; Years in BC: 1884-1887; From Newfoundland Conference, 1884; Ceased to be recognized as Minister among us, 1887 (United with Presbyterian Church)

Education: Mount Allison, student, 1861; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1861, Newfoundland Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1866;

Year Ministry Commenced: 1861

Positions held in BC: 1885-1886, F.S. Victoria District

Career in BC: 1884-1886 Victoria

Pierce, William Henry; Years in BC: 1856 (birth) (1883 ministry began); Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, for Indian missionary work, 1883. Probationer of two years, subject to report of examining board, 1885. Probationer of three years, 1886. Received into full connection and ordained, 1887; Year Ministry Commenced: 1883;

Vital Statistics: b. Fort Rupert, Vancouver Island, June 10, 1856, d. Prince Rupert, April 13, 1948; Married: Margaret Hargreaves (teacher), 1890

Career in BC: 1883-1885 Bella Coola; 1886 Kit-Ze-Quilk; 1887 Upper Skeena; 1888-1891 Kit-ze-gucla and Kit-wan-cool; 1892-1893 Kit-ze-gucla; 1894 Glad Tidings Mission, under Chair of District [Thomas Crosby]; 1895-1896 Bella Coola; 1897-1898 Upper Skeena; 1899-1902 Kispiox

Pollard, William; Years in BC: 1871-; From Ontario, 1871; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chairman, 1842, Cornwall. Received on trial, 1843, Sherbrooke.

Received into full connection and ordained, 1846, Hamilton; Year Ministry Commenced: 1842; Vital Statistics: b. Surrey, England, July 31, 1819, d. Victoria, June 1, 1891

Career in BC: 1872-1874 Victoria; 1875-1877 New Westminster; 1878-1881 Victoria, Chinese and Indian Mission, Superannuated; 1882-1887 Victoria, Superannuated; 1888-1889 Victoria, Gorge Road, Superannuated; 1890-1891 Victoria, North

Powell, Robert Newton; Years in BC: 1897-1915; From West Indian Wesleyan Conference, 1897; To Toronto Conference, 1915; Progression to Ordination: Accepted as probationer in England, 1890 and sent to British West Indies. Ordained in James Street Church, Bridgetown, Barbados, 1894. Received from West Indian Wesleyan Conference, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1890; Vital Statistics: b. Hanley, Staffordshire, 1868, d. Toronto, April 23, 1934; Married: Elizabeth A. Wooton of Tunstall, 1894


Career in BC: 1897 New Denver; 1898 New Denver and Slocan; 1899-1900 Enderby; 1901-1902 Nanaimo
Procunier, Charles Ault; Years in BC: 1893-1898; From Manitoba and NW Conference, 1893; Resigned and received credentials, 1898; Education: Victoria University, student, 1888, B. Phil, 1894, M.A., Illinois Wesleyan Unit by extension, 1896, Ph.D. Illinois, 1898; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1885, Niagara Conference. Transferred to Manitoba and NW Conference, 1889. Received into full connection and ordained, 1890; Year Ministry Commenced: 1885; Vital Statistics: b. Ontario, 1863, d. Kamloops, Mary 6, 1940; Married: Jessie Maxfield, (b. PEI), in Edmonton, 1893

Career in BC: 1893-1894 Revelstoke; 1895 Ainsworth and Kaslo; 1896-1897 Kaslo

Pye, John S.; Years in BC: 1900-; From Newfoundland Conference, 1900; Education: Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1887, Newfoundland Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1891; Year Ministry Commenced: 1887; Vital Statistics: b. Nottingham, England, 1860, d. Vancouver, Sept 7, 1945
Career in BC: 1900 Trail; 1901 Sandon; 1902 Nicola

Raley, George Henry; Years in BC: 1894-; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1894; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1884, Bay of Quinte Conference. Received on trial, 1885. Received into full connection and ordained, 1888; Year Ministry Commenced: 1883; Vital Statistics: b. Barnsley, Yorkshire, England, Feb. 14, 1864, d. Vancouver, September 14, 1958
Positions held in BC: 1894-95 F.S. Simpson District; 1898-99 F.S. Bella Bella District; 1894 Journal Sec. Of Conf.
Career in BC: 1893-1902 Kit-a-maat

Roberts, Arthur Edward; Years in BC: 1899-; From Manitoba and NW Conference, 1899; Education: Wesley College, Winnipeg, 1895-1897; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial 1891, Manitoba and North-West Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1891; Vital Statistics: b. London, England, 1866, d. Sept 30, 1938
Positions held in BC: 1911, Pres. Of Conf.
Career in BC: 1899-1901 New Denver and Slocan City; 1902 Enderby

Robins, Joseph U.; Years in BC: 1895-1900; To Manitoba and NW Conference, 1900; desistted from travelling on account of ill health, and received official letter, 1898; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1895. Transferred into BC Conference, 1896. Probationer of one year, 1896. Probationer of one year, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1895; Vital Statistics: b. Port Rowland, Norfolk county, Ont., d. Listowel, Ont., Oct. 22, 1936
Career in BC: 1896 Similkameen; 1897 New Denver

Robson, Ebenezer; Years in BC: 1859-1866, 1880-; Education: Victoria College, 1856-1857, D.D. Columbian, 1902; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial and student at Victoria College, 1856. Student at Victoria College, 1857. Montreal, Centennial, 1858.


Career in BC: 1859-1860 Fort Hope and Fort Yale; 1861-1862 Nanaimo; 1863 Fort Hope and Fort Yale; 1864 Victoria; 1865 New Westminster; 1866 Returned to Canada; 1880-1883 New Westminster; 1884-1886 Nanaimo; 1887-1889 Vancouver; 1891-1892 New Westminster; 1893 Victoria; 1894 Sardis; 1895 Sardis, Indian Tribes, Principal of Coqualeetza; 1896 Ladner; 1897 Port Simpson; 1898 Vernon; 1899 Vernon; 1900 New Westminster, Bursar of Columbian Methodist College; 1901-1902 New Westminster, superannuated

Robson, John A.; Years in BC: 1892-; From Toronto Conference, 1892; Education: Victoria University, B.A., 1892; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1887, Toronto Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1892; Year Ministry Commenced: 1887; Vital Statistics: b. near Bridlington, Yorkshire, Jan 11, 1863, d. Victoria, Mar 9, 1939

Positions held in BC: 1898-1899 F.S. Kootenay District; 1897-1900 Ass’t Sec. of Conf.; 1901, Sec. Of Conf.

Career in BC: 1892-1894 Union; 1895-1897 Kamloops; 1898-1899 Nelson; 1900-1902 Vancouver, Princess Street

Rosommon, Joseph Edward; Years in BC: 1894-; Received from Congregational Church, 1894; Progression to Ordination: Received into full connection 1894, transfer from Congregational Church; Year Ministry Commenced: 1894; Vital Statistics: b. England, c1833, d. Mara, Mar. 1, 1904

Career in BC: 1894 Mara; 1895-1902 Mara, Supernumery

Rowe, Elliott S.; Years in BC: 1900-1904; From Toronto Conference, 1900; To Hamilton Conference, 1904; Education: Columbian Methodist College, D.D., 1902; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1886. Received into full connection and ordained, 1889; Year Ministry Commenced: 1885; Vital Statistics: b. c1860, d. Vancouver, May 11, 1914

Career in BC: 1900-1902 Victoria, Metropolitan

Rush, William Thomas; Years in BC: 1899; Education: M.D; Progression to Ordination: Year Ministry Commenced: (to Port Simpson 1899); Vital Statistics: b. c1868, d. West Vancouver, October 28, 1935

Career in BC: 1899-1900 Naas River - medical missionary

Russ, Amos E.; Years in BC: 1868-1878; From Canada West, 1868; To Ontario, 1878; Education: Victoria College, 1854; Hon. M.A. Willamette Univ., 1872; Progression to
Ordination: Received on trial, 1855, Norwood. Received into full connection and ordained, 1858, London Circuit; Year Ministry Commenced: 1855.

**Career in BC:** 1869-1870 Victoria; 1872-1874 New Westminster; 1875-1877 Victoria

**Russ, Patrick;** Years in BC: (born in BC); Education: Permitted to attend school, 1900; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1900. Dropped as probationer, and continued as local preacher, 1903; Year Ministry Commenced: 1900.

**Career in BC:** 1900 native agent, permitted to attend school; 1901-1902 River’s Inlet

**Sanford, Albert Morris;** Years in BC: 1897- ; From Nova Scotia Conference, 1897; Education: Mount Allison, B.A., 1895, B.D., 1906, D.D. 1913; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1893, Nova Scotia Conference. Received on trial, 1894. Received into full connection and ordained, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1893; Vital Statistics: b. Center Burlington, Hants County, Nova Scotia, Dec. 23, 1871, d. Vancouver, July 30, 1952

**Positions held in BC:** 1901-1902 F. S. Kootenay District

**Career in BC:** 1897-1900 Sandon; 1901-1902 Rossland

**Schlicter, William Clemens;** Years in BC: 1900-1914; From Nova Scotia Conference, 1900; resigned 1914, with credentials; Education: B.A.; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial 1895, Hamilton Conf. Transferred to Nova Scotia Conference, 1896; Transferred to the BC Conference, and probationer received into full connection and ordained, 1900; Year Ministry Commenced: 1895; Vital Statistics: d. Aug 2, 1915

**Career in BC:** 1900 Van Anda; 1901-1902 Cowichan

**Scott, David William;** Years in BC: 1899- ; Education: Recommended to be sent to college, 1900; Columbian College, Mount Allison College, 1900-1902?; Progression to Ordination: Probationer of one year, 1899. Probationer of two years, 1900. Received into full connection and ordained, 1902; Year Ministry Commenced: 1899; Vital Statistics: b. Bay Vert, New Brunswick, June 12, 1872, d. Feb 19, 1965

**Career in BC:** 1899 Salt Spring Island, under Super. Of Cowichan; 1900-1901 New Westminster, Columbian College; 1902 Victoria

**Scott, Edmund Edgar;** Years in BC: 1899-1903; From Toronto Conference, 1899; To Hamilton Conference, 1903; Education: Wesleyan Theological College student, 1880-1881; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair 1877, London Conference. Received on trial, 1878. Received into full connection and ordained, 1881. Transferred to Toronto Conference, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1878; Vital Statistics: b. Markham, Ont., Aug. 1853.

**Positions held in BC:** 1901-02 Ch. Vancouver District; 1902, Pres. Of Conf.; 1902, Del. To Gen. Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1899-1902 Vancouver, Homer Street

**Seccombe, William Bray;** Years in BC: 1883-1888; From Toronto, 1883; To Bay of Quinte Conference, 1888; Education: Mount Allison, Mount Allison, student two years, 1878-1880; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair 1874, Newfoundland
Conference. Received on trial 1875. Received into full connection and ordained, 1880. Transferred to Toronto Conference, 1882; Year Ministry Commenced: 1874; Vital Statistics: b. Cornwall, England, April 28, 1852, d. Lindsay, Ont., Dec. 1, 1912

**Career in BC:** 1883 Maple Ridge; 1884-1886 Maple Ridge and Yale; 1887 Delta and Richmond

**Service, Charles Winfield:** Years in BC: 1899-1901; To West China mission, 1901; Education: Victoria University, B.A., 1895; M.D.; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1898, Montreal Conference; Year Ministry Commenced: (to Port Simpson 1900).

**Career in BC:** 1899-1900 Clayoquot - medical missionary

**Sexsmith, William B.**; Years in BC: 1872-1884; From Ontario, 1872; To Bay of Quinte Conference, 1884; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1871, Wesleyan Methodist Conference. Transferred to BC, and ordained, 1872. Received into full connection, 1875; Year Ministry Commenced: 1871.

**Career in BC:** 1872-1874 Salt Spring and Maple Bay; 1875-1876 Maple Bay; 1877-1879 Cariboo; 1880 Maple Bay and Saanich; 1881-1883 Wellington

**Sharpe, Allen Kennedy:** Years in BC: 1894-; Education: Columbian Methodist College, To attend College, 1894-1895, Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1892. Probationer of one year, 1893. Probationer of one year, 1894. Probationer of one year, 1895. Received into full connection, previously ordained for special purposes, 1896; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892

**Career in BC:** 1894-1895 New Westminster; 1896 Hammond; 1897-1899 Maple Ridge; 1900-1902 Cloverdale and Langley

**Sipprell, Wilford James:** Years in BC: 1897-; From Hamilton Conference, 1897; Education: Victoria University, B.A., 1895, Silver Medallist; B.D; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1890, Niagara Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1890; Vital Statistics: b. Blenheim Township, Oxford County, Sept 12, 1866, d. Victoria, December 24, 1952

**Positions held in BC:** 1902 Ch. New Westminster District; 1902 Delegate to Gen. Conf., 1904, Pres. of Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1898-1902 New Westminster, Principal, Columbian Methodist College

**Smith, E. Victor:** Years in BC: 1892-1896; From Niagara Conference, 1892; Resigned, 1896; Education: Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, To attend College, 1894-1895; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1891, Niagara Conference. Transferred to BC Conference, 1892. Permitted to be employed with view to his reception as a candidate for the ministry, 1891. Probationer of two years, 1893. Probationer of three years, 1894. Probationer of three years, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1891

**Career in BC:** 1892 Ainsworth; 1893 Nanaimo; 1894-1895 Montreal

**Smith, George Edward:** Years in BC: 1897-1905; From Niagara Conference, 1897; To Hamilton Conference, 1905; Education: To attend College (without aid), Wesleyan
Theological College, Montreal, S.T.L. (licentiate), 1899; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1895, Niagara Conference. Transferred to BC Conference, 1897. Probationer of three years, 1898. Travelled for 5 years, to be ordained for special purposes, 1899. Received into full connection, 1900; Year Ministry Commenced: 1895

Career in BC: 1896 Okanagan; 1897 Golden; 1898 Montreal, Wesleyan Theological College; 1899 Cranbrook and Fort Steele; 1900 Left without a station at his own request; 1901-1902 Okanagan

Smith, Robert Hall; Years in BC: 1878-1881; From Toronto Conference, 1878; Ceased to be recognized as a minister among us, 1881, (withdrew from the Methodist ministry and received proper credentials); Progression to Ordination: Travelled under chair, 1857, Bath, Wesleyan Methodist Conference, Received on Trial, 1858, Received into full connection and ordained, 1861, Ministry began 1879. Transferred to BC, 1878; Year Ministry Commenced: 1857; Vital Statistics: d. 1883

Career in BC: 1878-1880 Victoria

Southall, John F.; Years in BC: 1894-1895; Received from the Salvation Army, 1894; dropped in silence, 1895; Progression to Ordination: Received from the Salvation Army, 1894; Year Ministry Commenced: 1894 (date entered Methodist Church).

Career in BC: 1894 Wellington

Speer, James C.; Years in BC: 1897-1900; From Toronto Conference; To Toronto Conference, 1900; Education: Appointed to attend Wesleyan Theological College, 1882-1883, Wesleyan Theological College, D.D., 1902; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1879, Toronto Conference. Probationer of one year, 1880. Probationer of two years, 1881. Probationer of three years, 1883. Transferred into BC Conference, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1879.

Career in BC: 1897-1899 Victoria, Metropolitan

Spencer, John Clark; Years in BC: 1888-199; Education: Appointed to attend College, 1893, 1898; University of California, San Francisco, 1897-99 medical course; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1888. Received on trial, 1889. Probationer of one year, 1890. Probationer of two years, 1891. Probationer of three years, 1892. Received into full connection and ordained, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1889; Vital Statistics: b. Oct. 5, 1859, d. Bella Bella, February 22, 1928; Married: Sadie Hart at Port Simpson, 1894.

Career in BC: 1888 Upper Skeena (Kishpioc); 1889-1892 Upper Skeena; 1893 Allowed to attend college; 1894 Upper Skeena; 1895 Indian Tribes (Duncan's); 1896 Victoria, East Coast Indians; 1897-1898 Left without station at own request to attend College; 1899 Bella Coola; 1900 Bella Coola - medical missionary; 1901 Bella Coola; 1902-1907 Bella Coola; 1907-1914 Skidegate; 1914-1924 Port Simpson; 1924-1928 Bella Bella to death

Starr, John Edward; Years in BC: 1887-1890; From Toronto Conference, 1887; To Toronto Conference, 1890; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1878, Toronto
Conference. Traveled one year, 1879. Probationer of three years, 1881. Admitted into full connection and ordained, 1882; Year Ministry Commenced: 1878.

**Career in BC:** 1887 Victoria; 1888 Victoria, Wesley Church; 1889 Victoria

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**Stevens, Matthew J.**; Years in BC: 1889-1891; From Newfoundland Conference, 1889; Resigned from the ministry of our church and entitled to credentials of standing, 1891; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1885, Newfoundland Conference. Transferred to BC Conference, 1889. Probationer of three years, 1889. Received into full connection and ordained, 1890; Year Ministry Commenced: 1886.

**Career in BC:** 1888-1890 Comox

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**Stillman, Robert Forbes**; Years in BC: 1899-1920; From Bay of Quinte conference, 1899; Transferred out of BC 1920; Education: Victoria College, student, 1892-94 and 1896-98; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1892, Bay of Quinte Conference. Transferred to BC Conference, received into full connection and ordained, 1899; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892; Vital Statistics: b. Campbellford, Ont., 1868, d. Oshawa, Sept. 18, 1938; Married: Florence Elliott, 1899

**Positions held in BC:** 1902 F.S. Kootenay District; 1902, Statistics Sec. Of Conf.; 1915, Pres. Of Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1899-1902 Fernie

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**Stone, William John**; Years in BC: 1892-1907; Resigned 1907, credentials not given; Progression to Ordination: Permitted to be employed with a view to his entering the work of the ministry, 1892. Received on trial, 1893. Probationer of two years, and ordained for special purposes, 1894. Received into full connection, 1895; Year Ministry Commenced: 1893; Vital Statistics: b. Lakefield, Ont., 1864, d. Victoria, 1944

**Career in BC:** 1892-1893 Naas; 1894 Nitenat, under District Chairman; 1895-1897 Nitenat; 1898-1900 Nitenat (Clo-oose); 1901-1902 Claoose

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**Stoney, Akroyd**; Years in BC: 1899-1903; From Newfoundland conference, 1899; Resigned 1903; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1888, Newfoundland Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1892; Year Ministry Commenced: 1887.

**Career in BC:** 1899 Texada and Howe Sound; 1900 Agassiz and Hot Springs; 1901 Trail; 1902 Left without at station at his own request

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**Sutherland, Charles Henderson M.**; Years in BC: 1890-1910; Resigned 1910, with credentials; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1890. Probationer of two years, 1891. Probationer of three years, 1892. Received into full connection and ordained, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1890.

**Positions held in BC:** 1895, Journal Sec. Of Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1890-1892 Maple Bay; 1893 Delta; 1894 Ladner’s; 1895 Union; 1896-1899 Wellington; 1900-1902 Vancouver, Mount Pleasant

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**Tanner, William Gordon**; Years in BC: 1892-1910; Resigned 1910, with credentials, later returned to the work; Education: Recommended to be sent to College, 1897-1900;
Wesley College, Winnipeg, B.A.; Progression to Ordination: Permitted to be employed with a view to his entering the work of the ministry, 1892. Received on trial, 1897. Probationer of one year, 1898. Probationer of one year, 1899 and 1900. Received into full connection and ordained, 1905; Year Ministry Commenced: 1897; Vital Statistics: b. Allandale, Ont., c1870, d. Vancouver, March 30, 1940

**Career in BC:** 1897-1900 Winnipeg, Wesley College; 1901 Victoria West; 1902 Ladysmith

**Tate, Charles Montgomery;** Years in BC: 1875-; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1876. Travelled two years, 1877. Travelled three years, 1878. Received into full connection and ordained, with special reference to the Indian work, 1879; Year Ministry Commenced: 1875; Vital Statistics: b. Nov. 5, 1852, d. Vancouver, February 28, 1933; Married: Caroline Sarah Knott, day-school teacher at Fort Simpson, October 20, 1879 by Thomas Crosby

**Positions held in BC:** 1880, 1890-1891, Ass’t. Sec. Of Conf.; 1892, Sec. Of Conf.; 1899-1900 Statistical Sec. Of Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1876-1879 Indian Tribes; 1880 Skeena River; 1881-1883 Bella Bella; 1884-1893 Indian Tribes; 1894 Victoria; 1895 Victoria, Indian Tribes; 1896 Victoria, East Coast Indians; 1897 Kitzegucla and Hugwilget; 1898 Sardis, Indian Mission; 1899-1902 Duncan, Cowichan Tribes

**Thompson, Christopher L.;** Years in BC: 1873-1884; From Ontario, 1873; To Bay of Quinte Conf, 1884; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1870, Wesleyan Methodist Conference. Transferred to BC, and ordained 1873. Received into full connection, 1874; Year Ministry Commenced: 1870; Vital Statistics: b. Five Islands, Minas Basin, Nova Scotia, Oct 24, 1843, d. Dec. 17, 1913; Married: Jennie Braginton, 1874, by William Pollard

**Career in BC:** 1874 Saanich; 1875-1876 Cariboo; 1877 Maple Ridge and Langley; 1878-1880 Sumas and Chillwhack; 1881-1883 Burrard Inlet

**Thompson, Samuel James;** Years in BC: 1888-1917; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1888; To London Conference, 1917; Education: Victoria University, student, 1886-1887; Progression to Ordination: Received into Bay of Quinte Conference from Bible Christian Church, 1884. Received into full connection and ordained, 1888; Year Ministry Commenced: 1884; Vital Statistics: b. Erin, Ontario, 1861

**Positions held in BC:** 1893 Journal Sec. Of Conf.; 1897-1900 F.S. Kamloops District; 1902, Ch. East Kootenay District; 1906 Pres of Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1888-1889 Richmond; 1890-1892 New Westminster; 1893-1894 Vancouver; 1895-1897 Vernon; 1898-1900 Revelstoke; 1901 Kaslo; 1902 Cranbrook

**Turner, James;** Years in BC: 1873-; From Ontario, 1873; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1870, Wesleyan Methodist Conference. Received on trial, 1871. Ordained, 1873; Year Ministry Commenced: 1870; Vital Statistics: b. Beltrim, Gorten, County Tyrone, Ireland, 1842, d. Aug 12, 1916

**Positions held in BC:** 1890 F.S. Kamloops District; 1887 Ass’t.. Sec. Of Conf.; 1903 Pres. of Conf.
Career in BC: 1874 New Westminster; 1875-1879 Nicola Valley and Kamloops; 1880-1881 Cariboo; 1882 left without an appointment at his own request (Calgary, Supernumerary); 1887 Cariboo; 1888-1890 Revelstoke and Donald; 1891-1893 Nelson; 1894 Victoria, West; 1895-1897 Clintion; 1898 Yukon, under General Board of Missions; 1899 Atlin, under General Board of Missions; 1900 Ashcroft, Superannuated; 1902 Kamloops, Superannuated

Wadman, John W.; Years in BC: 1887-1888; From New Brunswick Conference, 1887; Withdrew from Conference, 1888, and went to Japan, where he was appointed Professor in Philander College in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church; Education: Mount Allison, B.A., 1879, M.A.; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1879, NB and PEI Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1882; Year Ministry Commenced: 1879.

Career in BC: 1887-1888 Victoria

Watson, Coverdale; Years in BC: 1881-1887; 1890- ; From Toronto Conference, 1881; and From Toronto Conference, 1890; To Toronto Conference, 1887; Education: Victoria College, student, 1872; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1869, Wesleyan Methodist Conference. Received into full connection and ordained, 1874, Toronto Conference; Year Ministry Commenced: 1869; Vital Statistics: b. Dalbydale, near Whitby, Yorkshire, England, Mar. 16, 1847, d. New Westminster, Feb. 21, 1898

Positions held in BC: 1881-83 Ch. Victoria and New West. District; 1884, Ch. Victoria District; 1885-86 Ch. Westminster District

Career in BC: 1881-1883 Victoria; 1884-1886 New Westminster; 1890-1891 Victoria, Wesley Church; 1892 Victoria, Pandora; 1893-1895 Vancouver, Homer Street; 1896-1897 New Westminster, Central

Westman, James Pattison; Years in BC: 1899-; From London Conference, 1900; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial 1895, London Conference. Received into full connection and ordained 1899; Year Ministry Commenced: 1895; Vital Statistics: b. Biddulph Township, Middlesex Co, Ont., Jan 14, 1870, d. Vancouver, April 19, 1960; Married: Jessie Sinclair of Gravenhurst

Positions held in BC: 1901 F.S. Kamloops District; 1923 and 1924 Pres. Of Conf.

Career in BC: 1899 Golden; 1900-1901 Vernon; 1902 Victoria

White, Edward; Years in BC: 1859-1871; From Canada West, 1859; To Ontario, 1871; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1848, Wardville. Received on trial, 1849, London Circuit. Received into full connection and ordained, 1852, Sarnia; Year Ministry Commenced: 1848; Vital Statistics: b. near Philadelphia, Penn., Nov. 11, 1822, d. Montreal, June 16, 1872; Married: Sarah Jane Woodman, 1852

Career in BC: 1859-1862 New Westminster; 1863-1865 Nanaimo; 1866-1868 New Westminster; 1869-1871 Nanaimo

White, James Henry; Years in BC: 1887-; From Niagara Conference, 1887; Education: Victoria College, student 1879, attended Willamette University; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1876, London Conference. Received on trial, 1877.


**Career in BC:** 1888-1889 New Westminster; 1890-1891 Victoria, North; 1892-1893 Victoria, Centennial; 1894 New Westminster; 1895 Vancouver, Mount Pleasant, Sec’y of Columbian Methodist College; 1896-1899 Chilliwack; 1900-1902 Nelson

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**Whittington, Robert:** Years in BC: 1892-; From Bay of Quinte Conference, 1892; Education: Victoria College, student, 1882-83, M.A., 1892, D.D. Wesley Theological College, 1901; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1882, Toronto Conference. Received on trial, 1883. Probationer of two years, and ordained for Japan, 1884. Received into full connection, 1886; Year Ministry Commenced: 1882; Vital Statistics: b. Scotland, June 7, 1850, d. June 9, 1945

**Positions held in BC:** 1899 Ch. Vancouver District; 1900-1902 Ch. Indian District; 1899 and 1900 Pres. Of Conf.; 1902 Delegate to Gen. Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1892-1895 New Westminster, Principal, Columbian College; 1897-1899 Vancouver, Princess Street; 1900-1902 Superintendent of Indian work, to reside at Vancouver

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**Wilkinson, Robert Carlton:** Years in BC: 1893-; Education: Appointed to attend college, 1896, Columbian Methodist College; Progression to Ordination: Permission to employ with a view to entering the ministry, 1893. Received on trial, 1894. Probationer of one year 1896. Received into full connection and ordained, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1894; Vital Statistics: b. Greysouthen, Lancashire, Oct. 1, 1863, d. Maple Ridge, Sept. 4, 1940; Married: Annie McLaughlin, Nov 9, 1884 at Cockermouth, Cumberland

**Positions held in BC:** 1918, Pres. Of Conf.

**Career in BC:** 1893-1894 Northfield; 1895 Wellington; 1896-1897 New Westminster, West End; 1898-1900 Mission City; 1901-1902 Cumberland

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**Wilkinson, Samuel:** Years in BC: 1893-1898; To Manitoba and NW Conference, 1898; Education: Wesley College, Winnipeg, B.A; 1899; Appointed to attend college, 1893, 1896, 1897; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial 1891. Probationer of two years, 1893. Probationer of three years, 1894. Probationer of three years, 1896. Probationer of four years and continued at college, 1897; Year Ministry Commenced: 1891

**Career in BC:** 1893 New Westminster, student at Columbian Methodist College; 1894 Nanaimo; 1895 Nanaimo, Haliburton Street; 1896-1897 Winnipeg, Wesley College
Williams, Roland; Years in BC: 1894-1895; Progression to Ordination: Permission to employ with a view to his being received on trial for the ministry, 1894. Probationer of one year, 1894; Year Ministry Commenced: 1894; Dropped in silence, 1896
Career in BC: 1895 Similkameen

Winslow, Joseph Wesley; Years in BC: 1888-; From Niagara Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, 1888; Progression to Ordination: Received into full connection and ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, 1883; Year Ministry Commenced: 1884; Vital Statistics: b. Dunnville, Ont., c1860, d. Vancouver, Aug 1, 1911
Career in BC: 1888-1890 Nicola; 1891 Langley; 1892-1894 Mission City; 1895-1896 Maple Bay and Salt Spring Island; 1897 Cowichan and Salt Spring Island (Duncan’s); 1898-1901 Saanich (Sidney)

Wood, James Alexander; Years in BC: 1882-; From Toronto Conference, 1882; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under chair, 1873, Toronto Conference. Received on trial, 1880, Toronto Conference. Probationer of two years, and ordained for special purposes, 1882. Received into full connection, 1883; Year Ministry Commenced: 1880; Vital Statistics: b. Urbana, Ohio, 1855, d. Armstrong, December 14, 1916; Married: Margaret Jane Sweet, Aug. 1885
Positions held in BC: 1887-89, and 1894-95, F.S. Kamloops District; 1896-97 Ch. Kamloops District; 1898-00 Ch. Kootenay District; 1902, Ch. Kamloops District; 1905, Pres. Of Conf.
Career in BC: 1882, Bella Coola; 1883, Maple Bay and Saanich; 1884, Maple Bay; 1885, Delta and Alma; 1886, Delta, Surrey and Langley; 1887, Kamloops; 1888-1889, Clinton; 1890-1892, Richmond; 1893-1894, Vernon; 1895-1896, Revelstoke and Donald; 1897, Revelstoke; 1898-1900, Kaslo; 1901, Kamloops; 1902, Salmon Arm

Wright, John Henry; Years in BC: 1900-; From Montreal Conference, 1900; Education: Stanstead Wesleyan College Quebec for four years; then to Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, student, 1893-96; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1892, Montreal Conference. Ordained 1897. Received into full connection, 1898; Year Ministry Commenced: 1892; Vital Statistics: b. Lands Bank, Durham, England, April 25, 1869, d. Nanaimo, Dec. 12, 1958; Married: Alice Victoria Cheney, 1899
Positions held in BC: 1921, Pres. of Conf.,
Career in BC: 1900-1902, Lillooet

Wright, Thomas Hall; Years in BC: 1900-; From Montreal Conference, 1900; Education: Victoria University, student, 1889, Wesleyan Theological College, student, 1891; Progression to Ordination: Travelled under Chair, 1887, Montreal Conference. Received on trial, 1888. Ordained, 1890. Received into full connection, 1893; Year Ministry Commenced: 1888; Vital Statistics: b. c1863, d. Vancouver, May 17, 1936
Career in BC: 1900-1901, Michel; 1902, Saanich
Wrinač, Horace Cooper; Years in BC: 1900-; Education: Faculty Of Agriculture, University of Toronto, B.A., 1888 with Gold Medal, and Trinity Medical College, Toronto, M.D.; Progression to Ordination: Received on trial, 1898. Received into full connection and ordained, 1910; Year Ministry Commenced: 1898; Vital Statistics: b. Essex, England, Jan 6, 1866, d. Vancouver, October 19, 1939; Married: Alice Breckton Career in BC: 1900-1902, Kispiox - medical missionary

1. Female missionaries sponsored by the Woman’s Missionary Society of the Methodist Church


Black, Emoline. From Bolton, Ont. To Kolokreeka, Alberta, in 1914 Career in BC: 1911-1914, Port Simpson

Bone, Helen. Retired Career in BC: 1904-1911, Hazelton


Burpee, M. From Woodstock, Ont. Life member of WMS, Retired. Career in BC: 1893-1898, Chilliwack; 1899-1901, Chilliwack; 1903-1906, Port Simpson

Caldwell, Leda S. From Summerville, N.S. Retired. Deceased 1906 Career in BC: 1892-1895, Port Simpson

Carrol, T. From Norwich, Ont. Married and withdrawn Career in BC: 1901-1904, Port Simpson

Cartmell, Martha J. From Hamilton, Ont.. In Japan 1882-1887 1892-1896. Retired. Life member of WMS Career in BC: 1890-1892, Victoria
Churchill, Elizabeth. From Toronto, Ont. Withdrawn.
Career in BC: 1897-1901, Victoria

Clark, Ida. From Sarnia, Ont. Life member of WMS. In Edmonton, Alberta, 1909-1912
Career in BC: 1903-1909, Port Simpson; 1912, Kitamaat

Clarke, Isabella.
Career in BC: Kitamaat, 1913

Clarke, Lavinia. From Pownall, P.E.I. Deceased 1906
Career in BC: 1890-1895, Chilliwack; 1896-1902, Port Simpson

Collins, Ethel. From Orangeville, Ont. Withdrawn.
Career in BC: 1910-1913 Port Simpson,

Deacon, Lottie. From York, P.E.I. In Japan, 1901-1905
Career in BC: 1907, Port Simpson

Dever, Mrs. Mary S. From Kincardine, Ont. Life member of WMS
Career in BC: 1910 Victoria

Donogh, Lizzie J. From Mt. Forest, Ont. Withdrawn
Career in BC: 1908-1912, Kitamaat

Drury, Mary C. From Dalston, Ont. Retired
Career in BC: 1904-1905, Duncan

Elderkin, Laura E. From Port Greville, N.S. Married and withdrawn
Career in BC: 1889-1893, Chilliwack

Elliott, Jennie. From Kettleby, Ont. Retired. Withdrawn
Career in BC: 1898-1903, Port Simpson

Gray, Fannie S. From Nile, Ont.
Career in BC: 1910, Port Simpson

Harrison, Adelaide. From Hamilton, Ont. To China, 1913
Career in BC: 1911-1912, Vancouver

Hart, Sarah L. From Berwick, N.S. Married and withdrawn
Career in BC: 1888-1893, Port Simpson

Hendrie, M. Brantford, Ont. Married and withdrawn
Career in BC: 1882-1885, Port Simpson
Howie, Jessie L. From Shediac, N.B. To Japan, 1900-05, 1906, 1913
Career in BC: 1914, Vancouver

Howson, Ethalind B. From Wingham, Ont. Withdrawn
Career in BC: 1907-1911, Bella Bella

Hudson, Frances E. From Guelph, Ont. On furlough, 1914
Career in BC: 1909-1914, Port Simpson

Jackson, Alice. From Oshawa, Ont. Life member of WMS
Career in BC: 1900-05, 1906-1910, Kitamaat; 1912, Cross Lake; 1913, Nelson House

Kissack, Reba. From St. George, Ont. Married and withdrawn
Career in BC: 1901-1903, Bella Bella

Knight, Agnes. From Halifax, N.S. Married and withdrawn
Career in BC: 1885-1890, Port Simpson

Knox, E.I. Withdrawn
Career in BC: 1905-1908, Port Simpson

Laing, K.M. From Nassagaweya, Ont. To Japan, 1900-1905; Morley, 1906-1910
Career in BC: 1911, Port Simpson

Lawson, Mary E., B.A. From Hillsborogh, N.B. Retired
Career in BC: 1908-1911, Kitamaat

Lawrence, Emma. From Victoria. Retired
Career in BC: 1894-1900, Port Simpson

Leake, Annie. From Parrsboro, N.S. Married and withdrawn, Life member of WMS
Career in BC: 1887-1892, Victoria

Long, Elizabeth E. From Balmy Beach, Ont. On furlough, 1906. Life member of WMS.
Career in BC: Died 1914
1896-1902, 1903-1906, Kitamaat

Martin, Annie T. From Stratford, Ont. Life member of WMS
Career in BC: 1905-1907, Kitamaat; 1907-1910, 1911, Victoria

Morgan, Kate F. From Brantford, Ont. On furlough, 1903, Retired, 1914. Life member of WMS. To Japan 188-1894, 1903-1910
Career in BC: 1896-1902, Victoria

Morrow, Mrs. Mary E. From Barrie, Ont.
Career in BC: 1892-1895, Victoria
Paul, Hannah M. From Newburg, Ont.
Career in BC: 1895-1901, 1902-1909, Port Simpson

Preston, E.A. From Brantford, Ont. On furlough, 1914. Life member of WMS. To Japan, 1888-93, 94-99, 1901-06
Career in BC: 1908-1914, Vancouver

Redner, Mrs. J. From Hastings, Ont. Retired
Career in BC: 1893-1898, Port Simpson,

Schofield, Sarah. From Brantford, Ont. Retired. Life member of WMS
Career in BC: 1906-1911, Port Simpson

Scouten, Annie
Career in BC: 1910, Kitamaat

Sherlock, Margaret J. From Parkdale, Ont. Life member of WMS. Withdrawn.
Career in BC: 1902-1907, Victoria

Sherwood, Mary E. From Fergus, Ont. Married and withdrawn
Career in BC: 1902-1904, Hazelton

Smith, Maggie. Maltland, N.S. Retired
Career in BC: 1893-1898, 1899-1904, Chilliwack; 1906-1914, Chinese, Victoria

Snyder, Mrs. Ida. From Drumbo, Ont. Life member of WMS. To Edmonton, 1914
Career in BC: 1899-1904, 1905-1911, Victoria

Spence, M. From Kingston, Ont. On furlough, 1906. Retired
Career in BC: 1892-1897, 1898-1905, Port Simpson

Stevenson, Fannie A. From Diamond, Ont. Married and withdrawn
Career in BC: 1901-1903, Port Simpson

Swann, Mary J. From Fullarton, Ont.
Career in BC: 1911, Kitamaat

Wickett, Florence G. From Toronto, Ont. Married and withdrawn
Career in BC: 1893-1896 Victoria
APPENDIX 7

ANGLICAN EDUCATION PATTERNS

95 Anglicans in BC, 1854-1914, sponsored by missionary societies

26 were sponsored by the CMS
63 were sponsored by the SPG
2 were sponsored by both the CMS and the SPG
1 was sponsored by the Colonial and Continental Church Society
1 was sponsored by the New England Company
1 was self-sponsored

Of the 95 Anglicans:

No information on education available 7 (7%)

Literates 31 (33%)
- Had Army training only 1 (1%)
- Attended Training Institutions (No Degree) 7 (7%)
- Attended Missionary College (No Degree) 23 (24%)
- Attended Missionary College (Degree) 2 (2%)

Theological Colleges or Equivalent 20 (21%)
- Held Medical Qualifications 5 (5%)
- Attended Theological College (No Degree) 8 (8%)
- Attended Theological College (Degree) 1 (1%)
- Attended University (No degree) 4 (4%)

University Degrees 37 (39%)
- Attended University and Held One or More Earned Degrees 37 (39%)

Of the 7 for whom no information is available
2 were lay catechists
5 were ordained clergy (all were ordained in British Columbia)

Of the 7 who attended Training Institutions
3 attended the Church Missionary Society Preparatory Institute only
2 attended the Battersea Training College for School Masters
1 attended the Cheltenham Training College for School Masters
1 attended the Highbury Training College for School Masters

Of the 23 who attended Missionary Colleges (no degree)
12 attended the Church Missionary College, Islington
6 attended St. Augustine’s College, Canterbury
4 attended St. Boniface College, Warminster
1 attended St. Paul’s Mission House, Burgh
Of the 2 who attended Missionary Colleges (degree)
2 attended the Church Missionary College, Islington, and held a B.D.

Of the 5 who held medical qualifications
1 held an M.B. and a B.S. degree
3 held licentiates or memberships in Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in the UK
1 had a short course in medicine and surgery

Of the 8 who attended Theological Colleges (no degree)
1 attended Gloucester,
1 attended Huron Divinity College
1 attended King’s College, London
2 attended Lichfield
1 attended St. Aidan’s
1 attended St. Bee’s
1 attended St. John’s College, Winnipeg

Of the 1 who attended Theological Colleges (degree)
1 attended St. John’s College, Winnipeg and held a B.A. and M.A.

Of the 4 who attended university (no degree)
1 attended Cambridge, Downing College
1 attended Durham, Hatfield Hall
1 attended Oxford, St. Alban’s Hall
1 attended Trinity College, Dublin

Of the 37 who attended university and held one or more earned degrees
11 attended Cambridge (28%)
12 attended Oxford (32%)
4 attended Durham (11%)
8 attended Trinity College, Dublin (22%)
1 attended the University of Edinburgh (3%)
1 attended the University of King’s College, Nova Scotia (3%)

Of the 41 earned degree holders

**Initial earned degrees**

11 had a B.A. only
3 had a B.D. only
1 had a M.B. and a B.S.
26 had a B.A. and at least one other earned degree
Higher degrees

Of the 26 who had a B.A. and at least one other earned degree
25 had an M.A.
1 had a B.D. and an M.A.

Honorary degrees

Of the 5 honorary degree holders
1 held a D.D. only
1 held a B.A. and a D.D.
3 held a B.A., an M.A. and a D.D.

CMS Educational Patterns

26 Anglicans in BC, 1856-1914, sponsored by the CMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literates</th>
<th>17 (66%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attended Training Institutions (No Degree)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended Missionary College</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theological College or Equivalent</th>
<th>5 (19%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Held Medical Qualifications</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended University (No Degree)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University Degrees</th>
<th>4 (15%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attended University and Held One or More Earned Degrees</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 6 who attended Training Institutions
3 attended the Church Missionary Society Preparatory Institute only
1 attended the Battersea Training College for School Masters
1 attended the Cheltenham Training College for School Masters
1 attended the Church Missionary Society's Training College for School Masters, Highbury

Of the 11 who attended Missionary Colleges
11 attended the Church Missionary College, Islington
(7 had no degree, 1 held earned degree, 1 held honorary degree, 2 were awarded 2nd class standing in the Preliminary Theological Examinations)

Of the 4 who held medical qualifications
1 held an M.B. and a B.S. degree
1 was a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Edinburgh
1 was a Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow and a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries
1 had a short training course in medicine and surgery
Of the 1 who attended university (no degree)
1 attended Trinity College, Dublin

Of the 4 who attended university and held one or more earned degrees
1 attended Cambridge
2 attended Trinity College, Dublin
1 attended the University of King’s College, Nova Scotia

Of the earned degree holders

Initial degrees
2 had a B.A. only
1 had a B.A. and a Licentiate in Theology
1 had a B.D. only

Honorary degrees
1 had a D.D. only

SPG Education Patterns

63 Anglicans in BC, 1859-1914, were sponsored by the SPG

No information
7 (11%)
No information on education (lay)
2
No information on education (clergy)
5

Literates
15 (24%)
Had Army training only
1
Attended Training Institutions (No Degree)
1
Attended Missionary College
13

Theological College or Equivalent
13 (21%)
Held Medical Qualifications
1
Attended Theological College
8
Attended Theological College (Degree)
1
Attended University (No Degree)
3

University Degrees
28 (64%)
Attended University and Held One or More Earned Degrees
28

Of the 1 who attended Training Institutions
1 attended the Battersea Training College for School Masters
Of the 13 who attended Missionary Colleges
2 attended the Church Missionary College, Islington
6 attended St. Augustine's College, Canterbury
   (4 had no degree, 2 were awarded 1st class standing in the Preliminary Theological Examinations)
4 attended St. Boniface College, Warminster
1 attended St. Paul's Mission House, Burgh

Of the 8 who attended Theological Colleges (no degree)
1 attended Gloucester
1 attended Huron Divinity College
1 attended King's College, London (and held a Theological Associate)
2 attended Lichfield
1 attended St. Aidans
1 attended St. Bees

Of the 1 who attended Theological College (degree)
1 attended St. John's College, Winnipeg (1 B.A., M.A.)

Of the 1 who held medical qualifications
1 was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in England

Of the 3 who attended university (no degree)
1 attended Cambridge, Downing College
1 attended Durham, Hatfield Hall
1 attended Oxford, St. Alban's Hall

Of the 28 who attended university and held one or more earned degrees
8 attended Cambridge (29%)
4 attended Durham (14%)
11 attended Oxford (39%)
4 attended Trinity College, Dublin (14%)
1 attended the University of Edinburgh (3%)

Of the 28 earned degree holders
6 had a B.A. only
22 had a B.A. and an M.A.

Honorary degrees
4 had a D.D. in addition to at least one earned degree
### APPENDIX 8

**METHODIST EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS**

**133 Methodists in BC 1859-1900**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did not attend College (or unspecified)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended College (no Degree)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held One or More Earned Degrees</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorary Degree only</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licentiate in Theology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 32 who attended college (no degree)
- 7 attended Columbian Methodist College, New Westminster
- 4 attended Mount Allison
- 7 attended Victoria College, Cobourg
- 7 attended Victoria University, Toronto
- 2 attended Wesley College, Winnipeg
- 1 attended Wesleyan College, St. John’s
- 3 attended Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal
- 2 attended college at unspecified institution *(noted appointed to attend college in Annual Conference minutes)*

Of the 34 who held one or more earned degrees, for their first degree:
- 6 had no institution specified
- 6 attended Mount Allison
- 2 attended Queen’s University, Kingston
- 1 attended the University of California
- 1 attended the University of South Dakota
- 4 attended the University of Toronto
- 2 attended Victoria College, Cobourg
- 10 attended Victoria University
- 1 attended Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal
- 1 attended Columbian Methodist College, New Westminster

Of the earned degree holders

**Initial degrees**

- 1 had an A.B.
- 13 had a B.A. only
- 12 had a B.A. and at least one other earned degree
- 2 had a B.Sc. and at least one other earned degree
- 1 had a B.D. only
Higher or multiple degrees

Of the 14 who had a bachelor’s degree and at least one other earned degree:
1 had a B.A. and a B.D.
2 had a B.A., a B.D. and a D.D.
1 had a B.A., a B.Sc. and a M.A.
3 had a B.A. and a M.A.
1 had a B.A., a M.A. and a D.D.
1 had a B.A., a M.A., a Ph.D. and a D.D.
2 had a B.A. and a M.D.
1 had a B.Sc. and a M.A.
1 had a B.Sc. a M.A., and a D.D.
1 had a M.A. and a Ph.B.

Professional degrees

1 had an L.L.B.
4 had an M.D. only

Honorary degrees

5 of those holding a D.D. also had earned degrees
5 had a D.D. only
1 had an Honorary M.A.

Other institutions attended by earned degree holders
University of New York
Dakota Wesleyan University
Illinois Wesleyan University by Extension
APPENDIX 9

TRANSCRIPT OF SPG ANNUAL REPORTS

Figure 4a and 4b

Annual Report for Alexander David Pringle, stationed at Hope, December 31, 1860
(Questions from printed form in bold)

1. What is the extent of the Parish or Mission at present under your charge?
The Territorial extent is 7 miles up the River Fraser above Hope and 7 miles below Hope.
It is length without breadth. Above and below Hope there were many white miners
established. These for the most part have left, having given place to the Chinese and gone
to other parts of British Columbia or California.

2. Give the numbers, distinguishing the nations or races of
a) The whole population of your Mission
   White population Hope 200
   900 Total
   On the River (Residing in Hope District) 50
   Chinese 400
   Indians 150
b) Church Members – i.e. those of any age who are Baptized, and do not profess to
dissent from the Prayer Book
   I cannot reckon more than 7 persons who have a real knowledge of the Prayer Bk and
   assent to it
c) The actual Congregation present at each of your Churches or Stations at any one
   Service
      Jan. 1 – June 1 average 14
      June 1 – Oct. 1 average 25
      Oct. 1 – Dec. 31 average 15
d) Communicants
   5 simply communicating residents from
e) Persons confirmed last year
   None were confirmed – The population is entirely adult
f) Unbaptized adults and children under Christian instruction
   The population is such that I cannot inquire whether they have received the rite of
   Baptism or not as a general rule

3. Specify, as to each Church or Station within your Parish, how often in the course
   of last year did you
a) Celebrate Divine Service
   My register shows 82 celebrations of Divine Service, some of these were performed at
   Yale during Sundays of this year I performed duty in whole or part at Yale and Hope
b) Administer Holy Communion
   9 times
c) Catechise publicly during Service
   No children
d) And what was the number of Baptisms of Infants publicly, Adults publicly, Infants privately, Adults privately
3 Baptisms during Divine Service (Infants publicly)
Marriages
Burials
2 Burials
4. What contributions have been raised within the Parish during the year for general Church purposes or for local charities?
£50 has been raised towards a Church in Hope itself. With the exception of the offertory, no other monies have been received this year. The small amount received last year is accounted for by the Churchwardens, and by the account of Yale Collections is kept as well as?
5) Particularly state the number and total amount of your Offertory collections, and the purposes to which they are applied.
Offertory collections Total No. 37.
Amount £ 22.18 $110
To clearing a piece of the land $84
Distressed Miners $10
Ch. expenses $18
*forms etc)
6. State the amount of your professional income during the past year, and the sources from whence its component parts are severally derived – as, for instance, the SPG, the Diocesan Church Society, Vote of the Legislature, Glebes, Congregational Contributions in money or kind, Donations, Fees, Pew-rents, Vestry Allowances, or any other source
My professional income has been derived solely from the stipend of the Propagation Society viz £300 per annum. I have not received any Donations or Offerings for any services performed or otherwise nor have I received any gratuities whatsoever, or offerings in kind, having declined to receive Fees, until the whole question of the amount, collection and proper distribution of fees is [determined?]
7. What Schools, Sunday and Daily, are in the Missions
There is only one white child, a Protestant and 4 Romanist children (2 children of whites and 2 half breeds) I have no school for whites, for the above reason. I hope to establish a school for Indian children the whole tuition must devolve on myself, as I have no one to whom I can apply for aid. My wife will give her aid when available and exempt from domestic duties. Had my own time been less occupied in domestic duties the school for Indians would have been commenced before
*On the subject an Indian school. I have to state that this understanding is “a man’s work” without any other duty -
8 What is the average attendance of children, male and female in each?
9. What part have you been enabled to take in the superintendence or tuition?
10. Is there in the Mission a Church, a Parsonage, a Glebe, an Endowment Fund?
No I am making collections for a Church which I have reason to believe will be erected in Spring, provided I can get the aid which is absolutely requisite from Societies and friends of the Church at home. The ? for a wooden church for 130 very plain, is over
£400 – I can only give the approximate sum, as the price of sawn deal and river freightage may be reduced by competition etc.

11. State as early as you can the cost of the Church and Parsonage, and the value of the Glebe and Endowment

12. Is any effort being made to supply any of these which may be wanting?

13. What prospect can you see of the Parish being endowed, or becoming self supporting

Hope is likely to have a much larger population should this be so I consider the pew rents from the next Ch. and offertory to go someday to making the Mission self-supporting but it is unsafe to speak positively for the circumstances of a gold mining district are very uncertain and fluctuating and Hope has a Romish mission of 2 Priests and the Methodists have now sent another of their body to make Hope their head quarters

14. Have your Quarterly Reports been sent regularly during this past year?
Figure 5a and 5b

Annual Report for James Gammage, stationed at Douglas, January 28, 1862
(Questions from printed form in bold)

1. What is the extent of the Parish or Mission at present under your charge?
The parish comprises a portion of a line of route from the Lower Fraser to the Upper
Fraser and is about 150 miles in length

2. Give the numbers, distinguishing the nations or races of
a) The whole population of your Mission
8 coloured race  11 From Central Europe
9 Chinese  *98 British subjects and citizens of US
13 Mexicans  800 about) Native Indians
12 French and Italians
951 Total
*About 6 are direct from the Mother country
There is likewise a moving population to and from the upper country

b) Church Members – i.e. those of any age who are Baptized, and do not profess to
dissent from the Prayer Book
24

c) The actual Congregation present at each of your Churches or Stations at any one
Service
39 At Douglas
63 Roadmakers at Pemberton
d) Communicants
2
e) Persons confirmed last year

f) Unbaptized adults and children under Christian instruction

3. Specify, as to each Church or Station within your Parish, how often in the course
of last year did you
a) Celebrate Divine Service
85 At Douglas and at different houses on the road
b) Administer Holy Communion

c) Catechise publicly during Service

d) And what was the number of Baptisms of Infants publicly, Adults publicly,
Infants privately, Adults privately, Marriages,

Burials
1
4. What contributions have been raised within the Parish during the year for general Church purposes or for local charities?
I have collected £153 towards the erection of our church, but a part of this sum was collected last year.

5. Particularly state the number and total amount of your Offertory collections, and the purposes to which they are applied.

6. State the amount of your professional income during the past year, and the sources from whence its component parts are severally derived – as, for instance, the SPG, the Diocesan Church Society, Vote of the Legislature, Glebes, Congregational Contributions in money or kind, Donations, Fees, Pew-rents, Vestry Allowances, or any other source
£300 from the S.P.G.

7. What Schools, Sunday and Daily, are in the Missions
There is but 1 child in Douglas and 2 in other parts of the parish.

8. What is the average attendance of children, male and female in each?

9. What part have you been enabled to take in the superintendence or tuition?

10. Is there in the Mission a Church, a Parsonage, a Glebe, an Endowment Fund?
Yes (a Church)

11. State as early as you can the cost of the Church and Parsonage, and the value of the Glebe and Endowment
The church has cost £425. To fence it round, to paint it, and to supply some deficiencies £150 more will be required.

12. Is any effort being made to supply any of these which may be wanting What prospect can you see of the Parish being endowed, or becoming self supporting?
It is very difficult to raise contributions.

13 What prospect can you see of the Parish being endowed, or becoming self supporting?
None at present.

14 Have your Quarterly Reports been sent regularly during this past year?
I have sent in only three reports.