Time, space, and the people of God: Anglican colonialism in nineteenth century British Columbia

by

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Abstract

Anglican missionaries began to arrive in British Columbia after the mainland had been accorded colonial status in 1858. Here they strove to provide for the spiritual needs of other white colonists, and to convert the territory's Native population to Christianity. In part one of this thesis I sketch out the central convictions of Anglican imperialism — its motivations, aspirations, and biases. I argue that these beliefs distinguished the mission enterprise from other elements of the imperial project. These divergent impulses, moreover, were reflected in different material practices. In its imperial imagining, and in its colonial enactment, missionization was a distinctive breed of nineteenth century British expansionism.

In part two I turn to the physical engagements of Anglican colonialism. Here I focus on the work of one missionary in particular, an agent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel named John Booth Good. Based first at Nanaimo and then at Lytton, Good devoted his mission career to working among Native people. His impact was wide-ranging. I examine the geography of his mission strategy, the structure of his pedagogic regime, and his supervision of Native subjects. As such, I try to locate this history of Anglican missionization within an expanding literature concerned with questions of power, knowledge, and space.

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Introduction: Winged words

I should have understood a cross has four points. Not three.

Martin Amis, London Fields

In February 1995 I was in Oxford carrying out research for this thesis. It so happened that my brief stay in the city coincided with that of a somewhat more distinguished and notorious figure. Desmond Tutu was in town. He was making a number of formal visitations and delivering a handful of speeches, both planned and extempore, and one such impromptu address was delivered on the morning of February 3rd in Keble College chapel. The discourse was fairly brief and general, but included one anecdote which, to my mind at any rate, was particularly telling. It was an anecdote about the history of Christian colonialism in South Africa. Upon their arrival in this foreign territory, Tutu noted, British missionaries urged the native inhabitants to close their eyes and join them in prayer. When the natives closed their eyes, it was they who had the land and the missionaries who had the Book. But upon opening their eyes, it was they who had the Book and the missionaries who had the land. Such were the shifting relations between Christianity, geography and power under conditions of early colonial contact.

This thesis endeavors to engage with these issues as they pertain to the colonial history of British Columbia. It focuses upon the role played by the Anglican church within a wider framework of white colonization. While it attempts to identify some of the nuances and specifics of missionary belief and ideology, in order to avoid reducing imperial Christianity to a mere instrument of the colonial state, it does so without overlooking the irreducibly material politics of colonialism. Tutu's allegory is so enlightening because it forces us to place missionary discourse and practice within the context of the land appropriation which ultimately defined the colonial experience. It is to this latter extent, at

any rate, that colonial history continues to infuse the British Columbia present, as Native land claims achieve an increasingly prominent position on the political agenda. Colonialism in British Columbia, past and present, continues to focus upon what Edward Said has termed the "struggle over geography."[1] My thesis attempts to trace out just a tiny component of this legacy. Hence the opening metaphor of the cross. For what follows is a historical geography of Christian colonialism, with the creeds and convictions of Anglican evangelists set squarely against the backdrop of this symbol, placed firmly within the dual axes of time and space.

It was in the late-1850s that the first Anglican missionaries arrived in that part of western Canada which is now known — at least known by its non-indigenous inhabitants — as British Columbia. Vancouver Island had been granted colonial status by the British government back in 1849, but nevertheless it is 1858 which stands out in most histories of the province. It was then that gold was discovered in the Fraser Canyon, and the ensuing influx of miners, mostly from California, apparently demanded some kind of immediate administrative response from the British. Respond they did, and the mainland thus joined the Island within Britain's burgeoning collection of colonies. News of this Proclamation spread immediately, "pointing the minds of men to that space which has recently been constituted the Colony of British Columbia"[2] (see figure 1).

Amongst those attracted to this 'new' colonial space were British missionary societies. In British Columbia, the Church of England identified a fertile new mission field. Here they perceived not only a duty of ministering to ever-increasing numbers of white colonists, but also rich possibilities for evangelization and 'conversion' offered up by a sizable Native population. But Protestant missionaries were not alone. Upon arrival in the colony, they realized that they were no more exempt from the colonial 'struggle over

[1] Edward W.Said, Culture and imperialism, Chatto & Windus, London, 1993, p.6.
[2] Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, Rivingtons, London, 1860, p.25. Until 1866, when they were united, Vancouver Island and British Columbia were separate colonies. However throughout this study, except where explicitly noted, I use the name British Columbia to refer to both territories.

geography' than were the other interested parties: miners, traders, settlers, other missionaries and, of course, Native people themselves. The relationship between land and Christianity, geography and power, would be both complex and multifaceted. The Church of England was not the first religious body to send its agents to this part of western Canada. A number of French Catholics were already at work in the colony, and they were not about to step aside and see their work interrupted by a rival denomination. So when Anglican interest fastened onto a particular village, town, or district in which a 'foreign' missionary was already at work, conflict was the invariable result. In most cases, the political rankling which ensued would be played out, as Said has it, in a 'struggle over geography'.[3]

Such a struggle over geography is the principal subject of this introduction, and it concerns one particular event in British Columbia's history as a colony. This was the 1867 'call' to Lytton, in the Fraser Canyon, of Anglican missionary John Booth Good, by members of the Nlaka'pamux nation[4] (see figures 2 and 3). Good is the missionary whose work forms the main empirical basis of this thesis. Sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,[5] he had originally spent three years in Nova Scotia before arriving on Vancouver Island in 1861. After five years on the Island, where he was based at Nanaimo, he moved to Yale, just over 50 miles south of Lytton, in 1866. It was while at Yale that he received this 'call'. This 'event', I argue, revolved around a

3 For a general outline of the development of British Columbia as a 'mission field' for various denominations, see John Webster Grant, Moon of wintertime: missionaries and the Indians of Canada in encounter since 1534, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1984, chapter 6. And more recently, Joan Weir, Catalysts and watchdogs: B.C.'s men of God, 1836-1871, Sono Nis Press, Victoria, B.C., 1995.

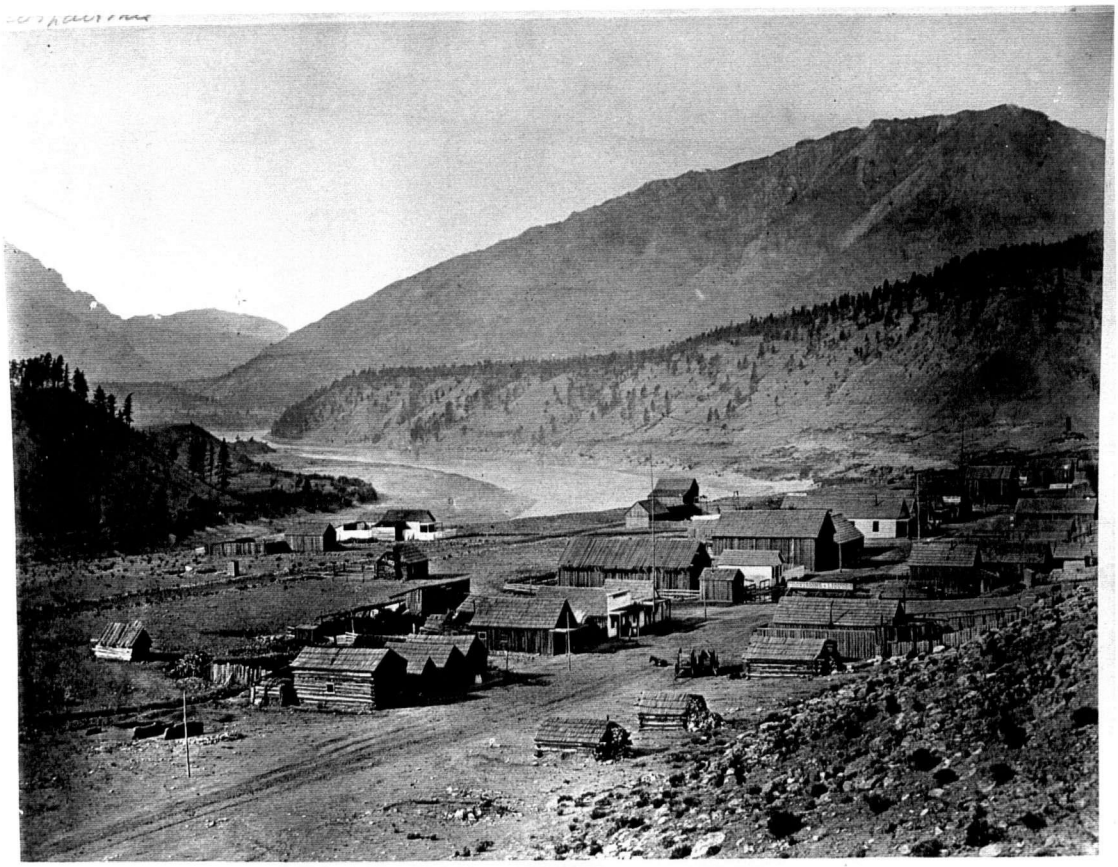
4 'Nlaka'pamux' is the common term of self-identification employed by those Native people who live in a number of communities in south-western British Columbia, from Spuzzum north to Lillooet, and east along the Thompson to Ashcroft, and along the Nicola Valley as far as Merritt. They have become more generally known as the Thompson nation, but in this thesis I use their own terms of identification. For more information see Wendy C.Wickwire, "To see ourselves as the Other's Other: Nlaka'pamux contact narratives," Canadian Historical Review, 75(1), 1994, pp.1-20.

5 Throughout this thesis I refer to this Society as the SPG. Today it is known as the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but I use the ascription 'USPG' only to denote the Society's archives.

Figure 2. British Columbia, 1860.

Source: Columbia Mission Report, 1860, opposite p.34

Figure 3. Lytton, ca. 1867.



Source: BCARS, Photo # A-03551

complex politics of space, a local conflict over geography involving not only the Nlaka'pamux and Good, but also the Roman Catholic church. Catholic priests, having visited the Nlaka'pamux for a number of years, seem to have considered the Lytton area as nominally 'their territory'. But Good was not a man to be put off by such considerations, and in the next few pages I trace his endeavor — in his own words — to "occupy ground that was vainly supposed to be the undisputed possession of the Church of Rome."[6]

I should stress, however, that my avowed emphasis upon the politics of space relates not to some naïve disciplinary fidelity. Rather, it stems from my sense that any history of this 'event' must deal with its conflictual geographical context if it is to avoid abstraction which is not only aspatial, but also ahistorical. The empirics of this introduction are therefore the 'theory' of the whole thesis, and I would hope that this accent on spatial specifics is evident throughout. So why geography? Perhaps surprisingly, I do not seek motivation for this appeal to historical geography in any particular 'theory', but actually in the archives themselves. In this sense, the nature of the archive becomes responsible for the way the study is written; the archive, even, becomes the theory itself. At one level this may seem forbiddingly recondite, but there is a specific reason for this speculation. It concerns the way in which the politics of geography was 'silenced' at the time, in order that Christian imperialists could construct a 'history' of Good's summons which accorded perfectly with their own preconceptions. For Good's 'call' to be presented as rational and inevitable, as the predictable outcome of the assumed superiority of Protestantism, both Good and his evangelical contemporaries had to deny this 'event' its many elements of contention. This they did by scourging their representations of any palpable sense of spatiality. In the internal machinations of what Thomas Richards has termed the 'imperial archive',[7] the de-politicization of knowledge was sanctioned and

[6] John Booth Good to the Secretary, SPG, August 5th 1868, Archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG — Rhodes House Library, Oxford, England), E Series (Missionary reports), Vol.23, 1867-8.

[7] Thomas Richards, The imperial archive: knowledge and the fantasy of empire, Verso, London, 1993.

effected through its de-spatialization. The way to re-politicize these events, and elucidate something of their great complexity and contingency, is to insist on knowledge which is situated, which engages with the geographical struggle at Lytton. This, it seems to me, is one of the lessons of the archive.

Just a matter of days after his appearance at Keble, Desmond Tutu delivered a lecture at Rhodes House. For those who do not know Oxford, this is in many ways a very attractive and impressive building. It is also a monument to British history, however, and as such can be viewed only in the context its imperial connotations — connotations shouldered not only by its name, but also upon the building's walls, columns, and external façade. Indeed it impresses (or depresses) one as a standing testament to the power and pretension of British imperial foreign policy. As such there was a great and sad irony in Tutu's presence there. My immediate interest in this building lay not in its exterior, however, but inside. For in Rhodes House library are stored literally thousands of letters and documents detailing the progress of Britain's overseas expansion in the nineteenth century. Amongst this mass of archival material is the correspondence of John Booth Good.

Working in these archives was in many ways an odd experience. Here was I, ostensibly studying some of the connections between colonialism, Christianity and geography, whilst sitting comfortably in a building which in many ways epitomizes and eulogizes these links between power, knowledge, and spatiality. After all, the records I was studying were part of a diffuse communication network which kept the core of Empire in touch with its imperial agents, and as such were intrinsic to the perpetuation and fine-tuning of colonial power. Moreover, speaking directly below me was a man whose whole life has been bound up in these very same issues of religion, contestation, and geographical appropriation. If ever I needed convincing of the importance of geography in social life, then my time in Rhodes House gave me all the proof I wanted.

It was not just an odd experience, then, but also an enlightening one. I have briefly discussed the importance of situated knowledge, of writing a history which stresses the politics of geography. But 'situated knowledge' also bears with it a whole set of other implications.[8] Scholars working within the humanities are now increasingly willing to forego claims to 'objective truths', opting instead for knowledge professedly rendered subjective by means of its avowed positioning, grounding, and personal embodiment: all richly-geographical concepts, of course. However, the historian's tendency to treat the 'past' as past, as distinct from the 'present', is legion. In part it is this artificial distinction which has always enabled historians to efface their own subjectivity, and appeal to the dubious qualities of 'honest scholarship'. As a historical geographer of Anglican imperialism, it is all too easy to believe that a cross indeed has three points, that the past — the zenith of the temporal axis — is fractured geographically between the 'here' and 'there'. But this ignores the base of the cross, the self, the person who is writing that 'past' from the false security of the 'present'. In terms of my 'situated knowledge', a concept which I understand in terms of an explicitly material and biographical geography, it was only my move to British Columbia two years ago which enabled me to rework this understanding. In British Columbia, perhaps unlike England, the extent to which colonial history corrodes contemporary society and politics is immediately and shockingly visible.

In Rhodes House, these ideas were brought home with perhaps an even greater resonance. For a start, you would probably have a tough time persuading Archbishop Tutu that 'history' is merely about the past. But in addition, the further I delved into the records before me, the more evident it became that not only did I have access to information which I could not have touched in British Columbia, but that the converse was also true. However much research one might do in England, there is only so much one could learn about British Columbian history without actually going there. The very notion of 'the

[8] See in particular Donna Haraway, "Situated knowledges: the science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective," in her Simians, cyborgs, and women: the reinvention of nature, Free Association Books, London, 1991.

archive' is therefore a bit a of a misnomer, for it turns out that in spite of the equivalence of their putative subjects — namely the architecture of Anglican colonialism — the British and British Columbian archives are in fact very different. This may be self-evident. But there is an important point here, for the upshot of all this is that the location of one's historical research is not insignificant: again, knowledge is situated. Furthermore, some archival material is itself more 'situated' (more suffused with geographical information) than that found elsewhere. The 'archive' thus has a geography, and my own 'situated knowledge' has therefore been concerned with recovering and deciphering the 'geography' within that geography. In Rhodes House, then, some of the many complex and confusing relations between past and present, 'here' and 'there', began to fall into place. Geography, in more ways than one, turned out to be central to the writing of history, both its operation and its content. In this introduction I examine the way in which these two notions of situated knowledge are intertwined. I explore some of the parallels between the spatialization of history, and the situatedness of the researcher. The linking theme here is the imperial archive, and the shifting relation of the researcher with respect to that archive. I should have understood that a cross has four points, I guess; but it is never too late to begin the process of (un)learning towards that end.

For your eyes only: the politics of the archive

Thomas Richards' initial premise that "the British Empire was more productive of knowledge than any previous empire in history" is surely correct, at least in terms of written knowledge.[9] A staggering amount of material remains to this day for people interested in disinterring Britain's imperial heritage, and in trying to provide that history with a different kind of inflection than has hitherto been afforded. Those elements of this archive which pertain to the religious strains of British imperial expansion are no exception

[9] Richards, The imperial archive, pp.3-4.

to this rule, and various libraries, records offices and local archives are stacked with the reports and correspondences of missionary societies and their agents.[10] Richards' book is principally concerned with the ways in which a number of late-nineteenth century novels propagated "a myth of a unified archive." But in this section, where I discuss the production of the Anglican 'imperial archive', I address a rather different question. I ask whether the drive for "comprehensive knowledge"[11] — for 'facts' — was ever consciously avoided for particular political reasons; and if so, what the implications might be for our contemporary approach towards the information contained within that archive.

In the nineteenth century, all Anglican missionaries were obliged to keep their sponsoring society informed of their work. This requirement of corresponding on a regular basis stemmed from a number of considerations. First, of course, there was that of simple reciprocity. Whether it was the SPG, the Church Missionary Society (CMS), or any other group, the sponsor organization provided at least some of the funds for the missionary's day-to-day upkeep, and doubtless felt deserving of something tangible in return. There were other concerns too, not least of which was a demand for the kind of 'intriguing' knowledge which would maintain public interest in the missionary enterprise. The societies themselves, as well as missionaries in the field, were dependent upon the voluntary contributions of Britain's reading public, and the missionary endeavor was not without its vocal detractors.[12] The correspondence of active missionaries was therefore mobilized to stave off such damaging critique, and as such was both self-interested and self-justifying. Letters pointing out the 'moral' or 'social' worth of evangelization can be seen as part of a wider struggle to survive within the imperial diaspora. Thus, in a letter written to his sponsors from Nanaimo in 1863, Good engaged with criticisms that had

10 For a useful guide to these records, see Rosemary Seton's "Archival sources in Britain for the study of mission history: an outline guide and select bibliography," International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 18(2), 1994, pp.66-70.
11 Richards, The imperial archive, pp.6,7.
12 For an interesting, albeit brief, discussion of such dissonance, see Jean and John Comaroff, Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa. Volume one, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991, pp.49-52.

recently been leveled at missionaries in The Times. He argued that although such reproaches were perhaps applicable to Roman Catholics, the same could not be said for Protestants such as himself; and that "if their private & Daily Journals were shown to the world, probably even The Times would admit that they are a more useful & serviceable Body of men than it supposed."[13]

It was above all a concern over fragile funding, however, which stimulated the missionary's incessant literary production. Most missionaries could not guarantee their subsistence for much more than a year in advance, and if they were to persuade people of the value of their own particular cause, it was incumbent upon them to keep up with their writing. This was nowhere more true than in the case of Good, upon whom the publishing prerogative bore down unremittingly. In every letter or report which he filed off to his sponsors, he would point out his urgent financial requirements — be it money for a new parsonage, a new church, a new school-house, or the more immediate necessities of prayer books and medicinal kits. So when Good wrote home in the early summer of 1876 to complain that his winter report had been mislaid en route, the reason for his bitterness was plainly financial:

> it is now abundantly clear that in proportion as the interest of the Church public is kept up in reference to any particular field of foreign labour, aid is forthcoming for the furtherance of that work: and that to be out of print is to be out of mind.[14]

Good felt that this temporary failure to force himself into the British public imagination could have disastrous financial consequences.

His concern was probably quite justified. There seems little doubt that most missionaries, and by no means only Anglicans, were under constant pressure to illustrate the efficacy of their work, although not all were as keen as Good to succumb to these

[13] Good to the Secretary, SPG, December 28th 1863, USPG, E Series, Vol.14, 1863.
[14] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876.

demands. The Methodist preacher Ebenezer Robson, who had a rather strained relationship with Good whilst his contemporary at Nanaimo, flatly refused to put his public writing before his spiritual ministrations. Perhaps even in reference to Good — whose white congregation was increasing just as Robson's seemed to be dwindling — the Methodist man noted in his diary:

> Have heard that there is an impression abroad in Canada that I have prooved quite unsuitable for the work in this country. I simply believe that it is owing to the fact that I do not write to the papers as some others do.

Robson's worry was that the way in which one was perceived might become more important than one's actual work, and he was simply not willing to pander in this way to the reading public. Robson felt that his duty lay not to them but to God, and that if the upshot of this social irreverence was that "he become a fool for Christ's sake and the gospel's," then "let it be."[15]

Good was not quite such an idealist, his pragmatism impressing upon him the need to be 'known' to the British public. His various reports and letters were sent direct to the SPG, the society under whose auspices he was working in British Columbia. Indeed, he was officially bound to produce, at the very least, four quarterly reports and an annual statistical return.[16] Above and beyond this obligation he would, over the years, send many

[15] Ebenezer Robson, Diary, British Columbia Archives & Records Service (BCARS — Victoria, British Columbia, Canada), H/D/R57/R57, April 5th 1862.

[16] This requirement applied to all the missionaries of the SPG. Thus in 1861, the Secretary of the Society wrote to Bishop Hills to complain that Alexander Garrett, stationed in Victoria, was not fulfilling his obligation. He thus asked Hills to call Garrett's "attention and that of other missionaries, whether wholly or in part maintained by the Society to ... bye-law (20) and to say that we require an annual return and a quarterly report of his work." Ernest Hawkins to Hills, November 22nd 1861, USPG, CLS Series (Copies of letters sent), Vol.107, 1859-1911. The same issue would be raised by Hawkins' successor a number of years later, who in 1867 wrote an angry letter to Graham Alston, a lawyer who had been recently elected as Secretary of the local committee set up to oversee the SPG's grant to British Columbia. He noted that the lack of correspondence was a pressing issue, and that "the neglect of the Missionary Clergy to supply it is a direct infringement of one of the conditions of the grant." W.T.Bullock to Alston, July 1st 1867, USPG, CLS Series, Vol.107, 1869-1911. This was a general criticism; but perhaps the one man against whom it could not be leveled was Good.

additional letters. Such information poured into London from all over the globe, the Society boasting literally thousands of agents worldwide. With these various forms of correspondence as the raw material, the Society produced a number of monthly journals, publications in which many of Good's own words appeared over the years — foremost amongst these were the Mission Field, Mission Life, and the Gospel Missionary. It was through these journals that the SPG hoped to invigorate and sustain a sense of fascination in the British public, urging upon it the significance of missionization to general imperial success.

The CMS was no less concerned to promote its own cause, and its principal tools for this purpose were the Church Missionary Intelligencer, the Church Missionary Gleaner, and the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society. In the first edition of the Intelligencer, published in 1849, the editors laid out their aspirations for the practical influence of the Society's newest mouthpiece. The general philosophy, once again, was to induce widespread 'interest' as a means to an end — that end being to secure as much financial aid as was possible.

> There is at present no periodical of the Society, that, commending itself to the attention of intelligent and thinking minds, and admitted as a welcome visitant to the drawing-room and library table, pleads with happy influence the claims of the Missionary cause, and wins new supporters from amongst those who, once enrolled amongst its friends, are capable of yielding to it the most valuable assistance.

As they emphasized in the next month's edition, under the title of 'The necessity and importance of diffusing missionary information': "Missionary zeal must be based upon Missionary intelligence."[17]

Another important detail to take out of the CMS rhetoric, is that regardless of the practical and self-enhancing nature of much of what was written, the ultimate effect on the British public imagination was undoubtedly much more broad. Again, the following

[17] Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1(1), 1849, p.2; ibid., 1(2), 1849, p.26.

quotation comes from the first edition of the Intelligencer: "Works on Missions now constitute an important branch of literature: our knowledge of foreign lands, and the habits and manners of distant nations, has been amazingly increased by the researches of Missionaries."[18] This is a point picked up on most recently by Nicholas Thomas, who argues that however critical our retrospective view of missionaries might be, we should not ignore the fact that their representations and thoughts had "a tremendous influence on perceptions at home" of places like British Columbia.[19]

This cannot be denied. However, as I argue at length in chapter 1, I am not convinced that missionary rhetoric was principally concerned with representing the people and places with which its progenitors came into contact. Even Thomas's account, I sense, which sets itself up as an investigation into the differences between secular and religious discourses of colonialism, is too limited. For in fastening onto the particular "conceptions of otherness"[20] entailed in Christian thought, it fails to break ground with the many accounts which have followed in the wake of Edward Said's pioneering (secular) work.[21] These are primarily interested in examining European constructions of 'others', and in deconstructing the various literary tactics deployed to this end. As I have already intimated in the preceding paragraphs, however, missionary discourse appears to be much more practical and productive than these accounts allow. Moreover 'otherness', as such, was seen as an obstacle to conversion, not as a necessary and reassuring reminder of racial difference and superiority, and it was thus often denied. Protestant authorities, I claim, were more interested in 'sameness', in catholicity and universality. And the way to produce 'sameness' was, as far as they were concerned, to reproduce the (social) self in all its supposed righteousness and propriety. This moral reproduction is put forward as the

18 ibid., 1(1), 1849, p.3.
19 Nicholas Thomas, Colonialism's culture: anthropology, travel and government, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994, p.126.
20 ibid., p.125.
21 See Edward W.Said, Orientalism, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1985. This book was first published in 1978.

essence of 'conversion'. The need to represent the 'other', a discursive strategy which seems to pervade the rhetoric of secular European Orientalism, was, if not absent, at least secondary. I then take up this theme of reproduction in chapter 2, suggesting that it had hugely important material consequences. For the obligation to reproduce, rather than to passively represent, implied — among other things — a very particular understanding of femininity. Missionary imperialism in British Columbia therefore had massively differing ramifications for women and men, aboriginals and Europeans.

John Booth Good's reportage was perhaps the most practically-inclined of any Anglican at work in British Columbia, either during its days as a British colony, or after it joined the Canadian Confederation in 1871. All missionaries were under obligation to write home, but some were not as concerned as Good about whether or not their thoughts were exposed to a wider audience. This is not to say that they were not interested in having a productive impact, but that when it came to public reception they were, like Robson, nonplused. Alexander Pringle, another SPG missionary who preceded Good to the Fraser Canyon, wrote to his sponsors in 1860:

> I have always stated the truth — the object of my letters has been to give the Society a faithful account of the Colony & the Mission. What effects the Colony effects the Mission. My desire has not been to appear in type, but to state facts and decisions.[22]

Good, on the other hand, was always eager to see his correspondence published in one of the Society's journals, and for the most part he had no need to worry: the editors were keen to oblige. And for good reason. His initial work at Lytton in the late-1860s was regarded by the Society as eminently successful, and as a result he was considered quite a feather in its institutional cap. He used them for money, they used him for esteem and public reputation — it was a neat arrangement. As the editors of the Mission Field gloated:

[22] Alexander Pringle to the Secretary, SPG, July 13th 1860, USPG, E Series, Vol.8, 1860.

his reports are so full and interesting, and it is so important nowadays that the world, ay, and the Christian world, should be shown that Christianity has lost none of its aggressive power ... that no apology is offered for the following narrative, compiled from Mr. Good's reports, which it is hoped may serve the purpose of a Mission Lecture where it is not possible for a deputation from the Society to attend.[23]

High praise indeed. But it was not just the SPG who were quick to stake a claim to a share in Good's productivity. In 1858, the Columbia Mission — a "distinct organisation ... for the collection of funds"[24] — had been set up to support the various Anglican missionaries at work in British Columbia, regardless of their organizational affiliation. Good's monetary assistance therefore came not only from the SPG, a group which spread its horizons worldwide, but also from this regionally-targeted funding agency. It too depended on contributions from the British public, and towards this end reports were published annually. It was vital that these reviews of mission work in British Columbia should incite immediate interest at home, for the founders of this Mission — in particular the first Bishop of the Diocese of Columbia, George Hills — were only too aware of the extent to which "the minds of the friends of missions had been bent upon the south, west, and now the east of Africa." British Columbia was a relatively unknown space in the public imaginary, "the very name and position of the colony being strange to the country at large," and it was to rectify this situation that these reports were produced.[25] Good's work figured prominently in these editions as well. Indeed, by the late-1870s Good's

23 The Mission Field, 14, 1869, p.190.
24 Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, p.45.
25 Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, p.31. Hills' worst fears would be realized as, over the years, the SPG grant to the colony was gradually reduced — first in 1869, and again in 1870 and 1872. Such regional biases of particular missionary societies have often been noted, but what is perhaps equally interesting is the extent to which late-twentieth century scholars have worked to reproduce these same disparities. In Stephen Neill's monumental study of Christian mission history, for example, British Columbia does not warrant a single mention; and more recent scholarship, avowedly operating from a more 'revisionist' stance, has done relatively little to redirect the traditional focus upon Africa, India, and the south Pacific, an exclusivist geography first evinced by imperial Christians themselves. I return to this point in introducing part one of this thesis, but for now it is enough to suggest that postcolonial revisionism, given these predispositions, has been historical rather than historical-geographical. See Stephen Neill, A history of Christian missions, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1964.

establishment at Lytton was being celebrated in one such a report as one of the "two great centres of Mission work among the Indians of British Columbia."[26] The other mission being referred to here was William Duncan's 'model village' at Metlakatla in northern British Columbia. Duncan was (at least for the first 20 years of his mission experience) a CMS representative, and his work has been subjected to extensive study; the same cannot be said for Good.[27]

In spite of his fetish for publication, however, some of Good's comments were aimed at a much more select audience. Over the years he developed powerful convictions about how missionaries should best go about their work, ideas which had been firmly molded, but not set in stone, during his three years of training at St. Augustine's College in Canterbury in the mid-1850s. These ideas were finally given a free rein when he arrived at Lytton, and his experience there generally confirmed him in his beliefs. Often he would write to the SPG on this matter, laying out over and over again his basic approach. These thoughts were intended not for the general public, but for the cognoscenti of missionization, as Good tried to establish himself within a hotly-disputed methodological field. As early as 1858, not long after his arrival in Nova Scotia, he insisted that although his philosophy might not appeal to the reader as especially heroic or glamorous, its effectiveness could not be denied:

> Of course it has a plausible sound to write home to the Society and tell of the thousands of miles traversed during the year: of the thrilling adventures connected with those excursions; and of the additional outposts you have succeeded in establishing. But I hold that ... before we widen our circle and enlarge our borders our centre ought to exhibit strength, symmetry, and a visible organisation, otherwise we do but weaken our Mission.[28]

[26] Columbia Mission Report, 19, 1877, p.24.

[27] The two best known studies on Duncan are Jean Usher's William Duncan of Metlakatla: a Victorian missionary in British Columbia, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, 1974; and Peter Murray's The devil and Mr. Duncan, Sono Nis Press, Victoria, B.C., 1985. The only extensive study on Good (to the best of my knowledge) is Peter William Robin's "Beyond the bounds of the West: the life of John Booth Good, 1833-1916," unpublished MA thesis, University of Victoria, 1991. See also, for a very preliminary study, Frank A.Peake, "John Booth Good in British Columbia: the trials and tribulations of the Church, 1861-1899," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 75(2), 1984, pp.70-8.

[28] Good to the Secretary, SPG, November 1st 1858, USPG, E Series, Vol.3, 1858.

Perhaps the most striking feature of these claims is the way in which they evoke a strictly geographical dissonance. On the one hand is a tactic which demands movement, itinerance, and scope; on the other a strategy predicated on a central, ordered, and controllable space. Good favored the latter approach, and it is this geography of power that I investigate in chapters 3 and 4. In chapter 3 I examine Anglican mission strategy on the large-scale. I explore the way in which the new diocesan administration under Bishop Hills endeavored to come to terms with the geographical immensity of British Columbia, and the migratory habits of its indigenous population. This they did through the production of a network of just the kind of 'strong centers' advocated by Good. Drawing on the work of Michel de Certeau, I argue that this modus operandi, through its emphasis on the 'power of place', emphatically prioritized space over time. If a strong center was established, there was no need to make an immediate, forceful impact, and the temporal dimension was thereby reduced to a secondary status. Then, in the following chapter, I examine in detail the system of control invoked by Good at the mission center of Lytton. Employing the notion of 'pastoral power' suggested — but not developed — by Michel Foucault, I argue that the exercise of power at Lytton produced a system of regulation which was intrusive, intensive, and enduring.

During the years he was in British Columbia, Good made many of these detailed, reflective contributions to the Anglican imperial archive. However, by no means every word made its way into the Society's polished publications — far from it. And the same was true with the reports of the Columbia Mission. Indeed, the correspondence of all missionaries, not just Good, was subjected to systematic censoring before it was allowed to escape the surveilling eye of the metropolitan Christian societies. The Anglican archive with which I am working, the very raw material of this study, is therefore fundamentally

fractured. On one side are the original letters and reports of missionaries in the field; on the other side, the edited versions of their correspondence which appeared in print.[29]

The main reason for this selective appropriation of missionary intelligence was the desire of Anglican authorities to avoid undesirable political controversy. They knew all too well that every word printed in Britain, of any relevance to the colony, would eventually make its way over the Atlantic and across the continent to the Pacific coast. They also knew, of course, that they could not rely on their missionaries to practice the requisite political savvy in their quarterly accounts; that would have been too much to ask. So instead they took it upon themselves to 'clean up' the letters of their agents, before letting this information loose on a world where knowledge was circulating with ever-increasing rapidity. Perhaps the quintessential statement of the extreme circumspection required was made by the Bishop of London in 1859. Quite appropriately, the occasion for this timely admonition was a meeting at the Mansion House held the day prior to Bishop Hills' departure for his colonial diocese. The speaker reminded his audience that words were not innocent; that they came with baggage attached; and that, perhaps most significantly, they were apt to travel. In sum, they were 'winged words':

> And, my Lord, if it be true that words spoken in this hall, even in the festive hour, are winged words which go forth through the whole land we live in, and that sometimes these words have winged their way, not only through our own land but across the Atlantic, and that words uttered in this place have often been the cause of stirring up wrong feelings in distant nations, how responsible is the position in which we are placed who are called to-day to speak of this great work which the Church of England is undertaking in this place, and know that our words must be read, and must be attended to, perhaps, in very distant lands![30]

[29] Throughout this study, I have endeavored where relevant to cite published material rather than original correspondence, simply because it is more widely accessible. But obviously, for reasons that are at the very heart of this introduction, that has not always been possible.

[30] A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, D.D. Bishop of Columbia. With an account of the meeting held on the same day at the Mansion House of the City of London, in aid of the Columbia Mission, Rivingtons, London, 1859, pp.39-40.

It was first and foremost the propensity of words to travel which informed the missionary societies' editing practices. Indeed, directly after the Mansion House meeting, the capital's newspapers would have reported on the proceedings, and copies of these papers would have been summarily despatched to British Columbia.[31] This frightened Anglicans, because anything taken the 'wrong way' — be it by the secular colonial authorities, or by other denominations — was liable to result in a backlash. For this reason, they expected a missionary's information to be more or less introspective: to reflect on one's own work, sure, but not to make any judgments about the work or character of others.

One Anglican minister who felt the full force of such a backlash was Alexander Pringle. His mistake was not in writing critically about Roman Catholics — every Anglican did that! — but in writing critically about Roman Catholics in a British Columbian newspaper. For in this literary realm he was not protected by the paternalistic guile of his mentors, the editors at Victoria's Daily British Colonist obviously seeing no need to make changes to a letter he sent them in mid-January 1861. When Pringle wrote to the Secretary of the SPG later that same month, he appended a clipping from the Colonist in which a Catholic priest had reacted vehemently to his words. In this letter John Vahey contested Pringle's use of "opprobrious terms" such as 'Romanist' and 'Romish Priests'.[32] Pringle, not surprisingly, was somewhat more careful in the future.

One man who was very much aware of the need for discretion was John Booth Good. This did not always stop him from going on one of his extended political diatribes

31 As an intriguing example of this dissemination of knowledge, Bishop Hills refers in his diary to having met an Englishman — indeed the only Englishman — at Lytton in 1860. This person, a Londoner named Hill, had just actually read about this very Mansion House meeting: a meeting held, of course, in honor of Hills' impending departure for his diocese! See Bishop George Hills, Diary, Archives of the Ecclesiastical Province of British Columbia, Vancouver School of Theology (VST — Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada), June 30th 1860.

32 The Daily British Colonist, January 18th 1861, p.2. Pringle's original letter was published in the same newspaper on January 16th 1861, p.1. His letter to the Secretary was dated January 30th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol.8, 1860.

— castigating alike the policies of French Roman Catholics and of the British colonial authorities — but he did display at least a modicum of prudence. Indeed he would not just rely on the careful censoring of his metropolitan sponsors, but would on occasion add to this safety net his own distinctive brand of editing. This was never more evident than in a letter he wrote to the SPG from Victoria in 1861, just shortly after he had arrived in the Colony. In fact he wrote <u>two</u> letters, one of which contained his substantive information, the other detailing his own wishes for the ultimate destiny of these words. True to his proud nature, he here urged upon the Secretary that if any portion of his letter be deemed "worthy of a place in the 'Mission Field' or 'Colonial Church Chronicle' [it] may be submitted to the judgement of the editors." By no means all of his letter, however, was to be available for publication. As he went on to insist:

all paragraphs that are bracketed are only for the eye of the Society. A great deal of trouble has been occasioned here by the indiscriminate publication of the private correspondence of the Bishop & Clergy who have freely written home their first impressions, some of which being possibly hastily formed.[33]

Now this act of extreme vigilance was informed not solely by his distaste for local political bickering, but more fundamentally by his awareness of information circulation within the British Empire. Indeed, the Bishop of London could not have hoped for a more astute understanding of his Mansion House rhetoric: Good was acutely conscious of the 'winged words' about which the Bishop had warned.

Also remarks made by us which reflect at all upon the proceedings or situation of other denominations cannot be too guarded — for it is as well to know — <u>that every thing circulated in England relating to the state of things on this side of the New World is sure to find its way back & is republished with an abundance of comments in the local papers of these districts</u>.[34]

[33] Good to the Secretary, SPG, April 16th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol. 10, 1861.
[34] Good to the Secretary, SPG, April 16th 1861; original emphasis.

Good's second letter, the one in which he actually informed the Society of his recent progress, is therefore a sight to behold. Not only are certain portions clearly delimited by the dark parentheses drawn in by the author himself, but to this personal censoring was added the institutional hand of the SPG — clearly recognizable by the bright red crayon cutting swathes across whole sections of text. There was, therefore, a practice of double-editing at work, and the version which eventually appeared in the Mission Field of July 1861 is but a pale imitation of the original.[35] Any comment construed as politically charged, whether it concerned secular administration or the ministrations of other denominations, was cut by the SPG. This is no wonder, but what is perhaps more interesting is the detail willfully covered up by Good's own diplomacy and tact. For within the safe confines of his parentheses, the SPG missionary had indulged in scathing criticism of those Church of England ministers he had come across during his trip from England.[36] Most notably there was the Bishop of San Francisco: "scarcely suited," Good claimed, "for the rough work on this coast."[37] Good no doubt sensed that if this got out, he would be in an awful lot of hot water!

It did not stop there, however, and just two years later, Good was again circumscribing his correspondence with strict instructions. This time, though, it was Britain's colonial authorities that he was careful not to openly slander. As I have already suggested, missionaries were always more than willing to extol their own virtues, and very often this self-interested rhetoric was assembled at the expense of secular administrators. Missionaries adopted as their own the role of the humanitarian colonizer, and implicit within this vocation, they believed, was the necessity of acting 'on behalf' of Native people when the latter were in direct dispute with colonial authorities. It was only their own distinctive brand of calm, conciliatory and intelligent intervention which could resolve

35 See The Mission Field, 6, 1861, pp.145-8.
36 Good had returned to England in 1860 to marry before heading out to his new diocese in 1861, accompanied by his wife.
37 Good to the Secretary, SPG, April 17th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol.10, 1861.

matters of a delicate political nature. This, at least, was a favorite claim, and brute force was consistently derided. Good himself was keen to make this distinction between the effectiveness of spiritual and temporal power:

> Indeed the presence of a Missionary, as I can myself bear witness, in a case of difficulty between the races, has effected a great deal more in bringing matters to a satisfactory conclusion between both parties than any amount of civil Force.

However, having made this claim, Good seems to have thought better of risking a local controversy, and scribbled in the margin of his text: "Upon reflexion I prefer to suppress the enclosed, lest it should seem to disparage the Executive & impute inafficiency to our Naval forces in these waters which I have no wish to do."[38] So Good's criticisms were again reserved for the privileged gaze of the SPG. They were, to borrow a common cliché, 'for your eyes only'.

Up to this point, then, I have been advancing a series of suggestions about the Anglican imperial archive, as that archive pertains specifically to the mission enterprise in British Columbia. The principal feature of interest, I think, is the fact that 'pure' knowledge was, on occasion, consciously shunned. In fact it was a political imperative that certain claims and convictions should be kept under lock and key in Britain, lest they escape back to British Columbia — from whence they came — and stir up ill-feeling within the imperial ranks. The production of a published archive was therefore a rigorously controlled exercise.

'British Columbia', in the same moment that it was being cumulatively produced and reproduced as an object of imperial interest and fascination, was being refused a faithful look at itself. The aim in Britain was to invoke a monopoly on knowledge, and then release bits and pieces where it was deemed appropriate. The ultimate result was to be a vital split in the geography of the archive, with Britain possessing 'originals', and the

[38] Good to the Secretary, SPG, December 28th 1863, USPG, E series, Vol.14, 1863.

colony receiving innocuous and harmless imitations. 'British Columbia' was not only being relayed to the British public in a peculiarly sterile fashion, but was itself (and this time as a material and populated, rather than an imaginary, space) denied access to the very information which spoke to the contingency and conflict implicit in its unfolding history. Britain's administrators of religious knowledge were, in effect, endeavoring to hide from white British Columbians the struggles of their quotidian existence, by pumping them full of de-politicized and self-inflected missionary rhetoric. Whether or not much (or even any) of this sanitized revamping was taken at face value is difficult to judge. But in the case of John Booth Good, it is worth asking the question in more detail. For exactly this kind of abstraction characterized published depictions of his 'call' to Lytton in 1867 — an event which came to be seen as an act of transcendent 'providence', rather than the result of everyday struggles and local decision-making practices. But such was the frequency with which Good repeated this interpretation of events that you begin to wonder if, with all other readings muted and thus unavailable, he did not begin to believe it himself.

A providential opening

> We see God's Providence working silently and mysteriously, but effectively, in the extension of His kingdom; pointing out to us, by indications which cannot be misunderstood, and may not be disregarded by us, fresh fields for spiritual action and godly enterprise. ... Divers nations and strange people are seen gathering together to different centres, ostensibly under the influence of lower motives, the love of enterprise, the gain of commerce, the thirst for gold; but, in truth, by the guiding of God's Providence, that His purposes of mercy towards them may be fulfilled; that the heralds of salvation may visit them; that the light of truth may penetrate man's heart.
>
> John Downall, June 1861.[39]

39 'The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness'. A sermon, preached in St. James' Church, Piccadilly, at the annual service of the Columbia Mission, on the festival of St. Barnabas, 1861. By John Downall, M.A., Archdeacon of Totnes, Rivingtons, London, 1861, pp.4-5.

As a child growing up in Lincolnshire, Good had been intrigued by the idea of religious imperialism: it had always been his ambition to be a missionary, to preach the Gospel to the Native people of western North America. As he recalled in his reminiscences, written early in the twentieth century after he had left British Columbia for California, it was the reputed experiences of the parish vicar's father which had originally aroused in him an intense fascination. 'Mr. West Sr.' had been the first CMS missionary attached to the Hudson's Bay Company in eastern Canada:

> The Vicarage was filled with Indian curios and paintings connected with the mission travels and adventures of Mr. West Sr. during his Chaplaincy, and it was the sight of these from my boyhood that implanted in my mind a desire to go out to evangelize the natives of the same race in the regions beyond.[40]

Henceforth, Good saw evangelization as his singular vocation in life, and it was with that thought in mind that he attended St. Augustine's College from 1854 to 1856. By the time he graduated from St. Augustine's, he was 23 years of age and ready for the task that lay ahead of him.

From the moment he left England, Good had always regarded British Columbia as his "proper field,"[41] so his stay in Nova Scotia was understood from the outset to be only temporary. Moreover, his time both in Nova Scotia and, later, at Nanaimo, was spent largely in ministering to white colonists, a task which — although within the stated rubric of SPG missionaries[42] — Good himself always regarded as a poor alternative to the 'real'

[40] John Booth Good, "The utmost bounds of the West. Pioneer jottings of forty years missionary reminiscences of the Out West Pacific Coast. A.D. 1861 - A.D. 1900," VST, PSA 52/9, p.4. (Original copy in BCARS.) Page references are given as in the VST transcript.

[41] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.9.

[42] The SPG, and similarly the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), were established "to provide pastoral care for ... emigrants and for soldiers, officials and merchants in colonial outposts." See Stephen C.Neill, "Christian missions," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol.15, William Benton, University of Chicago, 1973, pp.573-9; the quotation is from p.576.

duty of evangelization.[43] It was a great personal lift for him, then, when Bishop Hills offered him a post at Yale in the early summer of 1866. Here was a town with a small white population, but one located in a region long inhabited by British Columbia's First Nations.

However, Good was never entirely happy during the brief period he spent at Yale, and in that respect he was no different from his predecessors. Among the Anglican ministers who had spent time at Yale before Good's arrival were Alexander Pringle and William Crickmer, neither of whom ever settled to the task. Yale had been a busy town during the halcyon gold rush days of the late-1850s, but soon into the next decade the main bulk of miners had begun to gravitate north towards the Cariboo and beyond. Yale now served as a mere stop-off point — a place to pass through, but not to stay. The permanent white population was tiny by the start of the 1860s. Pringle had arrived just before Christmas in 1859, but only remained in the town for a matter of months. He noted in January 1860 that of Yale there was "not much to say of a positive character," and alluded to the fact that "the godless majority of Yankees" was his principal problem. So when he removed to Hope, to be replaced by Crickmer, he was very relieved. In writing to his father soon after this relocation, he was still fairly despondent, but hoped that things would soon be looking up:

> I hope & trust that my own immediate work may now progress more systematically & visibly since Yale is given up. — Mr Crickmer who was at Langley is now at Hope with his wife & two small bairns, to take up his residence at Yale. — I do not envy him, quite the contrary — but he is satisfied which is well.[44]

[43] Good's desire to work with Native people was accepted and encouraged by his sponsors. Thus the Society's Secretary wrote to Bishop Hills as follows with regard to Good's impending arrival in British 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." Hawkins to Hills, December 14th 1860, USPG, CLS Series, Vol.107, 1859-1911 (original emphasis). For a similar point, see also The Mission Field, 6, 1861, p.145.

[44] Pringle to his father, David Pringle, January 10th 1860 & April 7th 1860, BCARS, Add. MSS 369. For information on Hills' offer to Crickmer of the Yale post, and Crickmer's acceptance, see Hills, Diary, April 3rd 1860. Unlike Pringle and Good, Crickmer was not an SPG man — he was sponsored by the Colonial Church Society.

Pringle's successor, Crickmer, remained in Yale until late-1861, and he too was quick to condemn. The problem, it seems, was that both he and Pringle were primarily interested in ministering to whites, not in trying to find converts among the local Natives, and for that reason alone they were always going to be disappointed in the possibilities offered up at Yale.[45] The kind of permanent, settler society which they were looking for was far removed from the transitory reality of the town. As Pringle pointed out more than once, he would ideally like to work in a town with a stable population of white "agriculturalists and settlers." The ephemerality which in fact characterized the lower Canyon of the early 1860s was condemned by Pringle as "militating directly against permanent impressions being conveyed."[46] This was a "general restlessness" which Good himself would also criticize upon arrival, writing of Yale as follows in late-1866: "Everything is new & everyone unsettled ... they are very few who seem to regard this country as yet as their adopted home & permanent abiding place."[47]

But this persistent worry about white society did not unduly upset Good, for he immediately set about acquainting himself with the local Native population, and procuring some regular attendants for his weekday and Sunday services. Less than a year after he arrived at Yale, however, he came into 'official' contact for the first time with members of the Nlaka'pamux nation. This occurred not through Good making a visit to Lytton, which was the closest white settlement to their principal area of habitation, but through their own visit to see him at Yale. For Good this distinction would always remain crucial. When he had gone to Yale it had been at the request of his Bishop; but the impetus behind his move

[45] In chapter 1 I talk in more detail about Pringle's predilections, but his adamance that "the white population is the charge I have undertaken" pretty much sums up the stubbornness of his views about Native work. See his Annual Return, 1860, USPG, E Series, Vol.8, 1860.
[46] Pringle to the Secretary, SPG, December 15th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol.10, 1861.
[47] Good to the Warden, St. Augustine's College, November 6th 1866, Canterbury Cathedral Archives (CCA — Canterbury, England), U88/A2/6/John Booth Good.

to Lytton was Native. Good had always wanted to preach to the 'heathen', and now such an opportunity was staring him in the face.

His initial 'meeting' with the Nlaka'pamux occurred in the first week of March 1867. A party of men came to see him at Yale, led by a Native leader by the name of 'Sashiatan', an important figure throughout Good's 16 years at Lytton. Sashiatan carried with him a note from the resident magistrate at Lytton, Captain Ball, and in this note Ball informed Good of the Natives' interest in his teachings:

> I must now tell you what the Indian 'Sashiatan', who gives you this, wishes me to write about. He is a chief and has great influence with Indians in this part of the country. He has taken a great fancy to you, and is determined that all the Indians shall be followers of yours. ... He is a good and valuable Indian, and through him you may obtain an influence over, perhaps, a thousand Indians.

Over the next couple of weeks two more Nlaka'pamux groups visited Good, and before long he was convinced of their earnest intent. Although his work at Yale seemed to be moving along quite acceptably, he reflected that it was surely "a matter of grave and pressing moment to have a Mission, opened as soon as possible, at Lytton."[48]

By late-April, Good had more or less decided that his immediate future lay in Lytton, and as luck would have it a new SPG missionary was about to arrive in the colony from England. After consulting with the Bishop it was agreed that this man, David Holmes, could take over Good's duties at Yale, thus leaving the more experienced minister to move up the Canyon. So on May 1st 1867 he went to Lytton to meet with the many Nlaka'pamux who had assembled in expectation of his impending arrival, and after a brief visit he decided he had made the right decision. By the end of summer he had relocated to Lytton.

In his reflections upon this period, Good was quick to point out that it was primarily the spiritual ministrations of his Anglican Church which the Nlaka'pamux had

48 Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.62.

found so enticing. There is little doubt that the latter were well aware of a nominal Anglican presence in their territory, for as far back as 1860 the letters and journals of Anglican missionaries recall meetings with members of this nation. Bishop Hills, for example, made annual trips into the interior of his huge diocese, and these generally followed a favorite route which wound its way from Yale, up through Lytton, and on occasion as far as Lillooet. On his first really extended journey, which he undertook in the early summer of 1860, he came across some Nlaka'pamux near Lytton. At this time of year they were living away from their permanent villages, gathering berries in the mountains, and Hills hoped that his chance encounters with this scattered people would bode well for future interaction:

> I hope these meetings with Indians in this present 'dispersion' may be a means of commencing a good understanding with them. They will recognize us by & by when we visit them at other seasons in their settled homes.[49]

Hills in fact visited the mainland in 1867 just shortly before Good's move took place, and although on this occasion he did not make it as far as Lytton, he did come across some familiar faces at Boston Bar — noting of those Natives he met with that "I recognized many old friends amongst them [whom] I had seen on my various visits."[50] And when he visited Good at Lytton a year later, 11 months after the SPG missionary had settled in his new spot, he made a similar observation about the important legacy of his annual itinerance: "Some of the Chiefs were old friends of mine whom I had often met in former times & often spoken to about God & the Saviour."[51]

Now as far as Good was concerned, these visits were crucial. His dogmatism persuaded him that the only rational explanation for the Nlaka'pamux interest in his work was a spiritual one: they had come to realize that Anglicanism represented a considerable

[49] Hills, Diary, July 3rd 1860.
[50] Hills, Diary, May 17th 1867.
[51] Hills, Diary, May 26th 1868.

and desirable improvement, not only on their own 'traditional superstitions' — as Christian missionaries would have it — but also on the 'deformed' faith of the Roman Catholics who had made at least a partial impact in the area. His inherited teleology thus suggested to him that such a 'call' for his services was not just likely, but predictable — the inevitable consequence of this spiritual superiority. So it is not surprising that Good made much of Hills' groundwork when he laid out the reasons for his 'invitation' from the Nlaka'pamux. In a sense, he claimed, the Bishop had directly paved the way for his own work: "The seed then sown broadcast by the wayside took root downwards, and has now also begun visibly to show itself on the surface of things."[52]

The other main precedent for Sashiatan's crucial visit was, Good suggested, the notice which the Nlaka'pamux had taken of his work at Yale in the latter months of 1866. His argument was that their initial interest, aroused by infrequent meetings with the Bishop, had been sustained and solidified by his own spiritual presence in the Canyon: they "could not help being attracted by the work going on amongst such of the Indians who were at that time congregated in this neighbourhood."[53] Thus, through a very particular interpretation of local history, Good was able to put forward the argument that, by the spring of 1867, the Nlaka'pamux were so captivated by the possibilities offered up by the Church of England that they could no longer resist — cue Sashiatan's approach, and the ensuing encounters with two other deputations from the same nation. Later that year Good would refer to this cumulative movement as being "sudden, extraordinary & simultaneous ... the burden of their united prayer being uniformly the same viz. 'Come over & help us'."[54]

The interesting thing about this personal rendition of local change is that this is by far Good's most materialist interpretation of the events. This may strike one as surprising,

52 Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.63.
53 ibid.
54 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1867, USPG, E Series, Vol.23, 1867-8.

for intuition would itself suggest that there was a good deal more going on in the Canyon than meets the eye — and I argue that indeed there was. But Good's assessment of what took place was rarely more contextual than when he invoked this argument about the spiritual destitution of the Nlaka'pamux, and their consequent attraction to his work. More often, Good was content to appeal to divine providence, to the hand of God, as a satisfactory explanation for everything that transpired. Indeed, by allowing the claim about spiritual needs to blend in with the appeal to providence, Good was able to deny any personal complicity in the unfolding events.[55] It was a neat slippage, and served not only to hide any personal involvement, but also to cover up the vestiges of any Native agency which might have remained in the standard account:

> They besought me to come amongst them and be their father, teacher, and guide. It seemed to me that God was thereby calling me to spend and be spent in their service, and that He himself had opened a way for the preaching of the Gospel, which if we did not enter at once might for ever be shut against us.[56]

By arguing that some deep spiritual prerogative was at work, Good had already reduced the period to a level of rarefied historical abstraction; by then allowing this de-contextualization to advance a stage further, and identifying a causal providential interruption lurking behind events, published history was rendered even further distinct from the materiality of everyday life.

As far as Good was concerned, there was no need to indulge the reader in specifics, for such banality was irrelevant — if not blasphemous — in the face of a transcendent,

[55] The Lytton work was opened up to the Anglican Church, Good insisted, "without solicitation or contrivance of our own." Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, p.35.
[56] ibid., 9, 1867, p.67. An exact precedent for this slippage from human agency to Providence was provided in the Old Testament. Jacob sent his sons from Canaan to seek food in Egypt, and the help they received was granted by their disguised brother Joseph. But Joseph sought to deny the agency of his 'sinful' siblings, choosing like Good after him to refute such agency through the invocation of the Lord's guiding hand: "And God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives in a great deliverance. So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God" (Genesis 45: 7-8). The argument is identical.

God-given imperative. "I considered it a providential opening, of which I was bound to make the most I could." The minimal Native agency which Good had allowed, itself trivialized through its axiomatic reduction to mere spiritual desire (and thus sundered from the actual needs and problems of everyday life in a concretely temporal sense), was now gone. In its place was a strictly theological interpretation which refused any form of secular motivation, and did so precisely through the invocation of God's transcendence. As Good put it to the readers at home, in quite startling terms: "One thing is certain, I have not sought them, but they me; and who am I, that I should fight against God?"[57]

Who indeed, and other Anglicans were not about to argue with him. Good was not alone in proffering this treatment of the Lytton 'call'. The appeal to providential interference became the accepted account in the evangelical journals back in Britain, the actual sequence of events rendered ever more distant from the inquisitive reader. In an 1872 edition of Mission Life, Robert Lundin Brown, who had been a missionary at Lillooet in the early-1860s before returning to Britain, repeated Good's rendition in an unequivocal fashion. He wrote of "the mysterious influence of God's Holy Spirit" stirring Sashiatan and his people, and summarized:

> This event was the springing up of a great religious movement — traceable to no human source, but originating solely in the quickening Breath which bloweth where it listeth — which had begun among those Indians.[58]

Bishop Hills painted a similar picture in his own report, writing as follows to the SPG in the fall of 1867:

[57] ibid., pp.64,74. This notion of God's controlling hand was a central tenet of Calvinism, and was taken on-board by British Protestants too. For Good to suggest that 'history' could have been otherwise would indeed have been regarded as shameful: "God has decided who will be saved and who will be lost in terms of His own will and that decree is irreversible. To suggest that His will is subject to change because of anything man does, whether good or evil, is to blaspheme against His absolute sovereignty." William A.Scott, Historical Protestantism: an historical introduction to Protestant theology, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1971, p.38.

[58] Mission Life, N.S. 3(1), 1872, pp.95-7,95; my emphasis.

The movement is remarkable for an unanimous invitation from the whole tribe that we should come in and be their instructors. ... The case is one of those providential openings ... happening but seldom, which ought to be followed up in the most earnest and efficient manner.[59]

This is important, if only because Hills, as I show in the last section of this introduction, certainly was aware of the actual details of Good's summons. But this knowledge, it seems, was not to be shared with those back in England.

Over the years, Good never saw fit to review afresh his abstract memory of the events of 1867. No other interpretation ever saw its way into print in Britain, and such was this dominance of the 'providential' thesis that there was no immediate reason for Good to question its truth in a public forum. Of course he knew better, but there was never any stimulus for him to admit as much. If he had located his fortuitous move in the context of a highly conflictual local politics, a politics which I discuss below, he would no doubt have felt obliged to append political comment of his own — and he could be fairly sure that such reflection would not escape the surveilling eye of the SPG's editors. The appeal to providence was neat for a number of reasons. Not only did it reaffirm a singular Protestant Truth, and the inherent right of Anglican imperialists to be present on foreign soil, but it also sidestepped political controversy by discarding the need to invoke local criticism. So Good always insisted on the fact that this was, indeed, a "heaven-sent call." This was still his claim over thirty years later, as he recalled the period in his reminiscences:

I dared not be disobedient to the demand made upon me and mine, though fully cognizant of what acceptance of such a task would inevitably entail. Did it not seem clear that the hand of God was in all this and manifestly calling this people through me to the knowledge of his Truth?[60]

[59] Hills to Bullock, October 18th 1867, USPG, CLR Series (Copies of Letters Received), Vol.149, 1859-91.
[60] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.70.

Another revealing aspect of this hegemonic historicism — a historicism which, in its thorough abstraction, denies any sense of historicity — is that it often included a geographical metaphor. What was evoked in these rarefied descriptions was a fertile space which literally beckoned an Anglican incursion. 'Space' was therefore deployed as the rhetorical tool which seemingly lent the providential argument a semblance of substance, but which in fact denied local geography any sense of materiality. Good often spoke in terms of a "door wide & effectual" opening before him, urging his Church of England compatriots that the time was right to "occupy the field before us."[61] Space was conceived as a rich field to be exploited, a vivid metaphor which enabled and necessitated the inexorable forward progression of a teleological Christian narrative. In 1867 "an invisible directing agency and Power," Good claimed in his memoirs, "flung wide an entrance for the propagation of the Gospel."[62] In order to justify this Anglican territorial occupation, it was easier to rid that space of content than to claim that the Church was welcomed with open arms.

It was the metaphor of a 'field' which, in general, underscored this narrative of providence, and to that extent Michel Foucault's claim that 'field' is "an economico-juridical notion" seems wrong.[63] It is surely a Christian metaphor, first and foremost, and Good found it a very convenient one. This metaphor connoted a dormant space, an inert field waiting to be activated by a life-giving Christian catalyst. In that sense the narrative of providence was a discourse not of the present but of the future, for spaces were assigned value not on the basis of contemporary content, but according to unrealized potential. This discourse would later reach its apotheosis in Eugene Stock's history of the CMS, in which he surveyed the world as it would have appeared to zealous Christian imperialists at the end

61 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 1866, USPG, E Series, Vol.23, 1867-8.
62 Good, "The utmost bounds," pp.66-7.
63 Michel Foucault, "Questions on geography," in his Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977, ed. Colin Gordon, Harvester Press, Brighton, 1980, p.68.

of the eighteenth century. After detailing this expectant cartography, from which British Columbia is notably absent, and in which "Africa is only a coast-line," he concludes as follows: "Such, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, is the condition of God's earth — waiting."[64] The metaphor of the field was thus a metaphor of anticipation.

As far as Good was concerned, it was Lytton and its inhabitants that had been waiting, and waiting moreover for him. It was in this sense that Lytton was an attractive 'field', and the deployment of this graphic metaphorical geography long remained a feature of Good's reports. It was always one of his major complaints that the Society never sent him an assistant to help with the extension of the Lytton mission, and six years after his initial 'call' he lamented that Methodists were now entering into areas which, Good felt, should have been engaged by the Anglican church. His rivals were, he considered, "entering into doors of usefulness that have so long been invitingly open to us — & who can blame them?"[65] Similarly, in criticizing the Society's regional biases that I referred to above, Good claimed that British Columbia offered the untapped potential of an 'open' space. Spaces elsewhere in the world, he ventured to suggest, were less viable options precisely because they were 'closed'. It was, he argued,

> inexplicable why after our [?] experience in Mission extension the Church at home does not more concentrate her energies in entring and occupying to the full the doors standing wide open and the fields white unto harvest instead of battering at gates of brass & seeking to force an entrance where the Spirit has not blown & no man of Macedonia is heard crying 'Come over & help us'.[66]

64 Eugene Stock, One hundred years: being the short history of the Church Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society, London, 1898, p.2; original emphasis.
65 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1873, USPG, E Series, Vol.28, 1873.
66 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876. The provenance of this passage lies, of course, with St.Paul: "And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us" (Acts 16: 9). Cf. Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1(4), 1849, p.75.

This use of a de-contextualized spatial icon is not only very interesting, but also highly ironic. Ironic, because what was hidden by this abstract providential narrative was a struggle over geography — but geography in the most material of senses. In order to de-politicize and purify their depictions of this event, Good and those who wrote about him had to remove this struggle from the attention of their readers. It is surely relevant that the way they did this was to shift from material to metaphorical geography. At the very least, the fabrication of this strangely ahistorical account suggests to me that the way to re-write this 'event' is to examine that geography in all its specific detail. Only then can the period be reconfigured in terms of all its contingencies and conflicts; and it is only by investigating this 'struggle over geography' that one can begin to grapple with the rapidly shifting power relations which marked this turbulent period of colonialism in British Columbia.

History, contingency, and situated knowledges

> Do not interpretations belong to God?
>
> Genesis 40: 8

> As for the imposing dogma that 'Providence' has put the Colonies into our hands, and that it is our duty to keep them, we must regard it not as an argument, but as a renunciation of argument.
>
> Goldwin Smith, 1863.[67]

In his book The World, the text, and the critic, Edward Said sets up an opposition between what he terms 'religious criticism' and 'secular criticism'. It is his attempt to pry contemporary literary criticism away from the former which leads him to invoke the latter: secular criticism is his favored route out of the sterile, uncritical dogmas of theological interpretation. In this introduction, I have so far been describing a particularly virulent

[67] Goldwin Smith, quoted in Klaus E.Knorr, British colonial theories, 1570-1850, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1944, p.371. Smith, alongside Richard Cobden and John Bright, was a prominent member of the mid-nineteenth century Manchester School of foreign political theory; he was, for the most part, highly critical of Britain's imperial pretensions and practices.

form of 'religious criticism', a rendition of history which is both self-justifying in its teleology, and violent in its abstraction. In this section and the next I endeavor to work towards a secular understanding of Good's 'call' to Lytton in 1867. In so doing, I am exploring at length Said's thesis that critical consciousness can be seen as "a sort of spatial sense."[68]

For Said, the problems associated with 'religious criticism' are many, and it is useful to approach them here by way of Erich Auerbach's famous discussion of the Biblical narrative in Mimesis. Auerbach argues that in its attempt to present us with "universal history," the Old Testament necessarily presupposes a self-perpetuating narrative of Christian inclusion: every event, everywhere in the world, must be interpreted and (if necessary) fabricated as part of a preconceived historical sequence, beginning with the "beginning of time," and ending with "the fulfilling of the Covenant." It is thus the epitome of triumphant historicism, of all historical detail being reduced and manipulated at the mercy of a divine plan. In this sense it is also quintessentially colonizing. As Auerbach insists, "interpretation in a determined direction becomes a general method of comprehending reality."[69]

This understanding of religious historicism speaks directly to the way in which Good's relocation was conceptualized at the time. His summons was a mere component of a Christian master plan, a necessary and portentous ingredient in the Church's drive towards universal conversion. Indeed the 'event' of Good's 'beckoning' could only be comprehended, could only be infused with meaning, direction, and positivity, in the context of this providential determination. Good unsurprisingly appealed, therefore, to a notion of involuntary predestination, a Calvinist, theocentric philosophy, wherein History is conceived and controlled by a mysterious, abstract Power. The providential thesis which

68 Edward W.Said, The World, the text, and the critic, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1983, p.241.
69 Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: the representation of reality in Western literature, trans. William R. Trask, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1953, p.16.

I have been exploring, then, was a prime example of the theological totalization examined by Auerbach: "the universal religio-historical perspective which gives the individual stories their general meaning and purpose."[70]

Crucially, this abstract rendering of an individual event, the placing of this event in the context of a narrative of transcendence, could only be achieved by taking that event out of its proper place — and by taking the 'place' out of the event. Religious 'interpretation', in this sense, not only effects but also necessitates a thorough de-spatialization of history. Events are not to be examined and understood within the context of their local physical and social surroundings. Instead, they are removed from that place, and transferred to an idealized realm within which local context is disallowed. Indeed once this removal has been achieved, the 'event' itself disappears from view, for now there is nothing to stop its adoptation into a teleology which is both preconceived and overdetermined — determined, in fact, by God. Geographical exactitude is not possible because the interpretive space into which the 'event' is to be slotted is so unflinchingly and intractably rigid.

It is this kind of abstraction from detail which so infuriates Said, and he attacks the propensity for such appeals to "divine ordinance" as representing a thoroughly "uncritical religiosity."[71] In Goldwin Smith's terms, argument and analysis are renounced in favor of deterministic dogma. The way out of this 'religiosity', claims Said, is by paying thorough attention to specifics, to situatedness, and it is in precisely this context that he has referred to his more recent empirical work as a "geographical inquiry into historical experience".[72]

[70] ibid., p.17. Salman Rushdie has described this form of religious telos as follows: "religion demands that God's will, not our small vanity, must prevail over history. To make it plain, we could say that religion places human beings beneath history." See his "'In God we trust'," in Imaginary homelands: essays and criticism 1981-1991, Granta Books, London, 1991. The quotation is from p.378.

[71] Said, The world, the text, and the critic, pp.291,292.

[72] Said, Culture and imperialism, p.6. Said's intense interest in the geographical specifics of history is renewed in a more recent article. See his "East isn't East: the impending end of the age of orientalism," Times Literary Supplement, 4792, February 3rd 1995 (where he notes on p.6 his keen regard for "the extension of post-colonial concerns to the problems of geography"). The suspicion remains, however, that in spite of all his allusions to the materiality of historical geography, Said in fact offers us a geography that is still far too abstract to meet his own strict demands. Indeed, this specific criticism has recently been

For geography, in this sense, entails the requisite attention to details, and denies the possibility of removing events from their 'place', and places from the 'event'. It holds out the possibility of re-politicizing the event that has been sterilized and subjected to closure. It is this 'spatial sense', therefore, which enables the writing of an ostensibly revisionist account, a narrative which resists the inevitability of theological history.

Throughout this study, then, and most especially in this introduction, I try to insist on producing 'situated knowledge', knowledge which articulates the material specificities of time and space. It is important to be clear about this materiality, I think, since the current academic fetish for spatial metaphors is not necessarily adequate. Indeed this should be clear from my preceding discussion of the way in which an extremely rich metaphorical geography itself underscored the de-politicization of the colonial encounter at Lytton. As Neil Smith has pointed out, spatial metaphors tend to reinforce the "deadness of space" by postulating 'space' as an inert terrain upon which 'history' is simply played out.[73] This was exactly the purpose served by the metaphors invoked by Good: geography was an unexplored backdrop to the unfolding of a predetermined historical progression. An incessant historicism was thus enacted through the reduction of 'space' to the grounds of metaphor. And significantly, of course, as Robert Young has so brilliantly shown, this appropriative and reductive historicism is emphatically colonial and colonizing.[74] In the

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made by Neil Smith, who claims to find in Said exactly this kind of "geographical ambivalence." Neil Smith, "Geography, empire and social theory," Progress in human geography, 18(4), 1994, pp.491-500; the quotation is from p.494. But for a closer reading of Said's geography, see Derek Gregory, "Imaginative geographies," ibid., forthcoming. Strangely, both Smith and Gregory ignore the spatiality which Said invokes in The world, the text, and the critic, and it seems to me that no adequate assessment of 'Said's geography' can ignore the fundamental (and constitutive) disjuncture between religious and secular criticism which frames not only this crucial text, but the whole of his wider oeuvre. Said's point is that secular knowledge can be situated knowledge, whereas religious knowledge cannot.

[73] Neil Smith, "Homeless/global: scaling places," in Jon Bird et al., eds., Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change, Routledge, London, 1993, p.98. See also Paul Carter's critique of 'imperial history' in his The road to Botany Bay, Faber and Faber, London, 1987. Imperial history is a history "which reduces space to a stage, that pays attention to events unfolding in time alone" (p.xvi).

[74] Robert Young, White mythologies: writing History and the West, Routledge, New York, 1990; see chapter 1 in particular.

endeavor to subvert and redress such historicism, then, one must be doubly wary of the limitations and dangers of metaphor. Contemporary theory can learn this much, as I have suggested, from the constitution and politics of the imperial Anglican archive.

It is through a focus on the 'struggle over geography', I therefore want to suggest, that it is possible to avoid outright historicism, and move at least some way towards what Foucault has called 'effective history'. Like Said, who has himself learnt so much from Foucault, the latter has attempted to conceptualize history as being "without providence or final cause." This is certainly my own task in depicting the colonial encounter at Lytton, and Foucault's discussion of the event is illuminating in this context. As he recognizes, an "entire historical tradition (theological or rationalistic) aims at dissolving the singular event into an ideal continuity — as a teleological movement or natural process."[75] This is the 'uncritical religiosity' attacked by Said, and in the context of colonial history it has its recognizable trademarks: the 'event', whatever its details, becomes a mere illustration and reaffirmation of the predictable success of whites over 'others', of the white superiority which breeds a teleology of colonial conquest and Native ruin. Power relations are fixed and immutable in this scenario, with providence and abstraction denying the event its due uniqueness and radical contingency.

My endeavor to re-think this local encounter has, I hope, benefited much from the work of Stephen Jay Gould, and in particular from his insistence upon the vital importance of contingency in history. Gould's book Wonderful Life is a stunning one, focusing on how the Western conceptualization of paleontological history has always been governed by deep cultural convictions and biases. Thus the interpretation of local fossil-beds has invariably been overdetermined, with our understanding of evolution governed by an overarching canon of inexorable progress, an unstoppable march towards the pinnacle of life: namely human consciousness. Gould refers to the specific mechanic of this

[75] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, genealogy, history," in Language, counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews, ed. Donald F.Bouchard, Cornell University Press, 1977, pp.155,154.

overdetermination as a 'shoehorn', where those fossils which do not immediately fit within this pre-ordained sequence are forced into line — a coercion somewhat akin to the effacement of the 'event' by religious teleology. This evolutionary understanding, claims Gould, favors "progress based on conquest and displacement." These terms, of course, are not inapplicable to traditional white narratives of colonialism, and if 'inferior races' are substituted for 'inferior' species, the philosophy of 'predictable replacement' appears remarkably consistent. Moreover, Gould reminds us of the religious prerogative lurking behind this providential paleontological progression. The rational unfolding of history towards its ultimate successional climax (human life and consciousness) was seen as "the manifestation of God's handiwork in the pathways of evolutionary change."[76] Comparisons with the theological historicisms criticized by Auerbach and Said are obvious and, I think, not unfruitful.

Gould's personal brilliance lies in his alternative vision, with the eventual evolution of human consciousness conceived not as predictable and necessary, but as highly contingent upon the vagaries of 'natural' history. The realization that "the actual outcome did not have to be" is, he insists, crucial. If anything different had happened along the way — and it so easily might have done — then human beings would never have appeared. His central dichotomy, therefore, is that of "predictability versus contingency," and in opting for the latter, the point is clarified that small changes in history can have massive implications in the long-run.[77] Thus Gould enables us to think of the 'event' in a different way, not as something problematic to be subsumed within a grand, unchanging teleology; but as itself having important consequences for the nature of local history, because what followed would be contingent upon its unpredictable, shifting outcome. Gould suggests, for example, that this re-conceptualization has enabled him to think in radically different ways about the history of the American Civil War. In a similar vein, I think, David

[76] Stephen Jay Gould, Wonderful life: the Burgess Shale and the nature of history, Penguin, London, 1991, pp.259,262.
[77] ibid., pp.284 (my emphasis),289.

Underdown's Fire from heaven can be seen as an urgent invocation of historical contingency, as opposed to abstract predictability. Underdown argues that the widespread appeal to puritanical Protestantism in the English town of Dorchester in the early-seventeenth century must be placed in local historical context: specifically, a fire had recently burnt the town to cinders. Residents turned to religion not due to any intrinsic imperative of Christian destiny, but because they needed some sort of order in their lives after any previous convictions had been shattered by this unexpected catastrophe.[78] In terms of such apparent 'conversion', then, it is just such local contextualization I am searching for in examining the Lytton engagement with imperial Protestantism. This stress on contingency in colonial history is perhaps even more fundamental, I think, if only because the politics of predictability are here predicated upon racist theories of white supremacy.

It is in the effort to reveal such contingency, to uncover the 'disturbing strangeness' of this period, that I focus on the politics of space — precisely because it was the removal of this spatiality which itself enabled the Anglican archive to render Good's move inevitable and divinely-inspired, a mere reaffirmation of Protestant destiny. The archive, therefore, inspires the theory. But it does so in more ways than one, for the cunning fracturing of the archive that I have already discussed makes one immediately aware of the situatedness of one's own knowledge claims. It has now become somewhat a commonplace, I think, to 'position' oneself in one's research, and to thus (supposedly) make oneself accountable and responsible for one's own knowledge-claims. The work of Donna Haraway has been especially influential in this context, in particular her endeavor to re-work the notion of 'objectivity' in a way which incorporates embodiment, and which emphasizes "limited location and situated knowledge, not ... transcendence."[79]

[78] David Underdown, Fire from heaven: the life of an English town in the seventeenth century, Harper Collins, London, 1992.
[79] Haraway, "Situated knowledges," p.190.

I must admit that I find these ideas very appealing, and Haraway's employment of spatial metaphors is perhaps part of the instinctive attraction. But too often, I think, 'space' is reduced to the level of metaphor alone, and the material geography of one's own history is ignored. I have already alluded to some of the dangers of such a limitation. Or, alternatively, people may 'position' themselves in their work, and admit that they speak from a 'partial' position, but then go ahead with research in a way which suggests that that subjectivity has no direct bearing on the (again objective) knowledge that is being produced. Thus the 'situating' process becomes a rather pointless indulgence, an exercise in solipsistic introspection.

Historians have probably been more guilty than most in these respects, but a careful analysis of Foucault's 'effective history' points up another possibility. He claims that it is only through the effacement of "proper individuality" that "demagogic or religious knowledge" of the type I have depicted can be produced. This abstraction, he goes on, is occasioned by the "unusual pains" taken by historians to "erase the elements in their work which reveal their grounding in a particular time and place." This suggests to me that to produce a knowledge which insists on situation, on the specifics of historical geography, the producer of that knowledge must be rigorously attentive to her or his own contemporary situation. The two notions of 'situated knowledge', like the historical domains to which they supposedly apply — in other words 'past' and 'present' — cannot be rendered distinct. In both cases, there is a close relation between de-spatialized knowledge and de-politicization. In both the colonial appeal to 'providence', and the contemporary appeal to 'objectivity', the situatedness of a material geography is denied. Thus, in a phrase which I find particularly telling, Foucault argues that knowledge must be "allowed to create its own genealogy in the act of cognition."[80] The notion of 'situating oneself' is not, therefore, to be seen as a necessary addendum or preface to the research

[80] Foucault, "Nietzsche, genealogy, history," pp.156-9.

process. Instead, knowledge must be personally situated in the very moment of its critical creation.

Working with the Anglican imperial archive, such as it is, this fact becomes very clear. As should be obvious from my discussion of this archive, the kind of knowledge one produces is bound to be fundamentally influenced by one's relation to the geography of that heterogeneous mass of material. In many ways, my own trajectory — which has taken me from England to British Columbia (and temporarily, for research purposes, back again) — parallels that not only of Britain's former imperial representatives, but also of the polished knowledge which was sent off to the colony for safe public consumption. The argument could be made, therefore, that research in Britain's archives would offer up a richer study, with direct access to the 'pure' knowledge which Christian authorities demanded, and which they expected to receive.

But this hypothetical claim ignores a number of considerations. First, it is at best difficult to write coherently about British colonialism from a country that, in so many ways, continues to deny its historical culpability. In those instances where it is not deemed appropriate to atavistically celebrate the 'glory days' of British global power, the imperial era is studiously ignored. In both cases, Empire is conceived as a thing of the <u>past</u> — as a nostalgic indicator of bygone triumphs, and thus of the poverty of the national present (be it in realms as diverse as industrial capitalism, military capacity, and international sport), or subjected to a geographical displacement and portrayed as something that simply happened 'over there'. When one arrives in British Columbia, on the other hand, the history of British colonialism is writ large. No doubt it would have been possible to examine this particular Anglican mission enterprise from Britain, and using Britain's archives; but the results would have been very different from the thesis I have written.

The second point relates more specifically to these archives, for the idealistic theory of the 'pure' archive was always flawed. Religious knowledge was never the <u>only</u> colonial knowledge produced, and zealous Christian editors back in England had no control over

what was and was not said in the colony's secular domain. Moreover, secular representatives in British Columbia did not feel obliged to fit Good's 'call' into a preordained narrative of providence and Christian teleology; albeit with certain presumptions and predilections, most of them merely recalled what they heard, saw, and believed. They did not produce religious knowledge, but secular knowledge, and these records are located today in British Columbian (and not British) archives. My situated knowledge, then, involves working with records which themselves insisted on situation, on the politics of place — not with records which rendered 'place' invisible and insignificant through an appeal to ahistorical abstraction. It is in this sense that the archive inspires both the conceptions of situated knowledge with which I am trying to work, but which simultaneously renders them indissoluble. The production of one is informed by the partial presence of the other. It seems entirely appropriate, I think, that the information with which one can try to deconstruct colonial History is located in the ex-colony, this distinctive archival spatiality offering up a challenge to the calculated imperial geographies of power and knowledge. This information could not be scanned and dissected in Britain for the simple reason that it never made it there: it was forever out of reach. And lastly, surely nothing could be more appropriate than a secular account, one which attempts to subvert the teleologies and abstractions of a religious narrative, being based at least in part on the letters and journals of those of a thoroughly secular persuasion.[81]

81 I am not unaware of the criticism which has been leveled at 'secularism', and more particularly at Said's self-fashioning as an avowedly 'secular intellectual'. But I am not arguing that secular interpretation is the only way to do history, for I realize that such an unambiguous invocation can easily be taken to belittle the epistemological grounds of non-Western, indigenous societies. Rather, I want to suggest that from my position, working exclusively with white records, it is simply the best available form of historical research and writing — perhaps politically-speaking, but certainly conceptually. For me, secular inquiry can endeavor to deny teleologies, and lean in the direction of openness and anti-essentialism. For as Goldwin Smith so astutely observed, to imply that interpretation 'belongs to God' is not to make an argument, but to renounce argument and the possibility for discussion. It is this imposition of closure that enrages Said, and Salman Rushdie too, the latter castigating what he sees as "the end of debate, of dispute, of dissent." This quotation comes from his "In good faith," in Imaginary homelands, p.396. (For an interesting reflection on Said and secularism, see R.Radhakrishnan's contribution to

What is going on at Lytton?

> The LORD also will be a refuge for the oppressed, a refuge in times of trouble.
>
> Psalms 9: 9

When Good arrived on the mainland of British Columbia in 1866, he was by no means a stranger to inter-denominational controversy. During his time at Nanaimo, Good had come into direct conflict with the Methodist missionary Ebenezer Robson. Hailing from eastern Canada, and sponsored by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Robson had arrived in Nanaimo before Good, and his personal diary subsequently reveals a running battle over the 'rights' to that particular territory. Initially, this discord revolved around the white residents of Nanaimo, because from his first day in town Good began to lure members of Robson's congregation and school to his own Church. Robson, who in his journal and correspondence strikes the reader as being, in spite of his evident zealousness, fairly honest and level-headed, was not amused. His bemoaning of Good's nefarious tactics is revealing, for it suggests a very different story from the 'providence' which supposedly underwrote the colonial progress of the Anglican church:

> By hook, crook, and every other way they have got a large number of our Scholars away and alas a number of the people from our congregation. Proclaiming apostolical succession & the exclusive right of the 'apostolical' ministers to administer baptism ... has had its effect with the ignorant. Fair competition I have no objection to but underhanded work of this kind I abhor from my heart.[82]

Soon this friction was to spill over into the realm of their respective work with Natives. Before the arrival of both Good and Robson, the aboriginal inhabitants of the Nanaimo area had seen their lives radically affected by the machinations of secular

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"Edward Said's Culture and imperialism: a symposium," Social Text, 40, 1994, pp.1-24; see in particular pp.18-19.)

[82] Robson, Diary, September 22nd 1861.

colonialism, with its exclusionary political geographies having forced them onto reserve land. All the land in 'town' was now owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. Robson was keen to effect some form of engagement with these Natives, in addition to the ministerial work which he carried out amongst the town's white population, and for this purpose he selected a site on the reserve upon which he planned to build a school-house. In June 1862, however, Good approached Robson and asked him to give up that site in order that an Anglican institution could be erected there instead. This was in spite of the fact that Robson had informed the Natives of his plan, and had also been granted government authority — "to say nothing of my being a year and a half before him in the Indian work." Robson, not surprisingly, refused Good's arrogant request, and his summation of the Anglican minister was again damning: "He does not recognize me as having any equal claims with him — looks upon his church as the only church & acts accordingly."[83]

I refer to this incident at Nanaimo because, in many ways, there are close parallels with what happened later at Yale and Lytton. Here too there was constant strife with other denominations, though in this case it was normally Roman Catholics that were in dispute with Good's beliefs and practices. But these conflicts, like that at Nanaimo, almost invariably centered upon a 'struggle over geography'.

There were, however, some important differences. On the Island, the Nanaimo band appear to have had little control over their own spiritual allegiances. Condemned to reserve-land, they seem in this instance to have been mere pawns in a parochial battle of personalities and theologies. As Robson noted in his diary, Good's efforts to intercede were always destined to be futile, for he had "already placed the plot of ground on the map of the reserve."[84] The deal was, as it were, signed and sealed, and the very next week it was delivered: Robson headed off to Victoria for the mere formality of getting permission

[83] Robson, Diary, June 22nd 1862.
[84] Robson, Diary, June 22nd 1862.

from the Land Office to use the site which had been set aside. In thus rearranging the local cartography, Robson was engaging with a locus of power/knowledge to which the Natives had no effective access, but which nevertheless constrained and enframed their daily lives. Power relations were emphatically in favor of the white intruders.

In terms of Good's 'call' to Lytton, however, things were not quite so clear-cut. I suggest here that the Nlaka'pamux, in 1867, retained a degree of control over their everyday lives, and that their 'appeal' to Good was one example of that control being exercised with great tact and intelligence. Indeed, a case can be made that the 'pawn' here was not the communal band, as it seems to have been at Nanaimo, but Good himself — a mere object in a dispute between the Nlaka'pamux and the French Roman Catholics who had periodically visited them in preceding years. The Nlaka'pamux do not then appear as enframed objects in a broader teleology, but as subjects endeavoring to control their own destiny at the level of everyday life. In this scenario, power relations are not skewed immutably towards white imperialists, but are contingent, ever-shifting, and are produced and reproduced from day-to-day. This re-appraisal is important, I think, if only because the discursive denial of Native agency has always underpinned the exploitative paternalism of colonial 'protection'.

Those Anglican missionaries who preceded Good to the Fraser Canyon were well aware of the Roman Catholic presence. They were, moreover, keen to imply that not only was Roman Catholic teaching fundamentally flawed, but that Natives were themselves not satisfied with the instruction they were receiving. As early as 1860 Bishop Hills, having taken a canoe up the Fraser from Hope, reported from Yale that a Catholic Priest seemed to have raised a storm with some of the local Natives:

> A few weeks since a Priest came round & according to their custom baptized all children. Some children have since died & the Indians attribute the disaster to the Priest. Several Indians were despatched after him to kill him & he has only escaped by returning another way by the Douglas route instead of this.[85]

[85] Hills, Diary, June 10th 1860.

At the time of the Bishop's visit, William Crickmer was the resident minister at Yale, Alexander Pringle having moved down-river to Hope. Crickmer had only recently arrived in town, but one of his overwhelming first impressions was the apparent influence of the Roman Catholic church over Yale's white inhabitants. Indeed, this supremacy was advanced by Crickmer as uppermost in his mind when he decided to open a day-school for the town's children.

> One great reason for my opening the school is, that it is a great and indirect weapon against Rome, which is very largely represented, in both parish and school, by Italian, Spanish, French, Irish, and French-Canadian Romanists.[86]

There is little doubt that the Roman Catholic church, in the early 1860s, held a similar authority at Lytton — again, in terms of both the Native and white populations. After Hills' arrival in Yale in June 1860, he and Crickmer set off into the interior, a trip which took them through (amongst other places) Lytton. With respect to its white inhabitants, Crickmer claimed to find "the city wholly given to idolatry — the worship of the golden image, whose votaries in these latter days are alarmingly spreading their rites and religion all over the world." Moreover, he noted that a July 1st discussion with two members of the Nlaka'pamux nation evinced a similar Catholic inspiration. "We have evidence," he boldly asserted, "of the nature and extent of Rome's teaching and apostasy amongst the Indians, even in this farthest region of the earth."[87]

This Roman Catholic sway in the Canyon was perceived as a major problem by Anglican missionaries, and it was with this foreign 'supremacy' that Good felt determined to engage when he arrived at Yale in 1866. His reports written that year certainly afford the

[86] "Letter from the Rev. W.B. Crickmer, 1860-1," BCARS, E/B/C873. Bishop Hills thought Crickmer's local 'warfare' with the Catholic church to be imprudent, and for this he criticized him, sensing that he had "offended needlessly the feeling[s] of weaker brethren." Hills, Diary, June 22nd 1862.
[87] "Letter from the Rev. W.B. Crickmer, 1860-1."

impression that, at least in part, the reason he was so pleased to leave the town a year later was the strong Catholic presence there. In one such report, pieced together with extracts from his journal, Good recalled discussions he had had with Natives on the Yale reserve. He noted, however, that not all were immediately willing to talk to him: "Some few, ... from fear of what the Roman Catholic priest might do or say, withdrew after a few moments." Following on from this, he makes the more general observation that the Roman Catholic church had "long held a nominal hold upon the greater number of the Frazer Indians, governing them by fear and the assumption of priestly power."[88] Ironically enough, this all sounds vaguely familiar to Ebenezer Robson's criticisms of Good himself, but the point is nevertheless an interesting one — Good was infuriated by the apparent local authority of another denomination.

And Good's anger with the Yale situation, it seems, often boiled over into open controversy, just as it had with the Methodists at Nanaimo. Thus in June 1867 Peter O'Reilly, the Chief Gold Commissioner and Justice of the Peace, wrote to the colony's Attorney General to inform him of a conflict between Good and Léon Fouquet, a Roman Catholic Priest who, for a number of years, had been working at various points along the Fraser. O'Reilly indicated that Fouquet had lodged some kind of complaint against Good, but that up to that point in time, his own efforts to settle the dispute had been in vain: "I have done all in my power to settle the matter, but they are like Kilkenny cats."[89] This controversy, it turns out, was resolved a few days later and hands were shaken all round; but it would not be the last time that Good was embroiled in such a local conflict.

For like Crickmer, Good too was well aware of the fact that it was not only the Natives at Yale who had been in contact with Roman Catholics. When he was first visited by Sashiatan in March 1867, he reflected at length upon the peculiar methods of 'Christian' worship which the Nlaka'pamux deputation had adopted on the evening of this initial

88 Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, pp.70,71.
89 Peter O'Reilly to Sir Henry Pering Pellew Crease, June 10th 1867, BCARS, A/E/C86/C86/Or3.

encounter. These, he concluded, could only have been gleaned from Roman Catholic pedagogy, and he lamented that the Lytton band had thus far been left to "the undisputed sway of a foreign power."[90] There follows, in a later extract from his journal, a veritable diatribe against this 'foreign power':

> The Romish clergy have lately been at extraordinary pains to inspire dread of our teaching, misrepresenting our Church in every way they can devise. ... [T]heir teaching is all veiled beneath such a cloud of superstition, error, and ceremonial observances, that an ignorant savage may never hope to find out the simple truth respecting the salvation which 'hath appeared unto all men.' The contest between Rome and ourselves must come.[91]

Indeed, in a sense, it did come, perhaps somewhat sooner than Good anticipated. But in this local contest, which was at base a struggle over geography, these two denominations were by no means the only participants. The real actors, those who were calling the shots, were not missionaries but Native people themselves.

This next principal clash involving Roman Catholics and Anglicans occurred in October 1867, a matter of months after Good had received his 'invitation' to minister to the Nlaka'pamux at Lytton, and had taken them up on their offer. This incident revolved around one particular space, the Lytton reserve; and within that space, one particular building — a chapel that had been constructed a few years previously.

In mid-October the Governor of the colony, Frederick Seymour, had received a complaint from Fouquet about an 'assault' which had taken place at this chapel, and he subsequently wrote to O'Reilly with the following information:

> A complaint has been made to me by the Rev^{d} [L.M.] Fouquet that a Roman Catholic Priest, Father [LeJacq], was assaulted by some Indians at Lytton & the keys of the chapel taken by force out of his pocket. It is alleged that Mr Hall, the Constable was in some way connected with the affair, but of this I have no proof.

[90] Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.74.
[91] ibid., pp.75-6; my emphasis.

Seymour instructed O'Reilly, within whose jurisdiction Lytton fell, to go up the Canyon to investigate, and also to report back on the ownership of the chapel — Seymour obviously felt this to be an important facet of the case. Perhaps more interestingly, however, Seymour also included in his letter an inquiry as to whether or not O'Reilly believed it entirely necessary for Good to "disturb the minds of the Indians already converted to Christianity by the agency of the Catholic priests as he is alleged to be doing."[92] The Governor's intonation implied that he himself did not see it as particularly expedient, and that in his eyes, Good was unnecessarily encroaching upon the spiritual territory of another denomination.

The Roman Catholics themselves were inclined to think the same way. In accordance with the Governor's instructions, O'Reilly had gone up to Lytton on Monday October 21st, and immediately contacted the local constable to demand his version of the events. By the end of the week he felt he had obtained all the information he needed, and upon returning to Yale, filed off his report to Seymour. It turned out that a Catholic priest, Father LeJacq, had been 'assaulted' on the reserve, and O'Reilly was of the opinion that the Native culprits should be punished for this offense. But this was not yet possible, he informed the Governor, for "in the absence of a formal complaint it is impossible to take any steps in the matter."[93] Within a few days, however, such an official complaint was forthcoming from LeJacq, and O'Reilly served a summons upon the alleged perpetrators for the first week of the following month.[94] The case went to court in Lytton on Tuesday November 5th, with O'Reilly entering the following details in his Court Book: "Chillue & Troppasa, Indians, charged by the Rev^{d} J.M.J. Lejacq with having assaulted, & taken from his pocket a certain key, at Lytton on the 4th Oct^{r} 1867." The penalty handed down by O'Reilly was for the guilty parties to each pay a fine of $25 — in default of which they

92 Frederick Seymour to O'Reilly, 14th October 1867, BCARS, A/E/Or3/Se91.
93 O'Reilly to Seymour, October 25th 1867, BCARS, A/E/Or3/Or3.18.
94 See O'Reilly, Diaries, Thursday October 31st 1867, BCARS, Microfilm R12A. "Father Lejacq lodged information against 4 Lytton Indians for assault & for taking the key of the Church."

would serve one month's imprisonment with hard labor.[95] This harsh alternative was not necessary, however, for a local Yale merchant came forward and paid the outstanding $50 on the Natives' behalf.[96] This man, a Mr. Buie, was (perhaps not surprisingly) a close friend of the Reverend John Booth Good.[97]

So what was the significance of this 'certain key' referred to by both Seymour and O'Reilly? The most detailed information on the historical precedents leading up to this episode at the chapel is to be found in O'Reilly's report to the Governor. This letter was itself based on the information supplied to O'Reilly by Mr. Hall — who was immediately relieved of any culpability in the whole affair — and it is, I think, worth quoting from at length. For here we get to glimpse, perhaps, some of the real motivations at stake in Good's 'call' to Lytton just months prior to the infamous 'assault':

> With regard to the proprietorship of the Chapel, it appears to me to be a legal question; from what I have been able to learn, it was built some years since, on the Reserve, entirely at the expense of the Indians, the key has always remained in their hands, and they have been in the habit of performing service in it for themselves; on the other hand, I am informed that the Priests allege, that the Chapel, when built, was handed over to them by the Indians, and was consecrated for the performance of the Roman Catholic worship.
>
> It would appear that the Priests, never very regular in their attendance at Lytton, have lately almost ceased to go there, and some months had elapsed since the visit of any priest, when Father [LeJacq] arrived, and the unpleasant circumstances alluded to in Mr. Hall's report, took place. The neglect of the Priests, it would seem, gave offence to the Lytton Indians, and caused them to invite an Episcopal Clergyman, the Revd Mr Good to become resident among them; the result of which is, that nearly the whole tribe now profess the Protestant Religion.[98]

[95] "British Columbia, County Court Book, Lytton, 1859-1875." Entry for November 5th 1867. BCARS, GR 0594. The severity of this penalty is immediately evident from a brief perusal of other cases which were tried in the Lytton courtroom during the same period. Just over a year later, for example, a white man was charged with having assaulted a Native woman at Lytton, and was demanded to pay $5, in default of which he would be imprisoned for just 48 hours. This in itself suggests the obvious: that all were <u>not</u> equal before the eyes of the law. See entry for December 8th 1868.

[96] This information was provided by Bishop Hills in his Diary, May 28th 1868. I will turn to Hills' received interpretation of events presently, but for now it is interesting to note his opinion that the $25 penalty "was deemed excessive."

[97] See, for example: Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.

[98] O'Reilly to Seymour, October 25th 1867.

This letter certainly serves to put the chapel 'assault' into some kind of historical context. But surely it does so much more. It helps to provide, I think, a more secular and detailed understanding of Good's relocation to Lytton. For what is invoked here is not the Lord's guiding hand, an intangible 'providential' intervention, but a pragmatism bred of annoyance at Roman Catholic indifference; not an open door to be eagerly pounced upon, but a Native space, a space which the Nlaka'pamux owners were more than willing to 'let out' on a temporary basis. Here, I think, was a politics of space in which the Nlaka'pamux were (at least partially) in charge, and retention of the key to the chapel was a symbol of that power and control. They had built the chapel of their own accord, and had allowed Roman Catholic priests to use the chapel when they passed through Lytton. But it seems they were very much unconvinced by the level of Roman Catholic commitment, and in order to make their point to those who had signally let them down, they decided to give the Anglicans a chance instead. This was a chance, of course, which Good accepted with relish. The most important point, however, about this Anglican fortuity, is its provenance and genealogy — not heaven-sent, it seems, but in fact contingent upon a unique array of local actors and interactions. As in the English town studied by Underdown, the appeal to Protestantism was attributable, as much as anything else, to the intriguing geography of circumstance.[99]

To the best of my knowledge, Good never wrote openly about any of this detail, and it was his persistent reiteration of the 'providential' thesis which rendered it hegemonic in the printed press. But Bishop Hills did refer to the incident at the chapel, describing in his diary what he had been able to find out during his trip to the mainland in 1868.

[99] Underdown, Fire from heaven. The fact of Roman Catholic itinerance is noted by Ebenezer Robson, who, like Good, moved to Yale after his time at Nanaimo. In 1863 he remarked that Natives at Yale had been periodically visited — "once in 2 or 3 months" — by Catholic priests. See his Diary, July 5th 1863. It was the same apparent lack of attention which irked the Nlaka'pamux at Lytton, and which led them to appeal to Good in 1867. It was perhaps this incident, then, that finally confirmed Good in his belief that the establishment of a 'strong center' had to come before itinerance could be safely undertaken. See chapter 3 in particular.

However, when he next wrote to the SPG to inform them of the general progress of his diocese — a letter in which he included many extracts from his diary, including notes taken while at Lytton — all this information was excluded.[100] Situated knowledge had become, suddenly and necessarily, blindingly abstract. Readers of the Mission Field and Columbia Mission Report always remained oblivious, therefore, of the real occurrences at Lytton in 1867.

Hills' diary is interesting, however, since it helps to flesh out a few of the details ignored in O'Reilly's initial account. Principally, it divulges more information about the key which was apparently taken from the priest by the Natives charged with 'assault'. This key, it seems, was held by Sashiatan, but he was not present when LeJacq arrived in Lytton in the first week of October 1867.

> In the absence of the Chief, an Indian who travelled with the Priest got the key by false statements from the Chief's wife & the Priest kept it contrary to the agreement. The Indians heard of it & demanded its [return]. The Priest refused to give it up & they took it out of his pocket.[101]

It was, therefore, the priest's effort to wrest from them the key (in both senses of the word) to the control of that space, which aroused the ire of these two Native men. The Roman Catholic church evidently believed that Lytton was 'their space' on the spiritual map of British Columbia — just as Good thought the same following his arrival on the scene[102] —

100 Hills to Bullock, 27th June 1868, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-91.
101 Hills, Diary, May 28th 1868. Additional information provided here by Hills claims that the Constable, Mr. Hall, then advised the Natives to return the key to LeJacq. Hall informed LeJacq that the key would only be returned to him if he promised to drop all charges. The Natives stuck to their side of the bargain (the key was returned) but LeJacq evidently did not — "this condition he violated."
102 Indeed, Good reflected with pleasure in late-1868 that the "Roman Priests no longer interfere with us in respect to our settled occupation as Missionary to the Thompson tribe." Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 1868, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70. The loss of Lytton seems to have been a considerable blow to the Catholics, to the extent that A.G.Morice would later refer to Good's arrival as the "first and only serious check in the history of the Pacific coast missions." History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada: from Lake Superior to the Pacific (1659-1895), Vol.II, Musson Book Company, Toronto, 1910, p.353.

but this could only be the case in a metaphorical cartography which ignored Native interest and agency.

Of course it was the same Native agency which was muted in Good's appeal to providential intervention. But what I am trying to show is that by focusing upon the materiality of the events of 1867, it is possible to indicate that power relations amongst colonizers and colonized were not, at that stage, fixed, immutable, and transcendent. They were in fact immanent, tied irrevocably to the particular 'struggle over geography' which was undoubtedly central to the changes taking place during that period. By endeavoring to avoid abstraction, I am trying to avoid the easy slippage that can occur into a colonial narrative of imperial conquest and Native devastation. For such is the 'religiosity' of colonial History, a progressive historicism which relies upon the invocation of external powers and divine predestination. Instead, by investigating the aspirations and conflicts implicit in a local geopolitics, I am trying to argue that a more properly postcolonial history must of necessity be a historical geography.

The question remains, however, of whether the principal motivation in approaching Good was spiritual or temporal — or whether it was simply an effort to invoke revenge upon a wayward Roman Catholic priest. I think that although the latter was definitely important, it cannot alone explain the 'call' that Good received in 1867. But I am equally convinced that, despite Good's persistent claims to the contrary, they did not seek his presence purely out of admiration for his reputed spiritual excellence. Indeed, many of Good's own comments and practices over the years imply that he himself detected a strong temporal imperative in their attention to his teachings. This anxiety, which needled him throughout the years he spent among the Nlaka'pamux, was at the heart of the extraordinarily long probationary period upon which he insisted before administering the sacrament of baptism. I discuss this at much greater length in chapter 4, but it suffices to say here that he would not accept Natives into his 'fold' until convinced of their spiritual and moral righteousness. I take this up further in chapter 5, arguing that it was in fact their

morality about which he was most concerned — not so much the beliefs hidden in their minds, but the visible rectitude of their respective bodies. It was only in the morality of the body that final proof of 'conversion' could be rendered manifest. Good's angst on this matter stemmed, I believe, from this worry that he was being 'used' for purely temporal motives. If Natives actually changed the way they lived on a day-to-day basis, then perhaps he really could believe them. There was always a danger, though, that they would simply admit to being 'converted' in order to receive his temporal assistance. As Good himself put it, in a passage which hints at his own suspicions: "they are ready to believe anything that may be told them on the strength of our own reputed authority."[103]

Of course missionaries did provide 'help' for Natives in many ways. Good's medical advice was often sought; and within months of his arrival in Lytton his advocacy on land issues was in much demand. He was English, of course, and ostensibly carried some weight within the English colonial apparatus — as the Nlaka'pamux likely realized, LeJacq did not. This realization may have informed their appeal to Good in 1867, and given this possibility he was forced to elide the land question when trying to persuade his audience that the Nlaka'pamux interest could only be spiritual. He reminded readers of the Columbia Mission Report that "our Indians are under no kind of constraint, but are free and independent in every sense, and that therefore their obedience to our teaching is the simplest result of personal conviction."[104] Constraint may not have been total, but there can be little doubt that the restrictive reserve system implored Natives to seek aid where they could find it. Good himself spoke often about the "neglect and injustice" occasioned by the policies of the colonial government; about the consistent secular "abuse of power." Indeed he summed up the history of British Columbia as one of whites "robbing [Natives] of their birth right and title to inheritance."[105] Given these views, it is not surprising that

103 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
104 Columbia Mission Report, 17, 1875, p.25.
105 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1869, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.

Good acted 'on behalf' of a number of Native bands when he felt that they were getting a raw deal from the secular authorities. There was at least an element of truth to Good's claim that, in terms of the relationship between Natives and secular whites, missionaries "stand of course as mediators between the two."[106]

There was, then, a fundamental paradox that missionaries like Good faced. On the one hand, they felt morally obliged to assist Native people where they saw "wrongs & grievances" that were in need of being redressed. But on the other hand, they knew that if they provided such temporal 'aid', they could never be entirely sure of the spiritual conversion of those who pledged their allegiance. As Good emphasized in no uncertain terms: "Let the Natives be as independent of the Missionary in a temporal point of view as English parishioners are of their Clergyman, then he may depend on the sincerity of his adherents."[107]

Good's own answer to this dilemma was to go with his own moral prerogative, and act on behalf of British Columbia's First Nations when he felt obliged to do so. This occurred first and foremost on reserve issues, and I discuss Good's involvement on this front in the conclusion to this study. I argue that this commitment was terribly important, because the active Native agency which I have been discussing in this section was largely dissolved during Good's tenure at Lytton. When he had arrived, it had been their own decision to invite him: they had been, on the whole, in charge of their own destiny. But by the time Good left Lytton in 1883, power relations between whites and Natives had tilted firmly in the direction of the colonizing population. It seems to me that Good's engagement on the reserve issue had a good deal to do with this change, for in his adopted position as mediator, he removed the Native voice from direct access to discourses of power and secular authority. In 1867 they seem to have had this access, for the medium

[106] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-71.
[107] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876; original emphasis.

they employed with which to 'call' Good was the telegraph system. It was the April 1867 telegram he received (in Chinook), saying "you had better make haste and come," which had finally persuaded him to leave Yale.[108] This indicates an access to a modern nexus of power/knowledge which, for example, the Nanaimo Natives whose lives were (literally) 'mapped' out by Ebenezer Robson, did not possess. But by the 1880s, the Nlaka'pamux could no longer aspire to such direct control. Good's role in this shift was, I believe, vital. And such was the ultimate impotence of missionaries in the realm of secular politics, that Natives often ended up without the influential temporal assistance they were perhaps looking for in the first place.

When exactly this shift in power took place is difficult, if not impossible, to judge. But it is just possible that Good's 1870 decision to move his mission away from the center of Lytton, to the outskirts of town, was in itself important. For as I have argued in this introduction, control over that space, and who might be using it, was a vital component of the constitution of local power relations. In any case, I endeavor to chart something of these changes in what follows. The last word here I will leave not with Good but with, perhaps appropriately, a person of a more secular leaning: the Governor of British Columbia. For when he wrote to O'Reilly in the summer of 1868, expressing his continued concern over Good's "mischief with the Indians," he felt obliged to ask a question that I myself have grappled with in this thesis: "What is going on at Lytton?"[109]

[108] Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.76.
[109] Seymour to O'Reilly, June 21st 1868, BCARS, A/E/Or3/Se91.

PART ONE

MISSIONARY POSITIONS

In part one of this thesis I address the nature of Anglican missionary discourse. It will be readily apparent that much of my discussion uses Edward Said's work on 'Orientalism' as something of a template. In recent years considerable criticism has been leveled at such 'discourse analysis', much of it suggesting that this preoccupation has obscured the work that needs to be done in the more substantive realm of historical-geographical inquiry.[1] There is an important point here, for the study of 'discourses' can easily lapse into a rather abstract textualism — but this is not necessarily the case. I argue that the more material investigations which follow in part two of this thesis need to be couched in the context of the beliefs which evangelists like Good took with them to the mission field. It is impossible to understand the practices of Anglican colonization without paying due heed to the idiosyncrasies of missionary thought in nineteenth century Britain. In this way the analysis of Christian imperial convictions, of 'missionary positions', underscores and informs the substance of later chapters. That is not to say that 'discourse' underwrites practice in a mechanical, instrumentalist fashion — many of Good's own policies clearly suggest otherwise — but it is to insist that the discourses of the metropolis provide a necessary framework for any detailed inquiry. As Salman Rushdie reminds us in the instructively expansive sensibilities of Midnight's Children: "To understand just one life, you have to swallow the world. I told you that."

I should also note that I am well aware that, as Robert Young has recently indicated, "it is not enough to produce individual instances that appear to contradict Said's thesis."[2] That is not my intention at all. Rather, I want to suggest that most of the work which has followed in the wake of Said's Orientalism has been somewhat lacking in two particular areas, and that these 'omissions' probably have a good deal to do with the enormous influence Said's book has had upon contemporary scholarship. For such has

[1] See for example Benita Parry, "Problems in current theories of colonial discourse," Oxford Literary Review, 9, 1987, pp.27-58.
[2] Robert J.C.Young, Colonial desire: hybridity in theory, culture and race, Routledge, London and New York, 1995, p.166.

been its sway — one author has appropriately referred to its "textbook status"[3] — that its own limitations have suffused much of the postcolonial literature.

First, there is the important question of regional focus, and the fact that "there has been a noticeable geographical and historical homogenization of the history of colonialism."[4] The greater part of work on colonial history continues to focus predominantly upon Africa and India, and this study of British Columbia is in part an effort to unsettle that geographical bias — if only to point out that colonialism differed markedly from place to place.

Said's own work focused upon the discursive constitution of that region defined by western Europeans as the 'Orient', but it seems to me that it is not 'place' so much as 'space' which now needs to be reconfigured. In particular, I think that the standard dichotomization of the world into 'West' and 'non-West' is in large part responsible for the continued ignorance of certain local histories. This division has a long colonial heritage, as Said consistently reminds us, with the secular discourses of 'Orientalism' seemingly resting upon a "fundamental ontological division between the West and the rest of the world." Leaving aside the question of the pervasiveness, or otherwise, of such a conceptual divide (I turn to this in chapter 1), it is important to note the immediate slippage in Said's account: for the 'rest of the world' is suddenly transformed into "'the Orient', Africa, India, Australia."[5] But what of Canada, and what of British Columbia?

To raise this question is not, I think, to be unnecessarily pedantic, for I do not believe that mere coincidence can alone account for this omission. Today, when we think of the 'West', we automatically think of North America and western Europe. But in the mid-nineteenth century, the 'West' was generally conceived in a more constricted fashion, limited solely to parts of Europe — in Said's history of 'Orientalism', the United States

3 Thomas, Colonialism's culture, p.8.
4 Young, Colonial desire, p.164.
5 Said, Culture and imperialism, pp.129,130. See also his comments on the "difference separating East from West" in Orientalism, p.57.

only entered the 'West' in the twentieth century. The position of British Columbia within this powerful binary cartography has also shifted over time. Today, British Columbia is 'Western', and thus deemed external to the 'non-Western Third World' countries which collectively occupy the attention of most historians of colonialism. But during the British imperial expansion of the 1860s and 1870s, British Columbia was emphatically not part of that space thought of as the 'West'. Our inability to problematize the unstable nature of this overarching spatial dualism through time has, it seems, condemned British Columbia to the interstices of our representational schema. Such an oversight does great injustice to the important history of colonialism in the province, and more acutely to the direct legacy of that history in the context of today's continuing struggles over land.[6]

The second issue raised by Said's account relates more closely to the nature of colonial discourse. Specifically, the various breeds of 'Orientalism' excavated in his book are almost exclusively secular discourses; as he notes near the beginning of his account, he self-consciously ignores "the background in Biblical scholarship to the rise of what I have called modern Orientalism."[7] Similar silences are evident in his more recent work, and it is on that score that he has been taken to task by Linda Colley. It is not possible to come to terms with British imperialism, she claims, unless one engages with the "uncompromising Protestantism"[8] which underpinned and (often, but not always) justified that expansive mentality.

The point I wish to make is a little different, but, I hope, equally practical. It seems to me that one simply cannot understand the specificities of missionary practice, unless one accepts the fact that Christian colonial discourses differed considerably from their secular counterparts. Chapters 1 and 2 represent an extended attempt to elucidate some of these

[6] For an interesting discussion of other problems related to this 'West/non-West' dualism, see Matthew Sparke, "White mythologies and anemic geographies: A review," Environment and planning D: Society and space, 12(1), 1994, pp.105-23.
[7] Said, Orientalism, p.18.
[8] Linda Colley, "The imperial embrace," Yale review, 81, 1993, pp.92-8; the quotation is from p.95.

differences, and to begin to work towards an understanding of their various implications. No 'realistic' or nuanced assessment of the missionary impact is possible if Christianity is reduced to a mere component of a broader secular colonialism. At the level of European discourse, my impression is that exactly such a reductive stance had prevailed in the wake of Said's pioneering work.[9]

In what follows, then, I examine some of the possible 'deviances' of missionary thought when compared to a more mainstream, secular rhetoric. But such a tentative inquiry must itself be tempered by the recognition that, in the final analysis, missionaries — just like traders, merchants, soldiers and government officials — were still part of the colonizing enterprise. To insist upon different beliefs and convictions is fair enough, but only when placed in the context of the massively skewed power relations which ultimately characterized (and defined) the colonial encounter. Such a recognition is certainly important in terms of the reappraisal of history, but perhaps <u>especially</u> so given the contemporary political picture in British Columbia.

Given this essential caveat, however, it is important to insist that missionaries were not just agents of the state. The relations between Christian and secular colonialism were invariably complex, in British Columbia as elsewhere, and at other stages in this thesis I examine them more closely — particularly in my concluding discussion of reserves. But before I focus more closely upon nineteenth century missionary thought, it will help if I say something briefly about some of these interactions.

In the early-nineteenth century, the notion of a 'civilizing mission' became a standard motif within British imperial rhetoric. The belief that it was Britain's 'mission' to indulge in a humane, benevolent colonial enterprise was recurrent in speeches and publications alike, both secular and religious. British economists working in the shadow

[9] For just one example of such 'reduction', see Ronald Inden, <u>Imagining India</u>, Blackwell, Oxford, 1990. Perhaps the most concerted effort to closely examine Christian imperial rhetoric, and to uncover some of its idiosyncrasies and ambivalences, has been that of Homi Bhabha; I look closely at some of his ideas in the last section of chapter 1.

of Adam Smith were now roundly condemning the financial burden of the colonies, and it was at this time that Christian, humanitarian rhetoric was appropriated by the state to provide a new justification for empire. Klaus Knorr points out that it was probably no coincidence that this "new line of argumentation made rapid headway at a time when many of the economic arguments in favour of colonization and colonies were being torn to shreds by the economists."[10]

But this discursive appropriation should not be held to imply that the state looked especially favorably upon Christian colonialism — any more than it should blind one to the fact that state colonial involvement was rarely as benevolent as the rhetoric decreed. In spite of the terminology, the British state was in fact fairly indifferent to the involvement of missionaries in the colonial enterprise. As Stephen Neill has argued: "On the whole, the British [government] maintained an attitude of lofty neutrality toward missionary activity."[11] Moreover, not only were missionaries often openly critical of official colonial policy, and what they saw as secular 'abuses of power', but they were also quick to berate official indifference to their own work. Upon the setting up of the colony of British Columbia in 1858, Governor James Douglas had decided that each missionary church should be accorded equal land. By 1861, this plan had been superseded by the offer of $100 grants for each denominational church, but the basic philosophy remained constant: no special attention was to be accorded the Anglican Church. Roman Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists — all were to be treated equally.

10 Klaus Knorr, British colonial theories 1570-1850, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1944, p.246. For Said's comments on 'la mission civilisatrice', see Culture and imperialism, p.130.

11 Neill, "Christian missions," p.575. In terms of the Church of England mission to British Columbia, the metropolitan state did give its 'unequivocal' support. But the Church always felt such support was somewhat hollow and meaningless, since it did not include any financial backing. For one statement of this position, see the discussion in A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.42.

It was this presumed indifference that Anglican missionaries like Good found so unpalatable, in particular the help that officials apparently gave to the Catholic church. French Roman Catholic priests were the perennial antagonists of Protestant churchmen in British Columbia, and many Anglicans believed that it was this policy of official equality that ultimately prevented their own domination of the whole mission field. In his reminiscences, therefore, Good castigated Douglas and his successors on these grounds, claiming that it was only his own hard work at Lytton that prevented total Roman Catholic 'control' of the region:

> But for us and our success in dealing with those coming under our influence and training the entire Indian population of the interior of the mainland would have been left to foreign manipulation and control. How the Government of the day could so blindly and readily play into the hands of a power that had never sworn allegiance to its authority surpasses belief.[12]

Similar feelings were evinced by the first bishop of the Columbia diocese, George Hills. Regardless of the financial incentive, he often urged local diocesan committees to refuse the grants offered by the colonial government. The grants were available to all, without distinction, and thus, in his mind, acceptance lent tacit support to Roman Catholic doctrine and practice. It was, he claimed, a matter of principle. The upshot of acceptance was unavoidable: "Truth & Error would be placed on the same footing of equality."[13]

But Hills' policy of refusal also served a wider purpose, for he was always keen to stress that the Anglican missionary church was not merely an instrument of the colonial state. By denying state assistance, substance could be lent to the argument that the secular and the religious were indeed separate spheres. As with the Nonconformist mission to South Africa studied by the Comaroffs, Hills and others attempted "to drive a wedge

[12] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.61. It seems possible that Douglas, formerly Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, was in fact more at home with the French, given the large numbers of French Canadians working in the fur trade.
[13] Hills, Diary, July 31st 1861.

between the realm of the spirit and the temporal affairs of government."[14] Such a project was pointed, no doubt, for in the early days of the diocese there was much popular concern — expressed especially caustically in the Victoria newspapers — that Hills' church was destined to fulfill precisely this functional role. The Bishop wrote the following of the matter in mid-March 1860:

> When I arrived, I found the papers full of warfare about the 'attempt' to have a 'State Church,' the idea of an English Bishop being apparently inseparable from tithes, Church-rates, &c. In my first sermon I proclaimed for liberty, and told the people of the Church that upon them rested the burden, and that I did not dream of resting upon the State. This had the desired effect. The movement was crushed. There has not been a syllable since.[15]

Other commentators were not so unequivocal; but even those who appealed for closer collaboration were adamant that the influence should work in one direction more than the other. John Downall, for example, speaking at the anniversary service of the Columbia Mission in 1861, suggested that the colonial state and church should work together — but "not indeed to make the Church political, but the State religious."[16]

I make these brief comments in order to foreground my ensuing discussion, and to suggest that because missionary practice cannot be reduced to the concerns of the secular state, differences between religious and secular colonial discourses are of more than passing interest. They need to be considered seriously if the Anglican missionary enterprise is to be understood in any kind of coherent fashion. For the beliefs and convictions of Christian missionaries were not identical to those with which we identify the rhetoric of secular colonialism; they were not so much concerned with the self-certainties of representation, as with the possibilities of redemption. They raised, in other words, an entirely 'other' question.

14 Jean and John Comaroff, Of revelation and revolution, p.11.
15 Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, p.13.
16 'The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness', pp.9-10. The effort to remain aloof from material politics was often in vain, as the efforts of missionaries on reserve issues (discussed in my conclusion) testifies. But in any case, the very effort must surely be taken seriously.

Chapter 1: Redemption

John Booth Good was not a man to suffer fools lightly, even if those fools happened to be his sponsors back in England. In 1870 a picture appeared in one of the SPG's many publications, the Gospel Missionary, which purported to show Good at work in British Columbia (figure 4). Now Good was a keen subscriber to this journal, and avidly pored over its pages for reassurance that the British public was receiving adequate information as to the progress of his mission. But this picture incurred his unmitigated wrath. This displeasure was occasioned by Good's concerns about the ethics and aesthetics of such images. I begin this chapter by exploring the reasons for Good's resentment.

'Baptism of a chief in his wigwam' presents an image that we seem to recognize all too well: the pious Christian missionary bringing the faith to the 'heathen Indian', the archetypal sinner of the nineteenth century. The wigwam is a necessary backdrop to persuade the urbane reader of an uncultured, rustic simplicity and backwardness — the Native as 'closer to nature' — and the Chief's attire suggests further evidence of immutable cultural difference and inferiority. The Chief's face is sunk in darkness while the Christian missionary's, by contrast, is bathed in light. The differences, it appears, are as clear as night and day.

It was precisely this representation of the 'heathen Indian' to which Good objected, both at the time and, some thirty years later, when he recalled the image in his reminiscences. Referring back to his initial reaction upon seeing this picture in print, Good noted that the tendency "in England ... to lump them together" did a great disservice to North America's First Nations.[1] It was the capacity of British colonial discourse to portray Native people as a singular, monolithic 'Other' that Good found unpleasant and frightening. And as he reminded the leaders of the SPG at the time, such generalizations

[1] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.29.

Figure 4. Baptism of a chief in his wigwam.

BAPTISM OF A CHIEF IN HIS WIGWAM (BRITISH COLUMBIA).

Source: The Gospel Missionary, 1870, opposite p.69

are "calculated to do incalculable harm both here and at home — for it gives people an utterly wrong impression respecting the ancient inhabitants of this country."[2]

The details of Good's dissension bear repeating in full. On one of his frequent trips away from Lytton, Good had performed services up at Ashcroft, and there had baptized one of the local Nlaka'pamux leaders, a man he referred to as 'John Mahascut'. The following rendition of what ensued is taken from Good's memoirs, written while he was living in California.

> When the account of the reception of this dear old man into the Household of Faith by Baptism went home to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London, and they were anxious to insert it in their little publication called the 'Gospel Missionary', they were at a loss for an illustration of my act of initiation[. It] happened that they had by them a picture of some American missionary baptizing one of the Pawnee Indians which they thought would just, as we say in this country, 'fill the bill.' What stood for me, unless I unduly flatter myself, was a perfect caricature, whilst my friend John Mahascut was represented with sharp cut features, scalpknot, tomahawk hard by and altogether a most villainous individual, whereas John was the mildest mannered pleasing specimen of his whole tribe. When that periodical was sent out to me, I carefully kept it out of sight of our Indian congregation, for had they seen it we at home would have been looked upon as woefully destitute of knowledge.[3]

Good's criticism of this crude representational substitution is as important as it is fascinating. His realization that the British tended to 'lump them together' suggests that the aboriginal inhabitants of North America were discursively homogenized in much the same way that 'Orientals' were conceived of as, in Edward Said's words, "almost everywhere nearly the same." Moreover, Said's observation that the production and reproduction of 'Islam' within the European imperial archive should be seen as a refinement of "Western ignorance" — rather than as a measure of a growing body of objective information about an

[2] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.

[3] Good, "The utmost bounds," pp.29-30; my emphasis. For another example of Good's opposition to what he saw as 'injurious' representations of Natives in British missionary journals, see his 'postscript' to his Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1872, USPG, E Series, Vol.27, 1871-2.

'Oriental reality' — speaks volumes when placed in the context of Good's concerns about the poverty of British knowledge.[4]

A number of issues are thus raised by Good's remonstrations, all turning around the colonial politics of stereotyping. In general, the strength and power of stereotypes stems from the fact that, to a significant degree, they operate on their own terrain, ever more distinct from their putative subjects as their grip on the popular imagination tightens. The stereotype freezes time and space as it is applied promiscuously to subject peoples living in different times and places. Seeking to establish the ethnological distinctiveness of the Nlaka'pamux, Good recoiled from this image for precisely these reasons. It was primarily the stereotype's "repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures" which he reproached.[5]

But crucially, there is one property of the stereotype which does not apply to this image. Usually stereotypes seek to establish and authenticate an unchanging identity. For this reason the stereotype was a favorite trope of those nineteenth century colonial discourses bent on branding non-Europeans with an eternal stamp of racial or cultural 'difference'. As Bhabha describes it, the colonial stereotype is a representation of racial permanence. It "impedes the circulation and articulation of the signifier of 'race' as

[4] Said, Orientalism, pp.38,62. Interestingly, given my introductory examination of the SPG's editing practices, neither of Good's discussions of this representational 'mishap' ever appeared in press. His June 1871 report was published by the SPG, but the section in which he criticized the Society's rashness was, perhaps predictably, omitted. (See The Mission Field, 16, 1871, pp.293-7.) Likewise, Good tried for years to get his reminiscences published, but all his effort was in vain. (For Good's valiant attempt to publish "The utmost bounds," see in particular his numerous letters to the sub-Warden of St.Augustine's College written between 1904 and 1908; in CCA, U88/A2/6/John Booth Good.) Thus, as far as British readers of the Gospel Missionary were aware, there were no significant differences between Native peoples over the whole of North America — they were all 'Indians'. Good's comments were never permitted to disrupt and destabilize the supremely confident and self-perpetuating archive of imperial ignorance. Like 'Orientalism' as depicted by Said, the representational consistency deplored by Good had "the self-containing, self-reinforcing character of a closed system." Said, Orientalism., p.70.

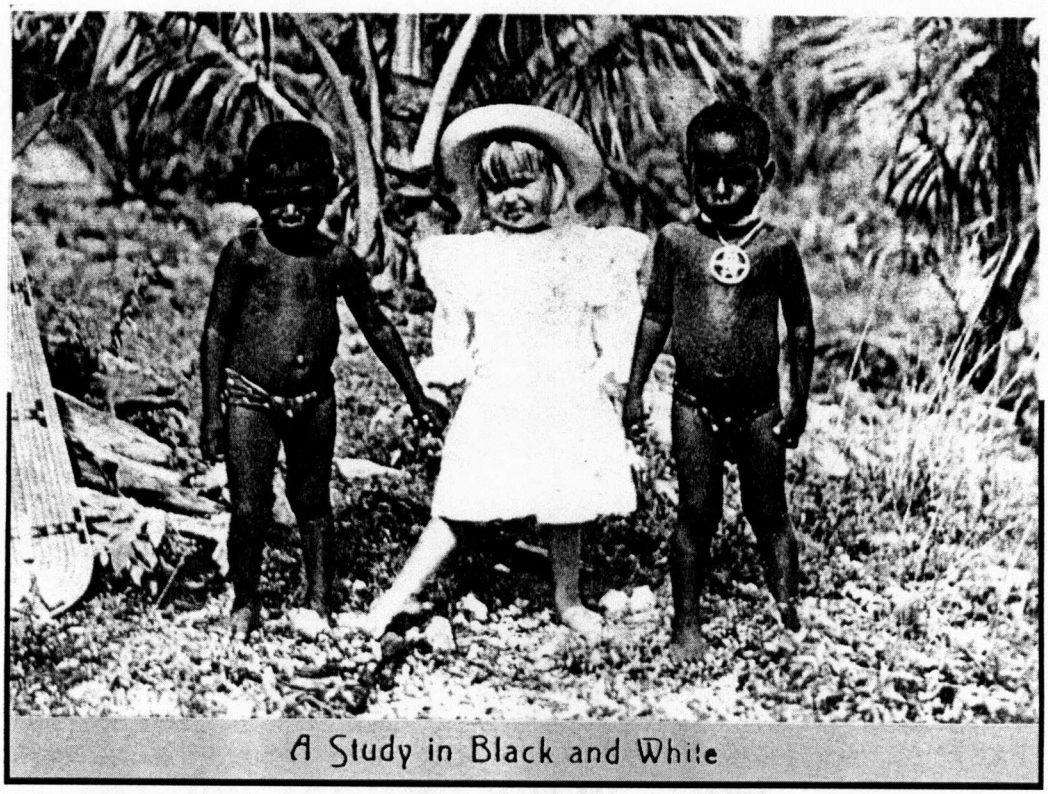
[5] Homi K.Bhabha, "The other question: Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism," in The location of culture, Routledge, London and New York, 1994, p.66.

anything other than its fixity as racism."[6] But 'Baptism of a chief in his wigwam' appeared in a missionary journal, not a secular publication, and as such it is a different kind of image. Unlike the stereotype, it denied stasis. It certainly entailed an indiscriminate repeatability, as Good well realized, but it rejected the fixity of standard stereotypes that is described by Bhabha. In the visual performance of the missionary, in his outstretched hands, we glimpse the possibility of redemption, the enduring promise of change. As such, the differences highlighted by the picture, those most obvious distinctions between light and darkness, are deemed temporary. Although we see Christianity on one side and 'heathenism' on the other, the sacrament of baptism pledges to break down those moral divides.

Thus although Good chastised this picture with a barely-disguised anger, it was its epistemological content, not its ontological intent, which troubled him. As an ethnological portrayal it was fraudulent; but as an indication of the regenerative potential espoused by the mission enterprise, it was a wonderfully vivid piece of propaganda. In contrast, it was fixed stereotypical representations which unsettled Anglican missionaries like Good, the kind of static 'Study in Black and White' (figure 5) which declared immutable racial difference. What he disavowed was the colonial concretization and naturalization of 'otherness'. Such stagnation, after all, was much at odds with a religious outlook predicated upon change and reformation. If the original inhabitants of Britain's colonies were destined to remain as they were, as a perpetually inferior 'other', then there was no role for evangelism and moral 'improvement' within the broad colonial enterprise. 'Baptism of a chief in his wigwam' suggested that Natives could be changed. The underlying ideology of imperial Christianity was founded upon the need for, and possibility of, transformation. As I suggested in the introduction to this thesis, Christian dogma assumed an in-built teleology with conversion as the motor of change. This understanding was quite different from the fixation implied by standard colonial

[6] ibid., p.75; original emphasis.

Figure 5. A study in black and white.



Source: Thomas, Colonialism's culture, cover illustration
(Crown Studios postcard, ca.1908)

representations. The stereotype's imposition of fixity could not be reconciled with the perennial need for change, progress and conversion. This discrepancy between representational stasis and Christian dynamism is one of the principal arguments of this thesis.

Fixed, secular representation was inimical to the demands of a dynamic theology. Conceptualizations of a racialized 'other' did not provide, for Good and his contemporaries, the reassurance of a superior self-identity that they did for other Europeans. By contrast, 'evidence' of Native 'otherness' could only ever be taken as a threat, as posing an intractable problematic for a philosophy which necessitates the possibility and probability of moral and spiritual development. This stereotypical fixation is evidenced most clearly in the discourse of 'Orientalism' described by Said, where knowledge about 'Orientals' was "tested and unchanging knowledge, since 'Orientals' for all practical purposes were a Platonic essence."[7] Such incorrigibility would be an insurmountable barrier in the pathway of the Christian missionary; an 'unchanging essence' would undermine Good's efforts with the Nlaka'pamux, his long-standing endeavor to illustrate "the transforming power of the Spirit of God turning them into other men."[8] In a shrewd assessment of this dissonance between secular and religious canons, between the exigencies of representation and conversion, Good proclaimed: "The world understands its own routine well enough. What it does not understand is the mode of changing that routine."[9]

'Change' was a watchword for Anglican missionaries in the colony of British Columbia. But of course the need for change implied that, although Natives were not perhaps the immutable 'others' construed through colonial stereotyping, they must be 'different' from those who saw it as their vocation to effect such transformation. There

7 Said, Orientalism, p.38.
8 Good, "The utmost bounds," p.74.
9 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876.

was, therefore, an ambivalence in missionary rhetoric, for while Christian imperialists insisted on the "essential humanity" of Natives, these Natives were nonetheless 'different'.[10]

Two important points stand out. First, it was primarily this 'humanity' that men like Good consistently stressed, over and above any clear sense of 'otherness'. On the whole, missionary thought evinced a discourse of 'sameness' rather than of 'difference'. Second, any such difference was emphatically not constituted within the biological dogmas of secular racism. For difference, such as it was, had to be temporary and susceptible to transcendence, unlike the 'Platonic essence' identified by Said. Instead it was located in individual morality — in sin, and not in race. According to an anonymous contributor to the Mission Field, Natives were to be thought of as

> those who, if they differ from us in religious belief, are of the same flesh and blood, with like affections, like fears and hopes, and like capacities of knowing and loving Him who has revealed Himself to us for our loving adoration.[11]

These complex questions are discussed more fully in the next section. In particular, I demonstrate how the variance of these secular and religious discourses can be identified through their differential manipulations of history and geography. Within missionary thought, 'time' and 'space' did not (as they did within the broad body of Orientalist literature) serve as distancing tactics, as means of rhetorically producing and reproducing seemingly unassailable 'otherness'. Instead, Protestant geographical and historical imaginations were put to very different ends.

[10] The quotation is from Thomas, Colonialism's culture, pp.128. Of recent attempts to illustrate some of the differences between secular and religious discourses of colonialism, Thomas's is, I think, one of the most insightful and interesting.
[11] The Mission Field, 12, 1867, pp.46-7.

Of time and space: from secular exclusivity to Christian inclusion

> The new men of Empire are the ones who believe in fresh starts, new chapters, clean pages.
>
> J.M.Coetzee, Waiting for the barbarians

Almost without exception, recent analyses of colonial discourse have fastened onto what has been aptly termed the "codification of difference" in nineteenth century ethnography and racial science.[12] For the most part, this work has set out to show how, over many years, Europeans endeavored to distance themselves from non-Europeans through the appeal to discriminatory theory. This was part of a concerted cultural attempt to formulate and sustain unimpeachable difference between the 'self' and a homogenized 'other'. Such discursive distinctions, the argument continues, served to justify and inform the European imperial enterprise. Here is Bhabha's succinct appraisal:

> The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.

The common factor, suggests Bhabha, is this "myth of historical origination" — in other words the belief in racial purity and superiority.[13] It was attendant upon this powerful myth that the stereotypical terminology of European racism could gain such formidable currency: hence the labels of 'barbarian', 'savage', and so on.

But if one accepts the proposed hegemony of such constructions, it becomes difficult to imagine the following dissenting statement being made by a nineteenth century European. But it was — by John Booth Good in 1862: "I really cannot sometimes attach the idea of 'barbarian' and 'savage' to the orderly, devout, and decently-attired assembly of

12 Said, Culture and imperialism, p.130.
13 Bhabha, "The other question," pp.70 (my emphasis),74.

Indians before me."[14] Here, I think, we see Good trying to wrestle free of the straitjacket of secular 'wisdom'. Missionaries were not interested in this credo of unchanging, racial compartmentalization. They were more concerned with explicating the common origins of humanity, with persuading people of an essential, original 'sameness' — since only such an inclusive philosophy could justify the missionary's aspirations for a global community under Christ.

It was no surprise, then, that the name Good gave to both his churches — first in Nanaimo, and later at Lytton — was St.Paul's. For it was the early teachings of St.Paul, "the greatest and the prototype of all missionaries," that underpinned both the catholic tradition in Christian dogma and the related expansionary prerogative.[15] The foundation-stone for the Lytton version of St.Paul's was to be laid in the fall of 1871, and Bishop Hills organized his annual trip through the interior so that his arrival in town coincided with the date Good had chosen for the service: October 18th. Good had invited Hills to perform the ceremony, and both men would recall the event with much satisfaction, choosing in their own ways to dwell upon the symbolic implications of the consecration. In Good's eyes, it was telling that the Bishop had put aside a mallet and instead had used "an ancient stone instrument of rare interest, value, and construction" for the purpose of planting the foundation-block. This, Good claimed, was no ordinary stone:

[14] The Mission Field, 8, 1863, p.8. Good would also deny notions of Native ignorance, particularly when talking about the Nlaka'pamux: thus his comments about the "superior ... natural mental capacities of this people." Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.

[15] The quote is from Neill, "Christian missions," p.574. Paul's catholic, all-inclusive approach to religious instruction stemmed from his conviction that the possibility of God's 'salvation' was by no means limited to Jews: the Lord's mercy was at the hands "not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles" (Romans 9:24). This was no simple awakening for Paul, for he had been raised a strict Jew. But it was this vital coming-to-consciousness which informed Paul's wanderings far and wide within the early Christian world. What is important to note is that this novel philosophy denied the prejudices of social and geographical isolationism: "Particularism, national limitation, in religion is abolished, through the simple fact that Jesus Christ has died for all." Neill, A history of Christian missions, pp.22-3. Note also that not only were Good's churches named after Paul, but that his own ordination took place in Newark Church in 1858 on January 25th: the Conversion of St.Paul.

It was proof amongst many of the common origin of the human family, similar instruments having been found not only amongst the Chympseans in the north and the Delawarres in the east, tribes of the great Indian family separated by thousands of miles and by different languages, but also among the New Zealanders.[16]

Hills, too, recognized the symbolism of this implement, quoting the same archaeological finds as "proofs of a wide spread unity ... confirming so far the Scriptures which assert the derivation of man from one stock and that God made of one blood all nations upon earth." In addition, however, he invoked the example and teaching of St.Paul himself, the man in honor of whom the church was to be erected. Hills referred to St.Paul as "the great apostle who taught the catholicity of the Church breaking down the partition wall of prejudice."[17] This testament to universality and singular origins was radically opposed to the distinctions claimed by secular racial theory.

But these Christian beliefs in common origins and an essential humanity were not necessarily unconventional until well into the nineteenth century. Robert Young has traced out the various anthropological controversies in Europe over the speciation of humans. For many years, this debate was "more or less settled in favour of a consensus that they were one. The Enlightenment humanitarian ideals of universality, sameness and equality reigned supreme." But, Young points out, such philosophies were more or less displaced in the mid-nineteenth century when post-Enlightenment colonial diplomacy took precedence in Britain and France. At this stage, an explicitly racial doctrine of polygenesis (multiple species) was preferred: "From the 1840s, the new racial theories based in comparative anatomy and craniometry in the United States, Britain and France endorsed the polygenetic alternative."[18]

However, this displacement did not occur in the humanist discourse of Christianity. Throughout his life, Good insisted on the inclusive theory of monogenesis, and even

16 Columbia Mission Report, 13, 1871, p.50.
17 Hills, Diary, October 18th 1871.
18 Young, Colonial desire, pp.8,11.

corresponded with the anthropology department at Berkeley in an attempt to intervene in such debates, and put his ideas in wider circulation.[19] But of course Good was only one Christian agent, and others did not necessarily share his views. In addition, there were always distinct variations in theological and social outlook existing between the numerous missionary societies. I have already noted that whereas the SPG was more concerned with the spiritual needs of white colonists, the CMS tended to focus its energies upon the perceived requirements of evangelization.[20] Good, an SPG man who in large part ignored whites in favor of Native work, in many ways transgressed and dissolved such divides. But other SPG missionaries, more willing than Good to fulfill their preordained roles, held convictions which dovetailed far more closely with the racism of secular European colonialism. In my introduction I referred to the unhappy time one of Good's predecessors, Alexander Pringle, also an SPG representative, spent at Yale. A close reading of Pringle's correspondence with his sponsors suggests that this dissatisfaction stemmed largely from his own racial preferences. He condemned Yale because there were not enough white people in the town, and because he was not well disposed towards Native work. He appealed for the removal of Natives to reserve-land, and complained to

[19] For an example of Good's frequent ruminations on the possible provenance of the Nlaka'pamux, see his "The utmost bounds," p.79. Good claimed that the Nlaka'pamux were of central Asian, Semitic origin, basing his claim on their names, their language, and their mode of burial. The exact theory is not in itself important, however; what is interesting is that he attempted to fit them into a 'known' world, rather than representing them as some external, separate 'other'. Good's mild immersion into anthropology makes me think of James Clifford's useful description of Maurice Leenhardt, for it seems very much applicable to Good: "as anthropologist and missionary he took part in the imperial venture while simultaneously struggling against its structures of knowledge and power." James Clifford, Person and myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian world, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1982, p.126.

[20] For useful information on these different interests, see the Church Missionary Gleaner, 1, 1874, p.13 — regarding the 1799 foundation of the Church Missionary Society, it is noted that since the existing groups catered primarily for British colonists, "there was room, and a call too, for the formation of a society whose distinct and proper work it should be to carry the Gospel to the heathen wherever they should be found."

his sponsors that the Society rubric had, in his view, been contravened: "Your missionaries felt that they came out to preach & elevate, first of all and foremost a white race."[21]

Yet among Anglican missionaries Pringle's views represent the exception rather than the rule. For the most part, and this applies in particular to missionaries of the SPG — where the catholic stress on the communal, as opposed to the individual, aspects of Christian faith was always greater than within the more evangelically-minded CMS[22] — there was a strong emphasis upon commonality and equality. The general claim was of common origins, and where racial 'difference' was affirmed, it was often only a rhetorical tactic whereby the Christian capacity to transcend and minimize difference could be claimed for the Anglican Church. Hence the familiar argument that, "in the sight of God, the white man and the coloured man are of equal value."[23] This could of course be taken as mere rhetoric, but Bishop Hills was keen to ensure that the Christian doctrine of catholicity was translated into a practical equality that (as much as possible) transcended prejudice.

The Bishop's views surfaced in a dispute which raged in Victoria in the early 1860s, soon after he arrived in the colony. Hills had taken a necessarily circuitous route on his way to Victoria, crossing the isthmus of Panama and traveling up the west coast of America. In his travels north he was following a well-trod route, for thousands of miners had previously crossed the 49th parallel on their way to Victoria and, eventually, the interior of British Columbia. But mining was not the only rationale for this American migration northwards, many African Americans having looked to British Columbia as a

21 Pringle to the Secretary, SPG, October 1st and July 13th 1860, USPG, E Series, Vol.8, 1860.

22 This point is important because, at least in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the great majority of Anglican missionaries in British Columbia were sponsored by the SPG. The most notable exception was William Duncan.

23 A sermon preached in St.Stephen's, Westminster, on the Sunday before Advent, 1860. By John Garrett, M.A. Vicar of St. Paul, near Penzance, and Commissary to the Bishop of Columbia, Rivingtons, London, 1861, p.10. John Garrett was the brother of Alexander Garrett, Principal of the Indian School in Victoria. He acted as the metropolitan spokesperson for Bishop Hills. What this 'equality' implied for women is perhaps less certain, and I take up this issue at some length in chapters 2 and 5, as well as towards the end of this chapter.

place to escape the prejudice they suffered south of the border. However, the notion of a safe haven initially seemed in vain, for hopes that they would be treated with respect and fairness were soon dashed by religious and secular authorities alike. Both the Roman Catholic and Congregationalist churches enforced segregation in their Victoria churches, a policy so divisive that it forced one Congregationalist minister, a Mr.Clarke, to resign his post.

It was in this fraught context that Hills decided that St.John's, his new church to be opened in September 1860, should not be segregated. This was bound to be a contentious decision, especially given the large numbers of white Americans then living in Victoria. Even some of those who were against segregation, Hills discovered, nonetheless adhered to exactly the racialized doctrine he wished to renounce. Thus, he wrote in his diary, Mrs. Trutch, wife of Joseph, "evidently believes the race is a different species of man & spoke of them rather patronizingly with pity rather than honour & respect as of fellow immortals & equal in the sight of God."[24] Church of England practice was to follow its catholic tradition: the community of Christ was not to be split up according to any sanctions, geographical or otherwise. As I argue shortly, this decision to allow indiscriminate seating arrangements, somewhat parochial as it may seem, reflected a much more general relationship between 'race' and space in missionary thought.

Good's social philosophy was always predicated upon a similar sense of inclusion and sameness. He prided himself on providing exactly the same teaching to Natives and whites,[25] and likewise would not discriminate within and between different Native groups. Even when his Lytton project displayed incipient signs of 'success', as some Nlaka'pamux individuals began to follow his moral and spiritual teachings, he was adamant that these

[24] Hills, Diary, March 15th 1860. Joseph Trutch, a figure who will appear more prominently later in this thesis, had arrived in British Columbia at about the same time as Bishop Hills, and he worked as a surveyor and engineer until appointed chief commissioner of lands and works in 1864. See Robin Fisher, Contact and conflict: Indian-European relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, British Columbia, 1992, 2nd edition, p.160.
[25] See Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.73.

few should not be distinguished from the 'unconverted' majority. I explore this policy at greater length in chapter 4; it suffices to note here that they were all kept together, so that the 'heathen' component could learn directly from those who had, as Good would have it, 'seen the light'. In order to lay bare this methodology, he contrasted it with what he called the 'Donatist' theory of separation. He was referring here to a schism which had divided the North African church from the beginning of the fourth century until the end of the sixth. Although the immediate causes of this split lay in personal disputes, the underlying incompatibility was located in the Donatists' rejection of universality as preached in particular by St.Augustine. As Good put it in April 1868:

> I am more and more convinced that it is the true apostolic and primitive system for those who come out, and who are called out of darkness and begin to run well, to let their light shine amidst the wastes of their own dwellings and surroundings, until the little one shall have become a thousand, and the whole lump shall be leavened. The Donatist idea of separating the wheat and the chaff I never could understand. It seems wrong, unnatural, and productive of the worst consequences, to draw an arbitrary line of demarcation between what we may term the saved and the unsaved.[26]

The vital connections between theory and practice, between abstract rhetoric and utopian vision, lay in the fact that such a philosophy of 'sameness', of catholicity, could legitimately underwrite the imperial quest for a global Christian community. In 1860, at a meeting convened in London to discuss the progress of the Columbia Mission, the city's Bishop referred optimistically in his speech to "one Church on both sides of the globe."[27] And it was the same universalizing philosophy which informed John Booth Good's hopes that Protestant Christianity should "reach and embrace tribes and peoples most remote, till all the ends of this part of the earth shall have seen the salvation of our God."[28] Whereas secular imperialism in general rested upon, and reproduced, philosophies of immutable

[26] ibid., 10, 1868, pp.38-9. For more information on Donatism, see W.H.C.Frend, Martyrdom and persecution in the early church: a study of conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus, Anchor Books, Garden City, NY, 1967.
[27] Columbia Mission Report, 1860, p.17.
[28] The Mission Field, 15, 1870, p.294.

difference, what we have here is a prerogative of Christian expansion tied in with a governing discourse of sameness. In theory, therefore, the religious colonial encounter was to be based on community and not on domination. And the linking imagination of that community would be belief in Christ.

Sameness, then, but sameness with certain reservations. For just as irrevocable 'otherness' would impede Christian dynamism in the form of imperial engagement, so too would an absolute equivalence. 'Sameness' would imply spatial stagnation, just as the stereotypical production of racialized, original difference similarly blocked transformative potential. The defining feature of 'otherness', therefore, was not for Christians its particular constituence, but rather its social ontology, or more specifically its temporality. Differences had to be transient and malleable, susceptible to conversion, and thus not intrinsically subversive of the overriding doctrine of catholicity. Everyone shared a common humanity, but whereas some had been redeemed through belief in Christ, others had not. It was the role of the righteous to 'save' those still living without God, those living in an original — but temporary — state of immorality. This was a discourse of difference within sameness, where the ephemerality of the former contrasted with the historical foundationalism of the latter.

For most missionaries, this was not contradictory. This ideological congruence, at any rate, was the message put forth in 1843 by Anthony Grant, a guru of missionization, in an influential lecture series. In the following passage, taken from his first presentation, Grant brought together the notions of catholicity and 'sin' to provide just such a justification of Christian imperial practice. The Gospel, he asserted,

> addresses itself not to this or that people, or condition of thought, or social state, or political organization, but to fallen human nature; and therefore it is designed of God to be universal; and the Church as the depository of this remedial scheme, the channel of its spiritual blessings, is evermore to expand.[29]

[29] The past and present extension of the Gospel by missions to the heathen: considered in eight lectures, delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year MDCCCXLIII. At the lecture founded by John Bampton, M.A. canon of Salisbury. By Anthony Grant, D.C.L.

This is an extraordinarily powerful piece of imperial rhetoric, and Good was well acquainted with it: Grant's Bampton lectures were his principal text during his last year at St.Augustine's.[30]

Original equivalence and temporary difference: these, therefore, were the mutually-reinforcing, enabling narratives of the Anglican imperial enterprise. Through the Church of England mission to British Columbia in the 1860s and thereafter, it was hoped that the 'sins' of the colony's Natives could be rescinded, thus restoring the essential 'sameness' that had justified the whole project in the first place. Given these underlying philosophies, it should now be clear why I prefer the term redemption to others such as, perhaps, 'salvation'. Redemption, like salvation, implies the saving of others from their putative sins, but it also denotes an ethic of recuperation, of the possibility of recovering some original, idealized existence. The concept of 'redemption' links the past, present and future in a manner that is especially resonant for this totalizing discourse of Christian imperialism.

Redemption, however, is not a singular idea. While well suited to this notion of 'saving from sin', it also bears a second connotation — one which in the context of Christian imperialism is less widely recognized. This second signification is not so much concerned with the questionable morality of others, but with the equally debatable virtues of the self. This second meaning of redemption refers to what is principally a cultural problematic, not a spiritual one. Spiritually, one cannot redeem oneself, for the Anglican theology of grace teaches that redemption is in the Lord's hands. But in a more prosaic sense, personal redemption is possible. It implies correcting one's own faults, making amends for some recognized indiscretion. In the mid-nineteenth century, Anglicans sought to redeem the faults of a selfish past, the lamentable heritage of British colonialism. This

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Vicar of Romford, Essex, and late Fellow of New College, Rivingtons, London, 1845, p.3; my emphasis.

[30] Good to the sub-Warden, St.Augustine's College, April 17th 1905, CCA, U88/A2/6/John Booth Good.

cultural redemption was thus self-inflected; and the discourse which articulated it, despite its putative reference to the fate of others, was solipsistic.

An emblematic example of this introspective, redemptive discourse comes from an occasional paper of the Columbia Mission in 1860. Its principal thrust is to suggest that the Native people of the new colony represent an unparalleled opportunity for the British to atone for their violent history of secular colonization.

> Reflecting then with grief upon the terrible history of the first family of America, it cannot fail to add a lively interest to the opening colony of Columbia to find within it a remnant of 75,000 natives. There, behind the Rocky Mountains, in their last refuge upon earth, they stand with painful wonder, while the smoke of the white man is rising up all around them; and Britain has before her another opportunity, on the same great Continent, ... to give a different treatment to the Indian whose fair lands she is called upon to occupy and govern.[31]

Here British Columbia is set up as a utopian, redemptive present in contrast to a reprehensible past, a past situated principally in the western states of America. It presents, thus, a philosophy of history wherein difference is envisioned and enacted through geographical variation. By providing this 'fairer' treatment of Natives, Christian Britons felt they could 'exorcise' the (secular) sins of their national history. Redemption was not concerned solely with the faults of others, therefore, but was a means of reconsidering and revamping the nation's historical memory.[32] Although this discourse depended upon a familiar colonial narrative of white 'power' and Native passivity and includes the customary invocation of Britain's providential dispensation, what I want to stress here is the emphasis upon the self and upon the imperial enterprise as a means of revising an inherited (and unsatisfactory) imagination of the 'nation'.[33]

31 Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, pp.29-30.

32 This discourse was of course self-interested, as well as simply self-inflected, for through such a critique of secular colonialism, missionaries could readily justify their own involvement in the colonizing enterprise. As the Reverend John Sheepshanks once put it: "Ought we not therefore to endeavour, that, since they have received evil from us, we may also impart to them some good?" Columbia Mission Report, 6, 1864, p.50.

33 This intriguing cross-cutting of imperialism and nationalism is a topic I turn to in more detail in the next section. Of course this denigration of the national memory stands in stark

This prerogative of redeeming the national 'self' crops up repeatedly in the abundant missionary rhetoric of the mid-nineteenth century. Here, for example, is what the Bishop of Oxford had to say of the matter at the same Mansion House meeting at which the Bishop of London warned his compatriots of the dangers of their 'winged words':

> How cruel have been the wrongs they have suffered at our hands! How have we seen our own vices reflected in them!... Well, I say, England owes them a deep debt for past wrongs, which she is bound to repay.[34]

Similarly, upon his return to England in 1863 for the purpose of fundraising, Bishop Hills implored his audiences to "not let there be the blot upon the history of their Christianity, that this great race passed away beneath our civilization, unclaimed by the Church of God."[35] The British had to redeem themselves for what they had done in the past, and the chosen method for such redemption was to be a prioritization of Christian agency within the broader imperial venture. This generalized appeal for historical revisionism was encapsulated in the following refrain, taken from a hymn sung at an unidentified annual meeting of the SPG:

> The heathen perish; day by day
> Thousands on thousands pass away.
> O Christians! to their refuge fly,
> Preach Jesus to them 'ere they die.[36]

This discourse of redemption, in so many ways radically unlike the secular discourses with which we are apt to identify the mindset of colonialism, was therefore just as universalizing as the catholic philosophy from which it gained its provenance and

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contrast to Ruskin's infinitely more famous celebration of "a thousand years of noble history." Said, Culture and imperialism, p.123.

34 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, pp.33-4.

35 Columbia Mission Report, 5, 1863, p.18.

36 A copy of this hymn sheet can be found in the documents of Bishop Hills, VST, PSA 42/6.

authority. The belief in an 'essential humanity', a conviction which denied biological distinctions and immutable racial difference, necessitated a redemptive, recuperative strategy in order to rescue sinners. In a sense the imperial ethic of redemption had to be a double-edged sword, for only such an inclusive strategy could hope to provide for the sense of equality and community offered up by catholic rhetoric. Redemption would imply salvation for Native 'sinners', and a renewed self-esteem for the British nation— and the tool of this incorporative methodology would be imperial Anglicanism. The editors of the Church Missionary Intelligencer were among those who were well aware of this duality:

> To communicate the Gospel, as freely as we have ourselves received it, to the unevangelized tribes of mankind, is a Christian duty of primary importance. It is one we cannot neglect without serious injury to ourselves and others, nor endeavour with fidelity to fulfil without receiving personal benefit.[37]

The Bishop of Oxford, a man later described by an avid admirer as "one set on fire himself with missionary ardour," was also conscious of this sense of inclusion and feedback.[38] Continuing his discussion of Britain's missionizing 'duty' to British Columbia's Natives, he went on to refer to Hills as "the honoured instrument in the hand of God of welding them into the indissoluble union of the Church of the Redeemed."[39] As this suggests, the discourse of redemption was as totalizing in its geographical scope as in its historical pretensions. Its overall vision was nevertheless singular: to reproduce the sense of universality which distinguishes the rhetoric of Christian imperialism from its more secular variants in nineteenth century Britain. The end-point was not meant to be British dominion

37 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1(1), 1849, p.3. For similar comments, see also ibid., 7, 1856, p.5, and the discussion of the "wonderful re-action" implicit in missionization.
38 Henry Bailey, "Thoughts on the Day of Intercession for Missions, 1878," CCA, U88/A3/3/15.
39 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.34; my emphasis.

over the whole world — or at least not primarily that — but a global community under Christ.

What I have endeavored to argue, therefore, is that the dynamism of Anglican imperial discourse brings us a long way from the static essentializations of secular colonialism. The underlying belief in 'sameness', as opposed to 'difference', enabled the constitution of a redemptive discourse that was both practical and productive. But before I move on, in the last section of this chapter, to consider some of the ramifications of these Christian convictions, I want to suggest just how sharply these philosophies contrast with the secular discursive forms that have so interested both Edward Said, and those who, more recently, have worked with (and reworked) his original insights. To do so, I refer principally to the first of three 'logics' of imperial ideology to which one can find, Said contends, "hardly any exceptions."[40] For it seems to me that this historical homogenization of imperial discourse depends upon the neglect of its Christian configurations.

Said's claim is that European imperial discourse is habitually marked by, and can be recognized in the context of, "a denial of 'coevalness' in time, and a radical discontinuity in terms of human space."[41] By this, I take it that part of the way in which Europeans have attempted to distinguish themselves from 'others', and have thus gone on to legitimize imperial rule, is through the creation of a direct correlation between difference and distance. Now this reciprocity turns out to be singularly important because of the principal ways in which we tend to conceive of distance: primarily in terms of space, but also within the framework of time. The upshot of this, therefore, is that 'difference' comes to be produced and sustained through the distancing tactics of geographical and historical discourse. In other words, Europeans have tried to separate undesirable 'others' from themselves by positing that those people belong to non-European times and spaces. Spatial and temporal

40 Said, Culture and imperialism, p.129.
41 ibid., p.130.

discourses are thus integral to colonial rhetoric for they enable Europeans to 'place' others elsewhere, far removed from the history and geography of a bounded, contemporary unit known simply as the 'West'.

Said first investigated these issues in Orientalism, where he spoke for the first time about the 'imaginative geography' which has always underscored colonial representations of the 'East'. As he notes early in his account, "Orientalism is premised upon exteriority," upon the basic assumption of a spatial disjuncture between the Orientalist and his (the gendered pronoun is apposite) subject. This separation then enables the construal of an "unfamiliar space" which comes to be understood as a rhetorical affirmation of difference and naturalized inferiority. In the case of 'Orientalism' this external space is, of course, the 'Orient', and it is the perceived distance of this space from the 'West' which underscores the gross incongruence and difference of the people living there. As Said asserts, 'imaginative geography' helps the mind "to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away."[42]

In perusing the rhetoric surrounding the nineteenth century Anglican mission to British Columbia, however, it was precisely the absence of such an 'imaginative geography' that caught my eye. There seemed to be none of the exoticized descriptions of 'unfamiliar' spaces that pervade other literatures produced under conditions of imperial engagement. At first this surprised me, perhaps due to the general endorsement that Said's geographical claims appear to have received.[43] I found it difficult to reconcile my inherited understanding of colonial discourse constitution with, for example, Bishop Hills' prosaic first impression of British Columbia, namely that the "climate is thoroughly English"[44] — hardly a foolproof tactic for the assertion of distance and difference. But it becomes easier

42 Said, Orientalism, pp.20,54,55.
43 A productive use of Said's notion of 'imaginative geographies', and one which draws on precisely this correlation between distance and difference, is found in Derek Gregory, "Between the book and the lamp: imaginative geographies of Egypt, 1849-50," Transactions: Institute of British geographers, N.S. 20, 1995, pp.29-57.
44 Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, p.6. See also extracts from speeches Hills made while in England in 1863, printed in Columbia Mission Report, 5, 1863, pp.11-13.

to understand such apparent discrepancies in the light of my preceding discussion. For what I have attempted to argue is that missionaries were not particularly interested in the fixating possibilities of representation, and thus the attendant trope of 'exteriority' is largely absent from their writings. On the contrary, missionary thought was inclusive and incorporative, precisely because it was predicated upon 'sameness' and not 'difference'. Since the intention was to deny — rather than assert — separation, it should come as no surprise that missionaries were not so much concerned with erecting spatial barriers (real or perceived) as with breaking them down. Just as difference is correlated with distance, the catholic doctrine of sameness is predicated upon proximity and propinquity.

Hence the 'geographical imagination' of a man like Bishop Hills makes for interesting reflection. I have already referred to his long journey to his diocese; while traveling he found plenty of time to contemplate the implications of recent developments in transportation technology. For a man who believed in forging a global community under Christ, the phenomenon of what Marx labeled "the annihilation of space by time"[45] held out the utopia of boundless opportunity. Thus he was unequivocally enthusiastic about the recent construction of an American railway across the isthmus of Panama:

> English invention and English capital have enabled our hardy and enterprising offspring to construct a Railway whereby the deadly swamp and mountain heights of Panama may be skimmed over by the gliding train in 4 hours.

Upon his arrival at Panama, the southern terminus of this connection, his thoughts turned more explicitly to the imperatives of missionization. In particular, he saw the railway as a great boost to the global project of denying and overcoming the material facticity of space:

> Altogether I felt deeply interested in this enterprise so successfully carried out and forming another connecting link of nations — and tending by bringing nearer together to promote the civilisation of mankind.[46]

[45] Karl Marx, Grundrisse, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973, p.524.
[46] Hills, Diary, December 12th 1859.

Hills' enthusiasm is predictable, I think, for missionaries did not think of 'space' as a useful tool of division, a malleable parameter for demarcating conceptual distinctions between the 'self' and the 'other'. Instead, geographical 'space' was regarded as an undesirable material impediment in the way of a universalizing evangelism. The Bishop's geographical imagination was therefore thoroughly practical, remarkably distinct from the 'imaginative geography' which underwrites much secular colonial discourse.

For, at the purely conceptual level, 'space' was seen as supremely irrelevant to the prerogatives of Christian imperialism. To understand what I mean by this, one needs to remember that 'difference', transient as it had to be, was equated with 'sin'. Thus distance, the corollary of difference, was construed in terms that were moralized and not spatialized. 'Space' was therefore reduced to the base realm of materiality, as the imagination of distance came to depend solely upon the identification of moral discrepancy. Indeed, the genealogy of such convictions can be traced to St.Augustine, who wrote in his Confessions of exactly this understanding of 'difference'. Distance from God, he insisted, was the unavoidable outcome of (sexual) immorality: "To be far from your face is to be in the darkness of passion." Since separation from God was predicated upon sin, so too was difference and distance between humans. At any rate, 'space' was dismissed out of hand: "One does not go far away from you or return to you by walking or by any movement in space."[47]

This Christian dismissal of 'space' is evidently at odds with the outright dependence of secular colonial discourse upon the exclusivity of 'imaginative geographies'. It seems to me that this dissonance points to a much more fundamental antagonism between the underlying philosophies of 'sameness' and 'difference'. The catholic requirements of inclusion and unity could not afford to depend upon any signifier of 'difference' that would

47 Augustine, Confessions, trans. Henry Chadwick, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991, I. xviii (28).

be anything but temporary. Space was considered too permanent, too material, too intractable.

But, as Said reminds us, it is not only 'space' which serves as a signifier of difference within secular colonial discourse. People have also endeavored to construe distinctions between themselves and others by the production of historical compartments — by arguing that 'others' belong to a separate time as well as a separate place. Phrases such as the 'dark, distant past' provide emblematic examples of this conflation of distance and (racialized) difference.

In a study of western anthropology that can, in many ways, be seen as a companion volume to Said's work on 'Orientalism', Johannes Fabian shows how temporal discourses have often been deployed in much the same way as the 'imaginative geographies' described by Said. Just as Orientalist 'imaginative geography' purported to produce immutable 'otherness', "anthropology's efforts to construct relations with its Other by means of temporal devices implied affirmation of difference as distance."[48] The discursive strategy is the same in both cases, namely the positing of distance — historical or geographical — in order to (re)affirm difference. Within nineteenth century colonial rhetoric, temporal discourse is emphatically exclusive: Europeans belong to one 'time', 'savages' to another.

I suggest here, however, that missionary belief in the possibility of 'sameness' demanded an understanding of history and temporality that cannot be reconciled with this exclusionary discourse. After all, a communal unity under Christ was hardly a realistic proposition if people the world over belonged within different historical epochs. Christian imperialism therefore necessitated a thorough reworking of history. Unlike the secular discourse described by Fabian, the rhetoric of universal evangelism did not require the placement of 'others' in their own place and time. By contrast, what was needed was to take people out of their 'place', to decontextualize their contemporary lives — for only then

48 Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: how anthropology makes its object, Columbia University Press, New York, 1983, p.16; original emphasis.

could they be placed alongside 'enlightened' European Christians within an inclusive, incorporative and colonizing teleology.[49] In my introductory discussion of Good's providential thesis, I discussed an especially powerful example of such progressive, appropriative, historical narrative. Here, I want to show how this brand of temporal discourse was underscored by, and in turn reproduced, the catholic philosophy of Anglican imperialism.

During the 1870s, Bishop Hills made frequent visits to Lytton in order to assess the progress of Good's 'converts'. On these trips, Hills would often note in his diary what he felt to be the most interesting details about particular Nlaka'pamux individuals. In May 1873, his attention turned to a man he called 'Jacob Quolsopah'. This man, he remarked, "had kept a record of time ever since he turned to God. It is a curious document. The week days are marked by strokes & the Sundays by a shaded globe."[50] The Bishop's intense interest in this document stemmed, I think, from the fact that it served as a 'record of time'. For, as far as missionaries were concerned, 'time' essentially began for British Columbia's Natives upon their own arrival in the colony. In the Bishop's eyes, Quolsopah's personal record testified to this unique and shared historical genesis. Such historical foundationalism was necessary if missionaries and Natives were alike to be accorded the same time, the same space. Within both cultural registers, therefore, local 'time' — and local time only — had been reset upon the initial aboriginal engagement with the Word of God. This establishment of historical origins would enable British Columbia and its inhabitants to be placed neatly within the overarching Christian teleology that led from Creation to ultimate global conversion. Quolsopah's 'record of time' assured Hills that, indeed, their respective histories of the colony were one and the same. 'Time' therefore serves as a singular parameter for the identification of Christian community. The

[49] Fabian does note, albeit briefly, some of the differences between what he calls the 'secular' and 'sacred' uses of time. It is his recognition of the "inclusive and incorporative" nature of sacred time that I pick up on here. See ibid., p.26.
[50] Hills, Diary, May 31st 1873.

philosophy of 'sameness' required that all people belonged to the same historical path and pattern, and this could only be possible if Natives' pre-contact history was erased, and they started afresh upon the one-way road to redemption. This 'record if time' was, for Hills, a refreshing reminder of the fundamental temporal simultaneity of the Christian imperial project.

This stress upon temporal simultaneity, as opposed to temporal distancing, was a feature of much of the rhetoric surrounding the Columbia Mission. As I have suggested, Native history before 1857 had to be denied for it was not until that year that Anglican missionaries arrived. The Church sought redemption, then, by constructing a future without a past, by equating 'history' with a Christian presence on foreign soil. Since pre-contact history might hint at a 'difference' which could nullify their project, missionaries had to refute that legacy — hence the rhetoric of foundationalism in the missionary record. The Bishop of Oxford, for example, insisted that "this planting of the truth side by side with the people in this new settlement should begin from the beginning."[51] The missionary incursion was, then, the very beginning, an assertion made unequivocally in the Columbia Mission Report ten years later: "The history of Vancouver Island and British Columbia may be said to commence from the summer of 1858."[52] This notion of establishing a new, shared history was firmly ensconced in the official statement about the constitution of the Columbia Diocese:

> We by these Our Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Do erect found make ordain and constitute Our said Colony or Territory of British Columbia as at present established and Our said Colony or Territory of Vancouver's Island as at present established into a Bishop's See or Diocese.[53]

51 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.31.
52 Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, p.99.
53 "Registrar's Register — Royal Letters Patent," Archives of the Diocese of Columbia (ADC — Victoria, British Columbia, Canada), Text 168, January 12th 1859; my emphasis.

In the context of British Columbian colonial history, then, missionaries were Coetzee's 'new men of Empire'. They, perhaps more than any others, believed firmly in fresh starts, new chapters, clean pages.

'Time' and 'space' were not part of a wider discursive strategy of distancing. The reason for this, I have argued, is that missionary discourse was not so much about 'difference' as 'sameness'. Difference, such as it was, had to be a temporary condition, and it was registered in terms of individual and societal morality, not the imagination of historical and geographical distance. In chapters 2 and 5 I chart the endeavors of missionaries to redeem these perceived sins of 'others'; here I conclude this section by referring to a statement made by Bishop Hills at his farewell service, the day before he left for British Columbia. For this one passage encapsulates almost everything I have tried to illustrate in the preceding pages. Indeed, it could perhaps stand in as an effective motif for Anglican imperial discourse as a whole. At any rate, for my purposes it serves as an exceptional counterpoint to the secular colonial discourses examined by Said and others:

> Time and space do not separate the people of God. It is only sin that really separates us from one another, and from God. We may be one in Christ by a living faith.[54]

Missionary positions

The train journey across the 'neck' of Central America took Bishop Hills from Colón to Panama city in some four hours. I have already discussed the Bishop's reflections upon this journey, jotted in his diary on his arrival at the southern terminus. I suggested that these observations, celebrating as they did the 'annihilation of space by time' occasioned by global capitalist development, divulged considerable insight into the Bishop's 'geographical imagination'. Now, however, I want to backtrack a little, and investigate what became of

54 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.10.

the Bishop at Colón before this train journey began. In doing so, I hope to begin to elucidate another facet of the diffuse geographies of Christian imperialism.

When Hills arrived in Colón, his first duty was to attend a funeral. He had traveled out to Central America on a ship called the Solent, but somewhere between England and Panama the surgeon on-board, a Dr.Edman, had died. The funeral complete, Hills was asked to perform a service in the man's memory, a request to which he acceded with all the requisite Christian charity. The following passage, taken from his diary, expresses some of Hills' thoughts during the ceremony:

> In the service I remembered that I was not on British soil and that it was a Christian principle to pray for the authorities. It is a difficulty at most times in these theatres of frequent revolution to know who are the authorities. Just now this is a special difficulty here. So I prayed generally for all Christian rulers and omitted mention of Queen Victoria, though I included her in my heart. Perhaps if acting under the British Consulate my duty would have been to identify myself with England — but holding service as a Christian minister travelling through another land my duty was to pray only for the authorities of the land and so realise the Catholic character of Christianity.[55]

This passage is especially noteworthy, it seems to me, because it speaks directly to the two separate scales with which Anglican missionaries felt compelled to identify themselves. One was global. I have discussed at some length these catholic imperatives of institutional Anglicanism, convictions which insisted upon the prerogative of expansion and the denial of prejudice. But there was also the national scale. Regardless of their universalizing pretensions, men like Good and Hills were representatives of the Church of England. At various points I have begun to suggest some of the connections between the scales of empire and nation — and it is to this relationship that I now turn in more detail.

As the missionary who named both of his churches after St.Paul, one might expect John Booth Good to have been the archetypal purveyor of catholic doctrine, denying all prejudices and predilections in favor of universal harmony under God's laws. And to an extent this does seem to have been the case, as I indicated with my brief references to his

[55] Hills, Diary, December 11th 1859.

pedagogic principles. But the same man who revered St.Paul so unequivocally, and who rejected Donatism because it rejected catholicity, also enthused that his Native Sunday school pupils at Nanaimo could "sing 'God Save the Queen' with as much heartiness and appreciation as those attending our own English schools."[56] Bishop Hills, likewise, may have been the man who planted the foundation-stone at Lytton with an implement that, in his eyes, symbolized an essential global unity and 'sameness', but he was also the man who preached in a miners' saloon with a British flag hung behind him in the corner of the room.[57] Such was the seeming ambivalence of Anglican identification: it was possible to forsake neither the nation, nor the world at large.

It seems to me, however, that what is most interesting here is the ability of missionaries to identify with both scales at once. At first sight, of course, the two appear mutually exclusive: how can an appeal to the singularity of the nation be reconciled with the plurality of Christian catholicity? But men like Good and Hills did manage to harmonize the two, in theory at least. Indeed, it is exactly this type of imbrication to which my epithet of missionary positions refers. Throughout this study, and especially in this chapter and the next, I argue that what is striking about missionary discourse and practice is the way in which two or more scales are so often intertwined with one another — the 'home' with the 'empire', the 'body' with the 'population', the 'individual' with the 'community', and so on. It is not appropriate, therefore, to think in terms of a singular missionary position. Any analysis of Christian colonialism must be attentive to its manifold geographies, both material and mental — paying due heed to the way in which different scales are allowed to invade and interrupt one another, for such spatial co-habitation was intrinsic to the politics

[56] Good to the Secretary, SPG, July 26th 1864, USPG, E Series, Vol.16, 1864. See also Good's description of his first service at Lytton in 1867. He insisted that the Nlaka'pamux give "three hearty cheers for the Queen," since he thought it "of much consequence to encourage a better feeling towards English rulers and authority." Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.66.

[57] Columbia Mission Report, 5, 1863, p.15.

of the colonial church. In the next few pages, I examine the importance of one such dialectic, the discursive interpolation of 'nation' with 'empire'.

Nationalism and religion have long existed in close conjunction in British society. Today this correlation is weakening, as the influence of the church wanes within an increasingly secularized culture. But for a long period — from the mid-sixteenth century until, perhaps, the mid-nineteenth century — the imagination of a bounded British 'nation' was impossible without some input from Protestant orthodoxy. Linda Colley has provided a wonderfully detailed analysis of "the overwhelming influence of Protestantism" as a "unifying and distinguishing bond" for eighteenth century Britons. If the British nation can be thought of as an 'imagined community', the argument goes, then the principal cement of that imaginary linkage was the national religion. "Protestantism," Colley asserts, "was the foundation that made the invention of Great Britain possible."[58]

Protestant ideology afforded Britons prestige and divine legitimation. Calvinist Protestantism, which dominated the British church from the Reformation onwards, latched onto the Biblical notion of predestination, and portrayed Britain as an 'elect' nation. The Biblical books of Genesis and Exodus had established Israel as the original 'chosen people', the sole beneficiary of an exclusive covenant between God and Noah that had been passed on through Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Levi to Moses. Calvinism, therefore, granted Britain a revamped Jewish identity in order to postulate the British nation as the 'new Israel'. God's covenant and care, in other words, had been passed on to Britain, and the national population was persuaded that they were an elect, chosen breed. Such myths, originally gleaned from the Bible, were then put into wider circulation as they infiltrated British literature at large, figuring perhaps most prominently in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and John Foxe's Book of martyrs. Britons could now believe, as Colley reminds us, that "they were in God's special care."[59]

58 Linda Colley, Britons: forging the nation 1707-1837, Pimlico, London, 1994, pp.7,18,54.
59 ibid., p.29.

This conviction that Britons were a 'chosen' people pervades the rhetoric of the nineteenth century Anglican mission. Indeed, as Patrick Collinson has argued, this appropriation of Biblical lore should not be surprising, since the notion of exclusive election provided an apt justification for imperial expansion:

> If it really was the case that England was thought to be God's peculiar place, not just an elect nation but the elect nation, and if that idea was born out of the Protestant Reformation and its immediate consequences, then we have unearthed in Protestant religious consciousness a root, perhaps even the taproot, of English imperialism.[60]

In terms of Christian imperialism, this was emphatically the case. With non-Europeans apparently in need of God's salvation, then it seemed fitting that His chosen servants answer the 'call'. The British, and the English in particular, were engaged in a heaven-sent mission:

> If our age is the era for Missions, no less plainly is our country the messenger-people to the whole earth. The Heathen cry, and they cry to us — to us Englishmen of the nineteenth century.[61]

Such self-justifying rhetoric came in many shapes and sizes, and was capable of subtle variations according to the forum of enunciation; in the following passage, for example, England is depicted as the new 'messiah'. But in every case, the underlying message is the same. Britons were God's chosen people, so if there was a mission to be executed, God had ordained that the British fulfill it:

60 Patrick Collinson, "The Protestant nation," in his The birthpangs of Protestant England: religious and cultural change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, St.Martin's Press, New York, 1988, p.5; original emphasis. It should be noted that Collinson immediately qualifies this claim, recognizing not only that many other factors similarly underscored British imperialist tendencies, but also that Protestantism was not the only source of British national identity. He also claims, in a very interesting argument, that the relationship between nationalism and religion was by no means as straightforward as a simple reference to 'divine election' allows. It is a point that is well taken, and I return to it below.

61 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1(4), 1849, pp.76-7.

Indeed ... it looks as if the impression that years ago prevailed, for 'the desire of all nations' to come, has passed away from the looking for the Messiah, and has changed to a feeling that England has something to do them good.[62]

In some instances, even, the argument was turned full-circle, and it was asserted that if the British refused to accept the onus of this providential mission, then national power and prestige would diminish as a result:

Surely it is a lesson of all History, that the living, earnest, expansive Christian, who has a heart large enough to embrace the whole world, is the only true patriot. ... On the fulfilment of the duty of evangelizing the world is suspended the promise of all blessing and fruitfulness at home.[63]

All these statements convey a preoccupation with the national scale. Thus although the Anglican mission to British Columbia was informed directly by a sense of catholicity, by the desire for a global community under Christ, missionaries also plugged into a discourse of the 'nation'.

Indeed, one could argue that the intricate tie between national fervor and religious pedagogy was stronger in England than anywhere else. Such, at any rate, is William Scott's contention:

The Church of England is the paradigm of a national church, not so much because the monarch is the supreme head but because Christianity as it is believed and lived in this church is thoroughly English in its expression.[64]

62 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, pp.23-4.
63 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1(3), 1849, p.52.
64 Scott, Historical Protestantism, p.73; original emphasis. This same argument was advanced by the Reverend Henry Mackenzie at the very first annual service of the Columbia Mission. The Church of England, he claimed, "represents the Church of Christ in England by identity of form as well as faith; and that too in a way no other national Church represents it to its own nation." See "Occupy till I come". A sermon, preached at the first annual service of the Columbia Mission, in the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, on Wednesday, June 6, 1860. By the Rev. Henry Mackenzie, M.A. Prebendary of Lincoln; Chaplain to the Bishop of that diocese; proctor in convocation for the clergy of the same, &c. &c., Rivingtons, London, 1860, p.8; original emphasis.

The nationalism at the heart of Anglican orthodoxy is forgotten at one's peril, especially when considering the overseas expansion of that church under the aegis of imperial rule. Although Church of England missionaries may have been wary of, and often shied away from, too close a relation with the colonial state, they nonetheless represented an episcopal establishment which was distinctly patriotic. This was the intriguing thing about the politics of the 'nation'. In spite of its fetish for criticizing the colonial politics of the national state, missionary rhetoric could not abandon the 'nation' outright — for to do so would have meant foregoing the legitimacy bestowed upon the Church of England by the ideologies of election and predestination. Like it or not (and most of them did like it), English missionaries were English, and their imperial practice normally served to heighten their sense of pride and national affiliation.

However, the importance attached to the 'nation' did not necessarily devalue claims about catholicity and 'sameness'. Church of England ministers were operating in British interests, but they were also gearing their work towards the utopia of a global Christian community. In other words, neither scale was dominant in the social and theological life of the Anglican missionary. Men like Good and Hills, whose dual structures of identification have already been scrutinized, were acting according to perceived prerogatives that were both national and universal. It was not a case of one scale or another. St.Paul's emphasis upon the catholicity of the Church was digested, certainly, but not his concomitant disavowal of national covenance and predestination.[65] Levels of geographical identification were mutually interposed in ways that to us may appear contradictory, but

[65] For Paul's critical engagement with the idea that Israel represented God's 'chosen people', see in particular Romans, chapters 9 and 10. His point was not that Israel should not be 'saved' by God, but rather that divine benevolence did not work on the basis of exclusive privileges. Thus it was the righteous and deserving who were fit for salvation, not just the members of a particular national group: "For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him. For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Romans 10: 12-13).

which to missionaries themselves were quite consistent. Enlarging England's imperial territory enlarged God's dominion upon earth.

In the context of the Columbia Mission, then, the argument I hope to make concerns the production of scale(s) within discourses of Christian imperialism.[66] This seems important on two counts, for just as the production of geographical scale was intrinsic to the nature of missionization, scale likewise impinges upon the course and format of historical interpretation. These related issues can be broached by examining an influential study which, more than most others, is explicitly concerned with the connectivity of scale and society. Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities is an extended investigation into the imagination of the modern nation.[67] But, I want to suggest, because he conceives of scale as being both self-enclosed and singular, he offers an overly restrictive reading of the complex relations between nationalism and imperialism.

Anderson's point of departure is to postulate a recognizable historical transition, whereby the principal locus of identification in European society shifted from being religious to temporal. Specifically, he argues that the increasing secularization of society in post-medieval Europe implied a fading of religious devotion and a greater appeal to the values of material culture. No longer did people identify with their contemporaries by way of shared religious beliefs; instead, the imagination of communion was predicated upon the

[66] A certain amount of interest in the politics of scale has recently been demonstrated by geographers. This consideration stems, at least in part, from the desire to resist the preoccupation with spatial metaphorization evinced in contemporary literary and cultural studies. To a degree my own emphasis on scale has a similar provocation — in my introduction I have already demonstrated the sustenance that purely metaphorical geographies can offer to the appropriative narratives of unguarded colonial historicism. For an important statement on the importance of scale to everyday power relations and politics, see Neil Smith's "Homeless/global: scaling places." Smith's is a fairly cursory and schematic investigation of the social importance of particular scales as they are produced and reproduced within contemporary society — from the level of the body right up to the level of the globe. But my aim is to avoid any particularization, and focus upon what Smith refers to as "the active social connectedness of scales" (p.101). For it is this conscious interpolation that underscored the idiosyncrasies of the missionary enterprise. We are interested not in a singular missionary position, then, but missionary positions.

[67] Benedict Anderson, Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism, Verso, London, 1991. This book was first published in 1983.

finite parameters of language and culture, a spatial limitation marked by the boundaries of the modern nation-state. The corollary of this shift in imagination, therefore, was a fundamental dislocation in the production of scale in social life. Whereas the conceptualization of religious communion had been transcendent and global, belief in national affiliation was immanent and confined:

> No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. The most messianic nationalists do not dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation in the way that it was possible, in certain epochs, for, say, Christians to dream of a wholly Christian planet.[68]

National dispositions were incommensurable with the Christian utopia of a global religious community: such was the lesson of history.

Anderson's account is one which, in its discussion of scale, asserts unequivocally the principle of singularity: different scales are discussed, but never in the same breath. It is a case of one scale superseding another, rather than two scales operating in a continuous and intriguing interplay. Thus the instigation of the European 'age of nationalism' is correlated with the "dusk of religious modes of thought."[69] National communities replaced putatively global ones. Religion surely lived on in nineteenth century Britain, though, as it did elsewhere in Europe — so the reductive identification of nationalism with secularization ignores the massive influence of Protestant doctrine on patriotic sensibilities.

But perhaps the greatest irony of Anderson's book, at least from my standpoint, is his identification of early European imperialism as one of the foremost causes of this shift from globalism to nationalism. In the following passage, he refers to Marco Polo's

[68] ibid., p.7.

[69] ibid., p.11. A similar argument to my own has been advanced, albeit fairly briefly, by Sara Suleri. Of Anderson she notes: "His plot is obsessed with the modernity of nationhood, so that the concept remains bound to structures of temporal interpretation." The coherence of his account, she suggests, is only allowed by this temporal hierarchization. This is surely the case, my point being that this proposition of temporal exclusivity denies the study of spatiality, of the interaction of scales rather than their historical displacement. See Sara Suleri, The rhetoric of English India, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992, p.7.

encounter with Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century. Anderson claims that in Polo's "description of the faith of Christians as 'truest,' rather than 'true,' we can detect the seeds of a territorialization of faiths which foreshadows the language of many nationalists."[70] The gist of Anderson's argument, therefore, is that imperialism persuaded Europeans of the limitations of their own beliefs and assumptions. A potentially global and universalizing imagination was thus superseded by an imagination limited to the level of the nation.

But what of Christian imperialists of the nineteenth century? I ask this question here, for it is worth juxtaposing Anderson's interpretation of Marco Polo with later Anglican claims to "divine authority and sanction," where belief in a singular Truth meant that this notion of a 'truest' religion was scorned.[71] Here, for example, is the Church Missionary Intelligencer:

> In fact, if Protestant Christianity be the truth, we are bound to propagate it, and there is no possibility of evading the responsibility. It is not merely that it is the superior religion, so that there are others which are true, although this is more true; but that it is the truth exclusively, so that all other combinations of principles and opinions on matters connected with religion are false, and this alone is true.[72]

I doubt that even an experienced polemicist could hope to write a more emphatic disavowal of the relativism and territorialization identified by Anderson. This is a thoroughly totalizing vision. But, crucially, this conviction of universality was espoused by the same Anglicans who championed the 'messianic' qualities of the English nation. Anderson claims that one scale of imagination was substituted for another, but here we see no such limitation and self-enclosure. The rhetoric of nationalism had not assumed sole rights to personal and communal identification. Scale was not 'singular' for the simple reason that, at least for orthodox English Protestants, nationalism did not 'replace' catholic Christianity. It was instead incorporated into a burgeoning baggage of affiliative structures. Anderson

70 Anderson, Imagined communities, p.17.
71 The Churchman's Gazette, July 1886, p.320.
72 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 3(6), 1852, p.138.

locates imperial expansion at that historical juncture where catholic interests were translated into national ones, and thus asserts the "incompatibility of empire and nation."[73] I would argue that Anglican imperialism denied such exclusivity, and that it is therefore the intermixing and trading of these scales that should be examined more closely. For as Bhabha has noted, the unique 'authority' of Anglicanism "lies precisely in its being both English and universal."[74]

There is good reason to insist upon such multiplicity . If it is assumed that scale is unilateral, as Anderson's account implies, it is all too easy to produce restrictive historical interpretations. Through a constrictive particularization of scale, certain beliefs and practices which, in their original form, were actually multiform and polysemic, are reduced and essentialized. Such reductivist historiography in fact characterizes much of the secondary literature on missionization. Those accounts which see Christian imperialism as being a national enterprise, one predicated upon identification with the metropolitan state alone, tend to be fairly critical of religious involvement in the imperial project.[75] Those which emphasize the global, harmonizing vision of the catholic missionary, by contrast, are normally quite laudatory.[76] Of course, prior predispositions may identify this choice of focus, but it is scale which links theory and empirics, and which thus underpins the determinist tendency. The presumed incompatibility of the 'national' and the 'universal',

[73] Anderson, Imagined communities, p.93.
[74] Homi K.Bhabha, "Signs taken for wonders: questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817," in The location of culture, p.117.
[75] See for example Klaus Knorr's discussion of missionaries in his British colonial theories. The Protestant mission was, he claims, "an aggressive cultural imperialism, propaganda for the spread of European ideas and ideals over the face of the globe" (p.381).
[76] A classic example of this celebratory analysis is provided by Max Warren. Indeed, his account of the British overseas mission is intended as a direct rebuttal to Knorr, and he frames this response by claiming that missionaries were acting not for England but for Christ. In contrast to Knorr, therefore, he focuses upon the ostensible universality of the missionary vision, not its national provenance and interest. See his The missionary movement from Britain in modern history, SCM Press, London, 1965, especially p.44. For another 'favorable' view, but one which is more recent, see Sara H.Sohmer's work on the Melanesian mission to the Solomon Islands in her "Christianity without civilization: Anglican sources for an alternative nineteenth-century mission methodology," The Journal of Religious History, 18(2), 1994, pp.174-197. Her stress, too, is on catholicity: on "the universality of the Christian message" (p.181).

as Anderson has it, maintains the divide between these widely-divergent analyses of Christian imperialism. I hope to be able to tread a fine line between the two — to avoid such overdetermination by examining not one scale or another, but the dialectic between them. Such an approach will hopefully yield a more nuanced and open interpretation.

To conclude this chapter, I focus upon precisely this overlapping of scales. The notion of redemption, I suggested above, offered missionaries the possibility of mediating between 'sameness' and 'difference'. The way to ensure the catholic Christian community promised by colonial Anglicanism was to redeem not only the 'sinful' Natives of British Columbia, but also an embarrassing national legacy of secular colonialism. Redemption, then, was the incorporative philosophy of Anglican imperialism. This philosophy was conjoined with an equally specific methodology. This colonial blueprint, of course, had to be able to meet a set of demands related to both national and universal allegiances. The principle was to strive for transcultural equality under the Lord, while allowing that the most appropriate model for such equivalence was the perceived moral and spiritual rectitude of British Christianity. Sins were to be revoked, and an essential humanity restored, all by way of a spiritual agency that was uniquely British. This was a strategy of reproduction.

The notion of reproduction is a central theme in part one of this thesis, and bears exemplification. It has several components. On the one hand there was a desire to reproduce British society in the colonial realm, on the other hand a moral imperative to reproduce British ways in Native societies. The two are not easily disentangled but, if anything, I am more interested in the latter concern here; the vaunted transplanting of white 'society' en masse is addressed more directly in chapter 2.

Natives were believed members of the same original human species, but were regarded as a quintessentially 'fallen' humanity — witness the words of Anthony Grant in his Bampton lectures. In order to redeem their sins, and lure them into the Christian 'fold', the chosen missionary ploy was to invoke duplication of that national element of humanity which had been saved by the protection of God's covenant. This, of course, was the

British element. Thus Lundin Brown once noted that he "had been taught to consider the Anglo-Saxon race as the salt of the earth."[77] This belief was widespread, and implied sending forth not solely "the Church of England in its entirety," but more pertinently the rigid moral codes which it advocated.[78] The Columbia Mission would reproduce a strict Anglican morality in the colony's Native population. It was a national formula for reformation, of course, but it was also universalizing. For as Henry Mackenzie insisted, British imperialism was understood as only a temporary phase in a more transcendent teleology: the mission would hold "our several possessions" until Christ's return to "claim the great kingdom for His own."[79] A global community under Christ was thus the utopian prospect of a thoroughly nationalistic approach to missionization. Redemption meant (re)producing sameness.

Similar ideas have been discussed in a more abstract literature on the discourses of nation and empire. One of the most interesting and influential reflections is Homi Bhabha's conceptualization of colonial 'mimicry'. For Bhabha, 'mimicry' speaks to these same issues of duplication and reformation, but he insists that such duplication — or, as I prefer, reproduction — was always destined to be partial. Specifically, Bhabha detects a common desire for Native reformation under conditions of colonial domination, but claims that such reformation could never be complete because equivalence might subvert the requisite discrepancy in power relations between colonizer and colonized. The upshot of such partial mimicry, then, was that the Native subject would remain "almost the same, but not quite." Bhabha's primary example of such partiality is taken from Charles Grant:

> Caught between the desire for religious reform and the fear that the Indians might become turbulent for liberty, Grant paradoxically implies that it is the 'partial' diffusion of Christianity, and the 'partial' influence of moral improvements which will construct a particularly appropriate form of colonial subjectivity.[80]

[77] Mission Life, N.S. 1, 1870, p.563; original emphasis.
[78] Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, p.59.
[79] "Occupy till I come", p.4.
[80] Homi K.Bhabha, "Of mimicry and man," in The location of culture, pp.86 (original emphasis),87.

But my understanding of Anglican reproduction suggests none of this partiality — and an interrogation of this discord brings us back to the question of the imbrication of scales.

My initial unease stems from the fact that it is hard to reconcile this notion of partiality with, for example, Good's efforts to introduce what he called a "perfect code of social and domestic reform and regimen" amongst the Nlaka'pamux.[81] Good's aim was not to calculate a particularly 'appropriate' form of subjectivity which would allow continued colonial subjugation; like other missionaries, he insisted that the only 'appropriate' kind of change was total conversion. Bhabha suggests that Grant's tactics point to a 'watering down' of evangelical Christianity in the realm of empire. But Grant, of course, was not a missionary. We should not be unduly surprised that a director of the East India Company felt compelled to accommodate evangelism to the exigencies of modern mercantilism. But such a model of secular colonial policy can hardly be taken to stand in for the discourses and practices of an undiluted Christian imperialism. One of the reasons why Bhabha's work is so interesting, I think, is that he employs missionary texts quite extensively in his historical analyses. Indeed, I sense that such texts have to some degree enabled him to destabilize the discursive space of colonialism identified by Said. But I do sense that in his efforts to theorize "the discourse of post-Enlightenment English colonialism," he ultimately does such texts a disservice by folding them into an essentially secularized discourse.[82] What I have been arguing in this chapter, by contrast, is that missionary rhetoric was in many ways fundamentally different from the colonial discourses of the secular realm. That is why I choose to focus upon the totalizing philosophy of reproduction, rather than the partiality of colonial mimicry.

81 Good, "The utmost bounds," p.90.
82 Bhabha, "Of mimicry and man," p.85; my emphasis. An essentialism which, as Parry points out, indicates "a totalising tendency which Bhabha would ordinarily eschew." Benita Parry, "Signs of our times: discussion of Homi Bhabha's The location of culture," Third Text, 28/29, 1994, pp.5-24; the quotation is from p.5.

In his elucidation of why colonial mimicry invariably failed, it is notable that Bhabha quotes the same expression from Benedict Anderson that I employed above — that is, the inner 'incompatibility of empire and nation'.[83] His claim is that outright mimicry was never a realistic option because Natives, in spite of the potential for 'reform' which they may have offered, were not English. More specifically, even, they were the wrong color. Thus the adage of being 'almost the same, but not quite', is translated by Bhabha into being almost the same, "but not white."[84] The imperial fascination with catholicity, evident primarily in the rhetoric of missionaries and educational reformers, was mere hubris. This, at least, seems to be the suggestion. And this catholic vision was hubris because the politics of colonialism ultimately turned on a scale which was singular, self-enclosed, and (most importantly) exclusive: the level of the nation. Any idealization of 'sameness' which might have been fostered by the universal pretensions of the so-called 'world religions' had been superseded by the adamantly 'differential' prerogatives of nationalism. Thus although Bhabha detects the lingering vestiges of a catholic mindset within colonial discourse and practice, he insists that such a vision was ultimately impotent — for it conflicted with the overarching nationalist doctrine of exclusivity. At stake here were different scales, and the universalizing humanism of the 'civilizing mission' could never hope to compete with the bounded, racist consciousness of the colonizing nation.

But for Anglican missionaries, I have tried to argue, these scales were not necessarily conflictual. Nation and empire could be rendered commensurable, at least in theory, because 'difference' was not located in the immutable realm of 'race' or color. It was a matter of moral judgment, not of scientific observation, and could thus be overcome. This, at any rate, was the discursive rubric. Colonial reproduction could supposedly

[83] In fact this is not quite true, for Bhabha actually mis-quotes Anderson, referring to the "inner compatibility of empire and nation" ("Of mimicry and man," p.87). This is unfortunate but, in the context of this chapter, also highly ironic — for the point I am trying to make is that, as far as Anglican missionaries were concerned, the two scales of social life were perfectly compatible!

[84] ibid., p.89; original emphasis.

negotiate the universal/national interface. The objective of 'sameness', a moralizing enterprise which in theory renounced distinctions of 'race' and culture, did not demand that missionaries forsake the legitimating narrative of the national 'elect'. Unlike secular mimicry, Christian reproduction was not to be impeded by a nationalism which excluded the interruption of other scales, other imperatives of identification and association. Reproduction would not succumb to partiality, because color was not deemed an obstacle to conversion. The only real obstacle was 'sin'.

As I have tried to stress, however, this was only the theory. For all their pretensions to a singularly benevolent humanism, missionaries could never realistically expect to operate outside of the secular realm which they criticized and, on occasion, condemned. As a result, Bhabha's assertion that colonialism most often shifted from mimicry to 'menace' — "a difference that is almost total but not quite"[85] — turns out to be right on the mark. Missionaries, after all, could not disengage themselves from the rigid relations of power within colonial society (and some did not try), and within that society they had little capacity to effect real political change. This, at least, is one of the conclusions I reach in my closing discussion of the reserve system in British Columbia. Thus the abstract refutation of racist prejudice held little water, and the putative quest for 'sameness' — the virtue of which was itself highly debatable — was ultimately just one of the many hollow promises of Anglican imperialism.

But I have not insisted all along upon these differences between secular and Christian discourse, simply in order to dismiss them out of hand. Rather, I suggest that unless these nuances and discriminations are taken very seriously, it is impossible to understand with any level of conviction the specificity of Anglican colonial practices, and the theoretical provenance thereof. The discourse of redemption, it turns out, underscored missionary exertions in a way that is almost unthinkably totalizing. It is these moral imperatives of missionization, themselves of thoroughly questionable 'morality' as we now

[85] ibid., p.91.

conceive of the term, which I study in chapters 2 and 5 of this thesis. And they bear the indisputable stamp of the narrative of reproduction.

This notion of reproduction rendered indissoluble two ostensibly separate scales of Anglican identification. Hence the discourse of missionization, I argue, was not predicated upon a singular position, but on multiple and overlapping positions: missionary positions. I stress this throughout. Reproduction, moreover, entailed a very particular understanding of the 'nation', an understanding enshrined in the Protestant ideology of the 'elect'. But of course each and every such national imaginary is, by its very nature, contingent and arbitrary. This is perhaps especially true of Christian constructions of British identity. As Catherine Hall has pointed out, this religious identity has historically been construed "through the active silencing of the disruptive relations of ethnicity, of gender, and of class."[86] In other words, since the 'nation' is so often exclusionary, its putative reproduction in the imperial realm would necessarily entail different consequences and possibilities for different groups of people. In particular, the discourse of reproduction envisaged certain roles for men, and certain roles for women. Specifically, it sought to institute a Christian morality which was intrinsically patriarchal, based on a very specific understanding of femininity. One way to approach these exclusions and discriminations, I want to suggest, is through the lens of a normative sexuality with which we are all, to a certain extent, familiar — that is, the 'missionary position'. Here, then, I begin to refer to the second speculation implied by the title of part one of my thesis: that Anglican imperialism was envisaged and exacted as a fundamentally gendered project. It is in the notion of reproduction, therefore, that the two senses of my title are coupled together. And it is reproduction that I turn to in the next chapter.

[86] Catherine Hall, "Missionary stories: gender and ethnicity in England in the 1830s and 1840s," in , Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A.Treichler, eds., Cultural studies, Routledge, New York, 1992, p.241.

Chapter 2: Reproduction

Morality without religion has been called morality without motive.

Anon. 1884.[1]

In chapter 1, I made a series of suggestions about the discourses of nineteenth century Anglican imperialism. Here I follow up on some of these claims. I do so by taking the specific notion of reproduction, and examining how it mediated between the abstract realm of imperial philosophy and rhetoric, and the more concrete and immanent realm of colonial society. In other words, I want to move away from abstract assertions regarding the nature of humanity, and explore how the predispositions of Anglican missionaries were played out in the context of material colonial practice.

Christianity and 'morality' have long existed side by side, and developed along closely interlinked (and very often indistinguishable) trajectories. In this chapter I am concerned with examining this specific conjunction, as it is played out in a particular historical and geographical context. In this respect the work of Gertrude Himmelfarb provides an invaluable reference point. In various essays she has sketched out how morality was set free from its religious moorings in mid- to late-nineteenth century England. Thus she argues that although the historical roots of English moral codes can generally be located in Christian doctrine, a vital corollary of the social, economic and political changes of the nineteenth century was a translocation of morality from the spiritual to the temporal realm. By the twentieth century, it is claimed, morality had become firmly entrenched in the private domain of secular domestic ideology.

Integral to Himmelfarb's case is that this new-found secular entrenchment was in fact an urgent requirement for British society, since Christianity was losing much of its

[1] The Churchman's Gazette and the New Westminster Diocesan Chronicle, 4(1), April 1884, p.7.

social resonance for large sections of the modernizing public. A morality no longer shored up and guaranteed by Christian foundationalism was thoroughly indeterminate, and thus presented innumerable dangers to the ethical stability of society. Morality could not be allowed to float free. Thus, "anticipating the Nietzschean dictum that if God does not exist everything is permitted, [the English] were determined to make of morality a substitute for religion."[2] With Protestant orthodoxy no longer socially hegemonic as the twentieth century approached, the moral propriety of English society depended upon the vital distinctions between 'good' and 'evil' being granted a novel ideological reference point.

My interest here, however, is to look beyond the narrow confines of British society, and investigate the complex and intriguing relationships between morality and Christianity as the latter was exported to the Empire. In doing so, I hope to provide these developments with a somewhat different inflection. Within the context of the Anglican colonial enterprise in British Columbia, I suggest, morality was still firmly ensconced within the domain of scriptural pedagogy. In Britain, morality may well have assumed an air of independence from Christian dogma. But in the colony of British Columbia, Anglicanism clung firmly to a moral foundationalism. Just as Himmelfarb asserts that "there was no security for morality without some kind of divinity," in a reciprocal turn the self-assurance of imperial divinity came to depend on morality itself: Anglican colonial practice was intimately tied up with the preaching and instigation of normative moralities.[3] Indeed, religion in the mission field stood or fell according to the (re)production of moral righteousness. Whether or not the appeal of Anglican imperialists to a rigid morality was a shock reaction to this national shift away from the moral bedrock of a reformed Christianity — and I think in part it was — the fact remains that these spiritual agents of Empire evidently saw it as their 'calling' to disseminate far and wide a deeply moralized education.

[2] Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Marriage and morals among the Victorians," in her Marriage and morals among the Victorians and other essays, I.B.Tauris & Co, London, 1989, p.21.
[3] Himmelfarb, "The Victorian Trinity: religion, science, morality," in ibid., p.71.

Within this general framework, I claim that the principal locus of this Anglican "moral imagination"[4] was the human body. Although not limited to the sexual domain (questions of drinking, gambling and stealing were hardly insignificant), the behavioral codes advocated by Anglican missionaries certainly privileged this specific area of ethical concern. Morality was thus a deeply sexualized discursive terrain. In a number of instances, one could substitute 'sexuality' for 'morality' with no real change in historical meaning. The upshot is that in the majority of cases 'sin' implies 'sex'; in large part, then, Anglican colonial discourse and practice focused upon the nature of intimate social relations.[5]

Moreover, I argue that since the notion of sin, of 'fallen human nature', was often gendered, an examination of sexual morality allows us to address the varying implications of the missionary project for women and men. It was generally assumed that whereas some moralities were unproblematic, others were to be subjected to deep theoretical reflection, and invested with devoted practical endeavor. Since men were presumed to be created in the image of the Lord — the transcendent male ego — their own sexuality generally went unquestioned: "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness" (Genesis 1: 26). By contrast, it was women whose bodily activity was to be scrutinized and governed. In their moralizing initiative, therefore, modern Anglican imperialists used women "to think with" in much the same way that, as Peter Brown has indicated, women were pivotal to the "imaginative economy" of the ancient Church in the second and third centuries.[6]

[4] This is a notion of Lionel Trilling's developed by Himmelfarb in her "Introduction", in ibid., p.xii.

[5] These general introductory comments are indebted to Jacqui Alexander, who not only insists upon the importance of morality to colonial studies, but also emphasizes the centrality of sexuality to moral discourses of colonialism. M. Jacqui Alexander, "Redrafting morality: the postcolonial state and the Sexual Offences Bill of Trinidad and Tobago," in Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo and Lourdes Torres, eds., Third World women and the politics of feminism, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1991.

[6] Peter Brown, The body and society: men, women and sexual renunciation in early Christianity, Faber and Faber, London, 1990, p.153. As Brown notes, this centrality of the category of 'woman' to Christian epistemology has consequences and implications

If nothing else, this brief introductory account should indicate that my use of the notion of missionary positions is intended to be literal as well as simply metaphorical. If I were asked whether it is merely a coincidence that the single context within which the word 'missionary' has entered popular cultural terminology should be so specifically sexualized, I would respond with an unequivocal 'no'. Rather, it surely reflects the core position occupied by sexual moralism within the theory and practice of missionization.

Before moving on to examine some of these moralized theories and practices, it is worth interrogating briefly the three separate linguistic components of 'the missionary position'. In doing so, we can go some way towards understanding the principal assumptions and imperatives of colonial Anglicanism. First, the fact that we refer to the missionary position should not be overlooked. The implication is that there is one normative sexuality which corresponds to the singular Truth of the Gospel. I argue that this was the principle of heterosexual, marital monogamy, and that a huge amount of missionary effort was condensed in the endeavor to preach and practice this singular sexual ethic. Second, the specific interest in this position being conceived as missionary — rather than, for example, simply 'Christian' — stems from the Anglican preoccupation with sexual morality being most keenly expressed in the realm of Empire, in the clergyman's efforts to control interactions between white men and Native women.[7] And lastly, we should not ignore the spatial particulars of the position in question, for 'the missionary

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which spread well beyond the bounds of thought alone. The effort to understand and define female sexuality was (and is) intimately tied to the domination of women in a patriarchal society.

[7] On this point, Michael Mason has recently claimed that whereas contemporary attitudes towards sexuality can be seen as a reaction to the past (discourses on sex thus being historically-informed), nineteenth century sexual discourses were instead geographically-constituted. Thus the perceived moral 'opposition' (namely sensuality) "was not located in any particular historical era: [the Victorians] located it most consistently in human personality, in tribal or ancient societies, and in the animal kingdom." This is a rare (if not explicit) reference to the importance of an imperial imagination to the constitution of European discourses of the body — a point to which I return in chapter 5 — and also alludes to the more generalized historical applicability of the trope of 'the missionary position.' See Michael Mason, The making of Victorian sexuality, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994, pp.3-4.

position' evokes an explicitly gendered sexual geography. The man is ostensibly in command, a power differential perhaps reflective of the patriarchal history of mainstream Protestant Christianity. It is pertinent to recall here Lyndal Roper's principal claim, a claim which has close resonances throughout this thesis, that the moral ethic of the Reformation should be viewed as a "theology of gender".[8]

However, to think purely in terms of 'the' missionary position is to ignore some of the more obvious contingencies, contradictions and ambivalences which marked the colonial enterprise. Not all missionaries, certainly, held the same beliefs, and the practices of proselytization differed markedly over both time and space. Moreover, the rhetoric of missionization was often radically reworked once particular clergy were faced with the realities of colonial society. Central beliefs and assumptions could often be severely troubled, if not entirely usurped. The notion of missionary positions is consequently a more fruitful and constructive one. For while I would want to cling onto the great importance of normative Anglican dogma, to simply impose such essentializing formulations upon a particular context is to ignore historical and geographical specificity. Indeed it is both ahistorical and aspatial. I therefore endeavor not to utilize concepts such as the 'family', 'marriage' and the like in order to explain colonial and patriarchal

8 Lyndal Roper, The holy household: women and morals, in Reformation Augsburg, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989, p.1. For an excellent overview of the patriarchal basis of Western Christianity, see Rosemary Radford Ruether, Sexism and God-talk: toward a feminist theology, Beacon Press, Boston, 1983. My emphasis on 'the missionary position' is therefore avowed, but there is a concern that this stress on the politics of gender leaves little room for the examination of 'dissident sexualities'. Such sexualities were obviously a feature of nineteenth century British Columbian, as much as British, society — perhaps more so given the marked gender asymmetries which I go on to discuss in the next section. As Sara Suleri has warned, too strong an emphasis upon the links between colonialism and patriarchy tends to hide the homoeroticism of many colonial narratives and practices. The point is well taken, and it is not a dilemma to which I pretend to have an answer. No doubt missionary narratives could be read in this way, and allusions to the specter of 'effeminacy' certainly suggest that constructions of missionary masculinity were not quite as self-assured as one might be led to believe. Suleri, The rhetoric of English India, pp.16-17.

subjugation, but venture instead to historicize and situate such categories, and show how and why their deployment was important in a particular place at a particular time.[9]

But regardless of such internal dissonance and variety, Anglican imperialism can only be understood in terms of its massively patriarchal beliefs and practices. Indeed the notion of reproduction, proposed in the last chapter and followed up here, itself suggests as much. Even within a supposedly 'enlightened' contemporary society, the concept of 'reproduction' continues to bear with it an intrinsically limited understanding of femininity. Men produce, and women reproduce — this has been the imposing lesson handed down within a western society which combines Judeo-Christian dogma with the exigencies of industrial capitalism. One can obviously argue over the extent to which Christianity has contributed towards such categorizing and division, but its input has been anything but minimal. This is certainly true of the various offshoots of Protestantism which have followed on from its original Germanic genesis in the early-sixteenth century. Luther defined the social and sexual expectations of women in an irrefutably constricted manner: "a woman is not created to be a virgin, but to conceive and bear children."[10] This male conception of female sexuality (indeed of femininity itself) is central to mainstream Protestant belief. I want to suggest that the export of this discourse to the Empire, along with the monogamous marriage contract within which this moral prerogative was sanctified and enshrined, was a vital component of colonial practice. The preoccupation with what Roper has so aptly termed 'the holy household' underscored the Anglican moral enterprise of reproduction. Eve's transgression in the Garden of Eden had condemned 'woman' to an 'original sin', a Fall which could only be remedied through the holy mission of

[9] These concerns are informed directly by Chandra Talpade Mohanty's important essay, "Under Western eyes: feminist scholarship and colonial discourses," Boundary 2, 12(3), 1984, pp.333-58. However, I am also wary of insisting upon such ambivalence, for it does appear difficult to reconcile claims about colonial 'uncertainty' and 'ambiguity' with the stark polarities in power relations evinced within the contemporary political context.

[10] Martin Luther, quoted in Steven Ozment, Protestants: the birth of a revolution, Doubleday, New York, 1992, p.155. Obviously Luther's statement was made as part of a broader critique of Roman Catholicism, and here he was objecting in particular to the Catholic cult of the Virgin Mary.

reproduction: "Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee" (Genesis 3: 16).

Marriage and moral missionization

Bishop Hills left for his colonial post in November 1859, and the day prior to his departure was the occasion for a farewell service at St. James' Church, Piccadilly. This service was followed immediately by a public meeting in aid of the Columbia Mission at London's Mansion House. Hills took this opportunity to submit the basic aims of his Mission, particularly the exact replication, in British Columbia, of the institutional and liturgical forms of the Church of England:

> We go from the bosom of the Church of England, which our God has blest for so many generations, to reproduce, in another soil, what heavenly mercy has planted and fostered here. We carry forth the blessed institutions of the Church, and the holy doctrines we have received.[11]

Here Hills emphasized religious continuity between metropole and colony; later (in deference to a speech made by D'Israeli) he would write more generally about "the reproduction of England in our colonies."[12] At the same Mansion House meeting the Bishop of Oxford put it this way:

> England ... has seldom contemplated, in the spirit which even her philosophers might have taught her, what it was to be indeed the planter of the earth, what it was indeed to be the foundress of a nation. Of course the first condition, my Lord Mayor, of carrying this great work out faithfully must be this: that provision must be made by the founding nation for

[11] A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.5. See also his appeal "to plant broad and deep the foundations of that Church under which our mother-country has been blessed and prospered." Columbia Mission Report, 8, 1866, p.63.
[12] Hills, Diary, March 5th 1863.

reproducing itself, in its own characteristic elements, and in its own special institutions, in the distant land to which it sends its sons; I say this must be to Christian people the rule.[13]

Like Hills, Samuel Wilberforce stressed the importance of reproducing English society in the colonial forum. But his reference to the 'sending of sons' speaks to one of many discrepancies between imperial rhetoric and colonial reality. The colonizing population was almost exclusively male, whereas Anglican visions of utopian colonial society rested upon the presumed heterosexual harmony of gender symmetry — a stable population base that would foster the virtuous moralities of marriage and family life.

Much discussion about British Columbia in the early colonial period — in government despatches, private letters, and both the colonial and metropolitan media — revolved around the scarcity of white women. The population drawn by the gold discoveries was overwhelmingly male. An Emigration Report published in 1860 declared: "The white population of British Columbia amounts to about 5,000 men, with scarcely any women or children."[14] Individual missionaries were generally more specific in their estimates. Hills claimed that the population of Douglas consisted of 204 men, but only 2 women.[15] New Westminster, the capital of the mainland colony, was only marginally more balanced, with 30 women of a total population of 290.[16] And in 1860 when he visited one of the principal mining bars of the lower Fraser Canyon — coincidentally called Hills Bar — the Bishop met with the wife of an Australian miner, for whom life in a largely male society appeared to be far from perfect:

This young woman was from the north of Ireland. She was a Protestant. She had married in Australia & had been two years here. There was something simple and touching in her.

13 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.29; my emphasis.
14 The Times, July 18th 1860, p.12.
15 Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, p.15.
16 Hills, Diary, April 4th 1861.

... She was very lonely and had no female society. One other female there was, but her character was such that she could not associate with her.[17]

The general thrust of all these (white) population statistics was the same. A 'proper' and 'respectable' colonial society was simply not plausible given the "sad absence of family life."[18]

Since missionaries did not find in British Columbia a ready-made marriage-based society of which they could extol the virtues, they chose instead to present a hostile critique of the sexual relationships which did seem to be prevalent, those between white men and Native women. Almost all such associations incurred the instant wrath of Anglican preachers, and they roundly expressed their disgust in their personal journals and in the reports they sent back to England. These relationships were depicted as the very quintessence of immorality, and were held to pose serious social problems.

On the subject of these 'mixed' relationships the Attorney General, Henry Crease, posed some basic rhetorical questions: "Whether it's the men's fault or the women's ditto I cannot pretend to say. ... How is the Country to be peopled if this sort of thing goes on?"[19] His comments raise three important points. First, missionaries were clearly not alone in their criticism of white men partnering Native women. Second, there was often a vacillation between those accounts which located the source of 'evil' in the white, colonial male, and those which chose to portray Native women not as victims but as the problems.[20] In this latter genre it was the 'dangerous sexuality' of the Native, female body

17 Hills, Diary, June 14th 1860; my emphasis. Comments akin to the Bishop's were made by Pringle, who seemed no more happy with Hope having moved there from the much-maligned Yale. There was, he complained, "no female pop[ulation], & when I state this I say enough to lead you to the conclusion, that such an intercourse is openly & shamelessly prevalent with the native race as to make a decent & well ordered resident an exception to the general rule." Pringle to the Secretary, SPG, December 15th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol.10, 1861.

18 Columbia Mission Report, 1860, p.25. This comment was made by the Bishop of Oxford at a City Meeting, held at the Mansion House, on November 30th 1860.

19 Crease to O'Reilly, [1868], BCARS, A/E/Or3/C86.

20 Of course, as Gilroy has argued, the dual configuration of problem/victim status is endemic to a generalized rhetoric of prejudice. The representational labels of 'problem' and

which was denigrated. I return to these important distinctions in the next section. Here I focus on the third issue raised by Crease. His consternation about 'peopling the country' indicates that problems of sexual morality were deemed pivotal to the production (and reproduction) of colonial 'society' itself.

Although this problematization of morality was not limited to missionaries, it was nonetheless especially marked in a peculiarly Christian understanding of social formation. Within the disparate and (often) unconnected pieces of critical missionary rhetoric is the consistent centrality of the 'holy household'. This is crucial, because Anglican missionaries were not simply reproaching Native/European alliances, but rather the conditions under which these relationships were conducted. It was the fact that sexual liaisons were invariably carried on outside of marriage that was to be condemned. When Bishop Hills toured his diocese in the early summer of 1860 (travels which took him some 800 miles in 12 weeks), he met at Hope a Scottish employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. Hills' assessment of this man is indicative of the prevailing mood.

> Lives with an Indian woman and has a child. Is not married. Defends the unmarried state as happier. ... I asked if he would be comfortable to live in an unmarried state in his own country. He said there was a great difference. There were Churches in Orkney & white women. I showed him that the sin was the same here as in Britain.[21]

Leaving aside this man's explicitly racialized understanding of the marriage contract — and the way in which he interpreted an unstructured colonial 'society' as permitting him an unfettered freedom from such contractual imperatives — it is apparent that Hills regarded marriage as a linchpin of social morality. So did all missionaries. Hence the critique of 'mixed' relationships and also of gender-specific white colonization: both phenomena

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'victim' are confined to the same discursive circuit, both categories similarly denying historicity and subjectivity. See Paul Gilroy, 'There ain't no black in the Union Jack': the cultural politics of race and nation, Hutchinson, London, 1987.

[21] Hills, Diary, June 4th 1860. For other similar comments made by Hills, see his Diary, May 30th 1873, where he refers to a white man named Boothroyd, who had for some time been living with a Native woman, but who had recently "set himself right & been properly married."

seemed to deny the possibility of marital morality, an ethic that underwrote the common Christian vision of a 'proper' colonial society.

An even clearer indication that Anglican evangelists were not opposed per se to relationships between Native women and white men is provided by an 1869 report written for the Columbia Mission by Lundin Brown. Brown placed a similar emphasis on the requirement of a marital contract, and insisted on marriage even in relationships where racism and sexism appeared to be rife. Ironically, then, marriage could be (and was) instituted to legitimize, under Christian observance, the subjugation of Native women to white men. Brown tells the story of a young Native woman named 'Kenadaqua', a sixteen-year old orphan living near Lillooet who, after her father's murder, had gone to live with her "mean and sordid uncle." Soon afterwards a "wild and reckless" miner came to the uncle and asked if he would consider selling his niece.[22] It seems that the latter consented to this agreement — Kenadaqua apparently having no say in the matter — and the young woman was exchanged for the miner's money.

Not long after this occurred, however, "a missionary" (presumably Brown himself) was preaching in Lillooet when Kenadaqua happened to be visiting her kin. By pure chance, therefore, she heard him vigorously denouncing what he referred to as "the prevailing social evil": in other words the exact kind of inter-racial relationship in which she was involved. But having thus dismissed all relations between whites and Natives, the missionary continued his sermon thus: "If any white man wanted honestly to wed with an Indian girl, he said, that was another thing."[23] Another thing. Kenadaqua had been bought into a condition of subordination to a white man, but when she asked the missionary if she should leave him — perhaps looking for a justification to do so — the minister replied in the negative, saying that she must demand that the man wed her. In the end, it turns out that the miner refused and the woman returned to her village, but the point

22 Columbia Mission Report, 11, 1869, pp.66-7.
23 ibid.

is that marriage was 'another thing'. In this case, it would render morally acceptable a relationship which had its origins in the commodification of the female body.[24]

Anglican missionaries therefore expressed a deep and shared concern about relations outside of a marriage contract between white men and Native women. Thus Good condemned the many white men at Nanaimo who were "living in a state of open debauchery with Indian women," but he especially deplored the fact that "these men refuse to marry the women with whom they cohabit."[25] Had they agreed to do so, of course, their relationships would suddenly have been blessed in his eyes. That was the amazing thing about marriage. This single contract transcended all social considerations, and signaled a massive shift from sin to righteousness. Christian colonialism was a moralizing project, and the qualification for 'conversion' was grounded not in the avowal of particular beliefs and convictions, but ultimately in the proof of righteousness which was afforded by commitment to monogamy. Crucially, of course, this monogamous relationship had to be sanctified by the Church.

I explore this notion of 'conversion' at much greater length in chapter 5, for Good's work with the Nlaka'pamux was intimately bound up with the effort to reform Native social relations. Marital monogamy would enable Native 'sinners' to (re)enter the Christian fold, the Lord's global community: in this way the temporary 'difference' upon which Anglican imperialism depended would be addressed and redeemed. Here, however, it is vital to stress that missionaries do not appear to have opposed relations between whites and Natives on racial grounds. Such concerns may well have underscored Crease's comments, but as I argued in the last chapter, many missionaries derided such secular discriminations. Rather, the issue of extra-marital contact was paramount. If it had been otherwise, then the

[24] Brown was merely acting here in line with God's 'laws', as they were revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai: "And if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife. If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins" (Exodus 22: 16-17). Accordingly, 'other' moral considerations have often been reduced and ignored within the Christian tradition at the expense of the marriage ethic.

[25] Good to the Secretary, SPG, November 9th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol.10, 1861.

Anglican consummation of many such 'mixed' marriages would be left bereft of explanation. How, for example, would one interpret the image 'Settler and his Indian wife' (figure 6) which appeared in the seventeenth Annual Report of the Columbia Mission? Such relationships, it seems, were patently acceptable once they had been blessed by the Church. The color of the marriage partners was not an issue.[26]

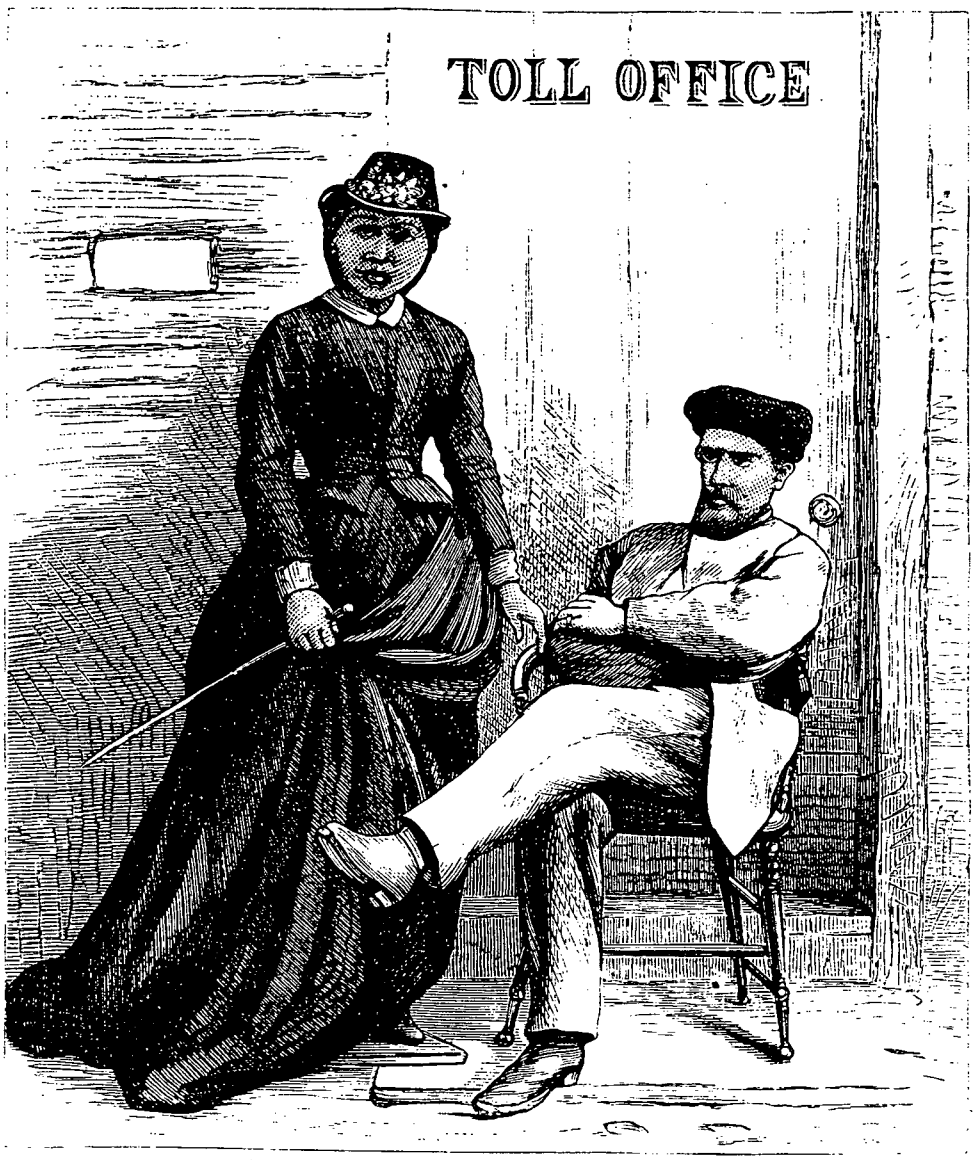
This marital ideology was therefore profoundly Christian, an important consideration given the secularization of morality to which I alluded in opening this chapter. Christian ministers strictly opposed the idea, rapidly gaining currency in England, that 'morality' could be invoked and designated outside Christian practice. Indeed, the missionary emphasis on a moralizing Christianity can perhaps be seen as part of a backlash against an encroaching philosophy of secular ethics. Missionaries in British Columbia were keen to point out that secular ceremonies were simply not adequate. As Sylvia Van Kirk has demonstrated, for example, members of various Christian denominations attacked the old fur-trade custom of marriage 'à la façon du pays', claiming that the traders' Native 'wives' were nothing more than concubines — a notion strongly disputed by Van Kirk's own research.[27] Similarly, Good asserted that private marriages were invariably attended with "bad effects,"[28] an argument taken a stage further by his Bishop, who was loathe to entertain any hint of a secularization of the marital contract. Crease himself received a firm admonition from the Bishop, who claimed in a letter of 1862 that if the "civil validity of marriage" were to be based on anything other than a "religious ceremony," the result could only be immoral:

26 Both at Nanaimo and Lytton, Good was willing to sanction marriages between whites and Natives. When Bishop Hills visited Nanaimo in the summer of 1865, he noted that 4 of 9 Natives confirmed by Good were wives of white men. Hills, Diary, August 28th 1865.

27 Sylvia Van Kirk, 'Many tender ties': women in fur-trade society in western Canada, 1670-1870, Watson & Dwyer, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1980, pp.153-8. Van Kirk suggests that the trade developed its own marriage rite, combining Native and European marital customs — these were not, then, merely illicit and temporary connections.

28 Good to the Secretary, SPG, November 1st 1858, USPG, E Series, Vol.3, 1858.

Figure 6. Settler and his Indian wife.



SETTLER AND HIS INDIAN WIFE

Source: Columbia Mission Report, 17, 1875, opposite p.26

The happiness & stability of society are concerned still more in guarding the sacredness of the marriage bond, and it is a very general sentiment with thoughtful persons that the ceremony should be of a religious character.[29]

Social relations between men and women were, therefore, an essential engagement of the Anglican missionary project. To 'reproduce England' meant preaching a morality that revolved around the sacred bond between a man and his wife. Since (upon their arrival) most relationships were plaintively not of this character, it is no surprise that missionaries were highly critical of the colonial society they encountered. This criticism was by no means uniform, and in the next section I discuss its elements of variance. But in general I am more keen to focus upon the strong thread of consistency. My reason for doing so is that all these discourses had more or less the same objective in mind: a utopian colonial society in which the pivotal social relation would be heterosexual, marital monogamy.

Femininity, masculinity, and colonial society

In the last section, I suggested that the imperial imperative of reproduction was to be effected through the materiality of a moralizing mission, and that the very heart of this moral utopia was to be occupied by a particular social relation: marriage. A fundamental requirement of this monogamous ethic was that the union between two people should be Christian. Only within such a blessed relationship would reproduction itself be viewed favorably. In this section, I argue that this idealization of colonial society depended upon the allocation of different roles to different social actors, and that the principal foundation for a palatable moral climate was understood to be a specific form of femininity. The morality of women was conceived as fundamental to ethical propriety. This 'proper'

[29] Hills to Crease, May 2nd 1862, BCARS, A/E/C86/C86/H55. See also Hills' similar comments on the "sacred principle" of marriage some 20 years later, in Columbia Mission Report, 23, 1882/3, p.12.

femininity, a femininity enshrined within the marital contract, illustrates many of the exclusions and discriminations of the 'missionary position'. It was a femininity equated, as for Luther, with the prerogative of reproduction.

The endeavor to 'reproduce England in the colonies' assigned a foremost role to Christian women. Admittedly, much of the rhetoric of colonialism surrounded the heroic white male upon whose shoulders empire would be founded, but within the realm of Anglican imperialism, perhaps more emphasis was placed on the 'participation' of women.[30] It was in their supposed ability to produce and reproduce an ideal colonial society that 'virtuous' women were to be applauded. Essentially, women were conceived of as wives and as mothers, and their social use was to be confined to the home. As recent literature has begun to suggest, the ideology of 'home' was central to imperial rhetoric and practice.[31]

[30] The irony here is that the missionaries themselves were seldom women, especially in the early days of the Columbia Mission. Later on a relatively small number of women did take up posts in western Canada, within many different Protestant denominations, but in the initial days of the diocese most women involved in the mission field were the wives of ministers. It is vital not to belittle or patronize this role — a point to which I return in the next section — but it is important to recognize that 'participation' as such was limited. As St.Paul once asserted: "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence" (1 Timothy 2: 12). The main pedagogic involvement of women was in institutions for the 'moral' training of young girls (both Native and European), to which I refer below. In a speech made in 1860, a British clergyman alluded to some of the prevailing controversy over the inclusion of women in the evangelical mission, even in this limited role. First, he had to go to some length to justify such involvement, searching in vain for scraps of Biblical evidence for such "holy women." Second, he was evidently at pains to play down the importance of domestic disputes over what 'label' these women should be accorded — whether they should be called 'missionaries' or not. Obviously there was much opposition to such an ascription within the ranks of the Church. See "Occupy till I come", p.19. Two useful recent articles have sought to rectify the lack of attention shown to female missionaries in British Columbia. The first focuses on the work of Native women, the second on work performed by whites. See Margaret Whitehead, "'A useful Christian woman': First Nations' women and Protestant missionary work in British Columbia," Atlantis, 18(1&2), 1992-3, pp.142-66; and Myra Rutherdale, "Revisiting colonization through gender: Anglican missionary women in the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic, 1860-1945," BC Studies, 104, 1994, pp.3-23. Even the role of these latter women, Rutherdale suggests, was "intricately connected to the image of Victorian womanhood" (p.21). Again, as Paul had it, a woman was not to teach, but "shall be saved in childbearing" (1 Timothy 2: 15).

[31] For some suggestive, introductory comments on the "imbrication of home and Empire," see Angelika Bammer, "Editorial," New Formations, 17, Summer 1992, pp.vii-xi; the quotation is from p.x.

This was therefore an 'active' construction of femininity that struck right to the heart of the kind of 'society' romanticized by Anglican preachers. Women were integral to this vision, for theirs was the potential to anchor marital, familial bliss through their nurturing, household femininity. It was in this context that Anglican missionaries celebrated the "softening influence of women." Women were deemed able to mold and shape the morality of colonial society through their loving care and family control, their "healing and civilizing grace."[32] The family home of the married couple was the basis of a moral society, and a particular understanding of femininity underpinned this ethic. As Davidoff and Hall assert, "the moral influence of mothers was the linchpin of religious regeneration."[33]

It is not surprising, therefore, that when Anglican missionaries in British Columbia confronted not grown women but young girls, it was with a view to developing them into archetypal mothers.[34] This was true with both Natives and whites. In the case of the former, Reverend W.S.Reece was one of the most vocal of a whole string of missionaries who believed in the great importance of institutions for the moral instruction of Native girls. Indeed Reece, appointed Archdeacon after having been based at Cowichan on Vancouver Island from 1866 to 1868, once claimed that such a school, "conducted by godly women, sisters and servants of the Church," in fact constituted "the main hope ... of evangelizing the natives."[35] This was a bold claim, but nevertheless Reece was right in line with Anglican doctrine on this score, stressing the centrality of a 'morally correct' femininity to social progress. Elsewhere he wrote similarly, again expressing his hope that

32 Robert C.Lundin Brown, British Columbia: an essay, Royal Engineer Press, New Westminster, British Columbia, 1863, p.53.
33 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family fortunes: men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987, p.124.
34 For evidence of similar colonial imperatives from elsewhere in the world, see Jean Allman, "Making mothers: missionaries, medical officers and women's work in colonial Asante, 1924-1945," History Workshop Journal, 38, 1994, pp.23-47.
35 Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, p.78.

in this kind of training school Native girls "could be trained up to fulfill their future responsibilities as Christian mothers."[36]

A parallel discourse developed around white girls, and led to the opening of the Girls' Collegiate School in Victoria in 1866. The School was officially opened by Mrs. Kennedy, the wife of the Governor of Vancouver Island, and after she had laid the corner-stone of the new building she was addressed by Bishop Hills. He endowed her with the requisite Christian accolade: "we regard you as exhibiting in your own accomplished home the example of a successful education."[37] Since her home was a model of sound Anglican morality, she had amply fulfilled the tenets of her assigned femininity.

The epitome of this (masculine) vision of female nature was, as Davidoff and Hall have pointed out, the pastor's wife. While the missionary took care of the worldly issue of public proselytization, his wife was to take care of household civility, and (along with her husband) promote the social and moral role of the family. Such was the rationale behind Bishop Hills' recommendation that the Reverend J. Reynard's wife accompany him to William's Creek in the Cariboo mining country:

> It was thought by some that Cariboo was not the place to take a lady to, on account of the rough and unsettled state of society. The Bishop, however, was of opinion, that — given a lady courageous enough to endure the hardness of that life — her presence there would do incalculable good, not only in supporting her husband in a fight almost too great for any man, unaided by human sympathy, but also in affording an example of the order and

[36] The Mission Field, 14, 1869, p.100. Good often professed similar aspirations. When he moved his Lytton mission to the town's perimeter, a move I discuss later in the thesis, he envisaged training schools for Native boys and girls. In the latter, he suggested, girls "should be taught useful house-hold knowledge," an education which would enable their development into "superior wives & mothers." See Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1869, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70. This component of Good's plan never came to fruition, largely because of deficient human and monetary resources. But in October 1884 just such a training school was set up at Yale, called the Ditchingham Sisterhood. Upon the establishment of this institution Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, in language reminiscent of Reece, noted that it was intended for "the cultivation of womanly virtues." New Westminster Quarterly Paper, 2, October 1884, p.15. Sillitoe was the Bishop of the Diocese of New Westminster, having arrived in British Columbia in June 1880 upon the division of the original diocese into three separate administrative regions. The other two dioceses were those of British Columbia (coterminous with Vancouver Island) and Caledonia (the northern section of the mainland).
[37] Columbia Mission Report, 8, 1866, p.55.

beauty (even amidst manifold privations) of family life, in a place where virtuous women were, to say the least, excessively scarce.[38]

In the few letters which seem to have been written by the wives of missionaries in British Columbia, the indication is clear that they were well aware of their intended role. Mary Louisa Pringle, for example, whose husband Alexander David we have already come across, began one letter thus:

> My dearest Amy, I should not have let so long a time go by without writing only I knew that David had written & so made up for my deficiencies — But I mean to have a little chat with you now for I see in his letter to the Père he has given but little 'domestic intelligence'.[39]

This is a telling opening, for it illustrates the degree to which Mary Louisa internalized societal stipulations of what, for her, should constitute legitimate knowledge.

Women's knowledge was to be confined to the household, and so too, ideally, was their power. But we should not forget that the marital bond was never intended to be equal, either within secular or Christian canons. Just as Locke had claimed that a firm order within marriage should be established according to biology — there had to be someone in charge of the contract, and in view of his greater strength, that someone should naturally be the man — women had likewise been defined as the subordinate within Protestant dogma. In his very first Sunday address to members of the Nlaka'pamux nation

38 ibid., 11, 1869, p.53. For a useful discussion of Reynard's fate in the Cariboo, see Weir, Catalysts and watchdogs, pp.59-65.

39 Mary Louisa Pringle to Amy Pringle, December 16th 1860, BCARS, Add. MSS 369. The audience for this letter is no more neutral than its content, and it is surely significant that Mary Louisa only felt comfortable writing about the specificities of 'domestic intelligence' to another woman — and a woman, moreover, who was also part of the family (her sister-in-law). Interestingly, Pringle used his wife's 'duties' in the home as a convenient excuse when explaining why he had done little work for Natives in the lower Canyon. With respect to the possibility of opening a school for Native children, he informed his sponsors that "my wife will give her aid when available & exempt from domestic duties. Had my own time been less occupied in domestic duties, the School for Indians w[oul]d have been commenced before." Pringle, Annual Return, 1860, USPG, E Series, Vol.8, 1860.

at Lytton in June 1867, Good extolled these gendered preconditions of marital and social morality.

> Then being seated, I proceed to give them an address upon their moral, social, and physical condition, showing them how they must learn to conform to civilised habits, to our laws, and to be kindly affectionate to one another; the man honouring the woman as 'the weaker vessel,' and the woman obeying her husband.[40]

The relationship between a married couple was thus preordained, with the woman's dependence upon her husband mirroring the subordination of a feminized Church to the rule of God — the transcendent male ego. The Anglican assertion of reproductive femininity therefore anticipated specific relations of power, relations tilted firmly in the direction of the male partner.

Given the centrality of moral femininity to this utopian Christian vision, it is not surprising that the sexual moralism of women was also a core component of the British Columbian dystopia portrayed in the early tracts of missionaries and colonial administrators. When these men raged against the intrusive visibility of extra-marital sexual relations, they were appealing to the 'other' side of a dichotomy that has historically embraced Christian attitudes towards female sexuality. On the one hand was the caring, homely femininity I have just discussed. On the other hand was the putative danger of the woman's body. It was a woman's ability to 'snare' men through her unrestrained sexuality which was so often invoked in these critical narratives. But the two conceptions were not unconnected. The idealized femininity of the "godly wife and mother" provided the means by which these "dangers of uncontained sexuality" could be avoided. Eve had transgressed in the Garden of Eden. But "through her services to the family [a woman] could suppress the dangerous parts of herself, associated with her sexuality, which linked her back to Eve."[41] The 'missionary position', a sexuality bound up with the ideology of the nuclear

40 Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.79.
41 Davidoff and Hall, Family fortunes, p.114.

household, would in theory enable men to pin down, regulate, and effectively suffocate that intrinsic womanly 'danger'. In the minds of Christian men, one form of sexual femininity was to displace and efface another.

Assertions of the alluring dangers of young Native women were a commonplace in the Anglican mission literature of the 1860s. The following quotation, as clear a statement as any, comes from a letter or report Reynard wrote in late-1869, extracts of which were included in an essay on the Columbia Mission by Lundin Brown. Reynard had visited Lillooet (Brown's former mission field) in October of that year, and reported:

> Lillooet is a terrible place: no rookery in the neighbourhood of docks in large cities is so vile. Troops of young Indian girls (chiefly Carriers and Babines, whose custom it is to have their fill of vice before marriage) inhabit the tumble-down cabins; and men are accustomed to winter at Lillooet on this score alone. ... Respectable young men, who for years kept away from this habit of society, have at last given in, and now are among the worst.[42]

Feminine Native sexuality is thus presented as an unwelcome infringement upon the upright, moral propriety of innocent, 'respectable', white men. There is no contextualization whatsoever, the agency of these men goes entirely unquestioned, and they are portrayed as the hapless victims of a contaminating female influence.

As Peter Brown has suggested, the category 'woman' was indeed a foundational element of Christian moral prescription. In early colonial British Columbia, a diffuse Anglican 'moral imagination' was fractured according to two principal constructions of sexualized femininity. Given this recurrent concern with female sexuality, and the Biblical ordination that men resembled a perfect God, it is clear why concern "with forms of manliness was never as central and overt an issue as forms of femininity for Christian preachers and writers."[43] But colonialism aggravated many of these assumptions, for it was evident that not all male immigrants were the pure, brave 'sons' envisaged by the

42 Columbia Mission Report, 11, 1869, p.64.
43 Davidoff and Hall, Family fortunes, p.110.

Bishop of Oxford. In the colonial realm, consequently, a concern with masculinity did surface in the sidelines of Anglican narratives. That said, however, female sexuality was almost invariably the preeminent consideration.

Recalling Crease's remarks, then, not all social commentators were willing to blame women for the prevalence of extra-marital relations. Some did, pointing like Reynard to an unbridled female sexuality, but others laid the blame at a collective male door. Many Anglicans saw fit to criticize those colonists referred to by the Reverend John Sheepshanks as "ungodly white men, who are often what is called the 'pioneers of civilization'."[44] Thus Good argued that in these liaisons between white men and Native women, which he labeled "crimes against the laws of morality and nature," it was the men who should be seen as the "least excusable."[45] Although femininity was always a more central concern for Anglican missionaries, masculinity entered the picture when it became apparent that not all men were acting in 'God's image'.

This criticism of the white colonial male was embodied in Bishop Hills' powerful trope of the "white savage"[46] — an apparent inversion of the racialized ascriptions of colonial rhetoric. The Bishop condemned those for whom "sin is a matter of indifference," men who appeared to promote a "calculating & matter of course infidelity."[47] American miners came in for the most virulent censure, with missionaries like Pringle pointing to their preference for "bad whiskey and gambling" in place of "anything more sober or intellectual."[48] This was a common reproach, but also a useful one, since to these critical

44 Columbia Mission Report, 6, 1864, p.49. Sheepshanks, the Rector at New Westminster, made these comments in a lecture delivered in Brighton, England, on December 22nd 1864.
45 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1869, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70. It should be noted that this criticism of white, male 'immorality' was not leveled by missionaries alone. For example, in an essay titled "City morals," the editors of the Victoria Gazette lambasted "the lust, vice, and brutality of the depraved white men" — thus exemplifying, perhaps, a greater honesty about their moral hypocrisy than those 'other' (and vastly more infamous) Victorians! The Victoria Weekly Gazette, September 29th 1860, p.1; original emphasis.
46 Hills, Diary, June 25th 1862.
47 Hills, Diary, August 8th 1860.
48 The Mission Field, 6, 1861, p.74.

representations Anglicans could fruitfully juxtapose their own self-images. Set off against the 'reckless masculinity' of a secular colonialism, mission civility could be equated with a romanticized manliness which, while still based on strength, replaced lawless intemperance with discipline and self-denial. This is what Bishop Hills had to say on the matter:

> You will see a man with stout country shoes, corduroy trousers, a coloured woollen shirt, a leather strap round his waist, and an axe upon his shoulder; he is driving before him a mule or a horse laden with packs of blankets, a tent, bacon, a sack of flour, a coffee-pot, a kettle, and a frying-pan. He is a pioneer of the gospel.[49]

Thus an unruly working-class masculinity, invariably overstated,[50] was played off against this more genteel, middle-class masculinity. It was through differential constructions of manliness that Christian men were able to distinguish between the variant interests of secular and spiritual colonists. Maleness became a crucial parameter of imperial distinction, and a discourse of social righteousness was advanced through the popularization of male integrity as well as female virtue.[51]

[49] Columbia Mission Report, 5, 1863, p.17.

[50] Such criticisms were nearly always made of miners, missionaries drawing upon (and reworking) the stereotypical representations so current both at the time and ever since, and perhaps epitomized in the writing of Bret Harte. But as recent research has suggested, such reductive images do not begin to come to terms with the huge differences which existed within the mining population. See Averill Groeneveld-Meijer, "Manning the Fraser Canyon gold rush," Unpublished MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1994; chapter 3 in particular.

[51] The 'white savage' critique was obviously not only about masculinity. Missionaries distanced themselves from miners on other accounts, too, most immediately their nationality. Most miners were American, whereas Anglican missionaries all came from Britain. Some Anglicans were willing to criticize their own fellow-countrymen — Good claimed that Natives of Vancouver Island had been "fearfully vitiated through contact with those who disgrace the name of Christ & dishonour the country that gave them truth & sent them forth" (Good to the Secretary, SPG, June 6th 1863, USPG, E Series, Vol.14, 1863) — but it was usually Americans who received Anglican reproach. Bishop Hills, in particular, tried to recuperate a romanticized masculinity/nationalism couplet (the upstanding English male) by equating sexual immorality with American men: "Moral & religious character is entirely disregarded in the estimate of worth. This is an American element. From indifference to destructive religion the step has been easy to indifference to morality" (Hills, Diary, August 21st 1865). Class was another parameter of discrimination. British missionary organizations were keen to promote a sense of class superiority within their ranks. But this was an ironic vision in many ways, since the lion's share of their personnel had always been drawn from the lower-middle class. In 1874, a CMS announcement spoke directly to some of these contradictions: "Eighteen new

Yet this civil masculinity, "a manly presence based on moral authority," was not without peril. As Davidoff and Hall observe, it "came dangerously close to embracing 'feminine' qualities."[52] This was obviously not acceptable. Despite missionaries' self-proclaimed gentility and decency, theirs was nonetheless the rugged public realm within which none but the 'true man' belonged. At St.Augustine's, therefore, Good had been reconciled to a mission masculinity that denied the slightest encroachment of the feminine. A later warden wrote that the College trainee should cultivate

> a liking for manly games, and let the body be trained to habits of endurance. ... Manly games, cricket and football, have much to do with 'keeping the body in temperance, soberness, and chastity'. Effeminacy is repulsive in a candidate for the arduous work of the Mission Field.[53]

Indeed, the politics of masculinity were even in evidence when women were the official subjects of discussion. Colonial propriety was dependent on a nurturing, domestic femininity, but given women's reproductive responsibility, the education of women would

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candidates have been accepted during the year, and while we rejoice that two of these are from Oxford and four from Cambridge, we rejoice also that our commercial and industrial population still continues to provide a succession of godly young men to be trained for the highest of all services" (Church Missionary Gleaner, 1, 1874, p.61). It is important to take these issues seriously, for we can only understand the notion of the 'white savage' in the context of the aspiration for self-improvement that characterized the missionary ethic. Most candidates were from the artisan class, but many saw the missionary enterprise as a prime opportunity to rise above their station. When Good had applied to St.Augustine's, for example, one of his letters of recommendation noted his many putative qualities, but reminded the College that "he has no means whatever" (J.R.West to St.Augustine's, August 16th 1854, CCA, U88/A2/6/John Booth Good; original emphasis). Hardly a suitable qualification for middle-class status, of course, but class boundaries were fluid, and missionary service was regarded by many as "a bridge to the middle-class establishment and its values" (C.P.Williams, " 'Not quite gentlemen': an examination of 'middling class' Protestant missionaries from Britain, c.1850-1900," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 31(3), 1980, pp.301-15; the quotation is from p.302). Such a prerogative of self-amelioration could only be helped and advanced by a critique that placed others on a lower rung of the social hierarchy, since class was a relative concept as well as a dynamic one. The more people one considered of lower 'value', the higher one's own self-esteem could rise. By distinguishing themselves from those deemed of a lower morality, a lower class, missionaries were able to advance their own project of socialization. For this purpose, miners fitted the bill perfectly.

[52] Davidoff and Hall, Family fortunes, p.111.

[53] "Some thoughts on the Service for the Admission of Students at Matriculation," CCA, U88/A3/2/6.

also have a direct bearing "upon the manhood of the future." Thus the Girls' Collegiate School in Victoria presupposed a holistic social vision, for it coveted not only "virtuous, intelligent mothers," but also — and by extension — "a manhood vigorous, temperate, cultivated, high-principled and useful." Without the proper moral instruction of young girls, it seemed inevitable that down the line colonial masculinity would suffer: "if you let your girls grow up into frivolous, vain and pleasure-loving womanhood, you have a generation of effeminate, selfish, shallow and unstable manhood."[54]

As with female sexuality, Anglican perceptions of masculinity seem to have run the full gamut. At one extreme was the dangerous, sexual male, at the other the righteous — but not, God forbid, impotent — Christian. Thus missionaries like Good propounded the vital social role of the "husband & father" to complement the pivotal moral influence of wives and mothers.[55] Both of these idealized gender stereotypes were bound to the Anglican imperative of marital monogamy. But despite these concerns about colonial masculinity, femininity was always the principal worry. It had to be, because it was women who held out the possibility of reproducing a proper colonial society, not merely of producing it. As the Collegiate School rhetoric demonstrated, manliness was deemed a derivative, a genetic offshoot of feminine attributes.

The conflation of female morality and reproductive capacity suggests one possible reason for the persistent Anglican criticism of prostitution. Good raged against the "shameful prostitution" of Native women at Yale; Hills against the "wages of iniquity" earned by women in Victoria. Alexander Garrett wrote similarly of "lewdness and barefaced prostitution."[56] All extra-marital sex was reproached by Anglican missionaries, but to this moral affront prostitution added a further violation of sanctioned feminine

54 Columbia Mission Report, 8, 1866, pp.55-7.
55 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1. There was, however, an irony to this rhetoric, for as I show in chapter 5, Good himself shirked many of these domestic manly duties.
56 Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.71; Hills, Diary, April 27th 1861; Garrett to the Secretary, SPG, October 7th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol.10, 1861.

rectitude. As Deborah Logan puts it: "The prostitute's perversion of reproductive sexuality mocks the family structure on which the British Empire ostensibly depends for its stability."[57]

In any case, the point of this discussion has been to suggest that Anglican moral discourse was constituted according to a strict dichotomy with marriage at one pole, and everything outside of marriage at the other. At the latter extreme, criticism of inappropriate femininity was epitomized in the censure of prostitution. A 'proper' colonial society was to be produced and (equally importantly) reproduced through the moral authority of Christian wives and mothers. As I argued in the last section, however, marital relationships were rare in early colonial British Columbia; there were scarcely any white women living there, and few liaisons between whites and Natives had been consecrated by a church ceremony. In the early-1860s, then, the chances of 'reproducing England in the colonies' must have appeared slim, and it became increasingly clear that to prevent continued moral corruption, something had to be done. Missionaries like Good took up the call by pledging to saturate Native society with a monogamous marital ethic, a protracted moral enterprise that I address in chapter 5. Here I turn to a more immediate proposal.

The bride ships: reproducing England in the colonies

> I believe there is not 1 [woman] to every 100 men at the mines; without them the male population will never settle in the country, and innumerable evils are the consequence. A large number of the weaker sex could obtain immediate employment as domestic servants, at high rates of wages, with the certainty of marriage in the background. The miner is not very particular — 'plain, fat, and 50,' even, would not be objected to; while good-looking girls would be the nuggets, and prized accordingly. An immigration of such a character would be as great a boon to the colony as I am sure it would be to many of the under-paid, under-fed, and over-worked

[57] Deborah Logan, "The economics of sexuality: Elizabeth Barrett Browning and the Victorian 'bad conscience'," Women's Studies, 24(4), 1995, pp.293-305; the quotation is from p.296. As Bell puts it: "normal female sexuality was defined in terms of women's reproductive functions; deviant female sexuality was defined in terms of prostitution." Shannon Bell, Reading, writing, and rewriting the prostitute body, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1994, p.41.

> women who drag out a weary existence in the dismal back streets and alleys of this metropolis.
>
> A.G.D., 1862[58]

Writing in the early-twentieth century, Nancy de Bertrand Lugrin provided an exemplary statement of the expectations held out for women emigrating to British Columbia:

> Therein is the keynote to the pioneer women's story, the love for her mate and the guarding and rearing of her young. Very primitive, but the truest thing in the world, and the one fact responsible for the birth of a nation.[59]

As this passage indicates, founding a nation, creating a colony, demanded the involvement of women. But 'pioneer women' were few and far between in early British Columbia. As Bishop Hills had noted when passing through the interior in the summer of 1861, the "great want ... in the place was female society."[60] Here I focus on a scheme developed in 1862 to help alleviate this 'problem'. In September of that year a letter from New Westminster to London championed the colony's cause. Of all Britain's overseas possessions, the author claimed, British Columbia was the best "to found a family in."[61] This was a common claim, and its intent was clear: the colony needed women. What most commentators had in mind, therefore, was female immigration from home. And back in England, the one institution receptive to these overtures was, predictably, the Anglican Church.

58 The Times, January 13th 1862, p.7.
59 Nancy de Bertrand Lugrin, The pioneer women of Vancouver Island, 1843-1866, edited by John Hosie, The Women's Canadian Club of Victoria, British Columbia, 1928, pp.1-2.
60 Hills, Diary, June 13th 1861.
61 The Times, January 30th 1863, p.7. A very similar claim was made a little later by Matthew Macfie, an early historian of the colony, in a book first published in 1865: "There is no territory on the globe presenting to unmarried virtuous females such opportunities of entering that state upon which every right-minded woman cannot but look with approval." Matthew Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia: their history, resources, and prospects, Coles, Toronto, 1972, p.497.

At this embryonic stage of the colony's development, in other words, reproducing England would entail English reproduction. However, as far as the Church of England was concerned, this was not a racialized imperative. For one reason or another, Native women were not marrying their white male partners, so the general advancement of a marital ethic demanded that the Church look elsewhere. Persuading British women to emigrate to British Columbia would be a short-term palliative to a more fundamental social problematic.

It is important to be clear about this, for when women were sent to other British colonies, there was often a more profane rationale. The imperial age was marked by a distinct unease about the make-up of colonial populations. As Anna Davin has noted: "If the British population did not increase fast enough to fill the empty spaces of the Empire, others would."[62] It is feasible that such anxiety might have provoked the emigration of women to British Columbia, since there were few British people in the new colony; an emigration report in 1861 suggested that as little as one-sixth of the white population was British.[63] And indeed, Alexander Pringle argued that the development of a British colony should be nurtured "not under aliens & foreigners, but peopled by her own teeming populace."[64] But as I suggested in chapter 1, Pringle was often out on a limb, and his views were hardly representative of the party-line. As I hope to demonstrate in the rest of this chapter, the Church-inspired emigration of women to British Columbia was informed primarily by moral considerations, not national angst.

The occasion for a detailed debate on these questions was a public meeting, held at the London Tavern, on February 27th 1862. At this meeting, chaired by the Lord Mayor, a tentative 'solution' was first worked out. The lead speaker was John Garrett, Commissary to Bishop Hills, whose speech focused on recent correspondence from the Lillooet

62 Anna Davin, "Imperialism and motherhood," in Raphael Samuel, ed., Patriotism: the making and unmaking of British national identity. Vol.1, Routledge, London and New York, 1989, p.204.
63 The Times, June 17th 1861.
64 Pringle to the Secretary, SPG, December 5th 1859, USPG, E Series, Vol.6, 1859.

missionary Lundin Brown. Garrett quoted from Brown's letter at length, suggesting he had "seldom read a missionary letter of more practical interest and value." He began to read as follows:

> Though this note is confidential, and not intended for the public ear, there is one thing which you may make public, nay, even proclaim upon the housetops. It is this — the cure for what, if let alone, will ultimately ruin Religion and morals in this fine country, I mean an emigration of white women from Great Britain. Dozens of men have told me they would gladly marry if they could. I was speaking one evening on the subject of the dearth of females, and mentioned my intention of writing to beg that a plan of emigration may be set on foot; whereupon one member of the company immediately exclaimed , 'Then, sir, I preempt a wife'; another, and another, and all round the circle of those listening to me earnestly exclaimed the same. Fancy the idea of preempting a wife!

Garrett continued to quote directly from this letter. Brown's conclusion sums up the gist of his appeal, and it seems especially important — it would be difficult to find a more explicit confirmation of my argument that, in its own eyes, colonial Anglicanism stood or fell according to the reproduction of marital morality: "Churches may and must be built, our faithful witness must be borne for holiness and virtue, but where there is no wedded life, church-going must be difficult, because morality is almost impossible."[65] At the end of this citation, and having reflected upon the importance of Brown's letter, Garrett called for the setting up of an Emigration Fund for this very purpose: to enable young British women to travel to British Columbia, with the understanding that they would marry upon arrival. A male, mining 'society' was to be transformed into a family-based, "healthy settler society."[66] This, at least, was the intention.

65 Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, pp.41-3. Good thought similarly, and later wrote from Lytton that the "introduction of white women as wives for the resident settlers is just setting in & will be a great means towards effecting a reformation of manners." Morality and femininity, Christianity and propriety: these were the imperatives in which Good traded. Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.

66 Jean Barman, The West beyond the West: a history of British Columbia, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1991, p.89.

These same themes were then picked up by the next speaker, none other than Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford. Wilberforce had a "reputation as an orator,"[67] and on this occasion he seems to have whipped up his audience to a near frenzy, pontificating upon 'home', morality, and the 'meaning' of colonialism, before offering his own practical response to the issues at hand.

> You must give the opportunity for home life to reproduce itself in the distant land, if you mean to take the commonest means possible to transform the distant settlement into an abiding colony. (Hear, hear.) And, then, I need not dwell upon those degrading moral abominations which will be introduced into the population of that young state, unless you bring about an equality of the sexes.

For Wilberforce, as for others, a moral society required a solid marital ethic, and his proposed solution was a tidy one. He believed that this solicitation from England's newest colony provided the opportunity to also resolve pressing domestic problems, and thus, as the proverb goes, 'kill two birds with one stone'. For if this emigration should consist of women from England's workhouse population, the nation's unwanted Malthusian 'surplus', then a considerable burden on public expenditure could be quickly (and usefully) removed. This, at any rate, was his master plan. He had in mind, therefore, a group of women who could be siphoned off to British Columbia, a distant space, and there transformed "into the characters of wife and mother."[68] Linking together the 'problems' of these two spaces in his own imperial imagination, Wilberforce envisioned a universal resolution that would be economically desirable and morally fruitful. (As a subsequent letter to The Times reaffirmed, sending women to British Columbia not only made implicit moral sense, "for surely women were meant to have families," but was also economically

[67] Desmond Bowen, The idea of the Victorian Church: a study of the Church of England, 1833-1899, McGill University Press, Montreal, 1968, p.29.
[68] Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, pp.51,53. An 1861 letter to The Times referred to the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women's plan to send women to the Empire: "We cannot find employment for the surplus women here," argued its author, Emily Faithfull, so why not send them to where they are needed? The Times, December 4th 1861, p.7. The difference being, of course, that Wilberforce had marriage in mind for these 'surplus women', not employment.

prudent — "for where there is a wholesome demand it is both a right and a duty to send a supply."[69])

To renewed applause, Wilberforce concluded thus:

> [Y]ou will have made morality possible, you will have made Christian homes a fact, you will have made the elevating influences of woman's society and of family life a healing blessing to those adventurous souls. (Cheers.)[70]

The Bishop's was a rounded vision, encompassing the spaces of the metropolis and the colony, and bringing them together in order to resolve a series of social 'problems' centered on issues of sexual moralism. The emigration of poor, white women would produce the conditions upon which a morally righteous society could be grounded, and would rid the colony of the those extra-marital relations (between Natives and whites) that caused the 'moral imagination' of Anglican missionaries such concern. Interestingly, of course, this was a problem of population, of 'society', that nevertheless found its resolution at the level of the individual — or more immediately and tellingly, at the level of the female body. It was through the control and guidance of the bodies of individual women that the matter (as Crease put it) of properly 'peopling the country' was to be negotiated.

This interlocking of body and population in an intrinsically colonial politics effectively brought together the two components of that modality of power which Foucault has referred to as 'bio-power'. The "disciplines of the body," on the one hand, and the "regulations of the population," on the other, constituted for Foucault "the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed."[71] Sexuality was such an important issue for imperial Anglicans because it existed at this precise juncture: while tied irrevocably to the morality of the individual body, it was also the locus of the reproductive

69 The Times, April 11th 1862, p.5.
70 Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, p.53.
71 Michel Foucault, The history of sexuality. Vol.1: an introduction, trans. Robert Hurley, Vintage Books, New York, 1990, p.139.

processes through which populations recreate themselves. Here, then, sex formed the critical point of intersection for two ostensibly separate scales. The 'body' and the 'population' were both to be regulated, but within the confines of an overarching moral schema which rendered these scales indissoluble. The vision of the Anglicans in 1862, and of Wilberforce in particular, was rooted in a society where the 'discursive fact' of sex was crucial. And in this instance the conjunctural politics of European bio-power, a power with an emphatically colonial constitution, were deployed through the medium of the female body.

Following this meeting the British Columbia Emigration Society was founded, a group in which Angela Burdett Coutts, whose munificence had enabled the original institution of the Columbia Mission, would play a prominent role. The first group of women to leave England for British Columbia were drawn mainly from amongst Lancashire factory workers, and set off in the 'Tynemouth' in June 1862. On board the ship the 62 women, closely chaperoned by an Anglican minister named Scott, had to make do with their own company since talking to other passengers was strictly prohibited.[72] They arrived in Victoria on the evening of September 17th, and were given quite a welcome. Word of their impending arrival had been emblazoned across the pages of the local newspaper for weeks past. The Colonist had announced that "bachelors both young and old must prepare to give a fitting reception. A general holiday should be proclaimed."[73] This incitement certainly did its job, for hundreds of men turned up to join in the festivities. Even the Colonist's reporters were there to size up the new arrivals: "As a matter of course, we went aboard the steamer yesterday morning and had a good look at the

[72] There seems to be some discrepancy over the actual number of women on board the Tynemouth. The Colonist in Victoria put the original number at 62, but noted that one had died en route, leaving only 61 upon the arrival of the ship on Vancouver Island. Edward Cridge, the Dean of Christ Church cathedral in Victoria, and the Chairman of the Immigration Committee, put the number at 57. See The Daily British Colonist, September 19th 1862, p.3; Cridge to James Douglas, July 14th 1863, Colonial Correspondence (CC — Inward Correspondence to the Colonial Government, BCARS), F396/3.

[73] The Daily British Colonist, September 11th 1862, p.3.

lady passengers. They are mostly cleanly, well-built, pretty looking young women — ages varying from fourteen to an uncertain figure."[74] Joan Weir has described the horrifying ordeal experienced by the women upon disembarking:

> Two by two the girls were marched up the quay to the Parliament Buildings where each was handed a bucket of soapy water. As the crowd watched they were ordered to wash as much of themselves as possible, and the clothes that had suffered so much from absence of laundering during the voyage.
>
> Some of the girls became hysterical. Many were sick. All were homesick and frightened, suffering malnutrition and lack of exercise. To have to tidy themselves under the ogling scrutiny of hundreds of males was a terrifying experience. Only after completing their washing were the girls allowed to continue their two-by-two parade along the length of the main street.[75]

The same objectifying gaze would also meet the second group of English women to arrive in the colony under the auspices of this scheme. They too came from Lancashire, although this time there were just 36 of them. Like their predecessors, they were to be confined on board the ship — the 'Robert Lowe' — and one of the men assigned the duty of controlling them was Reverend W.S.Reece (so consistent in his appeals for training institutions for Native girls), on his way out to his mission field. If anything the segregation was more strictly enforced than on board the 'Tynemouth', and the Colonist applauded this protection of the women's virtue:

> On board ship they occupied a separate compartment, never being allowed to mingle with the other passengers, and for the fatherly solicitude and scrupulous care bestowed upon them by the Captain, that gentleman has entitled him self to the lasting gratitude of the girls.[76]

Ironically, they were going to the colony on the understanding that they would 'mingle', to the extent of getting married, but obviously interaction with men was intended to occur

74 ibid., September 19th 1862, p.3.
75 Weir , Catalysts and watchdogs, pp.72-3.
76 The Daily British Colonist, January 12th 1863, p.3. It seems likely that this greater 'control' on board the carrying vessel had much to do with criticism surrounding the arrangements on board the 'Tynemouth'. For details of such criticism, see ibid.; and Hills, Diary, March 31st 1863.

under very particular (and particularly paternalistic) conditions. In any case, when the 'Robert Lowe' arrived in early January 1863, the women on board were met by the "rude gaze" of the Victorians: "a crowd of at least one thousand persons had assembled upon the spot, and the girls had to run the gauntlet through them amid the utterance of coarse jokes."[77]

It is difficult to trace the individual fortunes of the 100-odd women who arrived in colonial British Columbia as part of this imperial operation, but it is possible to make some generalizations — beyond the contemporary assertion that, as Bishop Hills put it, the immigration was "a very great boon to the Colony."[78] First, while many of the women indeed fulfilled their assigned marital role, some did not, and one commentator complained that there was "too little care exercised in the selection of them, by those directing the movement, and some, in consequence, turned out badly."[79] Cridge too lamented that "some half dozen [had] fallen."[80] Second, it seems that the women who came on board the bride ships were of two backgrounds, namely the lower class, and the lower-middle or middle class. Thus, the official line was that the former were heading to the colony to become domestic servants, and the latter to take up the more 'respectable' position of governesses. As Jean Barman has noted, this was only the official statement, and in spite of the rhetoric, "everyone was aware of their intended destination": in other words marriage.[81] I will return to this point; but first I want to look at the relative 'successes' of these two groups of women.

77 The Daily British Colonist, January 12th 1863, p.3; January 13th 1863, p.3.
78 Hills, Diary, October 4th 1862. Joan Weir has managed to piece together a useful picture of their fate in the colony; unfortunately, her book was published after the bulk of this thesis was completed, and as such I was unable to use many of the sources she has unearthed. Weir, Catalysts and watchdogs, chapter 5.
79 Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, p.497.
80 Cridge to Douglas, July 14th 1863. Bishop Hills was quick to respond to any bad publicity given to the immigration, feeling that any unkind words about the fate of these women would "damage the credit of the Colony." Hills, Diary, March 16th 1863.
81 Barman, The West beyond the West, p.90. This was obviously the role pre-assigned to them by others. It is difficult to know anything of the women's own motivations. These women 'travelers' were not of the upper-middle, literate class which has been variously studied by those interested in the conjuncture of imperialism and gender. (See for example

The first thing to say is that the governesses do not appear to have met with the same 'success' as those who were lined up to become household servants. With respect to the 60 women who arrived in September 1862 on the 'Tynemouth', the Colonist noted that just 5 days after alighting, only 24 remained at the barracks which Governor Douglas had set aside for their initial use. These 24, the report continued, were "principally of the governess class."[82] It appears that all those content with a servile domestic placement found one almost immediately, and indeed a large number had married within just weeks of their arrival[83] — although Bishop Hills noted that one woman who had traveled on the 'Robert Lowe' "had been rejected from her place because she was religious!"[84] This is ironic, given the impetus that fueled the movement in the first place, but it also speaks to the fact that most men apparently did not want thinking subjects, but subservient wives. For this reason the women referred to by Cridge as the 'educated class' did not find an immediate niche. Indeed, the very idea that such women were wanted in British Columbia was, on occasion, mocked. Here is Alexander Pringle:

> I hear that [John] Garrett has been advocating Vancouver Island & B. Columbia as a fine field for the settlement of 'decayed gentlewomen' — for Governesses ... Oh dear! who could have filled his Irish imagination with such ideas — For mercies sake, do all you can to stop such insanity[.] The market in Victoria is already stocked with ladies, employing themselves in needlework, Keeping millenery shops — in fact grievously disappointed at the number of people who do not want governesses and ladies to do the work which we want to get out of a pair of hard hands & brawny arms.[85]

Alison Blunt, Travel, gender, and imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa, Guilford Press, New York, 1994.) What is vital to note, however, is that as Lugrin's claims for the nurturing femininity of 'pioneer women' exemplify, the rhetoric of imperial maternity was not advanced only by men. Indeed for those women who sought to indulge in Empire, the ideals of home and family could be very empowering. In criticizing male conceptions of femininity, we should beware both of limiting those ascriptions to men alone, and (perhaps more importantly) of ignoring the work done by women within the confines of those assigned roles. For women in the imperial realm did do a lot of work in the home, and as I attempt to show in my discussion of Good's wife in chapter 5, the work of male missionaries (among others) was utterly dependent upon this contribution.

82 The Daily British Colonist, September 22nd 1862, p.3.

83 Nancy de Bertrand Lugrin suggests that about half of the women were soon married — see her The pioneer women of Vancouver Island, pp.147-9.

84 Hills, Diary, January 16th 1863.

85 Alexander David Pringle to David Pringle (father), July 9th 1862, BCARS, Add. MSS 369.

Such concerns were exemplified in a report filed to the Times by their correspondent in British Columbia. He too noted a discrepancy between the respective fortunes of the two classes, and mused that the reason for this was that the governesses were "in advance of the place."[86] What the colony wanted at that time, as Wilberforce had pointed out, were 'wives and mothers'. Indeed the very idea that governesses were needed went against the whole philosophy of the emigration, for such a requirement would imply that colonial reproduction — the production of children to be educated — was already a pervasive phenomenon. It was not, precisely because white women were so scarce. It was in exactly this sense that governesses were 'in advance of the place'. In other words, their arrival was seen to be temporally out of sink with the evolving needs of a developing colonial society. This, at any rate, was the argument, with the emphasis invariably placed on the contemporary need for wives.

But governesses were 'in advance of the place' in other ways too. British Columbian white society was in need of a certain class of women. Domestic labor was scarce at this time, but was desperately required. Colonial officials saw no reason why their own genteel wives — the 'ladies' of the colony — should have to humiliate themselves by performing work apparently suited to another class of woman. Even missionaries found this hard to stomach. As Alexander Garrett wrote of the colony in 1861: "Ladies are their own servants." This could not be tolerated, and like several other missionaries, Garrett immediately procured a household servant of his own.[87] Indeed, across the broad spectrum of middle-class white society domestics were needed to ease the strain on colonial 'ladies'. Governesses plainly did not fit the bill. The last thing that was wanted were women who might not deign to perform 'menial' domestic duties. The

86 The Times, March 19th 1863, p.7.
87 Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, p.40. Garrett claimed that his servant "did better than any." Another missionary with a female domestic servant was Sheepshanks; see Pringle to the Secretary, SPG, July 27th 1860, USPG, E Series, Vol.8, 1860.

prevailing mood was indicated in a letter sent by Colonel Moody — chief of the Royal Engineers, and commissioner of lands and works — from New Westminster to Maria Rye, whose Female Middle Class Emigration Society was at the forefront of a metropolitan campaign to promote the emigration of governesses. Like Pringle, Moody argued that this was folly. Educated women were not needed: "Household work is what is demanded. Our wives, the ladies of the colony, from the highest to the humblest, have to labour in the kitchen, the nursery, and the workhouse."[88]

Governesses, then, were 'in advance of the place' in more ways than one. They shunned the moral imperatives extolled by the likes of Wilberforce, and tendered labor for which there was no apparent demand. British Columbia had little to offer them, and they proffered little in return. Within this fledgling colonial society they were branded with what Jeanne Peterson has aptly termed a "status incongruence"[89] — for their distinctive femininity accorded with neither the 'godly wife and mother' anticipated by the Church, nor the domestic servant craved by the colonial gentry. Hence their apparent lack of 'success' upon arriving in British Columbia; and hence also the dispute between Rye, the protagonist of female middle-class emigration, and the likes of Moody and Pringle. Indeed, this discord was not peculiar to British Columbia — it mirrored a far more general phenomenon of the imperial era, Julia Bush noting an "evident mismatch ... between the colonies' demand for wives and domestic servants, and the female emigrators' prioritisation of distressed 'ladies'."[90] This was a 'mismatch' that must have been strikingly obvious to the governesses who arrived on the bride ships in the early-1860s.

88 The Times, July 28th 1862, p.6.

89 M.Jeanne Peterson, "The Victorian governess: status incongruence in family and society," Victorian Studies, 14(1), 1970, pp.7-26. It should be noted that Peterson implies this incommensurability somewhat differently than I employ it here, but I nonetheless find it a useful concept. For an interesting extension and reworking of some of her ideas, see Marion Amies, "The Victorian governess and colonial ideals of womanhood," ibid., 31(4), 1988, pp.537-65.

90 Julia Bush, " 'The right sort of woman': female emigrators and emigration to the British Empire, 1890-1910," Women's History Review, 3(3), 1994, pp.385-409; the quotation is from p.389.

As their companions gradually filtered into an expectant male society, they were left holed up in Victoria's barracks facing an unenviable choice. Either they married, or they accepted the kind of degrading domestic placement ordinarily spurned by such 'educated' minds. Thinking of this imposing predicament, one is reminded of Peter Carey's description of Miriam Chadwick in his novel Oscar and Lucinda:

> And if I say that she began — there and then, without having said a word to him, or heard one from him either — to lay plans for him, it would be unfair to judge her harsh and scheming. It is important to look instead at her options.
>
> The first was to continue as a governess, a poor governess for the Trevis family who, having no education themselves and no great respect for it, were inclined to view a governess as a labourer and, should she be found with anything as useless as a book, would be requested to do something more practical around the place. Thus she was not only depressed and unstimulated, but she was also continually weary.
>
> The second possibility was marriage. Having had experience of the two states she was much disposed towards the latter.

Two options thus awaited the women who arrived on the bride ships: marriage or domestic service. Barman claims that even where the desire was ostensibly for household servants, the 'ultimate' contract for these women was assumed to be marital, rather than simply economic.[91] She is probably right, given that the emigration was itself planned and supervised by the Anglican Church, for whom moral etiquette always outweighed more worldly considerations. But the point is surely that, whether as wives of working class colonists or as servants in more privileged homes, these women would be denied precisely the social and economic independence sought by governesses. To that extent, it does not really matter whether the 'intended' role for these women was as wives or as servants; for as Davidoff has argued, both implied subjugation to the 'master' of the household. She shows that in Victorian England most girls moved "from paternal control, in their parents'

[91] This emigration was therefore a far cry from the movement of English women to Ontario in the early-twentieth century which is described by Joy Parr. As she stresses, for these women, "their futures in the work force were much more certain than their prospects as wives." If anything, the exact inverse of this situation prevailed in 1860s British Columbia. See Joy Parr, The gender of breadwinners: men, women, and change in two industrial towns, 1880-1950, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1990, p.17.

home, into service and then into their husband's home — thus experiencing a lifetime of subordination in private homes."[92] For those women who emigrated to British Columbia, this teleology was interrupted only by a brief period of factory work in the depressed Lancashire cotton industry. But as Rye argued, the essential moral imperative remained consistent: "Circumstances have led them to live by and love the loom; circumstances will also teach them to live by and love domestic service, for habits of industry and moral worth, led by necessity, can work wonders."[93] Contemporary commentators — secular and ecclesiastical alike — saw this emigration as so singularly righteous precisely because the prevailing construction of moral femininity allocated women a 'proper' place in the home. Emigration would strengthen the links between femininity, home, and empire.

This Anglican-inspired emigration must therefore be viewed in the context of the idealized femininity I discussed in the last section. A caring femininity was a domestic femininity. It was this spatial delimitation which extra-marital relations appeared to breach, for in 'public' spaces a dangerous female sexuality might be allowed free rein. Witness Bishop Hills' delight upon hearing a Native man near Victoria express his concern about the prostitution of Native women to white men: "It was very touching when he alluded to the happier days when ... their daughters lived at home and uncorrupted."[94] Oblivious to a politics of the 'home', Hills appealed to a 'safe space' for femininity, wherein women might be both productive wives and reproductive mothers.[95] This discourse of the household underwrote the Anglican vision of a respectable colonial society. Its allocation of strict feminine attributes was pivotal to the prerogative of reproducing England in the colonies.

[92] Leonore Davidoff, "Mastered for life: servant and wife in Victorian and Edwardian England," Journal of Social History, 7(4), 1974, pp.406-428; the quotation is from p.409.
[93] The Times, August 1st 1862, p.9.
[94] Hills, Diary, February 1st 1863.
[95] Prostitution, of course, ruptured the imperatives of both production and reproduction. On this transgression see Thomas Laqueur, Making sex: body and gender from the Greeks to Freud, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1990, pp.230-3.

These themes were very much in evidence in colonial British Columbia of the early-1860s, a troubled society very much in need, it was claimed, of virtuous white women. But of course not all the immigrants lived up to Anglican expectations. Just days after the 'Tynemouth' arrived, two clergymen were passing the holding barracks when they stumbled across one of the remaining women. She was standing inside the fence circling the barracks, talking to a man on the outside. The encounter was cause for dismay:

> What will become of a young lady who exhibits such extreme depravity, we do not dare to think, much less write. But we ask where, in all Victoria, is the 'parent' or guardian who would allow a marriageable daughter or ward to converse with that most dangerous of all animals — a young man — even if a board fence five feet in height separated her from contact with said young man? We venture to say that there is not one.[96]

The clergy were furious about this young white woman's actions. Why? Because sexual 'danger' was not racialized but extra-marital, a sexuality allowed to run its course outside the close confines of the colonial household. Here we have, then, an intriguing statement of the 'proper' space of femininity. Davidoff traces out the lives of young English women in terms of their passage between a series of 'safe' spaces, spaces which in fact share the characteristic of patriarchal and paternalistic subordination.[97] The case of the bride ships suggests something remarkably similar. The women were sequestered en route, under the gaze of a Christian pastor, and on arrival they were stored in the barracks, another such 'safe' space.[98] They were then released into domestic service, and the final link in the chain would be marriage. In the midst of a society condemned by Anglican missionaries, the planned emigration of these women can be seen as a determined appeal to domestic

[96] The Daily British Colonist, September 29th 1862, p.3; original emphasis.
[97] Davidoff, "Mastered for life."
[98] Indeed, the journalists writing in the Colonist suggested that to prevent a repeat of this incident, there should be a file of marines stationed around the Barracks "with strict instructions to bayonet every young man who may have the audacity to approach within speaking distance of the women"! (The Daily British Colonist, September 29th 1862, p.3.) Of course, this paternalism did not prevent the Colonist's journalists from themselves having a 'good look' when the women first arrived.

feminine rectitude. A desperate attempt to attract wives and mothers, it was an appeal to the conservative morality of the missionary position.

PART TWO

JOHN BOOTH GOOD IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Good's mission to the Nlaka'pamux lasted from 1867 through until the early-1880s. During that period over 2000 Natives came to associate their lives, to varying degrees, with the Anglican church at Lytton, and English colonial Christianity came to represent a significant component of Nlaka'pamux social life. Good once described his influence on the Nlaka'pamux as "strong, enduring, and effective."[1] But what mechansisms were at work through which this close relationship was secured, strengthened and reaffirmed? And what were the attendant impacts upon the everyday lives of his Native charge?

It is these questions that I address in the second part of this thesis. Over the years, Good managed to cultivate a wide-ranging and intensive system of observation and control within the various communities of the Nlaka'pamux. Those Natives who expressed an interest in his work were incorporated into an elaborate system of teaching and instruction, which demanded not only the learning of Christian beliefs, but also strict adherence to many ethical injunctions. Natives became increasingly bound to a rigid, pedagogic, moralizing power. Within the context of a carefully-regulated relationship with their Christian pastor, and through the guided acquisition of certain 'incontestable' truths, Natives were to pass through a number of well-defined developmental stages before finally being admitted into the Christian fold. Here is how Good later depicted this ritualized formula for the manipulation of Native subjectivity:

> First they received a certificate that they belonged to the Anglican Mission of Lytton. Then after long trial teaching or rather catechizing and exercise of discipline they were on their good confession before the congregation no one opposing, baptized, generally at one of the great Festivals, at the visitation of the bishop where they were gathered at the central church from all parts of the district. Then in time followed confirmation and admission to Holy Communion. And all this was to be accompanied by a complete change in their family life. Their natural unions were now to be sanctioned by the marriage service of the Church; to the extinction of polygamy.[2]

[1] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
[2] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.71.

In this excerpt from his reminiscences, Good provides a brief summary of his work at Lytton, and at the same time a useful précis of the next 3 chapters. In large part, these chapters are intended as a tentative engagement with the predominant understanding of 'conversion' in the academic literature on missionization. As an individual 'change of faith', the notion of conversion may appear simplistic. However, as Good's quote indicates, 'conversion' was about a good deal more than a mere change of 'faith'. For baptism to be allowed, and thus conversion affirmed, new beliefs and convictions had to be accompanied (or even evidenced) by a change in personal conduct. Individual morality was of the highest importance, and marital monogamy was singularly cherished by Good. Conversion was not just about the human 'mind', in other words. A converted Native was a righteous Native, and evidence for that righteousness was located in the behavior of the body. In chapter 5, I focus upon Good's efforts to rid Nlaka'pamux communities of polygamous relations; and in so doing hope to suggest that 'conversion' — the production of new Native subjectivities — was a thoroughly moralized transition.

Second, I try to show that this individual 'transformation' was not about subjectivity alone. Specifically, changes in individual belief and conduct need be examined in the context of relations of power and knowledge. Thus Native 'conversion' must be connected first and foremost to the 'exercise of discipline' described by Good above — to the exercise of what I call missionary power. Second, the exercise of this power was only made possible through the production of minutely-detailed knowledge of the individual: the individual becoming an identifiable subject as his or her life is inscribed on Good's 'certificates', and rendered knowable through the process of public 'confession'. All in all, I hope to demonstrate that 'conversion' is best understood when the analysis of changing subjectivities is grafted onto the examination of colonial power and knowledge; and it is for this reason that in chapter 4, where I focus closely on the exercise of missionary power among the Nlaka'pamux, I draw extensively on the ideas of Michel Foucault. It is his emphasis upon the embeddedness of subjectivity in power-knowledge relations that I find

especially helpful in my approach to the question of conversion. As Charles Scott states in his exegesis of Foucault's later work, "the subject takes shape in those processes by which individual behaviour is directed and truth is formed within specific patterns of knowledge and validation."[3] Chapter 4 deals with the 'taking shape' of the Native subject, and insists upon grounding this 'conversion' in the domains of control and validation — in the domains of missionary power and knowledge.

However, before the analysis of missionary power is possible, something needs to be said about the means envisaged by Good to implement his pedagogic system. Along with many of his contemporaries, Good held firm beliefs about the most desirable form of the relationship between missionaries and Native people. Most attractive, not surprisingly, was an intensely close relationship, where constant supervision and instruction might enable the most rapid — and least hazardous — passage to individual and social conversion. To this end, it was believed that the best chance for achieving such constancy and continuity was if Natives and their missionary lived together in the same area. In other words, a peculiar geographical vision lay at the heart of the idealization of missionary power. A concentrated social geography, it was presumed, might enable an effective engagement with Native people. This idealization of constant care and control was something akin to what Foucault called 'pastoral power': as Bernauer and Mahon have it, a "permanent concern with the total well-being of religious subjects."[4] Such an all-encompassing modality of power was to be associated with a specific geography. Relations between power, knowledge, and subjectivity, as they pertain to the missionary endeavor, can only be discussed within the constitutive context of colonial space.

But such a concentrated geography was conspicuously absent in colonial British Columbia. Missionaries like Good, therefore, had to manipulate local geography as best

[3] Charles E.Scott, The question of ethics: Nietzsche, Foucault, Heidegger, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1990, p.88.
[4] James Bernauer and Michael Mahon, "The ethics of Michel Foucault," in Gary Gutting, ed., The Cambridge Companion to Foucault, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, p.145.

they could if a pastoral modality was ever to be instituted. In chapter 3 I chart elements of this widespread effort to rearrange the human geographies of Natives and whites alike. What this endeavor had in mind, I suggest, was precisely a situation where unabated supervision might be possible. I refer to this spatial manipulation under the heading of 'strategy', and do so for two reasons. First, because I conceive of missionary strategy as a kind of 'precursor' to the exercise of power — as the calculated maneuvers deemed necessary to put in place a favored modality of power and knowledge. Strategy, in this way, can be seen as a means to an end, as the "totality of the means put into operation to implement power effectively or to maintain it."[5] Strategy is primary, it is functional. Second, I use the term strategy because missionary policies were, as I pointed out, intrinsically and necessarily spatial — and in the work of Michel de Certeau, which I draw on in chapter 3, the discussion of strategy insists upon precisely this prioritization of relations of space.

The effort to re-work the human geography of British Columbia so that an effective pastoral system could be enacted was never a total success. Missionary spatial strategy would never make feasible the brand of individual care and attention which many held up as an attainable ideal. For that reason, the exercise of power at Lytton (and elsewhere) resembled only in part a strictly pastoral model. Problems of geography combined with problems of personnel and cultural difference to force missionaries like Good to explore other options. Relations between power, knowledge and subjectivity were complex, manifold, and shifting. What we need to think of is not the rarefied pastoral power of the European monastery, but the uniquely missionary power of the colonial realm. Missionary power was a function of the geographical and cultural limits to European modalities of power, limits imposed by the colonial experience. Missionary power, as I discuss it, involved the rigorous pastoral supervision of a colonized population, a strictly disciplinary

[5] Michel Foucault, "The subject and power," in Hubert L.Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, Michel Foucault: beyond structuralism and hermeneutics, The Harvester Press, Brighton, 1982, p.225.

governmentality which was driven primarily by a pedagogic imperative, and riven interminably by the problematics of translation.

Chapter 3: Strategy

Onward! Christian soldiers,
Marching as to war,
With the cross of Jesus
Going on before.
Christ, the royal Master,
Leads against the foe,
Forward into battle,
See, his banners go.

In discussing Good's 'call' to Lytton in 1867, I suggested that his relocation could be usefully understood as a struggle over geography. Here I consider the next move in Good's career, one of less distance but, I think, of equally intriguing provenance. As I have already intimated, Anglican missionaries in colonial British Columbia were always somewhat equivocal about the nature of contact between European and aboriginal people. On the one hand was the rhetoric of 'reproducing England in the colonies', a discourse which insisted on close contact, proximity, and the immediate visibility of colonial culture. But at the other extreme was the trope of the 'white savage'. This ascription suggests a contradictory imperative, of course, for male colonists were deemed an unholy influence on Native society. As against proximity, then, the 'white savage' critique advocated distance, with Native rectification best pursued away from the marks of colonial settlement, in isolation from the 'vices of civilized life'.

I have constructed this duality in such explicitly spatialized language because Good's vacillation on these issues was played out along the lines of what might be called 'moral geographies'.[1] His work with the Nlaka'pamux existed in a profoundly intertwined, and often rapidly shifting, relation with Lytton's white settler population. Upon his arrival there in 1867, he seems to have been convinced of the need to treat the

[1] I take this phrase from Felix Driver, "Moral geographies: social science and the urban environment in mid-nineteenth century England," Transactions: Institute of British geographers, N.S. 13, 1988, pp.275-287.

two local populations according to similar principles, and evidently hoped that the 'reproduction of the self', in the bodies and souls of the Native 'other', would be an exercise aided by spatial contiguity. As he wrote in November 1868, just a year after his arrival:

> I do not deprecate as strongly as some persons the practice of the white and native element being placed in juxtaposition, so long as the propinquity be not too close, and there is found some other superior and controlling power placed over both, and sufficient strength and capacity to keep each party under moderate restraint, and so deal out even-handed justice to all alike.[2]

Although he recognized there were plenty of 'dangers' attendant upon this guided propinquity — his experience at Nanaimo had already taught him that 'morality' and 'whiteness' were not necessarily mutually interchangeable categories[3] — Good nonetheless hoped that Natives might "derive immense benefit in innumerable ways by copying [whites'] better parts."[4]

The contrasting mission methodology to which Good referred was probably that of William Duncan, the CMS catechist whose 'successes' among the Tsimshian population at Metlakatla were by now legion. From the beginning of his Tsimshian mission Duncan had regarded the influence of Fort Simpson's white traders as detrimental to Natives; his move

2 The Mission Field, 14, 1869, p.228.

3 Thus, in early-1862, the Native inhabitants of Nanaimo had been removed onto reserve land at the initiative of the Hudson's Bay Company. Good had supported this move, though this was due to his own desire to see a rearrangement of the local moral topography: "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." See ibid., 8, 1863, p.117.

4 ibid., 14, 1869, p.228. Good's comments about the contrasting 'good' and 'bad' effects of a white presence take on new significance when read in the context of James Teit's observation that those Natives who displayed the worst problems with alcoholism were in fact the same Natives who had also taken on-board the ostensibly more 'civilized' components of Western culture: "these are often included among the most industrious and progressive members of the tribe." This conflation which operated within Native culture perhaps says much about the dubious distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' identified by Christian missionaries. James Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History. Vol.1, New York, 1900, p.181.

to Metlakatla was a direct result of that conviction.[5] Good, by contrast, set to work among the Nlaka'pamux within the town of Lytton itself. For H.P.Wright, Archdeacon of Vancouver Island, the comparison with Duncan was revealing:

> To understand how real are these Indians, it must be remembered that they are not taken away from the world and trained day by day in a pattern village, but they live in the midst of white men, trade with and work with white men.[6]

But within a fairly brief period of his arrival in Lytton, Good was appearing circumspect (even cynical) about his own geographical acumen. His references to 'white barbarism' became more and more common, and eventually he applied to the lands and works department to lease a piece of land outside of Lytton proper — a spot on a hillside just to the south of the town, where he hoped to minister to Natives away from such 'contaminating influences'. He rationalized this move thus:

> One of those vile institutions in which white men and the worst class of Indian women meet, has just been opened within a stone's throw of my residence, and still nearer the Mission School premises. Those who frequent such dens of iniquity have no shame ... [It] is only one of the many signs that this is an unhappy spot, in which we must perforce dwell until we can escape to our little Zoar on the top of the hill.[7]

Giving up on the ideology and practice of social and spatial propinquity, Good finally managed, in November 1870, to sever his intimate connection with the town of Lytton.

Part of the rationale for this 'suburbanization' of his mission therefore stemmed from the imperatives of a strictly moralizing Christianity. Good saw his own immediate 'lot' in life as renewing the moral legacies he had gleaned form pertinent Biblical tales. His

[5] An interesting reading of Duncan's own 'moral geographies' is provided by Daniel Clayton, "Geographies of the Lower Skeena," BC Studies, 94, Summer 1992, pp.29-58. See especially pp.41-5.

[6] Columbia Mission Report, 19, 1877, p.27. I should add that Wright's point is somewhat moot, for as I show below, Good had by 1877 long ago attempted to remove his Native 'flock' to the outskirts of the town. The fact that most (if not all) had actually not followed him explains Wright's statement; and it is a fact I return to shortly. But Wright's assertions nevertheless apply with full force to the late-1860s.

[7] ibid., 11, 1869, pp.20-21.

planned withdrawal to a 'Zoar on top of the hill' was conceived as a replaying of Lot's infamous evacuation from Sodom to the relative serenity of the surrounding mountains, for the "sun was risen upon the earth when Lot entered into Zoar" (Genesis 19: 23). Good saw his move as a similar breakthrough from 'darkness' into 'light'; and he proceeded to pour scorn upon the sexual indiscretions of Lytton's white inhabitants, a rhetorical downpour crafted precisely in the image of God's own assault from heaven, a sovereign campaign against those places whose moral attributes were deemed as base as their low-lying topography: "Then the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire" (Genesis 19: 24). Good's move to 'on high' from a colonial Sodom was therefore informed by a conflation of moral and geographical elevation. Moral superiority and propriety were accorded through the idealization and appropriation of a "commanding" position, and the description of the new mission premises as "most romantically or rather gloriously situated" could not have been more at odds with Good's degrading summation of his three years in Lytton as "a kind of dungeon state of social existence."[8] Good's mission had moved up in the world, morally and geographically. In every sense of the phrase, he was now occupying the 'moral high ground'.

Shifting his work with the Nlaka'pamux to the town's periphery, Good set out to change their everyday lives. I chart this enterprise in chapters 4 and 5, but here I need to consider his effort to rework, as far as he could, the subsistence economy of the Nlaka'pamux nation. Specifically, he desired that a social economy based upon agricultural labor and produce might come to replace the hunter-gatherer society with which he was faced. Along with the principal mission site, Good also obtained 150 acres of land to be set aside for farming, and encouraged his Native charges to forsake their former

[8] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1. Others before him had likewise expressed their contempt for the town. The Methodist missionary Ebenezer Robson had simply stated: "Lytton is a small wicked place." See his Diary, June 29th 1863. Bishop Hills was equally scornful upon his first visit to Lytton in 1860, noting that he left the town "without regret. It is a cold windy unsheltered flat & the people more alien than any place I have been in." See his Diary, July 3rd 1860.

reliance upon salmon, game, roots and berries, and to turn instead to the ostensibly more stable subsistence afforded by hard agricultural labor.[9]

At least in part, this was a moral concern. The intention that the Nlaka'pamux might indulge in "profitable cultivation"[10] was very much in tune with more general ethical assertions about the 'honest gain' — moral and economic — implicit in the vocation of agriculture. The common equation of 'cultivation' with 'civilization' has been much-documented, within the realms of missionary ideology and practice as much as elsewhere,[11] and it was certainly prescient in British Columbia.[12] Not only was there a perceived need to replace 'untamed wilderness' with a familiarly manicured pastoral landscape — Bishop Hills celebrating that the "forest has been driven back, and dwellings and gardens ... occupy its place"[13] — but the practical connotations of laboring on the land were not to be taken lightly either, especially in a colonial society where agriculture was still vying with gold mining as the primary white occupation. Good obviously had strong feelings on the matter, for like other Anglicans he condemned the prospecting mentality, and a number of years after the move to the new site, he announced that his Native 'flock' had "exchanged the certain produce of labour and cultivation" for their former "precarious subsistence." This transition, he insisted, was not merely a pragmatic concern, but was very much an exigency of Protestant ethics: "with the Gospel of Salvation," he noted, "we would preach also the Gospel of Labour."[14] Intensive agricultural toil, six days a week,

[9] Columbia Mission Report, 12, 1870, p.37.
[10] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1869, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
[11] See Comaroff and Comaroff, Of revelation and revolution, pp.70-80.
[12] David Demeritt, "Discourses of agriculture in British Columbia, 1885-1941," BC Studies, forthcoming.
[13] Columbia Mission Report, 6, 1864, pp.27-8.
[14] ibid., 20, 1878, pp.42,41. Good's claims about 'certainty' replacing 'uncertainty', and the associated moral benefits, were in many ways fatuous, for agricultural labor alone was never sufficient for those Natives associated with his mission. The great irony is that Good actually promoted gold mining amongst them, and this in the teeth of Samuel Wilberforce's stinging criticisms of miners who spent their lives "risking all and endeavouring to gain sudden wealth by sudden luck" (ibid., 1860, p.24). Perhaps this was only deemed a supplement to the more 'honest' wages of cultivation, but Good's satisfaction that some "thirty thousand dollars' worth of gold yearly is bought from Indians trading at Lytton,

would help foster the "healthful progress" of the mission which Good envisioned on the hill overlooking Lytton.[15]

This discussion takes us back, then, back to the moral demands of Anglicanism which missionaries like Good internalized and advanced. The adoption of a large new mission site, with extensive tracts of arable land, was part and parcel of Good's moral enterprise in British Columbia. Yet this focus upon agriculture can also take us forward, for the institution of a permanent, arable economy was deemed beneficial to the colonial missionary in other ways too. It is with these other prerogatives that I am principally concerned in this chapter. I want to suggest that Good's move was in many ways reflective of much broader concerns about the geography of missionization. More specifically, in its stress upon a situated stability, this relocation was indicative of the fundamental centrality of sedentary geographical strategies to the intricate mechanics of religious colonization. An idealized pastoral power demanded spatial fixity.

The emphasis on agriculture can help us to think about these issues. The principal congruence which Good detected between gold mining and the Native subsistence economy was not perhaps in their common departure from Protestant moral standards, but rather in their related exceptions to a requirement of settlement and stability. To a significant degree, both economies were dependent upon the temporal and spatial vagaries of natural resource location. Just as the miner's life was ruled by the location of gold-bearing gravels, so the hunter-gatherer was obliged to go where nature dictated. As Teit noted of the latter, before the gold rush of 1858:

> In those days a large portion of the tribe lived in the mountains during the greater part of the year, moving about from one root-digging or deer-hunting ground to another, according to

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Lillooet, Clinton, Kamloops, and Yale" would certainly seem to elevate pragmatics above principles! ibid., p.42. Bishop Hills also promoted gold mining, allocating $100 from mission funds for the Nlaka'pamux to purchase the necessary tools. Hills, Diary, September 10th 1876.

[15] Columbia Mission Report, 12, 1870, p.37.

the harvest-time of certain roots or berries, or as their deer changed their feeding-grounds during the seasons.[16]

This unpredictability and mobility was anathema to the missionary, for it was not possible to wield a consistent and enduring influence over a subject population (white or Native) if that population was forever shifting, disappearing, and changing. As I suggested in the introduction, this had been Good's main criticism of Yale — the fact that everything seemed to be in a perpetual state of upheaval and renewal, so that the missionary "cannot depend upon any arrangement he may, after much trouble, have effected, holding good for any length of time."[17] A perceived 'nomadism', I suggest, was critically antagonistic to the missionary's needs and desires, precisely because the power to colonize depended upon spatial constraint and fixation. It demanded that people be settled down in one place, for only then could they be brought within the confines of a parochial system predicated upon the regulatory mechanisms of detail, order and surveillance. Thus, when the Bishop of Oxford spoke of his visions for the nature of the Columbia Mission, he commended those disciplinary influences which he felt underpinned the moral integrity of 'society': "the way in which everybody almost has some eyes upon him, and the consciousness that he has some eyes upon him will condemn his conduct" in cases of indiscipline or indiscretion.[18] Such imperatives of surveillance and self-regulation were intrinsic to Good's work at Lytton, and in chapter 4 I examine them at length under the heading of 'pastoral power'. Here I focus upon the geographical strategies which were deemed to enable such a systemic hold in the first place.

Within this array of spatial strategies, agriculture played a pivotal role, precisely because its own resource economy succumbed to none of the mobility and diffusion which marked the activities of Natives and miners. In sharp contrast, a fully-fledged arable

16 Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," p.230.
17 Good to the Warden, St. Augustine's College, November 6th 1866, CCA, U88/A2/6/John Booth Good.
18 Columbia Mission Report, 1860, p.24.

economy demanded constant attention and supervision, a fixed geographical tie between crops and carers which would also characterize the idealized relationship between a missionary and his 'flock'. Perhaps not surprising, then, is the common Christian metaphor of "cultivating the heathen workers as they cultivated the soil."[19] What is more often overlooked is the centrality of this arable stabilization and localization to the disciplinary power of the colonial missionary. A peculiar romanticization of the 'countryside', and its supposedly stable economy of the land, is integral to a distinctive geography of order and surveillance. In this context, 'pastoral power' evokes not only a specific relationship between the flock and its shepherd (the 'pastor'), but also a social régime furnished with a specifically rural location, and a specifically agricultural mode of employment. In colonial British Columbia, this relationship between power, space and productivity was epitomized in Good's work on the outskirts of Lytton.

Prior to his move, Good wrote to his British sponsors about exactly these concerns. The way to convert Native people, he insisted, was first and foremost to make the Church the principal organization of identification in their lives. As much as anything else, he believed that this affiliation would have to be geographical, and so he spoke of his wish to see the Lytton band relocate from their reserve to his new mission site. The politics of cultivation was a central facet of his plans, and the ability to render Natives observable and useful at one and the same time was the controlling incentive:

> I shall have to exert all my powers of persuasion to induce all the Indians properly belonging to Lytton, to settle in that neighbourhood upon land which I have preempted on their behalf and to cultivate the gardens I am about to offer for their acceptance.[20]

Good intended to shift Native economies as well as mission institutions, but in the long run his hopes would be very imperfectly realized. He was unable to compete with the

19 Comaroff and Comaroff, Of revelation and revolution, p.80.
20 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.

economic incentives offered to the Native community by other whites, and (as Wright observed in 1877) most Natives of the Lytton band stayed in the town.[21] This is not to say that agriculture was not adopted as an important mode of subsistence, for it was — both at Good's mission and, to a greater extent, on reserves throughout the territories of the Nlaka'pamux.[22] But it is to say that Good's strategy was flawed; and at least in part it was his inability to control Native settlement patterns that underwrote the eventual demise of his mission. There were certainly other reasons at work too, and I discuss these towards the end of chapter 5. But the need to settle Natives down, and thus create a population that could be controlled and observed, was vital, and agriculture was a means to do so.

Parochial machinery

> The sense then of being submerged, of being hidden away in the depths of the country, but also lost, was very strong.
>
> In all their lives till they came here, they had never ventured, most of them, out of sight or earshot of a village steeple that, as they stooped to carry stooks and lean them one against the other, was always there when they looked up, breaking the horizon beyond the crest of a rise or across open fields.
>
> David Malouf, Remembering Babylon

[21] When Good wrote to the SPG back in England, this fact that the Nlaka'pamux were not living with him at his mission site was a recurrent cause for anxiety. Thus in terms very similar to those deployed by Wright, he noted in 1873 that "their course lies along the great world's Highway — exposed to all the ordinary daily temptations of the evil world around them." Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1873, USPG, E Series, Vol.28, 1873. See also his reiterated claim that the "snares of death are everywhere around them" (Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876).

[22] Writing of the Nlaka'pamux at the end of the nineteenth century, Teit observed "the abandonment by the Indian of hunting and fishing for the less precarious pursuit of agriculture." The transition was not as sharp and complete as Teit suggests here — elsewhere he noted the continued importance of hunting (especially in winter), even amongst those engaged in farming and other waged work. Moreover, the fact that agriculture, for Natives at least, was very precarious, has already been illustrated in their resort to gold prospecting. But irrespective of these caveats, agriculture did nonetheless come to play a massive role in their lives. Thus Teit noted the fact that many Natives had moved to 'rich' arable areas, as far as that was possible within the appropriative context of British Columbian land policy. For the most part, such movement involved settling upon reserves with more workable land: for example along the Nicola River above Spence's Bridge. Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," pp.179,249.

Transforming a fur trade society into a settler society was never going to be an easy task for the colonial government. If Samuel Wilberforce's comments about a regulated colonial society were to be taken seriously, certain elements of control and supervision would have to be put in place. To a significant degree, of course, traders of the Hudson's Bay Company had operated outside of such wider social constraints, order and discipline having been matters strictly of internal administration.[23] But now that miners, settlers and Natives were living in the same territory, and competition over land was becoming an issue for the first time, the maintenance of order became critical. Within a broad mélange of colonial administrative operations, the developing ecclesiastical machinery of the Anglican Church was among the more important. In an insightful reflection upon the initiation of the colonial Columbia Diocese, John Garrett sketched in 1862 some of the ways in which knowledge and power were intertwined in Anglican missionary strategies:

> It may indeed be thought by some to have been to a certain extent expensive; but when we began, the whole place was utterly unknown. The very name and position of the colony were unknown. An entirely new machinery had to be organized over the whole country; thousands and thousands of miles had to be travelled several times over, and information had to be given, as well orally as by printing and advertising. The machinery is now working.[24]

I explore the role of religion within the strategic colonization of British Columbian space here and in chapter 4. Garrett's depiction of laying an intricate web of power and knowledge 'over the whole country' is a useful starting-point, for Christianity was regarded (by secular authorities as well as missionaries themselves) as a vital element of that strategic expansion. Gaining information about people and places was a requirement of the first order if any sort of reliable control was to be exercised, and if the relationship

[23] See R.Cole Harris, "Strategies of power in the Cordilleran fur trade", in his British Columbian encounters: essays on colonialism and geographical change, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, forthcoming.
[24] Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, p.46.

between land and population was to be rendered effective, efficient, and economically useful. This, at any rate, was the rationale behind such support as the colonial state granted to the Anglican missionary enterprise. If the colony's inhabitants were to be provided with a common institution of identification and affiliation, the task of keeping track of them would be facilitated. For that purpose, the Church would do as well as any other organization. The aim, therefore, was to avoid the kind of spatial disorientation described in the epigraph to this section. As David Malouf noted, English colonists had come from a society where the next church was always round the next bend or over the next hill. The Church lent a degree of consistency, order and recognition to the landscape; it not only enabled villagers to identify with other people and places, but it allowed interested authorities to feed off the order and direction that the parish system imparted to the land.

For these reasons, it was hoped that the Anglican Church might become a prevailing marker of permanent social association in British Columbia. Bishop Hills, for example, believed that his broad Diocesan structure should be made to resemble, as close as was possible, the parochial system he had left behind in 1859.

> May our brave seamen, as they come here from their village homes in Britain, find the 'Church-going bell,' and the sights and sounds within the walls of this future sanctuary, a blessed and grateful likeness of what they have left behind in their loved and distant home.[25]

It was precisely the lack of such an affiliative infrastructure that Malouf attempted to describe in Remembering Babylon, and it was to avoid the possibility of this colonial disorientation that Hills always insisted on the need for more human and monetary resources to strengthen his Church and expand its tentacles far and wide. Indeed, without the assurances and stability supposedly afforded by a systematized landscape, the Bishop felt that the colony might lapse into the apparent atheism which he so often detected south

[25] ibid., 8, 1866, p.63.

of the border: "The mass are open infidels! This is a specimen, I believe, of many rural places in America, — how different from our parochial system!"[26]

Given these remarks about Christianity and the production of a familiar, rationalized space, it follows automatically that church location, and architectural aesthetics, were far from insignificant. Good had such concerns much in mind when he placed his new mission on a hill to the south of Lytton, where his church would hopefully serve to indicate an inviolable Anglican presence. In a similar vein, Good was dismayed upon his arrival in the colony in 1861 to discover that the capital city was not distinguished by the kind of imposing Anglican church he had anticipated. He later recalled:

> I remember suffering a keen disappointment as we thus drove on and through the city to the so-called Bishop's Palace, to find a somewhat imposing Church edifice at the outskirts of the town, possessing a spire of striking height and beauty which could be seen at quite a distance, standing up conspicuously amongst the mushroom growth of buildings around it, was the pride and joy of the Methodist Connection, whilst our own chief place of worship, built on one of the commanding eminences hard by the Bishop's home, suffered deplorably by way of contrast.[27]

The customary Church 'steeple' may have been a means for bringing the Christian congregation nearer to God; but it was also intended to enhance the visibility and assumed permanence of the colonial Church.

The Church, then, was to be transplanted in its entirety, including the geographical network which underscored its persistence and coverage in English society. In Hills' mind the ideal colonial diocese would combine several large parishes, each under the jurisdiction of an Anglican missionary. The parish was conceived as the principal unit within which relations of power and knowledge would be explored, developed, and formalized. Thus Good, while at Nanaimo, referred to this systemic imprint on the colony as a "parochial

26 Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, p.5.
27 Good, "The utmost bounds," p.17. Similarly, Good spoke of the Anglican church at Lillooet, built by Lundin Brown in the early-1860s, as "looming up like a refuge for the weary" (p.102).

machinery,"[28] for it was within the context of this geographical and social space that the order eulogized by Wilberforce, and envisaged by Garrett, would supposedly be enacted. When discussing the export of this parish system, for example, the Bishop of London had praised Hills' efforts "to organize some regular system of discipline according to which his whole diocese may be administered."[29] No discussion of control and surveillance in colonial British Columbia is possible without an examination of the parochial geography within which the exercise of pastoral power was to be couched.

The parish was held in such high esteem for many reasons. Within English society, one of its chief values lay in the vast accumulation of information occasioned by nationwide compilation of parish registers. For many years now, English social historians — and particularly English historical demographers — have been poring over the countless registers maintained in local parishes from 1538 onwards. Indeed, until civil registration began in 1837, these registers were the principal media within which knowledge of English citizens was inscribed, and the schematic outlines of individual lives were rendered legible. Baptisms, weddings and burials were listed for some 11,000 parishes throughout England, with some areas also providing details on occupations and other social characteristics. As Roger Finlay has noted, "the majority of English-men and women living between these dates are listed within their covers," and in spite of the increase of nonconformity in the late-eighteenth century, "many dissenting families continued to use the Anglican parish church for registration purposes" — certain pecuniary benefits were built into the registration system.[30] All in all, parish registers served as a vital means by which the English population could be rendered subject to institutional knowledge and supervision.

This informative capacity was not lost on missionaries like Good, and particularly the possibilities which such knowledge production offered up for the deployment of control

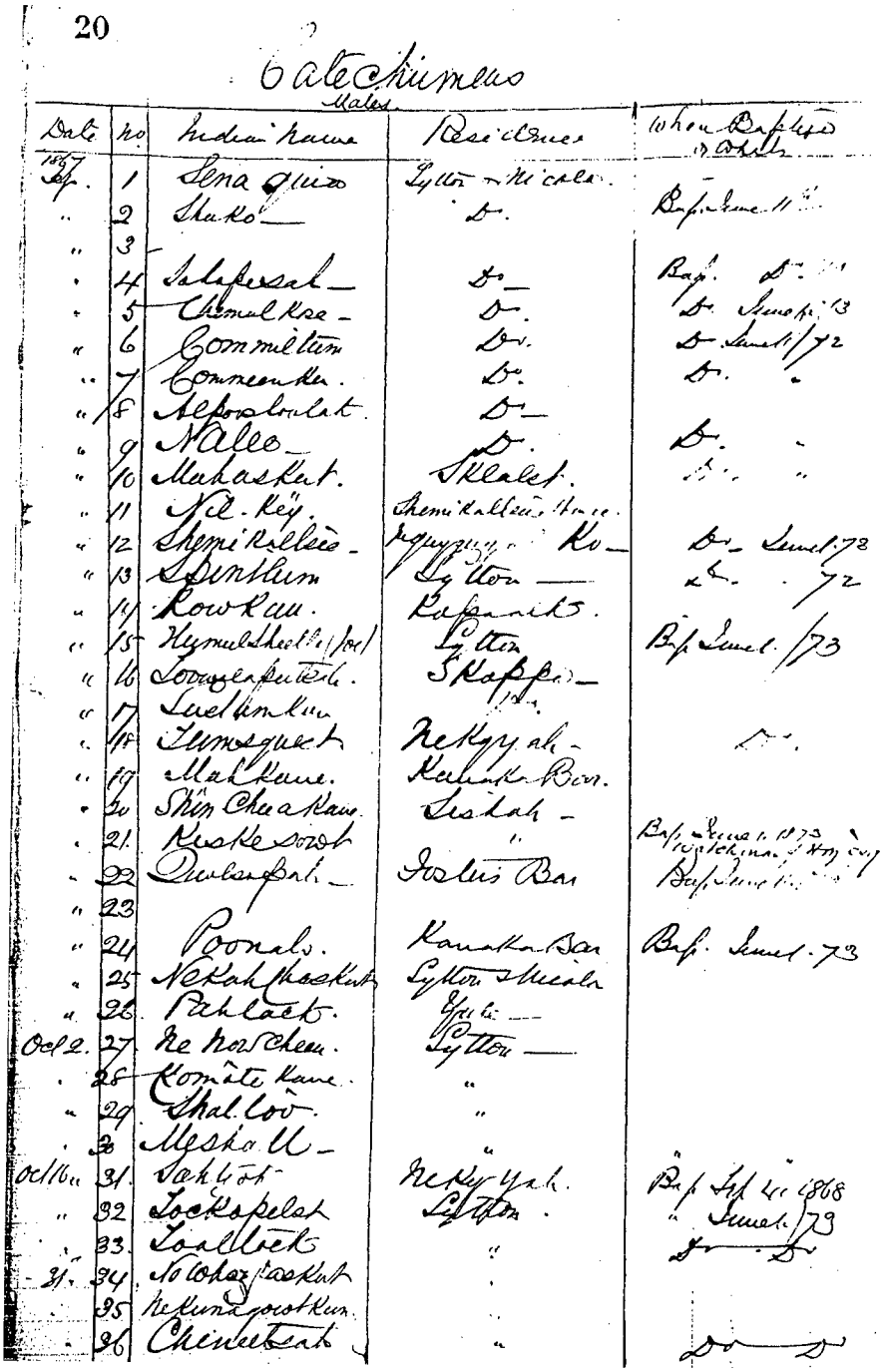
28 Good to the Secretary, SPG, January 1st 1863, USPG, E Series, Vol.11, 1862.
29 Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, p.61.
30 Roger Finlay, Parish registers: an introduction, Historical geography research series, No.7, February 1981, pp.4,6.

and discipline. I discuss Good's 'pastoral' system more fully in the next chapter, but here it should be noted that Good regarded the recording of 'vital statistics' as an integral component of the exercise of power. For this purpose he kept a detailed parish register, a fascinating series of tables and records that placed the lives of his Native charge within the realms of European legibility. In this way he was able to keep track of which people were affiliated with his mission, and what stage of Christian 'development' they had reached (see figure 7). More of this later. For now it is sufficient to note that Good's 'parochial machinery' invoked relationships between power and knowledge that cannot be interpreted outside of the defining spatial context within which they were worked out.

If colonial society could be infused with Anglican principles and institutions, and the various populations of British Columbia could thereby be persuaded to live their lives in direct relation to the Church, it would be possible to set the cogs of this 'parochial machinery' in motion. Indeed, the colonial government seemed to think that all Christian churches would provide the same stabilizing presence, and in this context we can understand not only Governor Douglas's willingness to hand out $100 land grants to colonial missionaries, but also the fact that this assistance was available regardless of denominational affiliation. For the state was not interested in the specifics of religious faith, still less in the denominational particulars of Native 'conversion'.[31] Missionaries were useful for many reasons, but especially to the extent that they could settle Natives down in one place, a fixation deemed essential for bringing that Native population within the purview of colonial control and supervision. Religious agents were obviously not the only administrative officials in the field — the gold rush had led to the deployment of regional gold commissioners who, in their joint roles as "policemen, magistrates, and Indian agents,"[32] had enabled the implementation of a decentered system of secular

31 See Seymour to O'Reilly, 14th October 1867, BCARS, A/E/Or3/Se91.
32 Fisher, Contact and conflict, p.147.

Figure 7. Male catechumens of St.Paul's Mission, Lytton.



20

Catechumens

Males

Date	No.	Indian Name	Residence	When Baptized
1867 Sep.	1	Sena qui	Lytton — Nicola	
"	2	Skako	do.	Bapt. June 11
"	3			
"	4	Schepesak	do	Bapt. do
"	5	Chemulkse	do.	do Sept. 13
"	6	Commeltem	do.	do June 1/72
"	7	Comneenkeu	do.	do. "
"	8	Neposlolakt	do	
"	9	Nalle	do.	do. "
"	10	Mahaskat.	Skeelat.	" "
"	11	Nel-Key.	Chemikalleen Horse.	
"	12	Shepi Kelleen	Nguyzzy Ko	do June 1.73
"	13	Spenkum	Lytton	do. " 72
"	14	Kowkau.	Kapanicks.	
"	15	Kymulsheelt (Joe)	Lytton	Bp June 1/73
"	16	Sowaspeuteck.	Skappa	
"	17	Luelkimkun		
"	18	Tumosquet	Nekyyah	do.
"	19	Mal Keene.	Kalaska Bar.	
"	20	Skin Chea Kaw	Lesdah	
"	21	Keskesooah	"	Bp June 1873 Nicola Valley
"	22	Quelenpah	Forks Bar	Bapt June
"	23			
"	24	Poonals.	Kamaka Bar	Bp. June 73
"	25	Nekahkaskat	Lytton Nicola	
"	26	Pahlock.	Yale	
Oct 2.	27	Ke nas Chem.	Lytton	
"	28	Komite kane	"	
"	29	Chal. Lov.	"	
"	30	Meskall	"	
Oct 16 "	31	Sahlot	Nekyyah.	Bp Sept 4 1868
"	32	Lockopelah	Lytton.	" June 1/73
"	33	Toallock	"	do do
" 31	34	Nolohaskat	"	
"	35	Kelunagostkun	"	
"	36	Chemeetsah	"	do do

Source: Lytton Mission Register, 1867-1945, BCARS, Add. MSS 1495

regulation described by Groeneveld-Meijer as "an effective machinery of government"[33] — but they did seem singularly able to affect the everyday life of Native people in a manner generally regarded by white colonists as desirable. It was only when missionaries began to interfere in what was defined as the 'political' realm (specifically the politics of the land) that they received any significant censure from secular authorities.

Thus, in 1858, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Edward B.Lytton, had written to the Archbishop of Canterbury expressing his belief that the establishment of an Anglican ecclesiastical infrastructure in British dominions represented a "worthy system of colonization."[34] Although not 'worthy' enough to warrant state funding, it was nevertheless to be encouraged, since the development of an extensive 'parochial machinery' might remove many of the worldly and mundane barriers to effective colonization. As the Church Missionary Intelligencer proclaimed: "Civilization has gone forward as the action of the gospel has prepared the way."[35] Indeed, the geographical colonization effected by missionaries was often accorded pride of place in accounts that lionized the apparent ordering and monitoring of the British Columbian landscape. Thus the archdeacon of Vancouver Island attested to this centrality of missionization within a diffuse array of colonial powers:

33 Groeneveld-Meijer, "Manning the Fraser Canyon gold rush," p.89. See in particular chapter 4, where there is an excellent discussion of the form of 'governmentality' which was put in place in British Columbia of the late-1850s, a modality of power which shunned overt use of force in favor of a surveilling system which saw gold commissioners relying on "detailed information gathering and record keeping to create their kind of order, because miners and their activities had to be understood before they could be controlled" (p.93). But as Groeneveld-Meijer insists, white miners were the main concern here. Natives were largely ignored, except where they were seen to interfere with colonial 'development'. Obviously this was not the case for missionaries — and it was principally missionaries who would attempt to bring Natives within the spatial and social confines of European constellations of power and knowledge.

34 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.42. The letter was written on October 7th 1858, and the Bishop of London read from it at the Mansion House meeting.

35 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 7, 1856, p.7.

In 1865 the combination of holy influences exercised by the Governor, the Judges, and others, and though last, not least, by a faithful Chief Pastor and his devoted band of followers, was so thorough, that any one could travel from Victoria to Kootenay, from Similkameen to Cariboo, as safely as from London to Edinburgh — yes, and perhaps even more so.

In its propensity to effect geographical constraint and supervision, pastoral power had helped to rationalize and secure the colony of British Columbia. In the archdeacon's view, it had "done a mighty work."[36]

Many of these same questions have been raised by Timothy Mitchell in the context of colonialism in Egypt. His focus is not upon religion, but his examination of how discipline and order were to be "spread over the whole surface of society" speaks to the same kind of enveloping, supervisory machinery described by John Garrett.[37] Moreover, one of the richest elements of Mitchell's account lies in his emphasis upon the geographical constitution of disciplinary power — upon how the coordination and regulation of the population was performed by confining people to certain places at certain times. Like Good's 'parochial machinery', this strategy of 'ordering' and 'enframing' was a spatial one. But what I find of <u>particular</u> interest and relevance in Mitchell's analysis is the specific domain within which he locates the origins of this colonizing discipline: namely the Egyptian army. He argues that the various systems of meticulous observation and control which were put in place in the early-nineteenth century were all based, at least in part, upon

[36] <u>Columbia Mission Report</u>, 19, 1877, p.17. A similar claim had been made somewhat earlier, when the editors of the same publication had seen fit to use the recent murder of President Lincoln as an opportunity to reflect upon the many virtues of a regulated British Empire:

> Greatly as such a deed must be reprobated, it did not fail to make each British colonist thankful for the order, security, peace, and contentment of the British Empire. Those, who know by experience of other lands how great is the contrast, cannot too often repeat the statement, that England owes largely the stability and freedom of the country to her sound Christianity and her Church.

See <u>ibid.</u>, 6, 1864, p.4.

[37] Timothy Mitchell, <u>Colonizing Egypt</u>, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p.40. This is a direct quote from John Bowring.

the disciplinary mechanics of military stratagem. Thus he goes on to chart, in intricate detail, how the regimen and hierarchy of the military 'machine' were transmitted through countless other spheres of Egyptian social life.

This is intriguing because the Anglican mission to nineteenth century British Columbia was often conceived and conveyed in military analogies. Bishop Hills, for example, speaking in London the day before his departure for Victoria, referred to his forthcoming endeavors at the "battle's front" as an "honourable warfare."[38] Good described his own missionary kind as God's "chosen weapons of spiritual aggression";[39] and when archdeacon Wright had visited Lytton in 1877, Good introduced him to the Nlaka'pamux as "a mingling of priest and general."[40] There was a consistent appeal to the metaphors of warfare to conceptualize the missionary enterprise — a somewhat surprising conflation given the avowedly benevolent intentions of this 'civilizing' imperialism. But Mitchell suggests that military régime and order have always provided a model for the kind of disciplinary holism sought by colonial missionaries. Emphasis upon precision and timing, on the distribution of forces, and on the productive deployment of personnel, were exactly the concerns with which Good and other missionaries were engaged. And as Michel de Certeau has stressed with regard to the genesis of this disciplinary system: "The model was military before it became 'scientific'."[41]

It is no coincidence that de Certeau, like Mitchell, describes the military provenance of disciplinary strategy, for he too has been keen to stress the intrinsic spatiality of such

38 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.7. For an example of this deployment of military notions where Hills was himself depicted as an army "officer," see Wilberforce's comments in Columbia Mission Report, 3, 1861, p.50.

39 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.

40 Mission Life, N.S., 8, 1877, p.533.

41 Michel de Certeau, The practice of everyday life, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984, p.38. See also Foucault on what he calls the "military dream of society." Michel Foucault, Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison, Penguin, London, 1977, p.169.

strategy. In the next two sections, in which I explore de Certeau's ideas more closely, I try to draw out these connections between strategy and space in the context of Anglican missionization. I show how this 'honorable warfare', the effort to spread a 'parochial machinery' over colonial society, was envisaged and invoked according to particular spatial strategies. What I am suggesting here is that the frequent use of military metaphors should not be a surprise, for strategists of warfare have always insisted upon the vital importance of geographical foresight and precision. Carl von Clausewitz, perhaps the greatest of them all, had his own words of wisdom for those 'Christian soldiers' glorified in hymns and sermons:

> The best Strategy is always to be very strong, first generally then at the decisive point. Therefore, apart from the energy which creates the Army, a work which is not always done by the General, there is no more imperative and no simpler law of Strategy than to keep the forces concentrated.[42]

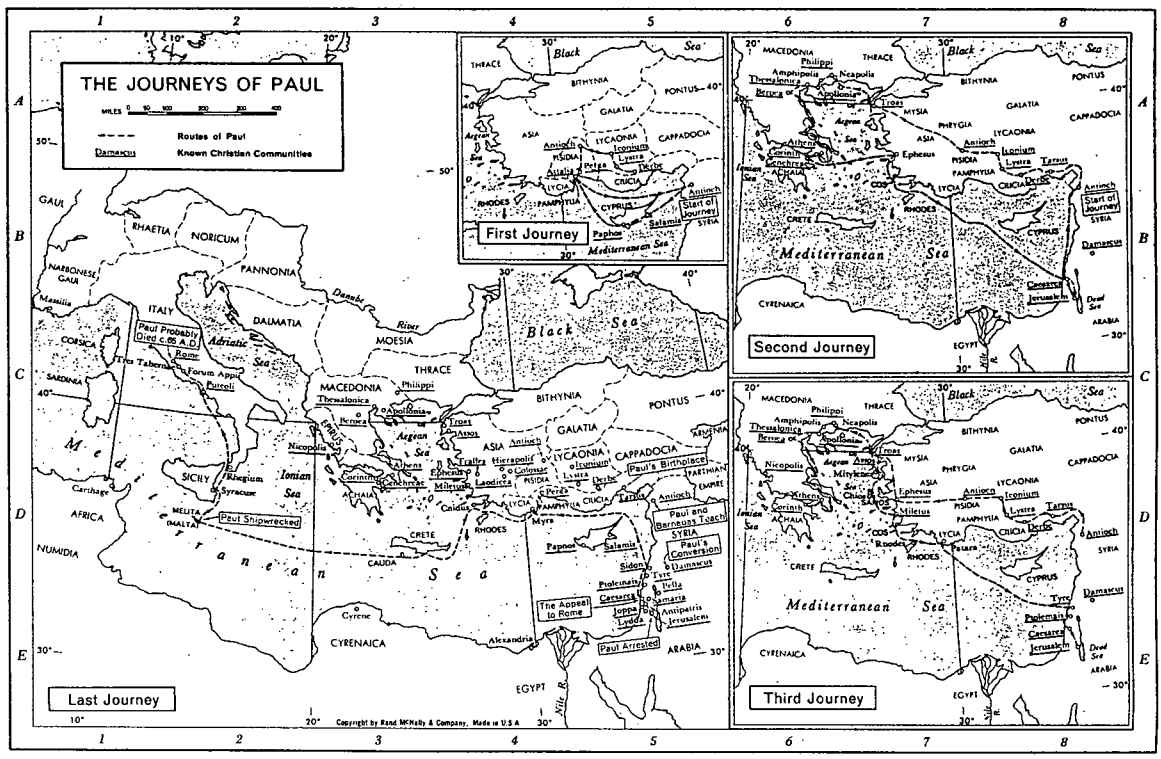
Given Good's conviction that the success of a mission depended upon making its center "as strong as possible,"[43] one could be forgiven for thinking that he had been reading Clausewitz, not Corinthians.

Central place theory?

Geographical inspiration for Christian missionaries stemmed from one source above all others: St.Paul. In all, Paul made four extensive missionary journeys, long trips between AD 45 and 61 which took him from Cyprus to Turkey, from Italy to Israel, from mainland Greece to Crete (see figure 8).[44] His was an enormous mission field, if it can be called

[42] Quoted in Roger Ashley Howard, ed., A short guide to Clausewitz On War, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1967, p.119; original emphasis. Clausewitz wrote On War in the 1820s.
[43] Good to the Secretary, SPG, June 11th 1857, USPG, E Series, Vol.3, 1858; original emphasis.
[44] I take this suggested chronology from Otto F.A.Meinardus, St.Paul in Ephesus and the cities of Galatia and Cyprus, Lycabettus Press, Athens, 1973, p.vii.

Figure 8. The journeys of Paul.



Source: R.R.Palmer, ed., Rand McNally Atlas of world history, Rand McNally & Co., New York, 1965, p.40

such, and Paul had a distinctive strategy by means of which he attempted to come to terms with this immensity. This policy can be gleaned from a reading of Acts, particularly chapters 13 through 18, where the details of his itinerance are laid out. Stephen Neill has usefully summarized the geography of his strategy:

> It was Paul's custom to settle for a time in one of the great cities of the empire, and through his younger helpers to radiate out from that centre to the smaller cities of the region. ... As soon as a church had taken root and showed signs of being able to stand on its own feet under its local leaders, Paul felt free to move onwards towards a further fulfilment of his plan, that all the Gentiles might hear the word of the Lord and so the end might come.[45]

This method of fastening onto the principal settlements of a region, spreading the Word, and then moving on once there had been a significant spiritual impact, was one that Anglican missionaries took to heart. Although the initial foray into the mission field should insist on the kind of compact spatial focus posited by Clausewitz, on a thoroughly "concentrated effort," to limit missionary operations to one place alone was deemed an unwarranted myopia — the first site of engagement was not to be an end in itself, therefore, but rather "a stepping-stone to further work beyond."[46] This, at any rate, was the lesson taken from St.Paul, and it was pictured with military precision by the Church Missionary Intelligencer:

> When a General has an arduous duty before him — the subjugation of a difficult country, and that with forces numerically disproportionate to the work which is to be done — it is of first importance that he be skillful in the disposition of them, and address himself to the occupation of commanding points, from whence, as from so many centres, he may advance to further conquests. It is just so in Missionary work. Missionary work is a grand strategical operation.

While this passage indicates both the unambiguous and overriding influence of St.Paul and of militaristic analogies, it is also a reminder that there was a conscious strategic philosophy underpinning the missionary enterprise. This strategy emphasized first and foremost the

[45] Neill, A history of Christian missions, p.29.
[46] Columbia Mission Report, 16, 1874, p.4.

prerogative of spatial concentration, but only as a means of "access to the countries beyond." As the Intelligencer reminded its readers, this occupation of "leading points," and the subsequent advance to "further conquests," was the tried and tested method which had originated with Paul himself.[47]

The appeal, therefore, was to history, the 'proof' of the past bestowing a seemingly unassailable legitimacy upon a particular geographical methodology. Numerous were the missionaries who referred to this historical justification, and for a man who so often invoked the name of St.Paul, Good was not likely to betray this tradition. He did not. Soon after his arrival in Nova Scotia, he reported to his sponsors that he saw no reason why Paul's intricate weaving of spaces and strategies should not be applied to Canadian territory:

> This I believe was the Apostolic mode of establishing the Church of Christ. They seized upon the most important town or spot in a province or country; the very stronghold it might be of superstition, idolatry, or vain philosophy: and there they planted the Church: there they erected her gates ... there was the light housed — the city set on a hill which could not be hid, and which should gradually diffuse its light around as time rolled on whilst they themselves moved on to establish the Church on a similar basis in a new territory.[48]

A dynamic philosophy, this, one which regarded the erection of solid church foundations as integral to the onward march of Christianity. Strong centers had to be set up, maintained, and then expanded beyond.

Before he traveled to his colonial diocese, Bishop Hills sensed that this Pauline strategy would be perfectly suited to British Columbia. When he spoke at the Mansion House prior to departing, he informed his metropolitan audience that not only would this operative stance cater adequately for the white colonial population, but would also enable his missionaries to engage with the colony's Natives. After all, he pointed out, "their mode of life was more settled and less roving" than the aboriginal inhabitants of other British

47 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 8, 1857, p.25.
48 Good to the Secretary, SPG, November 1st 1858, USPG, E Series, Vol.3, 1858.

dominions.[49] This was perhaps true — but as I suggested above and illustrate below, they were not quite as settled as Hills might have wished. But in any case, at this embryonic stage of the Mission, Hills saw no need to diverge from inherited axioms. He asserted:

> The plan then we propose in this mission is, first, to take in hand the European population by occupying the towns as they rise up; already there are, I believe, twelve towns marked out, and in a state of rapid formation, in each of which we ought at once to place a faithful pastor, and there should be also ministers constantly itinerating throughout the unsettled districts of Columbia. (Applause.) With regard to the natives we propose to have Christian settlements in the neighbourhood of heathen villages... I trust that by these means we may be able to cover the land with a religion which may bear testimony for Christ.[50]

Hills therefore envisaged the same kind of encompassing 'machinery' described by Garrett; and the way to achieve that coverage was, at least initially, to fasten onto the sedentary settlements of the various components of the colony's population. And he would renew this vision when, soon after arriving in British Columbia, he spelled out his plans for the colony's Governor, James Douglas. He informed him of this perceived need for Anglican institutions in "central spots," and added that these "Christian villages" would hopefully exercise "an important influence upon surrounding tribes."[51]

However, these abstract assertions were oblivious to the geographical realities of British Columbia. First, of course, there was the sheer size of the place. Hailing from what E.P.Thompson once called "a small island off the coast of Europe,"[52] Anglican missionaries were faced with a scale of social life for which they had no precedent or template. In 1877 Good wrote to his sponsors that British Columbia was "truly a country of magnificent distances,"[53] a not insignificant consideration given the kind of enveloping

49 The Times, November 17th 1859, p.10.
50 A sermon, preached at the farewell service celebrated in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, Nov.16, 1859, the day previous to his departure for his diocese, by George Hills, p.24.
51 Hills to Douglas, November 26th 1860, CC F340/4.
52 E.P.Thompson, Whigs and hunters: the origin of the Black Act, Penguin, London, 1990, p.258.
53 Good to the Secretary, SPG, June 30th 1877, USPG, E Series, Vol.32, 1877.

religious colonization that Hills had had in mind some two decades earlier. For, as was soon realized, such was the huge expanse involved that many people, whites and Natives alike, were "so cut off by distance and rough travel that they cannot, however eagerly desiring it, find within reach any sort of Christian ministration."[54] Such anxieties spoke to exactly the kind of spatial problematic described by Malouf — in such a large place, the village steeple became as rare as in England it had been prevalent — and this presented a whole host of problems. How, for example, would Good forge a thorough 'parochial machinery' in a parish (centered on St.Paul's mission at Lytton) that he variously described as from 4,000 to 10,000 square miles in size?[55]

From the outset, a number of different adaptations to this intractable physical geography were discussed. There were various efforts at administrative streamlining, systematization and regulation — principally in the form of the Diocesan Church Society (1868) and the Diocesan Synod (1874)[56] — but it was accepted that since the problem was basically geographical, it called for a geographical response. Bishop Hills was in charge of the whole colonial diocese, and the obvious answer seemed to be to split this single diocese into a number of smaller units, thus rendering the task of overseeing missionary operations more feasible. As Hills himself argued, the "vast extent of the present diocese" made it "physically impossible to give that attention to all localities, which is most important in the early stage of planting and fostering the institutions of Christianity."[57] A diocesan split was first proposed in 1863, and Hills (for these strategical reasons) was one of the principal protagonists of this change. He envisaged two dioceses instead of one, with the

54 Columbia Mission Report, 12, 1870, p.9
55 ibid., 11, 1869, p.23; Good to the Secretary, SPG, 1873 Annual Return, USPG, E Series, Vol.29, 1874. For another example of Good's concerns about the colony's physical extant, and the consequent difficulty of ensuring that Native people were being "properly shepherded," see his comments in Mission Life, N.S., 7, 1876, p.62.
56 For discussion on the former, see Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, p.96; for the latter, ibid., 15, 1873, pp.40-4; and also Synods, their constitution and objects. A sermon, preached in Christ Church and St.John's, Victoria, January 1874, by the Right Rev. George Hills, D.D., Lord Bishop of British Columbia, Victoria Standard Office, 1874.
57 Columbia Mission Report, 6, 1864, pp.26-7.

division to occur along the same lines as the continuing colonial divide — for Vancouver Island and mainland British Columbia remained distinct administrative units until 1866.

However, he realized from the start that the enactment of this division was going to be no mean feat, for as early as 1860, during a conversation with Reverend Sheepshanks at New Westminster, he had been made aware of the strong geopolitical antagonism between the two colonies:

> I learned how anxious the people are in that Colony [British Columbia] that I should come & live there. There is much rivalry between the two Colonies. I must endeavour to do what is right — both colonies are under my care.[58]

Hills used this argument about competition to suggest that two separate dioceses were the most logical answer — the colonies "have never drawn willingly together,"[59] so why force them to do so? — but those viewing the situation from the mainland suspected that they would get a raw deal out of any such division. Thus, although the Island's Governor, Kennedy, agreed immediately to the Bishop's proposals, Governor Seymour of New Westminster was much more hesitant. His opposition was two-fold. First, Hills had proposed that the seat of the Episcopate should remain on the Island, and Seymour felt that this perceived bias would cause a justifiable feeling of alienation in the mainland colony, "an amount of hostility ... that would greatly impede the progress of the Church."[60] Second, and more interesting, the division was <u>not</u> in fact to accord with the territorial split of the two colonies. The north-west section of the mainland colony would be annexed by Hills' section of the diocese, an appropriation which would include the jewel in the diocesan crown, Duncan's Metlakatla. In the end, the opposition won the day, and the diocese remained in its original form until 1879. Hill's overly cunning geographical imagination had temporarily put paid to this particular spatial response.

58 Hills, Diary, January 13th 1860. For other comments on this "intense" rivalry, see Good to the Secretary, SPG, April 17th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol.10, 1861.
59 <u>Columbia Mission Report</u>, 5, 1863, p.5.
60 <u>ibid.</u>, 8, 1866, p.11.

When a tripartite division did eventually take place, with the dioceses of New Westminster and Caledonia joining that of British Columbia (now limited to the Island; see figure 9), it was believed that this would be a great boost to the Church's progress — "by narrowing the fields of labour, while the centres of work are multiplied."[61] In the meantime, however, Hills and his co-workers sought to focus upon smaller-scale solutions, upon these 'centers' of work themselves, and upon adapting their Pauline philosophy to the specific exigencies of the locale. As Stephen Neill has pointed out, Paul was basically correct in his strategy, for the Roman Empire was a world of cities.[62] But British Columbia was not, and for that reason alone Paul's idealized geographical methodology had to be substantially reconfigured when the Anglican church arrived in the Pacific north-west. Victoria was the only town of any substantial size, and even there the population was extremely transitory: a correspondent for the Times referred to the city's "state of stagnation" attendant upon the spring departure of those miners who had wintered there.[63] For the fact of the matter was that white society in British Columbia in the late-1850s/early-1860s was essentially still a mining society, and the colony's development had not yet reached the point at which a society of scattered mining camps would begin to be replaced by the more permanent marks of urban and agricultural settlement. Moreover, the fixed Native villages to which Hills had referred in his initial vision were primarily winter villages, and the rest of the year saw much greater movement and dispersion. The human geography of British Columbia was decisively not urban. And in the absence of obvious 'centers' and 'commanding points' upon which missionaries could begin to enact their 'grand strategical operation', they had instead to create those centers themselves. Religious space was not pre-given, but had to be molded and manufactured from the physical and human resources available. The missionary's colonizing strategy thus combined historically-informed theory and the pragmatics of local space.

61 ibid., 21, 1879, p.29.
62 Neill, A history of Christian missions, pp.29-30.
63 The Times, August 8th 1861, p.7.

Figure 9. British Columbia, showing the three dioceses, 1878.
Source: Columbia Mission Report, 20, 1878, frontispiece.

Much of the concern about British Columbian population geography revolved around the scattered nature of the 'settler' population; it was evoked especially vividly by the resident clergyman at Cowichan, W.S.Reece:

> Over these districts, the settlers are widely scattered each from the other, excepting here and there small knots of them attracted to this or that more desirable spot. Different portions are also separated from others by rivers without bridges, and only fordable in the summer-time.

He went on to note that "distance" and "isolation" were thus amongst his main problems, with the general gist of his argument suggesting that a concentrated ministerial strategy was simply inappropriate to a place where people had not formed coherent, singular settlements.[64]

Such worries were especially marked when discussion turned to the mining population which was still predominant in the early years of the Mission, for it was felt that their mobility was antithetical to the concentrated demands of the parochial system. Bishop Hills, at first so assured, was forced to rethink his received wisdom after his initial tour of the mainland had been completed in the summer of 1860.

> The unsettled character of the mining class is another difficulty. They are restless. They feel no spot their home even for a while. They will not identify themselves with the institutions of the neighbourhood so readily.[65]

The Anglican church, of course, was seen as the institution of the 'neighborhood', a quintessentially parochial structure. The geographical itinerance of mining society therefore presented a major barrier to Anglican engagement with that population.

[64] Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, pp.29,30. Reece's own response to this problematic, much like Pringle's at Yale, was to largely ignore the Native population, focusing instead on the still considerable task of providing services for white colonists.
[65] Hills, Diary, August 8th 1860. Hills made similar comments with respect to the settler population more generally, noting of those living around the lower Fraser valley: "They are struggling, they are scattered, and frequently isolated." Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, p.12.

However, Anglicans were not about to admit that the problems were insurmountable, and they were loathe to suggest that the Pauline lessons should be discarded altogether. What they strove for, rather, was an acceptable trade-off, a way in which the strategy of a secure and enduring mission might be adapted to local circumstances. One man who thought long and hard about such matters was Alexander Garrett, who observed the same restless characteristics of miners Hills had noted, but who refused to believe it was a disabling problem. This was his analysis of the situation in the Cariboo, having spent a number of months there during the mining season of 1865:

> However well the migratory character of the mining population may seem to justify a migratory mission, it should be borne in mind that a large number of miners and merchants remain in Cariboo during the winter. Mining operations are then necessarily suspended, and all these men exist from Sunday to Sunday in a state of absolute idleness. A resident clergyman capable of enduring the dreadful monotony, and both physically and mentally qualified for the task, would then have an opportunity of gaining a hold upon the whole population, and of doing an amount of good probably very much greater than anything which the same man could effect during a brief stay amid the wild excitement of the summer months.[66]

Although the facts suggested he should think afresh, Garrett sought a niche for a trusted and familiar spatial strategy, and believed he had found such an opening in the seasonal variance of mining settlement patterns. He was not about to give in to circumstances, to propose a wholly itinerant system of Christian colonization whose geographical basis would be diametrically opposed to that practiced by St.Paul. Paul had traveled around, but the prerequisite for this movement had always been the establishment of viable, self-supporting Christian communities. Garrett would strive to 'gain a hold' of miners by means of a seasonally-abridged version of the Pauline vision.[67]

66 Columbia Mission Report, 8, 1866, p.47.

67 Shortly after Garrett's visit to the mining country, an Anglican missionary was despatched to the William's Creek area — but Reverend Reynard's residence in the region was limited, for he was forced to leave the Cariboo in the summer of 1871 on account of poor health and a lack of sufficient funds. ibid., 13, 1871, p.53.

Similar issues were raised when missionaries confronted the Native population; again Garrett was one of those who recognized the formidable problems. The First Nations of Vancouver Island had always been his principal concern, and he, more than most, realized how much was at stake in the human geography of the place. Writing early in the 1860s, his comments about Native itinerance and regional turnover speak to a familiar, recurring theme: that effective colonization, in terms of inducing a lasting impact, had to be predicated upon the kind of spatial permanence and stability that was apparently lacking. The fact that Natives were "not resident, but migratory, causes the pupils to be continually changing, so that a very small opportunity is afforded for making anything of a permanent impression upon them."[68]

However, Garrett was not one to give up without a fight. Since a ready-made 'center' of permanent settlement did not exist, it would be his task to manufacture such a stable locus for Anglican preaching and instruction. In other words — Garrett was not alone in this opinion — Anglican methods were to be far more active and forceful with respect to Natives than with miners. With the latter, in spite of Garrett's protestations, they were often willing to pander to circumstances, and to adapt their own strategies to the specific geographies of mining society — or to ignore miners altogether. But when it came to Natives, missionaries insisted on their inherited Pauline dogma. Since Natives were evidently not living in the singular, permanent settlements which were so desirable, they would have to be induced to settle down by the missionaries themselves.

Garrett's own answer to this problem lay in his 'Indian school' in Victoria, where he hoped to exert an enduring and situated influence upon his Native pupils. But by far the most common resolution, as I suggested above, lay with agriculture. Certainly this was Good's agenda, but he was not alone. When Reverend David Holmes replaced Good at Yale in 1867, he made the familiar complaint that the Native inhabitants of the area were scattered around, and that such dispersion militated against the requirements of his own

[68] The Mission Field, 7, 1862, p.91.

work. However, all was not lost, and it was in the stabilizing propensities of arable land that Holmes detected an element of hope. Land at Hope had been divided into 60 allotments and reserved for teaching purposes. He enthused: "The farm induces the Indians to settle down to one place, so that a permanent hold may be gained upon them."[69] Christian colonization, we see again, was deemed dependent upon spatial fixity and endurance. This was the basis for what has been called 'pastoral power'.

Some places, therefore, were viewed as more viable than others for mission activity, the criterion being their potential for the establishment of mission 'centers'. A few places were thought to exhibit almost the perfect geographical conditions for Anglican strategy, precisely because a considerable concentration had already taken place. Thus Holmes regarded New Westminster as a wonderful spot for a mission, for the opposite reason that he was so skeptical of Yale — because the Natives were "congregated round a common centre." Holmes' suggestions were reiterated by others, among them Archdeacon Woods. He saw New Westminster in a similar light, claiming that its settled nature, and its situation at the mouth of the Fraser, would make it a perfect candidate for the kind of 'stepping-stone' used by St.Paul: "what a blessing it would be if we had an efficient Mission working from New Westminster as a centre, and sending our priests and lay agents into all places."[70] Despite these appeals, however, New Westminster never became an important focus for Anglican evangelism among Natives — perhaps because of the

[69] Columbia Mission Report, 11, 1869, p.36. It should be noted here that by no means all missionaries were as intolerant of Yale as Holmes and, before him, Pringle and Crickmer. Certainly, Good was not impressed with the local white population, and particularly its unsettled nature, but he regarded the local Native geography as infinitely preferable to that which he had encountered on the Island (see below, n.73). Thus, in the albeit brief time he spent at Yale, he did note that "the work may be said to be more concentrated" than that to which he was accustomed, and that this centralization facilitated the practices of "pastoral supervision." See Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 1866, USPG, E Series, Vol.23, 1867-8. However, I am not sure how much weight should be attached to this, for it does seem to contradict many of Good's other statements about the town. This commendation may just have been a shock reaction to his recent move, with time perhaps leading to greater skepticism.

[70] Columbia Mission Report, 11, 1869, pp.36,37.

presence of a large white population, so often the highest priority for the ministrations of the colonial Church.[71]

Most places did not have the geographical properties which appeared to make New Westminster such an obvious choice, so missionaries were forced to make the most of what was available to them. Garrett, for example, believed that it might just be possible for the Church to manipulate the migration patterns of the Island's Natives, in such a way that a stable 'center' could be manufactured. He argued that since all the itinerant movements of the various bands appeared to be centered on Victoria, the capital might be a place where 'order' could be distilled out of apparent 'chaos': in other words, this situational congruence might afford a resident missionary the luxury of a self-renewing 'flock'. In April 1859, for example, the Victoria Gazette estimated the total population of various Native groups in Victoria to be 2,835, more than enough people to garner serious Anglican interest.[72] Thus in 1860 Garrett wrote to the Colonial Secretary with this very proposition in mind. In requesting funds, and permission for a site on the reserve for a school and a church, his stated rationale was exactly this — that Victoria was a vital 'center', not on account of permanent settlement, but due to the fortuitous convergence of various transient groups. With large numbers of Natives coming to and from the capital as part of a seasonal migratory pattern, the situated whole appeared to Garrett as greater than the sum of the itinerant parts. He concluded: "Victoria must ever be of prime importance, as a centre from which to operate beneficially upon the aboriginal Races of the Colony."[73]

[71] Another reason might have been the strength of early Oblate missionary activity in the lower Fraser region. See Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, pp.307-27.

[72] Fisher, Contact and conflict, p.112.

[73] Garrett to the Colonial Secretary, November 24th 1860, CC, F634/2. Note that the reasoning employed by Good in attempting to procure funds for his mission at Nanaimo was very similar. He argued that Nanaimo was not so much a plausible 'center' for missionization on account of its own local attributes, but rather as a result of its location on primary migration routes. Again, it was a case not of site but of situation. Thus he informed his sponsors that the town was a vital outpost for the SPG: "being situated just midway between Victoria and the Northern End of the Island, [it] is the great stopping place for all Indians coming down and returning." Good to the Secretary, SPG, November 9th 1861, USPG, E Series, Vol.10, 1861.

Just three years later, however, Garrett was increasingly skeptical of this project, and he wrote to the SPG to complain that the discontinuity of his Native charge was becoming an overriding concern — specifically, he noted that the Songhees had been away at their fishing grounds all summer, and consequently he had had very few people in attendance at his 'Indian school'.[74] Before long the school was abandoned. Missionization in Victoria had failed for the precise reason that it was entertained in the first place: Native itinerance and dispersion. Garrett's zeal and optimism had stood in the way of a realistic geographical appraisal.

In many ways St.Paul's philosophy of a 'grand strategical operation' was at odds with the geographical realities of British Columbia. Thus Anglican missionaries were forced to temper their preconceived methods and assumptions, and to take into account the specificities of the colonial locale. This was certainly not a full-scale abdication to regional circumstances, for such would have implied a thoroughly itinerant missionization which, as missionaries well realized, seriously inveighed against the possibility of making a 'permanent impression'. For 'proper' colonization, central places had to be established, however difficult that would be. In the end, then, geographies of Anglican strategy tended to be complex and multifaceted. Some of this plurality was captured in an 1864 lecture that Sheepshanks delivered in England, where he spoke of the two different operational strategies evinced in the Columbia Diocese. The first way to evangelize Natives, he suggested, was "to send instructors to pass through their country from time to time, and to teach the Indians as much as possible in short visits." The basic rationale behind such itinerance was "to lead them to desire more complete instruction in the way of the truth,"[75] and although this shifting missionization was both practiced and preached,[76] it was generally shunned in favor of the second, more sedentary strategy: to "establish defined

74 Garrett to the Secretary, SPG, September 6th 1863, USPG, E Series, Vol.14, 1863.
75 Columbia Mission Report, 6, 1864, p.46.
76 Thus, for example, when Pringle did not perform the itinerant work amongst road parties that his Bishop had asked him to do, he received immediate criticism. See Hills, Diary, September 24th 1862.

settlements amongst them."[77] With regard to Good's mission in the Fraser canyon, I argue that these two methods were not as distinct as Sheepshanks led his audience to suggest; that following St.Paul, Good attempted to combine itinerance with concentration in a spirited attempt to come to terms with his huge 'parish'; but that his principal emphasis was always on the production of a viable center, for it was only here that he could really begin to colonize his 'flock' through the sedentary and situated machinery of 'pastoral power'.

A victory of space over time

> The adoption of another people's gods always entails the adoption of their space.
>
> Henri Lefebvre, The production of space[78]

Good was one of the more vehement Anglican critics of Roman Catholicism, and his 1867 'call' to Lytton caused immense satisfaction on this score: it was conceived as a great victory over an inimical foreign power. But there were other reasons for his evident pleasure, not least of which were the locational advantages of Lytton. The town was no budding metropolis, by any means, but it was a 'center' of sorts, and it was on this account that Good left Yale without second thoughts. The singular importance of Lytton stemmed from its special place within local Native society. James Teit, for example, argued that Lytton was perceived by the Nlaka'pamux as the 'center of the world', for it was here that "Coyote's son, when returning from the sky, reached the earth."[79] Good's description of the local geography was more prosaic, noting simply that the area was "the central home and rendezvous of the Thompson or Neklakapamuk tribe of Indians."[80]

77 Columbia Mission Report, 6, 1864, p.47.
78 Henri Lefebvre, The production of space, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1991, p.111. This book was first published in France in 1974.
79 Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," p.337.
80 " 'British Columbia', written by Mrs H.H.Bancroft to Mr Good's dictation at the Driard House, Victoria. May, 1878," Bancroft Library (University of California, Berkeley, California), Microfilm 107.18, p.68. Good suggested that the underlying reason for this

A pre-existing center of Native settlement was exactly what Good, an avid pupil of St.Paul, desired. There the machinery of pastoral supervision could be put in place, and once that machinery was running smoothly, the established center would become a base from which to explore the further reaches of the mission field.

But within a short while of his arrival at Lytton, Good realized that the region's putative centrality was not as perfect as he had anticipated, for centrality did not imply stability: Native settlement patterns there were no more sedentary than they had been at Yale.[81] Granted, in certain periods of the year Natives congregated in low-lying areas in the environs of the town, but this was only a seasonal phenomenon. By mid-1870, he was complaining to the SPG that one of the most considerable hindrances to his work was "the scattered nature of our native charge." He went on: "Even that portion of the Thompson Indians whose proper home is Lytton do not permanently reside here more than four months in the year." Those four months were from mid-November through to March, when Natives spent the winter in pit-houses near the confluence of the Fraser and Thompson rivers;[82] and of course the other major divisions of the Nlaka'pamux wintered in spots spread far along the Thompson, Fraser and Nicola valleys. Such a dispersed winter geography, moreover, was only aggravated in Good's eyes when the warmer parts of the year arrived, subsistence demands attracting some people to the rivers and salmon, and others to the roots, berries and game in the mountains.

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local importance was the confluence of the Fraser and the Thompson, insisting that Lytton itself "owes its importance to its geographical and topographical position only." Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70. Good used the name 'Hecumshin' to refer to the center of Native settlement in the Lytton area. The Mission Field, 14, 1869, p.227.

81 Not noticeably so, at any rate. But Teit later noted that, within the Nlaka'pamux nation, some bands did appear to live a less itinerant lifestyle than others, claiming for example that some of the more stationary villages were those between Lytton and Spuzzum — as he labeled them, the villages of the 'lower Thompson'. Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," p.169. Such fine distinctions were perhaps not immediately evident to Good.

82 See ibid., pp.192-4.

Good's conclusion that this was a "nomadic race"[83] raised numerous difficulties for his colonizing mission, and it was to try to rectify them that Good moved to the outskirts of Lytton in late 1870. A dispersed 'flock' would not do, for his work would then be limited to itinerant preaching regarded as insufficient for Christian reformation and conversion. A systemic and enduring hold upon the Nlaka'pamux would only be possible if some of them could be persuaded to remain in one place. Lytton may have been the "acknowledged centre"[84] for the nation, but as settlement was dispersed for most of the year, such 'centrality' had very little significance for a colonizing philosophy predicated on spatial constraint. Anglicanism simply could not offer an impact 'upon demand', at certain unpredictable times, for its very nature demanded that teaching and supervision should be on-going, progressive, and developmental. Protracted observation and moral and spiritual reform required a central place where the intricate details of religious colonization might be worked out. The move to a site just outside Lytton would enable the production of just such a space. As Good reflected shortly after the move:

> It will I think be readily understood how very difficult it is to exercise an efficient oversight over a body of Indians so independent and nomadic as ours, divided up into so many small families or settlements, and so widely scattered throughout so extensive a range of country.
> My first and main object has been to make our central position strong.[85]

Here again is the familiar insistence on compactness and concentrated strength, a common strategical requirement where outsiders enter foreign territory and endeavor to consolidate perceived gains before advancing to further conquests. The strengthening of this site was important for two reasons. First, there was the need to attract Natives from nearby to live there subject to rigorous pastoral supervision. Second, the production of a strong local space was the initial means by which Good attempted to come to terms with his

83 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
84 The Mission Field, 14, 1869, p.227.
85 Columbia Mission Report, 13, 1871, p.57.

'parish' as a whole — for the assurances offered by a strong base would enable him to engage with places farther afield. St.Paul's mission, on a hillside overlooking Lytton, was to be exactly the kind of springboard favored by Paul himself — although in this case manufactured by the missionary.

The foremost strategy pursued by Good for the constitution of such stable spatial foundations was to offer agricultural land to his prospective adherents, a not insignificant proposal given the apparent deterioration of the local riverine ecology in the wake of the gold rush.[86] In addition, Good planned to build boarding schools for the Native youth of both sexes, a spatial limitation which would facilitate continual surveillance and teaching. Thus he sought children "ranging from 7 to 10 years of old — under efficient superintendence — and whom we could board & clothe throughout the year."[87] Furthermore, he hoped to build a number of pit-houses on his mission grounds, accommodation which would enable people to visit his institution from afar with the assurance that they would have somewhere to stay.[88]

All Good's plans shared a desire to strengthen the ties between people and place, to make of his mission grounds a sustainable residential space where people could and would stay put — at least for a sufficient period for Good to have an effect upon them. Above all, the nourishment and interest afforded by this space had to be enduring, for fixity limited solely to certain weeks, days, or hours, went against the grain of a colonial strategy that demanded consistency and constancy, an unceasing morality of observation and instruction. The cultivation of various crops would keep people in one place throughout the seasons, perhaps, but the potential benefits of such fixity would be undermined if their evenings were spent in the 'heathen' space of the Native village or Lytton hostelry.

[86] For a useful discussion of the possible reasons for decreasing spring salmon fishing in the Fraser during the 1860s, see Brian Hayden, "Introduction: ecology and culture," in Hayden, ed., A complex culture of the British Columbia Plateau: traditional *Stl'átl'imx* resource use, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1992, pp.26-9.
[87] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.
[88] Columbia Mission Report, 12, 1870, p.44.

Boarding schools would lend an incessant quality to the child's instruction, keeping them away from the disruptive culture of their Native families; and pit-houses would keep visiting Nlaka'pamux within Good's enveloping Christian grasp, and (as important) away from the undesirable influences of white 'society'.

As I noted earlier, the Lytton band did not relocate to the mission grounds, as Good hoped they would, and his wish for substantial boarding-schools was always a somewhat idealistic indulgence given the financial realities of his situation. Thus towards the end of his tenure he was still writing to his sponsors, trying to persuade them again and again that "a Central Training Institution at Lytton on our mission grounds" would represent a highly-deserving investment.[89] Such an institution was never built — although Good's plans undoubtedly set a theoretical precedent for the residential schools which followed him[90] — and his teaching of Native children was always limited to boys and the daylight hours. Yet the mission did become an important center: agriculture certainly had a role to play in this, and perhaps the promise of accommodation can explain the fact that some Natives did travel from afar to this developing center of colonial Christianity.[91]

But the partial 'success' of this center did not consume Good, and he realized that the majority of the Nlaka'pamux still lived outside of the immediate grasp of the local mission. For this reason Good had to divide his time between the demands of the center, and the requirement of itinerant missionization that a strong center would itself allow. While in search of the many 'souls' scattered throughout his parish, Good would leave the central mission in other hands. In the early-1870s this task would usually fall upon his wife, but in the latter half of the decade his Native assistant, 'Silas Nalee', would be left in

[89] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending October 31st 1878, USPG, E Series, Vol.33, 1878.
[90] St.George's Industrial School was established by the Anglicans at Lytton in 1895. For details, see "All Hallow's School, Yale: 'Our Indians in British Columbia'," BCARS, Add. MSS 273.
[91] Good later noted two cases in particular of Native perseverance: a young boy who traveled six miles, on all fours, to his Sunday services, and a blind man who also frequented his ministrations from eleven miles away. See his "The utmost bounds," chapter 11.

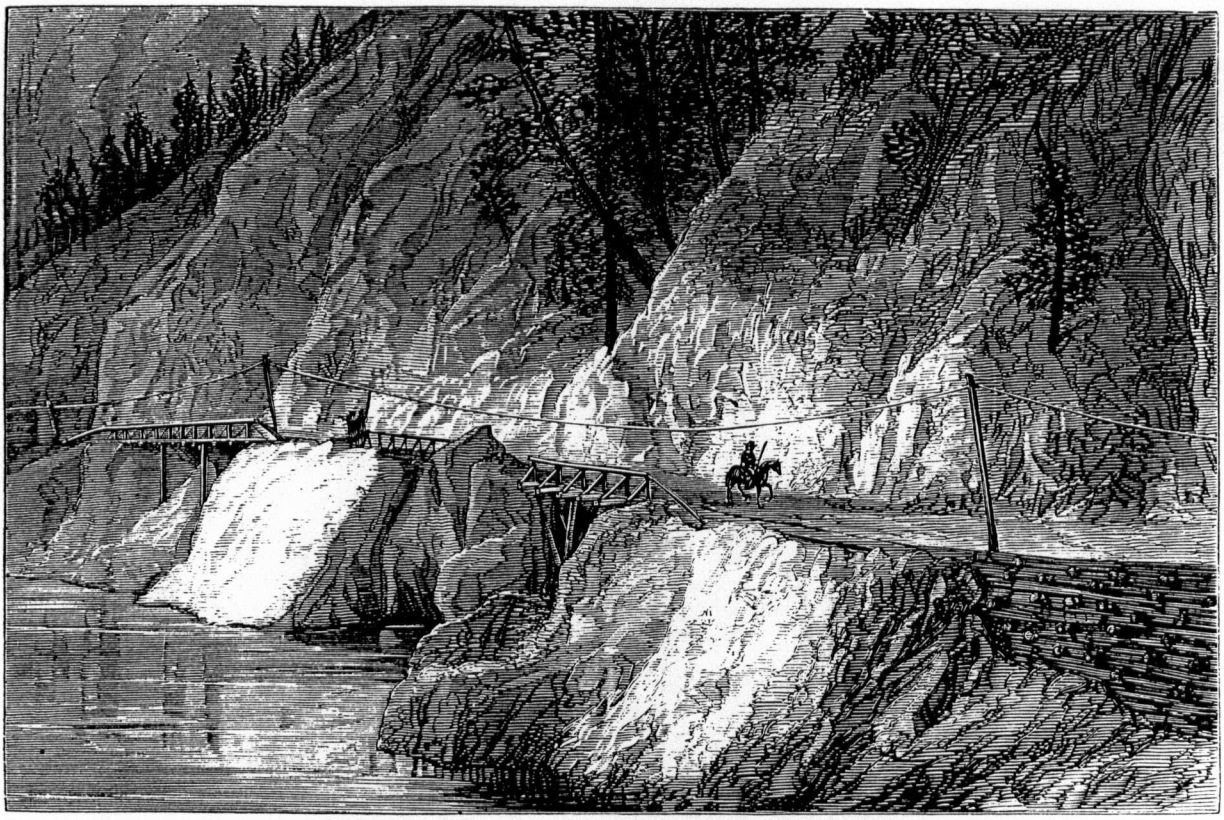
charge. Good believed that neither of these solutions was ideal, and often wrote to England in search of additional clergy for his multifaceted mission. After all, how could he go off touring if the mainstay of his work was not in capable hands? Indeed, often he felt compelled to stay in Lytton when he would have wanted to be off itinerating, knowing that his diffuse 'flock' was "not properly shepherded."[92] Accordingly, he endeavored to win over the SPG's administrators to his conviction that missionaries should not approach their work single-handed, but that "united agency" was to be much preferred.[93] After all, St.Paul's enveloping geography of missionization had required co-workers.

Despite these problems, and the fact that the mission center was always his first priority, Good did spread his horizons far and wide. His trips were no waltz in the park, either, for he suffered many hardships and privations en route. On occasion he traveled on horseback, but more commonly he walked, lengthy hours of exhausting exercise — often in great heat or extreme cold — which would be followed by nights spent on Native benches or floors.[94] He told many hair-raising tales of the dangers encountered on mountain trails and on the incipient wagon roads pictured in figure 10. His luminaries back in England would doubtless have been impressed by these stories, as by the sheer distances Good covered in search of potential converts. As he wrote in 1877:

> For instance in my last journey, I baptized three infants. For the first I had to ride 47 miles, for the second 20 miles, for the third 100 miles & then to keep my Sunday appointment [at Lytton], 70 miles — these figures will give the Society's readers a general idea of the working of this extensive mission.[95]

[92] Mission Life, N.S., 7, 1876, p.462.
[93] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.
[94] When he did travel on horseback, he often found himself pursued by Natives on foot, a fact which seems to have caused him considerable unease. Indeed, his preference for walking probably had a lot to do with this embarrassment. Speaking of those following him on foot, he noted: "It made one quite ashamed to ride." Columbia Mission Report, 15, 1873, p.21.
[95] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1877, USPG, E Series, Vol.32, 1877.

Figure 10. Road along the Fraser.



ROAD ALONG THE FRASER (17 MILES ABOVE YALE).—*From a Photograph.*

Source: Columbia Mission Report, 15, 1873, frontispiece

With this considerable effort Good believed he was ensuring a very acceptable regional coverage, and to illustrate this he counted the number of services he had performed at different places throughout the year. In 1876, the figures were as follows: Lytton, 50; Yale, 20; Hope, 4; Cache Creek and Ashcroft, 7; Kamloops, 2; Clinton, 2; Lillooet, 2.[96] These statistics reveal Good's emphasis on the Fraser Canyon, but they also confirm that his central mission was only a 'stepping-stone'. Thus he once declared, perhaps somewhat unrealistically (and probably with a healthy dosage of self-inflation):

> in connection with my assigned District of Supervision embracing some 6000 sq. miles I can with truth affirm that not only is there not a settlement but not even perhaps a habitation whether of native or immigrant that I have not personally inspected and visited.[97]

Before examining the exercise of 'pastoral power' at Lytton — the "systematic and constant Christian supervision and training" that Good implemented at his central mission grounds[98] — I conclude this chapter by using the work of Michel de Certeau to tease out some of the implications of Good's Pauline strategy. In de Certeau's work on strategies,[99] there is a persistent reiteration of the claim that spatial localization is paramount. I have shown just how important concentration was for Good, and de Certeau's assertion that strategies "seek to create places in conformity with abstract models" would certainly apply to Good's appeal to the legacy of St.Paul. But more directly relevant is de Certeau's analysis of how the delimitation of a specific space can serve as a means of controlling one's relations with a wider territory and its occupants. A strategy, he claims,

96 Good, Annual return, 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876.
97 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1872, USPG, E Series, Vol.27, 1871-2.
98 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.
99 De Certeau discusses 'strategies' in a dualistic context, for set off against these he depicts a set of 'tactics' which operate in opposition. Here I confine myself to strategies, although I make reference to his discussion of tactics in the next chapter. See his The practice of everyday life, chapter 3.

postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets and threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed.[100]

Similarly, Good's promotion of his Lytton headquarters served as the strategic linchpin of a broader effort to administer the developing relationship between himself and the Nlaka'pamux. In this sense, Good's colonizing formulation was grounded in the manipulation of spatial relations.[101]

Good's emphasis on relations of space obviously impinged upon the nature of temporal relations under conditions of Anglican colonization; a spatial politics was, equally, a temporal politics. The way to approach this issue is again through de Certeau, for in the first of three provisory embellishments of his basic thesis — each of which I develop here — he claims that the demarcation of this strong local base can be viewed as "a victory of space over time." The constitution of a distinctive space

allows one to capitalize acquired advantages, to prepare future expansions, and thus to give oneself a certain independence with respect to the variability of circumstances. It is a mastery of time through the foundation of an autonomous place.

Such possibilities were obviously central to the concerns of the colonial missionary, for in the midst of a rapidly shifting and unpredictable social milieu, the possibility of reducing uncertainty was not to be frowned at. If a strong, central mission could be established, Good would have time to think about expansion and itinerant preaching. More importantly, his task of effecting change amongst his target group would be considerably eased if he did not have to worry about getting the job done quickly. If he could devise and maintain a local space of consistency and fortitude, the need to make an immediate and

100 ibid., pp.29,36 (original emphasis).
101 For an exploratory attempt to link de Certeau's work on 'strategies' with the material practices of colonial missionization, see Derek Gregory's elaboration of the Comaroffs' account of spatial politics in his Geographical imaginations, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994, pp.194-5; Comaroff and Comaroff, Of revelation and revolution, pp.200-6.

lasting impression would be removed, for the Natives would always be there. Of course this appealing constancy was not afforded by the contemporary human geography of the Nlaka'pamux; but Good's manipulation of local spatial relations aspired to revoke the demands of temporality. In de Certeau's words, Good's forging of a sedentary space outside Lytton was an "attempt to reduce temporal relations to spatial ones."[102]

Good himself was well aware of this fact, and would periodically reaffirm that haste — a cowardly surrender to the uncertainties of history — should and could be avoided. Even before he had decamped to his new mission premises outside Lytton, he insisted that deliberation and care were the order of the day: "Surely with such a people it can only be line upon line and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, first with milk, and then with strong meat as they are able to bear it."[103] Mission work had to be done "by degrees," not in brief, singular strikes, a conviction seconded by Woods when he visited Good in 1869, concluding that it would be "unwise if we were to strive to hurry the work."[104] What needs to be stressed here is that it was only through the construal and construction of a particular space that such a leisurely approach could be adopted. If spatial relations were not managed adequately, Good would have to resort to itinerant missionization. In this eventuality, the only possibility of success would reside in the production of an instant and powerful impression — a strategy thus reduced to the mercy of time, for itinerance implied an irredeemably limited temporal scope for discussion and instruction. At its very heart, therefore, effective religious colonization was predicated upon the production of space.

It should be noted that this philosophy of spatialization was not invoked in a colonial vacuum. Stressing their own circumspection, Anglicans found it useful to argue that it was precisely this care and deliberation that Roman Catholic missionaries eschewed. Recall that Good's move to Lytton had been enabled by Nlaka'pamux dissatisfaction with

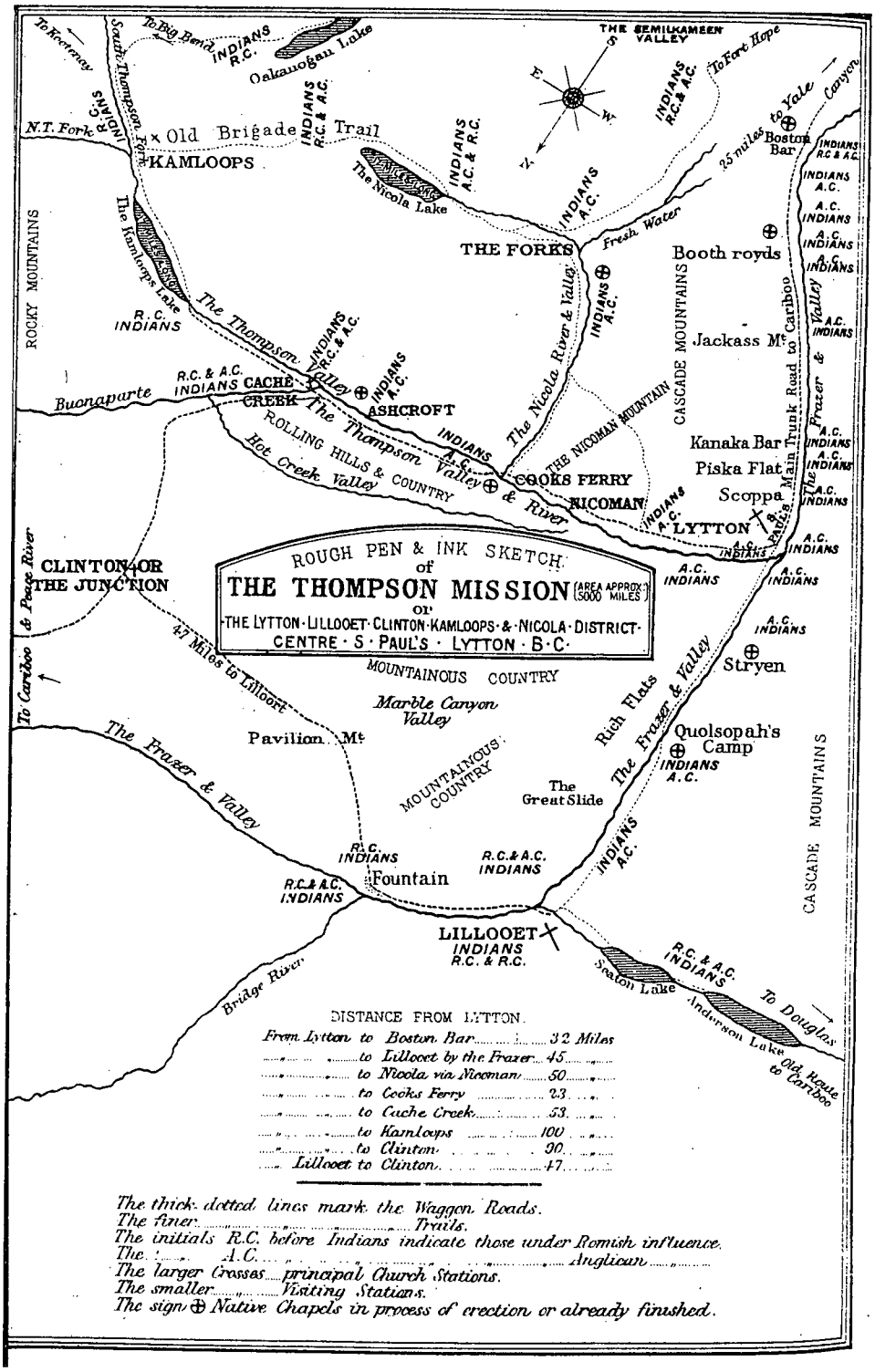
102 De Certeau, The practice of everyday life, pp.xix,36,38.
103 Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, p.37.
104 ibid., 11, 1869, pp.21,33 (original emphasis).

the infrequent visits of Father LeJacq, an Oblate missionary. Such episodes persuaded Anglicans that all Catholic operations were itinerant and ephemeral. As Good once noted, the temptation to "make haste" was one which all colonial missionaries were "peculiarly exposed to,"[105] but he and other Anglicans took pride in their claim that it was the Catholic church, and not their own, that had succumbed to this temporal enticement. Thus his allegation that Roman Catholic teaching was basically "ephemeral in duration"[106] was reiterated by Lundin Brown, who argued that the enemy's missions were "to a great extent superficial and evanescent."[107] As I show in chapter 4, many of Good's 'flock' had to wait 5 or 6 years before they were baptized — a fact which puzzled much of the interested public back in England[108] — whereas Bishop Hills claimed that Roman Catholic baptisms were often administered on the spot for a fee of $2![109] This criticism, typified by Good's reference to followers of the Catholic Church as "manufactured converts,"[110] was plainly flawed.[111] But it was a useful criticism nonetheless. Pointing to the problems of itinerance, Good hoped in turn to justify his own spatial politics by lauding the deliberation occasioned by a concentrated mission.

A sketch map drawn by Good in 1871 (figure 11) facilitates consideration of de Certeau's second elaboration on the notion of 'strategy'. This map purports to show Good's mission field as he first envisaged it, spreading from Lillooet to Kamloops and Boston Bar, and centered on St.Paul's mission outside Lytton; and it reveals some vital

105 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
106 Columbia Mission Report, 13, 1871, p.56.
107 Mission Life, N.S., 1, 1870, p.533.
108 Thus one reader of the SPG's publications noted that Good's lengthy period of probation was far removed from the 6-day initiation period enforced by a missionary in Borneo; and since he was inclined to agree with the Borneo representative, he could not quite fathom out Good's rationale (a rationale I explore at various stages throughout the remainder of this thesis). See The Mission Field, 13, 1868, pp.344-5.
109 Hills, Diary, June 30th 1860.
110 Good to the Secretary, SPG, December 28th 1863, USPG, E Series, Vol.14, 1863.
111 For a start, many Oblate missionaries themselves insisted on the kind of stable mission grounds championed by Good.

Figure 11. The Thompson Mission.



Source: Columbia Mission Report, 13, 1871, opposite p.53

colonial connections between power, knowledge, and space. These connections are centered on the politics of vision. De Certeau's discussion of the politics of vision in relation to the demarcation of space is illuminating:

> The division of space makes possible a panoptic practice proceeding from a place whence the eye can transform foreign forces into objects which can be observed and measured, and thus control and 'include' them within its scope of vision. To be able to see (far into the distance) is also to be able to predict, to run ahead of time by reading a space.

Effective strategy, de Certeau claims, implies a "view of the whole,"[112] and it was just such a holistic vision that Good's map presupposed. This sketch was not a disinterested exercise in objective description. The textual rationalization of space was deemed essential to the mission enterprise; following Paul Carter, we could place Good not in "the company of the sedentary, speculative map-users" but rather "in the realm of the travelling map-makers."[113] This is important, since Good's attempt to visualize this huge space cannot be disengaged from his ongoing effort to Christianize and control that space; his cartographic urge stemmed from the fact that the production of maps, and the production of history, were not separate domains. Indeed his map, which attempted to incorporate different places and peoples within a single enveloping gaze, relates back to the fact that his delimitation of local spatial relations was intended to constitute certain subjects as targets for discipline and control. Thus de Certeau's appeal to the politics of 'panopticism' hits the nail on the head for, as Denis Wood corroborates, colonial mapmakers like Good emphatically "reach out." He insists: "And now everyone is on this map, everyone has been caught up in this panoptic gaze." This appropriative and encompassing mapping practice is quintessentially a "view from a center."[114] In Good's case that central, all-seeing eye was located at Lytton. By setting that local space 'apart', as it were, he could

112 De Certeau, The practice of everyday life, pp.36 (original emphasis),38.
113 Carter, The road to Botany Bay, p.32.
114 Denis Wood, The power of maps, Routledge, London, 1993, pp.47,46 (original emphasis).

begin to identify outside of its limits the objects of his desires and ambitions. To the extent that this was a spatial practice, it was also a visual one.

In order to engage with this huge space, therefore, Good had first to render it intelligible to the Western eye. The land had to be inspected, the world made a 'picture' — and so Good appealed directly to this 'sketch map' when he endeavored to describe his parish to a distant British public. Invoking the passivity of his own 'imperial eyes', Good invited his readers to join him at Boston Bar (in the top right-hand corner of the map), and to accompany him as he traveled through the region: "Let us start from this point on a mental tour of inspection, and by the aforesaid plan try to comprehend the actual aspect presented to the eye of the observer."[115] This need to provide visual aids for a far-off audience was widely recognized. When he visited England in 1872 to try to raise money for the Columbia Mission, it struck Archdeacon Woods that there would not be so many problems with funding if only missionaries were made aware of the vital links between vision and knowledge: the situation would be vastly improved, he asserted, if "those who enjoy so many spiritual blessings at home could but see and know the work doing and to be done in the distant corners of the great mission-field."[116] If knowledge were translated into the visual realm, this could only benefit the Christian cause overseas. At least in part, Good's cartographic imagining of British Columbian space had this larger purpose in mind.

But the map was also embedded within the production and reproduction of far more local histories, for the intricate details inscribed in Good's sketch were not simply empirical 'facts', just as Good was not the passive observer he imagined himself to be. Rather, what is depicted through the use of labels and names is not only reflective of particular interests

115 Columbia Mission Report, 13, 1871, p.54.
116 ibid., 14, 1872, p.37; original emphasis. For a similar appeal by Woods for a greater visualization of missionary requirements, see his comments in ibid., 20, 1878, pp.32-3. As Good himself put it: "Things seen are proverbially greater than things heard." " 'British Columbia', written by Mrs H.H.Bancroft to Mr Good's dictation at the Driard House, Victoria. May, 1878," p.40.

and motivations, but is in turn productive of history itself. More than anything else, the labels used by Good ('AC' and 'RC') were modes of differentiation — the means by which spaces could be delimited and distinguished from one another. They were productive and constitutive precisely because, in Carter's words, they "embodied the traveller's directional and territorial ambitions."[117] Good's colonial practices were to be informed and enacted on the basis of this textualization of space, for the politics of naming and associating imbued the land with a sense of historical possibility. More specifically, the ascriptions of 'AC' and 'RC' were to bring those places and peoples within the advancing logic of a Christian teleology — they were to set in motion the various components of a local missionary enterprise.

The map was not just descriptive, then, or even ascriptive, so much as prescriptive. The identification of differences between places was not only an 'objective' observation, but was intended to make a (subjective) difference. The denotation of 'AC' at Lytton would justify continued funding to stave off the ever-present specter of Roman Catholicism.[118] The ascription of 'RC' elsewhere suggested a 'waiting field' for Anglican activity. The label 'RC & RC' at Lillooet is best understood, for example, in the context of Good's consistent appeals for clergymen to take up the battle on this separate, desirable front.[119] These spatial demarcations, in other words, were "differences that made a difference." That they would make a difference to Christian colonial history was, at any rate, the implicit assumption. In Good's map this prescription is manifold, for the 'past' (Anglican occupation) and the 'future' (waiting field) are brought together within a textual nexus which seeks not to affirm the objective nature of the 'present', but to revamp that 'present' according to the imperatives of the differences it asserts and promotes. History

117 Carter, The road to Botany Bay, p.48.
118 Throughout his time in Lytton Good was aware of persistent Roman Catholic interest in the Nlaka'pamux. In the summer of 1872, for example, he wrote that the Oblates were endeavoring to make Lytton "one of their abiding places." Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1872, USPG, E Series, Vol.27, 1871-2.
119 See for example, Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.

was to be enabled by the distinctions of a legible geography. As Carter would have it, Good's mapping practice was a case of "writing history in a country where space is as yet incompletely mapped and remains itself a matter of historical inquiry and manufacture."[120] Good was very much concerned with such manufacture: as de Certeau reminds us, the panoptic strategy of seeing into the distance was at one and the same time a method of prediction, of seeing into the future. The dynamism of Christian colonialism was always predicated upon the assumed progress of history, a history defined and developed on the basis of the delimitation, visualization, and production of space.

Of course, the principal absence of Good's map is its denial of Native ownership and occupation of land, a disavowal which itself reflected and reproduced an appropriative colonial reality. The reference points for his 'tour of inspection' are white settlements and white lines of transportation, and descriptions of Native settlement are invariably couched in the context of European intrusions into the Native landscape. When Good attempts to identify the north-eastern boundary of Nlaka'pamux territory, for example, the reference point is land pre-empted by white settlers: the "Stock Ranch" of the Cornwall Brothers some 40 miles up-river from Lytton. "With them," he claims, "ends the district inhabited by our Thompson Indian population."[121]

This brings us directly to de Certeau's third and final point about the nature of spatial 'strategy', for he insists that the kind of practice pursued by Good is invariably based upon an inequality of power relations. Thus, it is the very possibility of creating a 'central place' — with all its attendant 'benefits' — that underscores the relationships between knowledge and space outlined above. Power is foundational; it is

> the precondition of this knowledge and not merely its effect or its attribute. It makes this knowledge possible and at the same time determines its characteristics. It produces itself in and through this knowledge.[122]

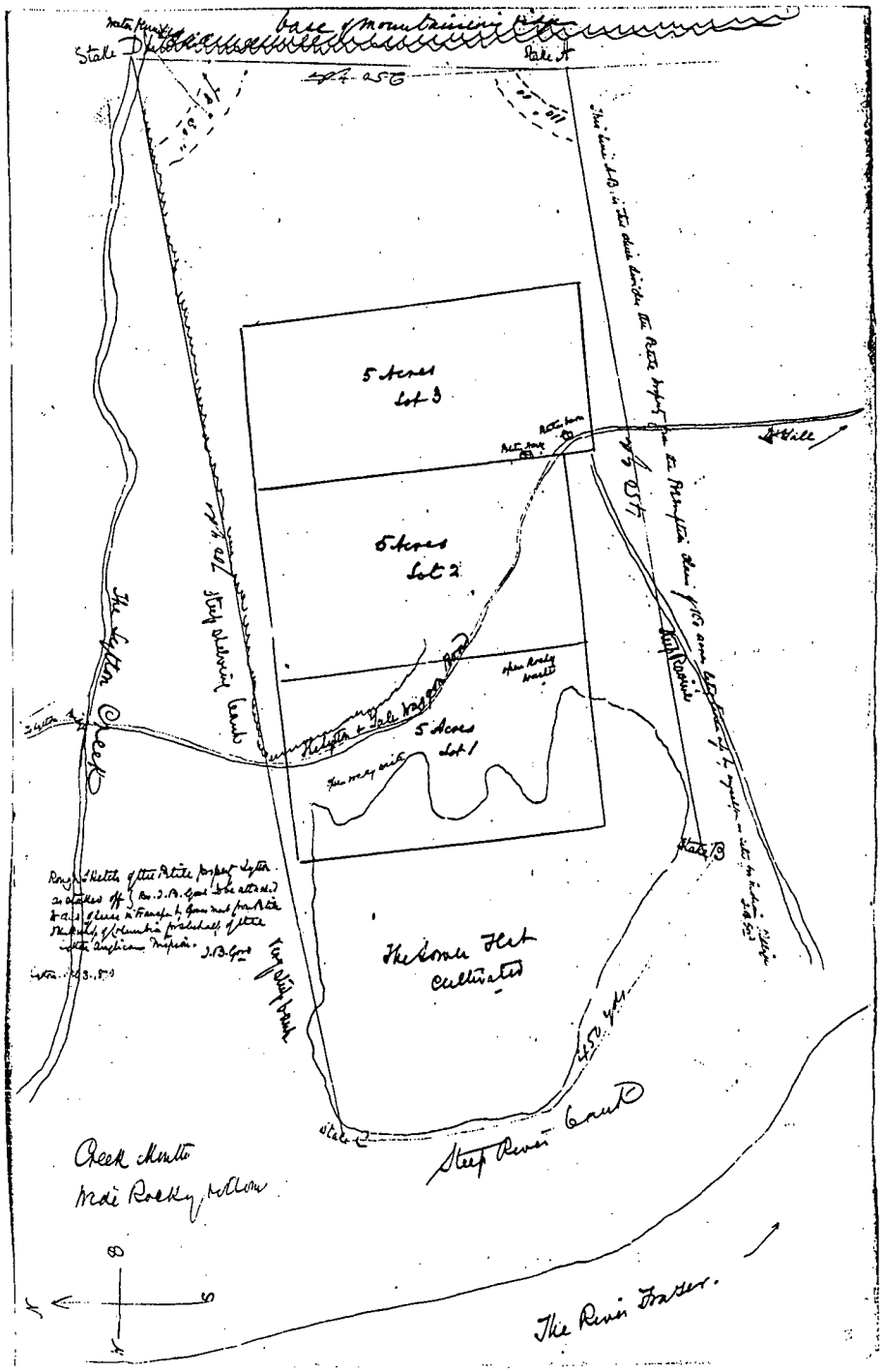
120 Carter, The road to Botany Bay, pp.48,70.
121 Columbia Mission Report, 13, 1871, p.56 (my emphasis).
122 De Certeau, The practice of everyday life, p.36; original emphasis.

This is perhaps de Certeau's most important observation; we should not forget that Good's strategical move to Lytton's periphery in 1870 took place in the context of a colonial land policy. Whereas Good patently was able to pre-empt and occupy this land, Natives were not; with Joseph Trutch succeeding Colonel Moody as chief commissioner of lands and works in 1864, the resolution of land disputes shifted in the direction of white colonists, since Trutch's belief in the priority of agricultural settlement meant that Native occupancy was viewed as a hindrance to the development of the colony. Whereas James Douglas had allowed Native pre-emption of land, Trutch basically denied this right in 1866, a restriction that was in place when Good first approached Trutch's office two years later, with his relocation plans in hand.[123] It is not insignificant, then, that Good's application went through the colonial machinery without so much as a hitch — he first wrote to the Colonial Secretary to make his request in late-1868,[124] and had been granted leasing rights to the property just over a year later[125] — for this slick appropriation of land was itself indicative of Good's propitious position within a hierarchy of colonial power relations. Henceforth, the land shown in figure 12 would be firmly inscribed not only within the realms of administrative colonial knowledge, but also within the grip of Christian colonial power.

Towards the end of my introduction, I suggested that in Good's relocation to his 'Zoar on top of the hill' we could perhaps detect an important shift in his developing relationship with the Nlaka'pamux, and with the Lytton band in particular. Indeed we can. No longer was he giving services in a chapel Natives had built for their own purposes. He had now obtained and forged his own distinctive site. Religious colonization was to be effected within the confines of a space both manufactured and 'set apart'. I explore this

123 These schematic outlines of Trutch's land policy are taken from the excellent discussion in Fisher, Contact and conflict, pp.162-5.
124 Good to W.A.G.Young, November 28th 1868, CC, F653/8.
125 O'Reilly to Alston, January 10th 1870, CC, F13/17. O'Reilly was Trutch's assistant, and Alston was the lawyer acting on the Church's behalf. In fact it only took this whole year for Good to be granted the lease because an accident to Governor Seymour had temporarily halted the proceedings, especially during the early-summer of 1869.

Figure 12. Rough sketch of Good's claim, 1870.



Source: Trutch to Alston, March 15th 1870, CC F13/18

colonizing power in the next chapter. Here I merely want to reiterate that in making this move, Good was invoking and relying upon the very inequity in power relations between colonizer and colonized that he himself so often criticized. That may seem contradictory, but Christian colonialism never was a straightforward affair.

Chapter 4: Power

Missionary power was very different from the modalities of power exercised by secular colonialism. This was not what Foucault calls sovereign power, a power determined by the ability (and legal right) to take life in the name of a ruler. Such discontinuous, point-specific power stands in stark contrast to the more constant, enveloping power of the missionary. Based not on the colonist's presumed "right to kill," missionary power "gave itself the function of administering life."[1] Good, for example, wrote frequently of his work as a "resurrection to life," claiming that his many converts had "clearly passed from death unto life."[2] The missionary's power to colonize was not the power of destruction and defeat, but the power of salvation. As such, it presents a whole series of different issues from the sovereign power generally associated with colonization.[3] I explore this power over life in this chapter.

For Foucault Christian pastoral power epitomized this notion of power over life. Pastoral power, he suggested, must "be prepared to sacrifice itself for the life and salvation of the flock. Therefore, it is different from royal power, which demands a sacrifice from its subjects to save the throne."[4] A pastoral modality of power, in other words, is far removed from the sovereign power with which we are perhaps more familiar. The difference can be briefly illustrated. In the spring of 1873, Bishop Hills wrote in his diary that the Methodists had buried a German who had recently committed suicide. For sovereign power, suicide would present no immediate problems, since death was either an indicator and reaffirmation of that power or an individual irrelevance. But pastoral power had a lot more at stake, a fact which perhaps helps to explain the Anglican condemnation of

1 Foucault, The history of sexuality, pp.136,138.
2 Columbia Mission Report, 15, 1873, p.19; Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876.
3 Cf. Mitchell, Colonizing Egypt.
4 Foucault, "The subject and power," p.214.

this act — Hills lamented that "the Methodists seem to have no regard to the discipline which forbids Xtian burial to suicides."[5] Missionaries declared a power over life, and depended upon their ability to sustain and control life. Since it is over life that missionary power "establishes its dominion," then "death is power's limit, the moment that escapes it."[6] Death denies power its subject. In a pastoral system, suicide is perhaps the ultimate limit to an encroaching power, the most extreme act of personal resistance.

It could be argued that salvation is a matter of transcendence, concerning the fate of a particular person after death. It is about preparing a person for the after-life, for heaven. This is of course true, and there is no doubt that Good impressed the importance of the after-life upon his Native charges at Lytton: eternal salvation was made available only to those who lived their lives in accordance with the moral demands of Anglicanism. Formerly, it seems, the route to Native salvation had been accessible to all; now, there were explicit rites of passage. This, at least, was James Teit's conclusion in the 1890s about changes in Nlaka'pamux beliefs regarding life after death: "good people when they die are said to go over the new trail; but before that, only the one trail was known, over which all Indians went to the world of the dead."[7] Given these new criteria, missionaries like Good would have possessed a very considerable power over (after) life: a power to decide who was eligible for salvation, and who was not.

However, the importance of eternal salvation should not take away from the fact that missionaries also conceived of salvation in a far more material and prosaic sense. Around the Empire they faced staggeringly high mortality rates among their target populations. If they were going to 'save' Natives, they had to begin right away, for diseases like small pox were taking their toll.[8] In their self-appointed role as humanizing

5 Hills, Diary, March 24th 1873.
6 Foucault, The history of sexuality, p.138.
7 James Teit, "Mythology of the Thompson Indians," The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History. Vol.8, New York, 1912, p.404.
8 In the British Columbian context, see Cole Harris, "Voices of disaster: smallpox around the Strait of Georgia in 1782," Ethnohistory, 41(4), 1994, pp.591-626.

colonists, missionaries detected the seeds of a real institutional power if salvation could be applied to the worldly condition of colonized populations. Thus Good argued that

> while civilization without Christianity is the precursor of the extermination of the red man, Christianity rightly exhibited and wisely disseminated, is found to be the only sort capable of preserving the generally ill-fated people from corruption and death.[9]

Indeed, the perverse attraction of this scenario was only compounded by the fact that, as Teit noted, many Natives appeared to have internalized the "belief that they are doomed to extinction."[10] Such a prospect presented unbounded opportunity for those who set themselves the task of administering not death, but everyday life. The attention missionaries paid to medical practice was just one example of this realization.[11] Pastoral

9 " 'British Columbia', written by Mrs H.H.Bancroft to Mr Good's dictation at the Driard House, Victoria. May, 1878," p.69.

10 Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," p.178.

11 The importance of medical knowledge was impressed on Good from an early age. At St.Augustine's he took courses in medicine and visited the local County Hospital. The general message of this training was that medical inquiry and mission preaching should be thought of as mutually-reinforcing practices. Students were "not expected to become learned physicians, or expert surgeons"; but their instruction should enable them to "occupy some middle point between the deeply learned and the entirely ignorant" with regard to medical knowledge ("The Calendar of the Missionary College of St. Augustine, Canterbury, for the year of our Lord, 1855," Appendix C, CCA, U88/A2/1/6). Good took this lesson to heart — throughout his missionary career he emphasized the importance of medical expertise. At Nanaimo he insisted that evangelization could be aided by "administering to the sick," and by 1864 he celebrated that many of the local Natives, once afraid to do so, were now willing to receive Western medical treatment (The Mission Field, 8, 1863, p.117; Columbia Mission Report, 6, 1864, p.29). He renewed his medical mission at Lytton, claiming that "maladies incident to the flesh" were useful as "a wedge for reaching the inward secret defilement and sickness of the soul" (ibid., 10, 1868, p.38). Others reiterated the same tactical message (see, for example, ibid., 9, 1867, p.95). For discussion of colonial medical practice see Megan Vaughan's analysis of what she calls 'biomedical discourse'. Interestingly, she frames her study as an engagement with Foucault, and asks whether his ideas about 'subjectification' — the constitution of subjects who, encouraged to talk about themselves, participate directly in the exercise of disciplinary power — are applicable to medical colonialism in Africa. She thinks not. However, the one realm within which she avers, and claims that Foucault's work does appear to be illuminating, is that of Christian medical discourse: mission medicine, she claims, was directly "involved in the attempt to create particular subjectivities." As in British Columbia, mission medicine had much more than a purely physical transformation in mind. Sick people were people to be converted, and medicine was thus located at the very heart of the régime of missionary power. Megan Vaughan, Curing their ills: colonial power and African illness, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991; the quotation is from p.57.

power, as Bernauer and Mahon have noted, involved a 'permanent concern with the total well-being of religious subjects'. For the missionary, the requirement to wield power over life was a stubbornly material requirement — in the colonial realm salvation was a "worldly" as well as a transcendent concept.[12] This power over life is the subject of the rest of this chapter. The purpose of this introductory section has been to begin to suggest just how different missionary power really was.

Govern them through themselves

Good's express purpose in working with the Nlaka'pamux was to effect a fundamental change among them: to lead them from darkness to light, from falsity to truth. He realized, however, that such a transition would be slow and (at times) painful. He was under no illusions. Indeed, as I have suggested, his attempt to create solid, enduring foundations for his mission testifies to this patience and realism.

Good's careful reserve is also revealed in the pedagogic system he began to implement soon after his arrival at Lytton. At the heart of this system lay the realization that while preaching was his basic purpose, his mission was doomed unless he created a structure within which the process of instruction and guidance could be situated. He needed a clear, logical schema to monitor the progress and prospects of each one of his charges. Hence, he immediately set about creating such a structure and communicating it to the Nlaka'pamux. What he had in mind was a developmental system, split into a number of clearly-defined stages, through each of which Natives would pass on their way to 'conversion'.

Good was interested in the personal development and shifting subjectivity of each Native person. As such, his system had to be directed towards the <u>individual</u>, and each

[12] Foucault discusses this notion in the context of a pastoral modality spreading outside of ecclesiastical institutions, and thus sees 'worldly' aims <u>replacing</u> religious aims. In the case of missionary power, rather, the two were indistinguishable. See Foucault, "The subject and power," p.215.

individual had to be known in great detail. For this purpose Good employed a system of certificates, whereby each and every one of his charges would be endowed with a new certificate, bearing his or her name, upon progression to the next rung of the Christian ladder. The first certificate signified enrollment — the fact that a person had expressed interest in Good's teachings, and had undertaken his course of instruction with the intent of being associated with the mission. Next came admission to 'catechumenship'; then baptism, confirmation, and finally holy communion. At each of these stages candidates would have to answer certain questions to satisfy Good that they were ready for advancement and, if successful, would be granted certificates.[13]

Through the use of these certificates, and the parish register that I referred to in chapter 3, Good endeavored to inscribe each one of his 'flock' within a legible domain. There were certainly problems with this system — he would often complain that it was difficult to keep track of precisely who was under his teaching because of the propensity for the Nlaka'pamux (especially Nlaka'pamux men) to change their names[14] — but for Good's mission to run effectively, Natives had to be known before they could be managed. Crucially, they had to be known as individuals, for only if their individual qualities and characteristics were charted could Good identify the approaches best adapted to their individual amelioration. With the certificate system acting as the structural undergirding of a pedagogic procedure, power and knowledge were here walking in perfect lockstep.[15]

Knowledge was established and recorded at the individual level. Good was insistent that the Nlaka'pamux "need to be individually considered,"[16] not treated as an undifferentiated mass, and in this way his work evinced a care for specific detail that

13 For schematic details of this 'passage' to conversion, see Columbia Mission Report, 18, 1876, pp.26-7.
14 Good, "The utmost bounds," p.70.
15 "A more extensive and finer-grained knowledge enables a more continuous and pervasive control of what people do, which in turn offers further possibilities for more intrusive inquiry and disclosure." Joseph Rouse, "Power/Knowledge," in Gutting, ed., The Cambridge Companion to Foucault, p.96.
16 The Mission Field, 14, 1869, p.223.

Foucault takes as the hallmark of a 'pastoral modality of power'. Indeed Foucault regards the power of the pastor as quintessentially "individualizing"; Good too was deeply interested in "the development of power techniques oriented towards individuals ... It isn't enough to know the state of the flock. That of each sheep must also be known."[17]

But Good's work was far more than merely pedagogic. Success was gauged not only by the number of converts, but more importantly by the overall well-being of the people for whom he felt responsible. Good was preoccupied with the life of the flock, and his teaching was combined with the need to govern every aspect of their everyday lives. These two tasks were not incompatible, however; attention to individual detail was not incommensurable with the government of the flock as a whole. In this way the pastoral modality was situated at a distinctive juncture of totalizing and individualizing processes. On the one hand were the combined forces of colonialism and capitalism, on the other the differentiating strategies of Christian subjectification. The missionary's own "art of government" was located at this intersection.[18] Good was compelled to follow procedures of subjectification enshrined in Protestant orthodoxy, but he also pursued a more expansive politics of social governance. This intriguing combination made of Anglican missionization a very distinctive breed of British colonial power. It was a classic form of governmentality, where "the government of souls became a pivotal, calculating project, indispensable to the salvation of each and all."[19]

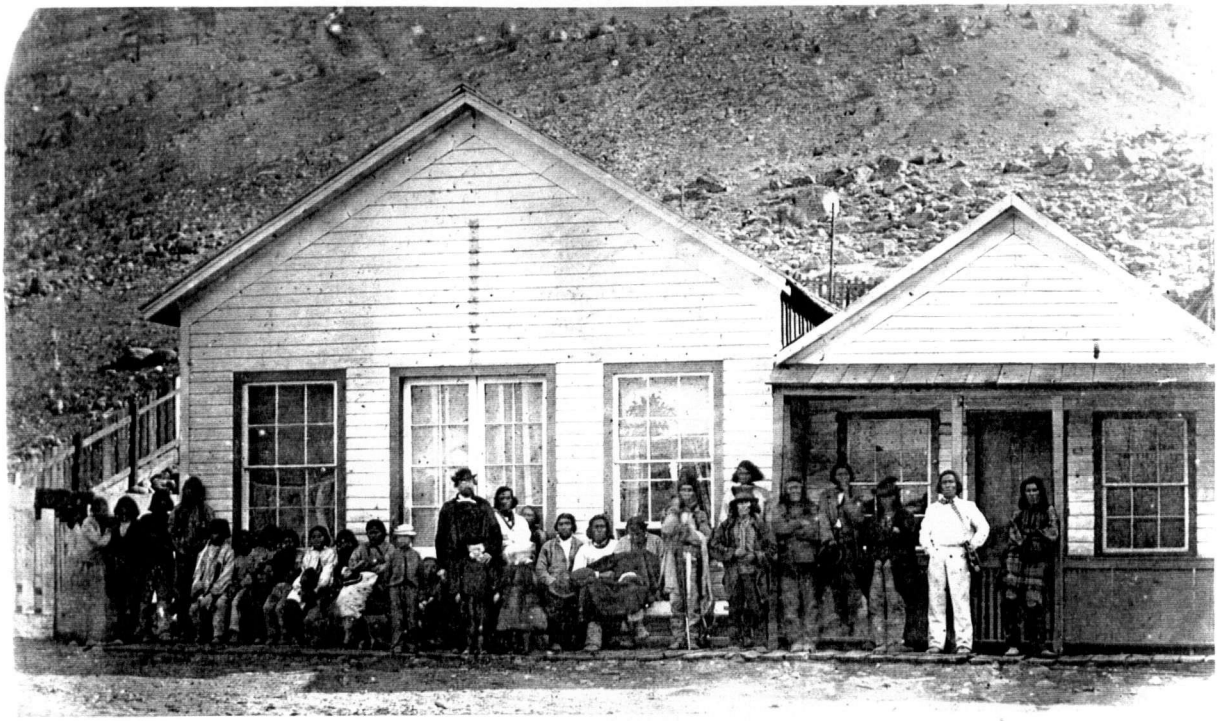
Good's concern for the life of each and every one of the Nlaka'pamux was expressed in many ways, but most obviously in his perceived obligation to keep track of

17 Michel Foucault, "Omnes et Singulatim: towards a criticism of 'Political Reason'," in The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, Vol.2, ed. Sterling M. McMurrin, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1981, pp.227,237.

18 This paragraph is indebted to Foucault's discussion of 'governmentality', which he locates at this precise juncture of totalizing and individualizing modalities. Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," Ideology and consciousness, 6, 1979, pp.5-21. The quotation is from p.7. In the context of colonial power, an important discussion is provided by David Scott, "Colonial Governmentality," Social Text, 43, 1995, pp.191-220; see in particular pp.201-2.

19 Michel Foucault, "Sécurité, territoire et population," in his Résumé des cours, 1970-1982, Julliard, Paris, 1989, p.100.

Figure 13. The Rev. J.B.Good and his Indian flock at Lytton.



Source: BCARS, Photo # 65790

their welfare, to continually watch over them. Thus in 1869, just at the time when his plans were beginning to come together, he wrote to his sponsors that "we need to have enrolled under strict surveillance and discipline for a given time the avowed adherents of our teaching."[20] And at around the same time, he referred in another letter to his duty of "careful pastoral superintendence."[21]

Keeping watch over his 'disciples' was critical to his broader project of caring for every aspect of their lives. As one might expect, Good insisted that the Nlaka'pamux were grateful to him for this unceasing attention and supervision. Whether or not this was the case, in his attention to the 'whole life' of his Native charge, and in the visual scrutiny which such an enterprise demanded, Good was developing a régime very much along the lines of the 'pastoral power' described by Foucault. Good wrote of one of his early 'converts':

> He also said how grateful his tribe was to me for my constant watchfulness over them and all that concerned their well-being; how few sick there were amongst them, and how seldom a death occurred; how little want this year, and how changed for the better everything was connected with this people since my arrival.[22]

However skeptical we may be, such testimony from one of his flock would doubtless have been music to Good's ears. Here he is applauded for his power over their life, for his 'permanent concern for their total well-being', the very foundations of effective pastoral power. For Foucault, the primary role of the pastor is "to constantly ensure, sustain, and improve the lives of each and every one," and it is to that end that the pastor continually "watches over them."[23] Good forced himself to be as stringent as possible in his observation, for only in this way could he sustain and control life, and sustain and control

20 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1869, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
21 Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, p.35.
22 ibid., 11, 1869, p.26.
23 Foucault, "Omnes et Singulatim," pp.235,230.

the exercise of power over it — by 1870 he claimed that St.Paul's Mission could boast some 800 "closely guarded probationary disciples."[24]

The obvious question is what it was they were being 'guarded' from, and why. They were not presumed to present any intrinsic danger; Good was not a sovereign exercising a right to protect territory or people. Rather, as he said early in his time at Lytton, "We do all by moral suasion & cooperation & nothing by coertion & armed force."[25] Good's objectives of regulation and sustenance allude to the kind of meticulous, enveloping grasp that eludes sovereign power. Again Foucault is enlightening: "who provides mankind with food? The king? No. The farmer, the baker do. Who looks after men when they are sick? The king? No. The physician."[26] In his role as a colonial missionary, of course, Good took it upon himself to fulfill both these roles, and others besides. All this was with a view to administering the everyday life of the Nlaka'pamux, deemed absolutely necessary for their conversion to Christianity.

If not to guard the Nlaka'pamux from other 'citizens', what was the intent of Good's rigorous supervision? Perhaps to guard them from Roman Catholicism; this was never far from Good's main concerns. More likely, however, and more importantly, Good's task was to protect them from themselves. As he had indicated in his premonitory letter to the SPG, his care for the Nlaka'pamux would have to be disciplinary as well as supervisory, and a central component of Christian discipline was the imperative of self-denial.

Self-denial obviously has a long Christian heritage, with the true ascetic voluntarily deferring to a greater, transcendent Being. This lesson would have been driven home to missionaries time and again, a fact that doubtless influenced their appeals to Native people

24 The Mission Field, 15, 1870, p.291.
25 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 1868, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
26 Foucault, "Omnes et Singulatim," p.234.

to be similarly self-critical. At the first annual service of the Columbia Mission in London in 1860, the speaker presented the issue thus:

> For freedom, it must be borne in mind, consists not in personal irresponsibility, but in the voluntary submission of all inferior wills to one, perfect and supreme; and the Church is subject to Christ in every thing.

'Freedom' was not about individual choice and predilection, but about disciplining the self, taming the base incitements of the worldly realm; the "restraint of discipline which characterizes the Church of the Redeemer is opposed to all the instincts of our fallen humanity."[27] A year later, those attending the Mission's second annual service in Piccadilly were treated to a recapitulation of the same theme: "Self-denial," proclaimed this speaker, "is the discipline of [the missionary's] life."[28]

This invocation to self-denial, and the disciplinary prerogative that underscored 'restraint', meant that missionaries were to live a thoroughly ordered life. When Good arrived at St.Augustine's in 1854, he encountered the rigid structure of college life. The College Rules, he discovered,

> prescribe certain hours for rising, meals, and rest. Regularity, punctuality, and method, are essential to the proper training of mind and body. Every Missionary Bishop tells us of the difference which habits of order make at a Missionary Station. Without them all is chaos and confusion.[29]

In order to prepare students for a disciplined colonial mission, 'habits of order' were enshrined in the daily life of the training college. Indeed, an article on St.Augustine's which appeared in People's Magazine in 1870 stressed that "intellectual and scholastic preparation is the least part" of a tutelage system designed to prepare missionaries for the rigors of colonial life. The College was not "a mere place of lecturing about missions," but

27 "Occupy till I come", pp.9,16-17 (original emphasis).
28 'The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness', p.7.
29 "Some thoughts on the Service for the Admission of Students at Matriculation."

"a school for missionaries" — and the utmost emphasis was placed upon the "order and discipline of the place."[30]

Such discipline and regulation was clearly evident in the timetable of the student's day. It began at 6 am, with the students summoned to rise by the college bell, and the next check-point came sixty minutes later: "At all seasons alike, the same hour, seven o'clock, finds us bending our steps to the same holy place." The same hour, the same place — time and space were rigidly circumscribed. After chapel service came breakfast, at 8 am, and an hour later lectures, "each occupying an hour, and so contrived as to give the relief of variety to lecturers and students, and embracing all the usual routine of college studies." Before the students took their lunch they passed an hour in manual labor, concentrating on printing, carpentry, trenching, sowing and planting. In the afternoon they would escape the close confines of the College, spending up to four hours on "rambling excursions in the neighbourhood" or "some other healthy recreation." Tea was at 6, music rehearsal at 7, and two hours of private study began at 7.30. Before the students retired to their beds at 10.30 was the day's second chapel service — "when we end the day as we begin it, by learning to refer everything to a higher power."[31]

Self-denial was the objective of this system of discipline and order, and Good carried it with him to the mission field, where he was periodically reminded of his Christian duties by the diocesan bishop, George Hills.[32] And he incorporated it into his approach to mission work. While Natives passed through the various stages of instruction from

30 "St.Augustine's Missionary College, Canterbury," People's Magazine, April 1st 1870, pp.243-248; the quotations are from p.246.
31 ibid., pp.246-7.
32 Hills always believed that the onus upon his clergy to lead disciplined lives was fundamental. As he wrote in his diary soon after having arrived in the colony: "Ye are the light of the world — a city set on a hill cannot be hid. If the light that is in you be darkness — how great is that darkness." Hills, Diary, February 13th 1860. On public occasions Hills would express these thoughts more schematically, and the establishment of the diocesan synod in 1874 finally allowed him to clarify his instructions, appealing for "rules of discipline, clear and simplified, defining the offences, appointing the censures, and adopting one mode of procedure." See Report of the Second Session of the First Synod of the Diocese of British Columbia, Alex Rose, Victoria, 1876, p.10.

enrollment to communion, they were expected to lead ordered, disciplined lives — a fact which is of no small significance when one considers claims about their willful 'conversion' to Christianity. Good referred to his 'flock' as 'probationary disciples', and this probationary period could last a long time. On his many visits to Lytton, Hills detected a growing dejection among the Nlaka'pamux that it took them so long to persuade the Church of their honesty and integrity, but insisted that if it took as long as 5 years, then so be it. In 1872, he spoke with a Native leader at Cook's Ferry:

> He said why don't you trust us? I explained we were anxious for their admission but we knew that repentance was not easy & their belief should be intelligent or they would resist the Blessing & we wished them to come so well prefaced that they might find the blessing & be strengthened without a doubt.[33]

It was during this probationary period that Christian order was impressed upon the Nlaka'pamux, for Good strongly believed that the possibility of 'conversion' required "the 'exercise of that godly discipline' to which I am thankful to say most submit with a good grace but which some kick against."[34] From the beginning of his mission, Good tried to forge the basis of a disciplined, structured lifestyle. This was a wide-ranging effort, but was manifested perhaps most clearly in his work with Native boys. Just months after the move from Yale, he had a school in operation; and although he admitted to difficulties in procuring enough students, those whose parents were willing to comply were slotted into exactly the kind of framework that Good himself had experienced.

> At 10 A.M. the flag goes up, and the bell is rung for prayers. Then to work till 12, followed by an hour's recess, when the flag is half-mast. At 1, resume school; conclude at 3 P.M. Industrial work from 3 to 4, and occasional evening classes.[35]

[33] Hills, Diary, June 10th 1872. See also the entry for June 1st 1873, where he reaffirmed the fact that the long period of instruction was worthwhile: "I feel assured in the preparation of Candidates."
[34] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1874, USPG, E Series, Vol.29, 1874.
[35] Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.80.

The objectives of Good's various strategies were many, but revolved around an insistence on self-regulation, at the very heart of the exercise of missionary power. Not for Good the power of imposition or tyranny, but instead a power that worked by co-opting its subjects as active agents in their own control and regulation. To this extent the power of the pastor, the power over life, was strictly disciplinary — for it is the possibility of self-regulation that dominates Foucault's various discussions of disciplinary power.[36] Where Good saw missionaries acting in a manner that appeared to contravene this imperative of self-discipline, he saw ample cause for criticism. In particular, he disputed the approach apparently adopted at Spanish missions in California, precisely because they maintained Native people in a state of subordination, not allowing the kind of tacit self-maintenance that Good considered essential to effective missionization. And it was this critique which formed the context for one of Good's most insightful and important comments: "The Missionary must organize, organize, organize, remembering order is heaven's law, and not forgetting Exodus xviii.18, govern them through themselves."[37]

'Govern them through themselves': this was an overt appeal to the disciplinary mechanics of Christian pastorship. For the individualization of pastoral power to work

[36] It is important to be clear about this, for it is entirely wrong to think about power as 'pastoral' or 'disciplinary', to envisage the exercise of power in exclusive, singular terms. Foucault himself never did this, and to argue about the distinctions between pastoral and disciplinary modalities is to address an erroneous question: pastoral power was itself disciplinary, a point to which I return more emphatically in the latter sections of this chapter. As Foucault wrote of the pastoral art of government, "discipline was never more valorised than at the moment when it became important to manage a population ... [A] power whose task it is to take charge of life needs continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms." This sentence is taken from two separate essays, "Governmentality," p.19; The history of sexuality, p.144. For these reasons I am uneasy about Scott's sharp distinction between what he calls the 'rationalities' of discipline on the one hand, and government on the other; in his "Colonial governmentality," p.203. For Foucault on this centrality of self-regulation, on what he calls the "automatic functioning of power," see his Discipline and punish; the quotation is from p.201.

[37] Columbia Mission Report, 18, 1876, p.29; original emphasis. Exodus 18: 18 speaks of the fact that a more sovereign power is simply not practical for the pastor (in this case Moses), and that a self-regulatory régime represents a more feasible response to quantitatively-unfavorable circumstances: "Thou wilt surely wear away, both thou, and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone."

efficiently, the pastor had to be made aware of the needs and sins of each sheep, the secrets of each soul. To this end a rigorous process of self-examination was needed, since the examination of one's own conscience was a prerequisite not only for the practice of self-denial, but also in order that those secrets would be laid bare. Self-examination would open up the individual's soul, and allow what Foucault calls the "government of individuals by their own verity."[38] If this self-examination disclosed the presence of sin, the lingering existence of one's original self, the next step in the Christian 'chain of being' could not be taken. If the soul was cleansed, and the individual had found Christian 'truth', he or she deserved to progress: in the case of Good's system at Lytton, the next certificate in the hierarchy of power/knowledge was within reach.

Good rapidly and enthusiastically encouraged what Foucault labeled a "permanent self-surveillance."[39] By the summer of 1870 he noted that he had an effective "hold upon the hearts and attention" of his Native charge, and that (at least in part) this stemmed from his teaching practices. Take, for example, the following prayer he used at the outset of all his liturgical exercises.

1. Try me O God.
2. Search the ground of my heart.
3. Prove me.
4. Examine my thoughts.
5. Look well if there be any way of wickedness in me.
6. Lead me in the way of Everlasting Life.[40]

Here is the impulse to self-surveillance, the invitation to be examined by a higher Power. Good believed that it was precisely such invocation that might enable the 'conversion' of the Nlaka'pamux: it was only through self-analysis and self-pronouncement that the

38 Foucault, "Omnes et Singulatim," p.240.
39 Michel Foucault, "Du gouvernement des vivants," in his Résumé des cours, p.127.
40 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1870, Vol.25, 1869-70. Cf. Psalms 26: 1-2: "Judge me, O LORD; for I have walked in mine integrity: I have trusted also in the LORD; therefore I shall not slide. Examine me, O LORD, and prove me; try my reins and my heart."

'truths' of an individual's heart could be established. Self-analysis would also keep people in check. Individual Natives were to be constituted as subjects, subjects who could be carefully governed through the operation of a surveilling, self-regulatory power. Hence the terminology of personal trial, of examination, and of an intrusive gaze.

It is of course difficult to assess what the Nlaka'pamux thought of all this — some of their testimonies remain, and appear in missionary letters, reports and journals. But as these testimonies have been filtered through a missionary's perception, it is hard to know what to think of them. One makes the best of what is available, however. On the subject of self-examination a very interesting comment was made by H.P.Wright, archdeacon of Vancouver Island regarding his visit to Lytton in 1877. It refers to the Nlaka'pamux chief 'Spintlum', a man whom Bishop Hills had encountered on his first trip through the interior in 1860,[41] and who was a central figure throughout Good's engagement with the Nlaka'pamux. In his report of his visit, sent to the SPG, Wright recalled a speech made by Spintlum in which he had "warned all against a life of sin. He impressed on them not to talk about the sins of others, but rather to search their own hearts and scourge themselves."[42] Such self-surveillance was precisely what Good had intended. The machinery of pastoral government appeared to be working, with Spintlum urging his people to examine their own inner 'truths'. Persuasive or otherwise, Spintlum nonetheless acknowledged that the road to 'conversion' was lodged within a landscape of self-regulatory discipline.

It is important to stress the power-laden context of the teaching process, for it occurred within fairly specific relations between pupil and pastor. Good told the Nlaka'pamux what he wanted them to learn, and how he expected them to follow his instructions, but one gets the impression that obedience on their part may have reflected a

41 Hills, Diary, June 30th 1860. I use the Anglophone name for this man because I wish to be consistent, and have used Anglicizations throughout this thesis. Teit referred to this man as 'CexpéntlEm' or 'Cixpéntlam'. See Teit, "Mythology of the Thompson Indians," pp.410-14.

42 Mission Life, N.S., 8, 1877, p.533; my emphasis.

perceived need to indulge the English missionary — and thus retain access to his worldly assistance (be it medical advice or mediation in land disputes) — more than an innate desire for Christian Truth. If that were the case, it would imply that the number of 'converts' lauded by Good was indicative not of some deep-seated spiritual transformation, but rather of temporal problems incited or exacerbated by white colonialism. Conversion, such as it was, did not occur outside of complex relations of power, relations that may or may not have acted as an inducement to obedience.

On his 1872 trip to Lytton, for example, Hills baptized 26 adult Nlaka'pamux, the majority of them men. But Hills' recollection of this ceremony throws great doubt on the notion that this was a new Christian subjectivity born of spiritual intent.

When asked if they wished to be Baptized, several replied why do you ask such a question, are we not your disciples, you must tell us what to do not ask us what we wish, of course we wish for Baptism because you tell us it is right.[43]

In this extraordinary passage the putative converts reveal something of the nature of their relationship with Christian 'authority'. With a pastoral system firmly in place by 1872, Nlaka'pamux behavior is being channeled through complex relations of power, and 'free will' becomes an increasingly dubious way to envision the desire to 'convert'. This is an important point, for we begin to move away from what Viswanathan labels the "humanist script" of "traditional conversion narratives."[44] Foucault's strident anti-humanism can help us do exactly that, since his analysis of pastoral power foregoes the free-thinking subject in favor of a subject locked into a system of command and obedience. Pupils accord with the pastor's suggestions not because they fit with a previously chosen scenario, but precisely because obedience has become their "permanent state." Put the following passage from Foucault alongside Hills' diary: "His will is done, not because it is consistent with the law,

[43] Hills, Diary, June 11th 1872; my emphasis.
[44] Gauri Viswanathan, "Coping with (Civil) Death: the Christian convert's rights of passage in colonial India," in Gyan Prakash, ed., After colonialism: imperial histories and postcolonial displacements, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995, p.188.

and not just as far as it is consistent with it, but, principally, because it is his will."[45] The Nlaka'pamux were content to humor the 'will' of the Bishop, not necessarily a spiritual will of their own. This is a trademark of a pastoral modality of power, a power that seemed to be operating remarkably successfully in the early-1870s at Lytton. By the fall of 1877, the mission had some 140 communicants, with 250 Natives confirmed and 450 baptized.[46] This wholesale 'conversion' to Christianity was not just about subjectivity, about Natives making ethical and spiritual decisions as individual citizens; it was, emphatically, about power and knowledge as well.

The issue of knowledge brings me back to where this section began, with the certificates that Good used as indicators of spiritual and moral progress, and as media for encoding details of his pupils' lives. Theoretically a growing package of certificates would mark an individual's onward progress towards conversion. As such, Good placed great stock on the value of these various parchments, and the use of certificates was continued at Lytton long after he had returned to Nanaimo.[47] An official document, indeed, was deemed incontrovertible proof that conversion had taken place. Here Good discusses a Nlaka'pamux woman referred to simply by her Christian name 'Sarah':

> You might ask Sarah as a matter of curiosity and interest to let you see and examine her parchment roll so carefully protected by an outer covering of native workmanship, and wherein she carried her Church Certificates which would tell her Christian standing in the great Congregation. One would state when she joined the Anglican mission, and the next when enrolled as a Catechumen, the third would note her Baptism then her admission to Holy Communion, and lastly the solemnization of her marriage, thereby sanctifying her

[45] Foucault, "Omnes et Singulatim," p.237; original emphasis. See also Foucault's illuminating comments in his review of his 1980 course at the Collège de France: he spoke of the relationship with the pastor as an "unconditional and permanent obedience which governs all aspects of life and which in principle grants no margin for free-thinking to the pupil." Foucault, "Du gouvernement des vivants," p.127.

[46] Good to the Secretary, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1877, USPG, E Series, Vol.32, 1877. Hills put the figures at 145, 250 and 470. See his Diary, September 10th, 1877.

[47] The Bishop of New Westminster, despite his reservations about Good's work (reservations which I discuss towards the end of chapter 5), saw great worth in the certificates employed by Good. See his comments on the continuation of this system into the mid-1880s, in The Churchman's Gazette and New Westminster Diocesan Chronicle, 4(4), July 1884, p.41; and New Westminster Quarterly Paper, 2, October 1884, pp.14-17.

union with her husband. Now unroll the parchment which may be some two feet in length, and there you will see a record, after her own native fashion, of her whole career as a disciple of Christ.[48]

Before I comment on this passage, it is worth juxtaposing Good's remarks with those of another Anglican missionary, Alexander Garrett. Having spent time in both Victoria and the Cowichan Valley, Garrett moved to Nanaimo in the summer of 1868, staying in the town for only a brief period — in part due to the strong local influence of the Methodist Church.[49] Nevertheless, his limited stay did allow him to meet some Natives who lived on the reserve. One person in particular stood out for special mention. Garrett had heard of this man prior to arriving in Nanaimo, stumbling across a description of his "wonderful conversion" in one of the many missionary publications that found their way to the colony from England. Naturally, given the notoriety that this man had unwittingly achieved, Garrett was determined to make his acquaintance. Initially, at least, everything seemed perfectly in tune with Garrett's received interpretation:

Upon arrival at Nanaimo, the desire to see this wonderful character was both natural and curious. The 'Chief' soon made himself known and became a familiar figure in the rectory garden. After he had become well acquainted, he began to show a tendency to be confidential and to let hints fall occasionally as to certain papers of value in his possession. After due encouragement, he expressed a difficulty about showing them until he was given a quarter 'to buy fish hooks.' After receiving the money, he departed, returning in due time with a wonderful salmon for the rector. He then took his seat upon the porch and brought from some hidden recess, with many expressions of its importance, a paper which he handed over for examination. This proved to be a certificate of his baptism by a former missionary, who had told the story of his wonderful conversion in the English paper. To express approval of so interesting a document was the least that could be expected.[50]

This 'former missionary' was almost certainly Good. The certificate system which he used with such systematic rigor at Lytton was up and running during the 6 years he passed in

[48] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.101.
[49] Garrett to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1868, USPG, E Series, Vol.23, 1867-8.
[50] Alexander Charles Garrett, "Reminiscences," VST, PSA 52/7, p.32. (Original held by Garrett's grandson.)

Nanaimo and, as for 'Sarah', the granting and acceptance of Anglican documentation was regarded as nothing less than proof of a 'converted' subject. At any rate, Garrett seemed to think so, and immediately equated conversion with inscription, as would have other Anglican missionaries.[51] The untainted certainty of a literate Christian colonialism is thus far writ large.

However the story was far from over, and as it continued this man's wily cunning — first hinted at in his play for Garrett's money — was drawn into sharper focus. Several weeks after the first episode, he reappeared at the missionary's residence, again intimating that he possessed papers of great interest.

> In due time another quarter for fish hooks was forthcoming and after a day or two another salmon arrived. Then seated upon the porch, he withdrew with much ceremony and some difficulty from its hiding place in his clothes another potent document. This proved to be a certificate of Baptism from a Methodist minister of some years before. Thus his conversion seemed to be in two stages of which he had preserved a careful record.

As the plot thickens, new light is thrown upon the Anglican certificate with which this man first approached Garrett: the original account of his 'wonderful conversion' begins to disintegrate in front of the minister's very eyes. Understandably, given the appearance of this second certificate, Garrett was longer convinced about either the man's integrity, or the ostensible 'proof' enshrined in Christian documentation. His disgust was unstated but obvious: "The opinion which the reader will be likely to entertain of his religious sincerity need not be here discussed."[52]

[51] Although somewhat ironically, Bishop Hills was occasionally openly critical of the weight accorded these documents: "These poor people think much of a bit of paper from the whites with something written in their favour." Hills, Diary, June 27th 1860. The irony is glaring, for in later overseeing Good's work at Lytton, he was of course centrally implicated in a system where the 'reality' of conversion was inscribed in exactly such documentation!

[52] Garrett, "Reminiscences," p.32.

But as if to add insult to injury, Garrett's friend was not done yet. Another few weeks passed, then yet another knock on the rectory door. A further quarter, more fish hooks, and one more large salmon.

> Then, removing to the church porch, lest any one of the family should discover his secret, and carefully examining every nook and corner to make sure he was unobserved, he brought forth after much searching a third wonderful document. Upon examination, this proved to be a certificate of Baptism from a Roman Catholic priest, given some years before the Methodist brother had passed that way.[53]

In some ways this is a hilarious anecdote, but there is a serious side to it as well. The Native was obviously shrewd. He understood well enough the missionaries' common pedagogic imperative, but he also seems to have known how to manipulate the systems of power and knowledge deployed to that end. As Garrett's pained recollections adequately reveal, Good's certificate system had been thoroughly desanctified.

Here, perhaps, in this one man's affront to colonial precision and exactitude, we can detect an edge of a Native resistance. In this sense resistance is not conceived as operating outside of, or in opposition to a self-contained and centralized power. Resistance is part and parcel of an assemblage of power relations, power which does not (and cannot) exist without this co-constitutive resistance. As Foucault puts it, "there are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised."[54] As I have been trying to suggest, the point at which missionary power was exercised was the individual Native subject, and it was through the production and dissemination of knowledge that this power and subjectivity would coalesce in the form of Christian 'conversion'. This man's resistance was both 'real' and 'effective' precisely because it operated in and through this juncture of power and knowledge: it reworked the system of certificates which held

53 Garrett, "Reminiscences," p.33.
54 Michel Foucault, "Powers and strategies," in Power/knowledge, p.142. For a useful discussion see Rouse, "Power/knowledge," p.108.

together the triad of power, knowledge and subjectivity. Akin to the dissident 'tactics' described by Michel de Certeau, this resistance did not oppose itself to the powers of colonialism, but instead "made something else out of them," and "subverted them from within." By using this documentary assemblage for his own purposes, this Native man "diverted" the colonizing order but "without leaving it."[55] He entered the colonial playing field, but disobeyed its rules and used a different ball. He sought out the cracks and fissures of the power to colonize, and negotiated his way within those cracks with admirable ingenuity.

If nothing else, this example forces us to question the claims of widespread conversion so often reiterated by Anglican missionaries. Good would doubtless have tested this man's knowledge and 'integrity' to the full before awarding him a baptismal certificate, but the latter's willingness to then engage Methodism and Catholicism with an indiscriminate ease suggests that these examining procedures were not quite up to scratch. That said, for many conversion may have been a heartfelt and serious transition — maybe Sarah was one such. But Garrett's anecdote gives cause for healthy skepticism, and allows us to realize that, at least on occasion, the 'wonderful conversion' to Anglicanism was not quite what it seemed. The adage that one cannot tell a book by its cover is not entirely inappropriate to the inscriptions on Good's certificates. Garrett, at any rate, felt that way after receiving his third and final visit from this man. "Comment," he noted, "upon this quality of religious enthusiasm appears to be unnecessary."[56] For Alexander Garrett, marooned in the coastal town of Nanaimo, an inherited faith in the impregnability of European power/knowledge appeared to be fading away with the morning mists.

Given these vital caveats, then, what was the end-point of the 'conversion' process to entail? Before an individual was invited into the Anglican fold, the acquisition of an accepted body of Christian belief would have been expected. Good's teaching was adapted

55 De Certeau, The practice of everyday life, p.32.
56 Garrett, "Reminiscences," p.33.

to meet the perceived demands of local conditions, but it retained the essentials of Anglican orthodoxy. Said the editors of the Mission Field:

> Mr Good, while conforming to the necessity of suiting his method of worship and instruction to the capacities and character of the people amongst whom he is labouring, is conscientiously careful to preserve the spirit of our own acts of public worship by making our Liturgy the basis and model of all he attempts.[57]

Conversion would also require conformity to strict moral standards which I discuss in chapter 5.

But at the heart of the conversion process was self-denial and discipline. Self-governance underscored and guided the conversion process, but its culmination was located in the renunciation of the self, not its affirmation. The last stage of Good's pedagogic system was acceptance into holy communion, the point at which the self is revoked in favor of a more communal imagination. At this point "Christians will view themselves, not as mere individuals, but as members of a body too."[58] In other words, the 'self' which has been 'produced' through the articulation of an introspective discourse is itself renounced. As Bernauer puts it in his review of Foucault's work on Christian subjectivity: "All truth about the self is tied to the sacrifice of that same self."[59] The admission of sins is inextricably tied to their disavowal. Such self-renunciation was the objective of a pastoral system of government, and certain Native 'testimonies' indicate that the system was working remarkably well at Lytton in the 1870s. Here is 'Shakaloh', as reported by Bishop Hills:

> Threefold was my sin long ago, which I have thoroughly cast away. I was like a wild beast. I ate the dirt — from the time I could just crawl in the ashes round the fire & dirtied myself in the embers I was a liar and a thief. All these things I have cast away & I press towards God. I press forwards towards Heaven.[60]

57 The Mission Field, 15, 1870, p.293.
58 The past and present extension of the Gospel by missions to the heathen, p.70.
59 James W.Bernauer, Michel Foucault's force of flight: towards an ethics for thought, Humanities Press International, Inc., New Jersey, 1990, p.165.
60 Hills, Diary, May 2nd 1874.

As I have suggested throughout this section, Christianity seems to have played an increasingly important role in Nlaka'pamux life. Many individuals were constituted as Christian subjects, and in some cases 'conversion' may have meant denial of the self, a renunciation effected through the disciplinary machinations of pastoral power. But conversion was more complicated than that, and presumably meant different things for different people. Perhaps, among the Nlaka'pamux, there were a number of 'mercenary converts' similar to Garrett's bête noire at Nanaimo? If so, it seems likely that in such cases all that was renounced was the slightest interest in Anglican spiritualism — and what was denied were the uncompromising certainties of British power and knowledge. And in these instances it was not Natives that were 'converted', but instead the very meaning and intent of Anglican missionization.

The limits to power

In its dependence upon continual surveillance, and in its requirement that each pupil be individually known and governed, pastoral power demands a strong degree of geographical containment and fixity. But, as I demonstrated in chapter 3, Good's huge parish was about as dissimilar as possible from the self-contained European monastery within which an effective pastoral modality was worked out. He worked tirelessly to produce a space within which his Native subjects could be settled and sustained, but his endeavor to rework Nlaka'pamux human geography was only minimally successful, and as a result his mission policy had to respond to dispersion. Since he could never hope to watch over a people spread out over such a huge area, he had to find some other way of meeting the need for supervision.

Moreover, geography was not the only problem. Even had he been able to confine Nlaka'pamux residence, it was unlikely that Good alone could cope with the numbers of

Nlaka'pamux who approached his mission in the early-1870s. By the beginning of the decade he claimed to have nearly 2000 Natives under some sort of instruction, with still more arriving. Good's wife, in one of the few letters which she sent to the SPG, noted in January 1870 that her husband was "driven to his wits-end" trying to pack in the endless "lines of Indians filing in from all quarters of our district." And in his next letter, sent a month later, Good admitted to the ultimate indication of despair: he had had to refuse teaching to 100 interested applicants.[61] His workload must have been onerous, and the reason it never abated was that his demands for helpers were never met. From 1867 through to 1883 he and his wife remained alone at Lytton, and were simply inadequate for the massive demands of pastoral supervision. As Good lamented towards the end of 1870, the "living instrumentality" of his mission fell "sadly short" of what was required.[62]

Too many Native people over too much space, and too few people to help the missionary — these were just some of the problems Good faced, and that inform the fact that, ultimately, the exercise of missionary power resembled only in part the model of pastoral power described by Foucault. Good's answer to these problems was both simple and effective, and consisted of unloading the demands of teaching and supervision onto other shoulders. And since his mission concentrated almost exclusively upon Natives, then who better to help him in his work than Native people themselves?

From the outset, Good taught the Nlaka'pamux with a view to having his better pupils help him in his instruction of those who were not so quick to respond. Such deployment of Natives among their own people was encouraged by the various Anglican missionary societies of the nineteenth century. If Native 'converts' could be induced to spread the Word within their own communities, Christianity would be able to permeate

61 Columbia Mission Report, 12, 1870, p.38.
62 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1. In fact the two of them were not entirely alone, for in 1874 Mr G.Ditcham, a fellow graduate of St.Augustine's, joined Good from England as a catechist — but soon Ditcham was dealing exclusively with Hope and Yale, and by 1878 had moved out of the area altogether.

ever more deeply the social structures of Native society. This was how the CMS envisaged a useful Native convert:

> A son, a brother, hears the truth. It is brought home to his conscience, and he yields himself to its convincing power. He confesses Christ before relatives and friends, and bears patiently with the reproaches and injuries which are heaped upon him. He is willing to renounce father and mother, and all that, in an earthly sense, is dear to man, rather than abandon that Gospel hope which he finds to be more precious than all the world.[63]

It was exactly such zealous characters that Good had in mind when he began his work in the Lytton area, and just months after his arrival he was proclaiming that "our more advanced catechumens will be ready, presently, to undertake Mission-excursions to their brethren at a distance, being sent forth two by two, according to Apostolic usage."[64]

Within a short period, Good suggested, the fruits of this policy were already beginning to show. As early as 1870 he informed the SPG that he was being "greatly assisted by an earnest and growing body of native auxiliary exhorters, who have done much to stir and kindle up religious feeling and enthusiasm in the breasts of their countrymen and countrywomen."[65] These 'exhorters' were those who Good labeled 'converts', those who had rapidly progressed through the stages of his teaching, and whose period of probation had ended with the sacrament of baptism. Three years later Good reported the increasing "influence of the baptized on those that are still without." These people were proving absolutely invaluable, and helped Good to go at least some way towards overcoming the interminable personnel problems associated with his mission. Now that other labor was available to him, his own limitations were less disabling: "I have

63 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1(7), 1849, p.149.
64 Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, pp.84-5. Note that Good's emphasis here was on the role to be played by the young boys he had enrolled in his industrial school — it was they who were being marked as future helpers for Good's mission work. See Hills, Diary, May 27th 1868.
65 The Mission Field, 15, 1870, p.291.

now multiplied my indirect influence so to speak a hundred fold — in as much as they are all missionaries amongst their various homes and encampments."[66]

Of these Native helpers, one in particular stood out. This was Silas Nalee, one of Good's very first converts and a man who supported Good throughout his stay in the Canyon.[67] Nalee was Good's principal side-kick for much of the mid- and late-1870s, and it was Nalee (with Good's wife) who looked after the mission's teaching when Good was in England in 1874 — a trip which, ironically enough, had as one of its aims the procurement of the English missionary personnel whose absence had necessitated Nalee's promotion in the first place. This trip was largely in vain, however, and Nalee's influence remained marked until well into the next decade. In 1882, Good wrote from Cook's Ferry with a customary admiration of Nalee's work. Referring to the town of Lytton, he remarked on the number of

> long trained native adherents who so largely benefit by the presence among them of our native Catechist, Silas Nalee, whose quiet salutary influence I can perceive in innumerable small matters which would escape the attention of the ordinary observer.[68]

But aside from problems of geography and personnel, there was perhaps a more acute reason for Nalee's worth, and for the value placed upon others like him. Missionization was, as I have repeatedly stressed, an endlessly diverse project, but at its heart lay the desire to impart Christian knowledge and belief to Native people — as Good had it, to preach to them "the pure unadulterated Word of God."[69] But such a task came up

66 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1873, USPG, E Series, Vol.28, 1873.
67 This support worked in both directions, Good standing up for Nalee in spite of increasing evidence that the latter was not the flawless character which Good's reports made him out to be. Thus after Good had left Lytton in 1883, Bishop Sillitoe had Nalee struck off the list of local clergy, referring to "a long-pending charge against the late catechist," a charge which was "fully proved" in Sillitoe's 'court of inquiry'. New Westminster Quarterly Paper, 2, October 1884, pp.16,17.
68 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1882, USPG, E Series, Vol.37, 1882.
69 Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, p.35.

against an immediate colonial barrier, for Natives, of course, did not speak English. In the realms of language, then, missionaries faced yet another problem; here was yet another limit to European modalities of power. An effective, obedient relationship between pupil and pastor was only really realistic if communication was direct and unimpaired, but this was impossible for the missionary recently arrived in a foreign territory.

Good's response to this problem came in the form of a number of separate, but related impulses. The first was to set about learning the language of his Native charge, a course which Good pursued relentlessly not only at Lytton, but also at Nanaimo and Yale. While on the Island Good concentrated on Chinook, a trading language which presented far fewer difficulties than the Native tongues themselves. He worked hard and, Garrett aside, was probably one of the more proficient linguists among Anglican missionaries.[70] But Good was never quite satisfied with his partial mastery of Chinook, sensing that his translations did a great injustice to the sacred Christian Gospel. In other words, his adamance upon teaching the 'pure unadulterated Word of God' was itself violated when he preached in Chinook, precisely because the Word was adulterated when slotted into this inflexible trading pidgin. In his reminiscences, he recounted an evocative and telling example of this bastardization. His anecdote refers to Bishop Hills' first address to Good's Native congregation at Nanaimo:

> Lifting up his hands and speaking with great impressiveness he poetically apostrophized them thus, 'Children of the forest!' Now all the Chinook at my command, as interpreter to his Lordship, would only render his metaphorical address into something like this, 'Little ones walking amidst big sticks!' I never dare tell the Bishop what a come down my rendering of his words must have been in their hearing.[71]

[70] Good often spoke of Garrett's competence, noting that his ability to "open out communication with Indians along the route" had provided the rationale for his accompanying Bishop Hills to the Fraser Canyon in 1862: "Mr. Garrett is the most accomplished Chinook scholar the island possesses." The Mission Field, 7, 1862, p.193.
[71] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.69.

This anecdote hints at what was a perennial concern for missionaries of all denominations, namely the uncertainty surrounding translation. Given the hilarity of this particular rendition, missionaries like Good could only be highly concerned about what Natives were able to learn from their clumsy efforts. This troubling problematic is usefully depicted by Homi Bhabha:

> The process of translation is the opening up of another contentious political and cultural site at the heart of colonial representation. Here the word of divine authority is deeply flawed by the assertion of the indigenous sign. ... The Word could no longer be trusted to carry the truth when written or spoken in the colonial world by the European missionary.[72]

Translation, in other words, presented a massive stumbling-block in the way of cultural conversion, for the teaching of God's Word became susceptible to all the earthly shortcomings of His mortal, colonial agents — an unintended fate for a transcendent religion. As Vicente Rafael has argued in his intriguing study of Catholic missionization in the Philippines, "translation defined to an important degree the limits and possibilities of conversion." The unavoidable need to use Native vernaculars — or approximations thereof — "constrained the universalizing assumptions and totalizing impulses of a colonial-Christian order." Conversion is limited precisely because, as Good's anecdote itself suggests, the untranslatability of certain words and phrases presents to Native people "the possibility of dodging the full weight of the missionary's intent."[73]

With such thoughts firmly in mind, and the commensurate limitations of his project not elided, Good continued to struggle on with his efforts at translation. These only really began in earnest, however, once he had arrived at Lytton, and by 1868 he had come to the hasty conclusion that the Nlaka'pamux language appeared to be amenable to translation from English.[74] This observation notwithstanding, Good's learning of the local tongue

[72] Homi K.Bhabha, "The commitment to theory," in his The location of culture, pp.33-4.
[73] Vicente L.Rafael, Contracting colonialism: translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Manila, 1988, pp.21,117.
[74] Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, p.35.

was painstakingly slow, and for many years his endeavor to find adequate expression for most English words and phrases was doubtless as impoverished as it had been at Nanaimo. As he later noted of this early period, "our crude efforts must have sounded extremely childish and superfluous and a standing proof of our own ignorance at the time."[75]

In many respects this ignorance was probably fatal, for conversion to Christianity was simply not possible if the Nlaka'pamux could not be taught the religion's basic tenets and injunctions. If conversion was indeed about self-analysis and self-renunciation, as I suggested, then it was incumbent upon the pastor to affirm the Lord's forgiveness, the fact that Natives' putative 'sins' were not indelible marks on their personal records. If the Lord forgave, then what Rafael calls the 'sanctification of the past' was a distinct possibility, and one's sins could be discarded with one's prior self.[76] But what if Good was unable to communicate this notion to the Nlaka'pamux? What would such untranslatability entail for his conversion project? He later recalled: "our single word 'forgive' took me years of study and comparison before I was satisfied I had got an equivalent in the Thompson answering to the wide and deep meaning of this most expressive term."[77] As Good was working through these issues in the early-1870s, colonial Christianity must have seemed confusing terrain to the colonized subject. The distinction between 'converted' and 'unconverted' was probably slight and murky — as was, no doubt, the distinction between a forgiving and an unforgiving God.

Despite the intrinsic difficulties, Good was keen not only to find ways of expressing himself to the Nlaka'pamux, but also to reap tangible rewards of this labor in the form of printed translations. For this purpose he was lucky enough to receive a printing press from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, a press which he set up in Victoria. His wife and children had moved to the Island on a permanent basis towards the end of the 1870s, and although he still spent the lion's share of the year in the

75 Good, "The utmost bounds," p.76.
76 Rafael, Contracting colonialism, pp.97-102.
77 Good, "The utmost bounds," p.80.

Canyon, he would pass the winter months in the provincial capital. While in Victoria he used this press to the full, aided by Silas Nalee, and before his time at Lytton had elapsed he had produced printed translations of the Liturgy and the offices for baptism, confirmation and communion.[78]

But well before such publications, and while Good was struggling with Nlaka'pamux language, he depended massively upon the help of the Natives around him. Those who seemed especially responsive to Anglican teaching were co-opted into the pedagogic process, and Good relied upon them to spread the Word within circles he simply could not breach. Upon his first meeting with the Nlaka'pamux in 1867, he had to resort to Chinook, so it was a great relief to him when the second deputation to approach him at Yale promised the services of an interpreter.[79] These English-speakers were of great value to him for the next decade, and it is unlikely that he would have had much influence without them. Of one such person he wrote: "he has frequently had to spend the greater part of the night in answering questions of religious moment put to him by anxious inquirers." The interpreter played an invaluable role within a pastoral system of instruction and care, a fact attested to by Good's admission that the responsibilities of the interpreter were "almost as great as my own."[80]

Thus there were a number of reasons why Good developed a system of mission instruction within which members of the target population themselves played an instrumental role: issues of geography, personnel and language were of the utmost importance. But as I have tried to stress, missionization was not <u>just</u> about teaching. Even

[78] See for example <u>The office for the Holy Communion translated into the Neklakapamuk tongue, for the use of the Indians of the St.Paul's Mission, Lytton, British Columbia,</u> St.Paul's Mission Press, Victoria, 1878. For reference to this work in Victoria, see Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1877, USPG, E Series, Vol.32, 1877. In light of my discussion of Native settlement patterns in chapter 3, it is of course strange that Good should have been absent from the Canyon during precisely those months when Natives were congregated together. As I suggest in chapter 5, by the late-1870s his family concerns were curtailing his mission endeavors — and his family was now living in Victoria.

[79] <u>Columbia Mission Report</u>, 9, 1867, p.64.

[80] <u>The Mission Field</u>, 15, 1870, pp.291,292.

where teaching was the primary function, control and governance were intrinsic parts of the pedagogic process. Conversion must be placed in the context of a power which administered life, demanded constant supervision, and expected obedience and self-analysis. What I want to suggest in the rest of this chapter is that this co-optation of Native assistance was not limited to teaching alone, but that it applied equally to the exercise of power within the broader project of colonial missionization. In other words, the epithet of 'governing them through themselves' has a double meaning. Not only does it entail an individual process of self-regulation and self-surveillance — it also insists upon governing Natives by Natives. Self-regulation was to operate at a number of scales, in other words. Precisely because of the limits to European power which I have just identified, Good could not depend upon a standard pastoral modality where processes of individualization worked in isolation. He was not operating within the limited scope of the monastery. For that reason the exercise of missionary power demanded other strategies; and it was in communal self-regulation that it departed most obviously from the pastoral power described by Foucault.

With and yet not the same

When Good moved to the outskirts of Lytton in 1870, moral and strategical considerations had been the principal influences on his decision, but once the move had taken place he became preoccupied with a rather different sort of geography. This geography was not about situation but site, and in place of topography it focused on architecture. Writing to the SPG just weeks after his relocation, Good noted that the internal space of his church would have to be carefully designed, able to provide him with

> the particular kind of accommodation we need in a District like this, where one's flock is in the variously progressive stages of advancement from downright Paganism to that of prepared full membership; & in which one would wish to see reintroduced those primitive and as I think, most valuable distinctions of old between the Faithful, Catechumens, hearers, and penitents that in this day would strike, I believe, the serious beholder as being

eminently calculated to foster a spirit of decency & order such as the apostle of the Gentiles so studiously recommended & followed.[81]

Good's teaching system was expressly designed to produce distinctions and divisions within the Native community. By invoking a progressive series of sacraments, from baptism through to communion, he ensured that the differential development of separate individuals would be inscribed within the domain of Christian temporality. Status, in other words, was to be effected through a periodization of time: "each individual is caught up in a temporal series which specifically defines his level or his rank."[82]

In his insistence that his church cater for the specific nuances of his pedagogic system, Good was hoping that these differences in rank might be rendered directly visible by a segregated geography. Spatial relations, he suggested, might come to reflect social relations which were themselves enacted through the dissection and hierarchization of what Foucault calls the individual's "'evolutive' historicity."[83] But this architectural geography was not intended to be wholly passive, and Good undoubtedly felt that the partitioning of space would secure and concretize intra-Native discrimination in a way that other policies designed to cement such differences had singularly failed to do. As he noted in 1871, when he was still appealing for the $300 required for a new church, the proposed structure would separate his flock "according to their standing — for hitherto we have had no such distinction."[84]

After countless appeals, Good eventually obtained the money which he needed to put his plan into action, an anonymous benefactor in England coming to his aid, and St.Paul's church was erected on the new site. Opening in 1872, this building became the spiritual and social hub of Good's work among the Nlaka'pamux. It was here that Bishop

81 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.
82 Foucault, Discipline and punish, p.159.
83 ibid., p.160.
84 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.

Hills would hold services on his annual trips into the Canyon, and his diary entry for his 1874 visit demonstrates that the kind of partitioning which Good had championed was now in full effect. The newly-baptized were allocated a specific area of the church; as each of them renounced their 'sins' before the Bishop, they saw that confession reinforced by a structured geography:

> Those already Baptized numbering some 200 were placed towards the Chancel & a space was left to which the newly Baptized were to come on being received with the Congregation. These latter were at first outside & were called by name within the door at the West near which the font was placed. By this significant act they were [to] realize the privilege of entering by Baptism within the fold of Xt. At the question do thou renounce the devil & all his work, & each one turned to the West & made the answer 'I renounce them all'.[85]

Over time, this division of church space was continually reworked and fine-tuned, such that by the end of 1876 Good could convey a precise picture of the geography of his Christmas Day service: all present may have been equal before God, but some were certainly placed closer to Him than others, a partitioning designed to be highly visible and an inducement to self-improvement:

> The floor of the building you will perceive is graduated. Around the altar and nearest the chancel are the faithful communicants; next to them the baptized; and beyond these the catechumens, of whom we have some eight hundred; and then the 'audientes' or hearers, outsiders, 'penitentes' or mourners, and casual attendants. The native deacon catechist, decently clad in cassock, occupies a central position, and is the ready, active assistant to the priest in charge.[86]

The important feature of this segregation, of course, and the one fact designed to render spatial relations constitutive rather than merely reflective, was that an individual's position was not fixed. Rank was a temporary ascription, and the possibility of 'improved' status was manifested in the divided spaces of the church interior. The practice of rank, as

85 Hills, Diary, May 3rd 1874.
86 Columbia Mission Report, 18, 1876, pp.25-6.

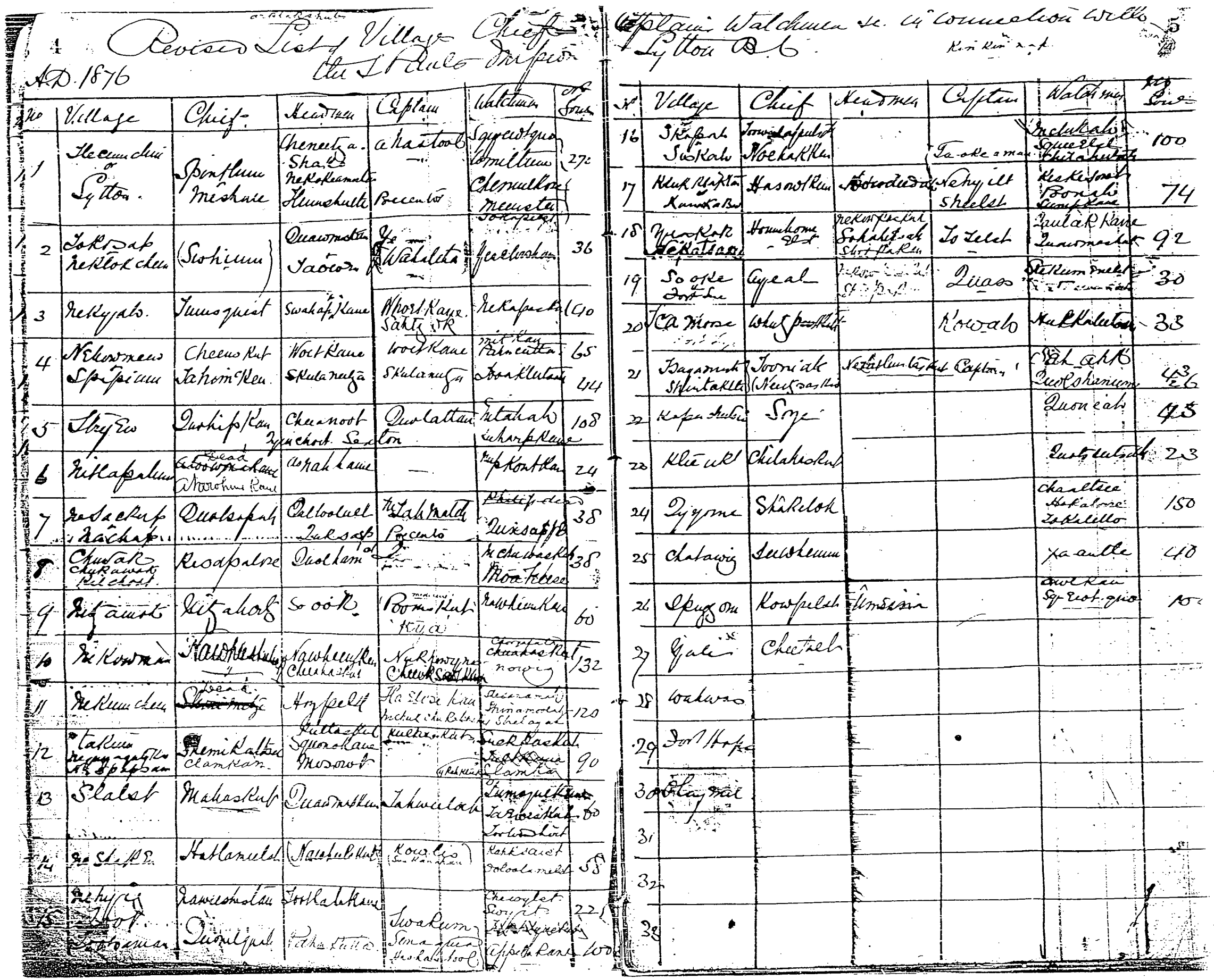
Foucault describes it, "individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations."[87]

The possibility of a change in rank was always present, and it drove the conversion process ever onwards. But such advancement was contingent upon leading a disciplined life. Good did what he could to supervise the Nlaka'pamux but, as I have already pointed out, numerous factors conspired to preclude an all-encompassing surveillance. For this reason he persuaded Natives to supervise each other, a disciplinary observation which was predictably organized along hierarchical lines. Within each village, Good proposed, local leaders would arrange for the surveillance of their respective subjects. In this way, some of the supervisory load could be removed from the Christian pastor, and the practice of surveillance would permeate Nlaka'pamux society (see figure 14).

The exercise of this internal discipline was a cause for protracted debate that revolved around the intended role for those appointed the task of 'watching over' their fellow subjects. This chosen group consisted not only of those Good recognized as Native chiefs,[88] but also a select band accorded the status of 'watchmen'. Together, they had to carry out the disciplinary demands that fell outside of Good's own scope. The use of watchmen began in the early years of the mission, and those who passed through Lytton seem to have been suitably impressed with this element of Good's work. Reverend Lundin Brown suggested that the watchmen were "surely a bright idea," and went on: "Everything that occurs, good and bad, in the place, is by them reported to Mr.Good. They were mighty agents for good in their several villages."[89] In a report for the Columbia Mission in the late-1870s, Good expanded somewhat on Brown's cursory summary, stating that his

87 Foucault, Discipline and punish, p.146.
88 I should stress the word 'recognized', for without doubt white colonialism itself affected Native social structures. Teit suggested that by the time he arrived in the Canyon, the selection of Native 'leaders' was strongly influenced by white authorities — among them Indian agents and missionaries in particular. This point has been reaffirmed in more recent scholarship, Fisher claiming that, indeed, Native 'chiefs' were often elevated in proportion with their willingness to cooperate with government administrators. Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," p.296; Fisher, Contact and conflict, p.173.
89 Mission Life, N.S. 3(1), 1872, p.106.

Figure 14. List of village chiefs, captains and watchmen of St.Paul's Mission. Source: Lytton Mission Register.



watchmen "know all who are Christians, watch and advise them, and when necessary warn them." In other words they enabled the transmission of a disciplinary protocol throughout the Christian hierarchy, a descending operation of power which, in turn, ascended through the ranks back to the Christian pastor. When it returned to Good, this disciplinary power had been transformed by his watchmen into its perennial corollary, individualized knowledge, knowledge which would in turn allow fine tuning of the pastoral system:

> They keep the missionary well informed as to the conduct of the baptized and the catechumens, and also bring to him inquirers. The discipline, while severe, is most necessary, as any approach to laxity would soon create want of confidence among the truly devout.[90]

A "relation of surveillance," therefore, was "inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching."[91] This diffuse practice of observation was not a side issue, but part and parcel of the hierarchical system that underscored mission pedagogy; in his partitioned church services Good would have his watchmen "silently guarding their respective ranks."[92] They would be rewarded too. On his 1873 visit to Lytton, Bishop Hills presented 20 of them with special badges in honor of their work. But even at this stage, there was still uncertainty over exactly what the exercise of discipline entailed. Unlike Hills and Good, the Nlaka'pamux were not accustomed to disciplinary power, and they appeared confused as to whether or not discipline implied the use of force. Thus, at a meeting convened during this same visit, one Native leader, referred to as 'Matthew Meshall', asked Hills whether force should be used to discipline those within his village for whom persuasion did not appear sufficient discouragement. The Bishop replied in the negative, and his response was followed by an intriguing statement from 'Timothy Shemakaltsee':

> Very good the Bishop's word. So I understand. Meshall was asking for strong remedies, but such strong measures are not belonging to the Bishop's pastoral advice. Jesus Xt did

90 Columbia Mission Report, 19, 1877, p.28.
91 Foucault, Discipline and punish, p.176.
92 Columbia Mission Report, 18, 1876, p.25.

not advise so. He did not pain his followers but used soft measures — not far from this advice of yours. I do not want to have any such painful powers.[93]

Good's pastoral control, of course, was not about such 'painful powers', and both he and Hills were keen to encourage the use of 'soft measures'. Over time their watchmen would no doubt have adapted to this system, and much later Good was able to reflect that, indeed, they had carried out his orders "without in any way invading the proper civil rights of those over whom they thus kept watch and which we were always most careful to respect."[94] This notion of 'civil rights' is a bit of a misnomer, it should be pointed out, for it belongs to a legal theorization of sovereign power that is inappropriate to the discipline and surveillance of the mission system. But just because it does not describe the operation of power does not mean it had nothing to do with the operation of power. As rhetoric the discourse of 'rights' was a powerful tool, for it was through the popularization of this concept — in Lytton as in Europe — that the "effective exercise of power [could] be disguised." While criticizing the violences of secular colonial power, missionaries appealed to a narrative of liberal humanism, the 'freedom' of a sovereign subject released from unlegislated coercion. Good was not concerned with sovereign power then, but with a "theory of sovereignty, and the organisation of a legal code centred upon it." In this way the discourse of 'civil rights' enveloped the exercise of discipline, and concealed its actual operation. When we encounter men like Hills and Good talking about 'soft measures' and the 'rights' of the individual, especially when that narrative is framed as a discussion of surveillance and penality, we confront head on what Foucault terms the "encounter of mechanisms of discipline with the principle of right."[95]

93 Hills, Diary, June 2nd 1873.
94 Good, "The utmost bounds," p.76.
95 Michel Foucault, "Two lectures," in his Power/knowledge, pp.106,105,107. See also his argument that the representation of power as 'sovereignty' is "deeply rooted in the history of the West," and that such 'rights' discourse is inappropriate because the exercise of modern power — just like the exercise of missionary power — "is not ensured by right but by technique, ... not by punishment but by control." Foucault, The history of sexuality, pp.83,89.

These mechanisms of discipline were several, but all tended to revolve around the system of rank and hierarchy delimited by the Christian sacraments. For the value of this system went well beyond the possibility of distributing Native individuals according to their learning and morality, and its operation was not limited to the constant inducement to strive for a higher rank. An individual could in fact move in either direction. Thus when Good noted of his pupils' probationary period that "any flagrant falling away is heavily punished," the envisaged punishment was to be enacted within the strict context of this hierarchy.[96] The editors of the Mission Field give us a general idea of what this punishment was all about:

> On Sunday there is real Church discipline enforced. Offending catechumens come forward for public censure and punishment, those who have been sufficiently punished for reconciliation and restoration to their former status. This is no light work, nor make-believe, but a serious exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, most necessary for the spiritual welfare of Mr.Good's people.[97]

Punishment entailed an attack upon a person's status, either denying an individual progress to the next rung of the ladder, or removing that person altogether from the system of categorization. Bishop Hills preferred the latter option, noting in 1871 that those Nlaka'pamux deemed in need of disciplining had been "obliged to stand outside the circle of those more consistent."[98] This ejection was not immediate, and an individual would be given the option of leaving the church before they were officially excommunicated;[99] but the general disciplinary philosophy was consistent. Regulation and control were hierarchical: "Rank in itself serves as a reward or punishment."[100]

At first sight, it appears somewhat strange that punishment should consist of expulsion from the very system that was controlling and constraining Natives' lives. This

96 Columbia Mission Report, 19, 1877, p.28.
97 The Mission Field, 14, 1869, p.225.
98 Hills, Diary, October 18th 1871.
99 Hills, Diary, June 2nd 1873.
100 Foucault, Discipline and punish, p.181.

is explained, however, by the fact that missionary power was not regulating the individual alone, but the community at large — only in such a context could the threat of banishment carry any weight. In effect, what we can discern here is the considerable power of the norm, for the sacramental hierarchy of rank insisted upon conformity while it created difference and division. Conversion was the intended end-point for one and all, and it is only an apparent paradox that the most effective method for achieving that consistency and equivalence was to produce and celebrate individual distinction. Without the effective visibility of rank differences — their incitement to improvement — and without the specter of social exclusion, the Christian incitement to convert would have appeared hollow indeed. The power of the missionary was based upon the tremendous power of normalization.

This normalizing practice was very different from what Good always referred to as the 'Donatist' policy of "separating by man's judgement the chaff from the wheat."[101] Certainly, the 'good' were to be distinguished from the 'bad', but this segregation was both temporary and (in order to ensure this temporality) highly visible. Normalization was about the constant dialectical interplay between individuality and totality, difference and conformity, hierarchy and homogeneity. Good would never have suggested that his project coveted anything less than wholesale communal conversion, but to that end certain distinctions among the Nlaka'pamux were to be greatly valued:

> it is highly necessary that those who regard our work from without should understand that now we are commencing to individualize whereas at first they as a body merely 'followed their leader', just as in the nominal conversion of the Saxon hordes under their respective Chiefs of old.

Again, his next letter to the SPG noted, with evident pleasure, that individuality was increasingly marked among his pupils. During the same period, however, he simultaneously reminded his mentors that "there is no schism in the body — but all are of

101 Columbia Mission Report, 9, 1867, p.63.

one heart & mind."[102] One body then, but a strong element of differentiation within that single flock.

This was what normalization was all about, the rank system enabling the singular drive towards converted conformity to be motored by the apparent antithesis of such sameness, individual difference. It was perhaps in this process of normalization that the real power of Anglican missionization lay, for it is doubtful that Good's influence could have been sustained without the communal internalization of discipline and control. Good certainly felt this was the case, and was always at pains to celebrate this co-opting of his Native charge. The one "true way to spread the gospel," he claimed, was

> to enrol all volunteers into a probationary army; to let them continue to live amidst their old surroundings as good seed amongst the promiscuous grain, and so that both should grow together — with and yet not the same.[103]

Good's description of Nlaka'pamux converts as 'with and yet not the same' strikes right at the heart of the power of the norm. If we turn to Foucault's summary of this power, we find an exemplary description of exactly what was going on at Lytton: "In a sense, the power of normalization imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels."[104] The individualization celebrated by Good in the early-1870s was thus a means to an end, the temporary manifestation of a modality of power designed to sanction what is perhaps the greatest example of this 'imposed homogeneity' in the history of the West: conversion to Christianity.

[102] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1870; Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1870; Report for the quarter ending March 1871; all in USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1;
[103] Columbia Mission Report, 11, 1869, p.26.
[104] Foucault, Discipline and punish, p.184.

Examination, conversion, and ritualized truth

In the last section I demonstrated how Good's system of Christian instruction depended upon both hierarchical surveillance — most obvious in the form of village watchmen — and normalization. Here I pursue these two avenues of inquiry towards a single destination, and do so by following up on Foucault's claim that it is in the practice of examination that these disciplinary procedures find a common ground. Before receiving the next Christian sacrament, be it baptism, confirmation, or communion, individual members of Good's flock first had to satisfy the Church that they were ready to advance. To this end they were asked certain questions, for which they had to provide adequate answers. These examinations were reserved almost exclusively for the Bishop's annual visit to Lytton, a visit that constituted the highlight of the mission calendar — in Good's words the year's "most interesting and stirring event."[105] To finish this chapter then, I focus on these annual examinations, and in so doing hope to draw together some of the main arguments developed thus far. A useful starting point is Foucault's summary:

> The examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgement. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized.[106]

In the exercise of missionary power at Lytton, the ritualization of the exam was quite astounding. Hills' visit was not merely an occasion for ascertaining the progress of Good's mission. It was an opportunity for display, spectacle, and ostentation. Hills was there to categorize and rationalize the prospects of each Nlaka'pamux trainee; and also to

105 Columbia Mission Report, 16, 1874, p.1. This visit was not only the highlight of the mission's year, but apparently Hills' own personal highlight too. His diary for 1872, for example, spans just 46 pages. Of these 46, 9 (or roughly 20%) provide details of his June stay in Lytton, which itself lasted just 4 days!
106 Foucault, Discipline and punish, p.184.

gaze upon the gathered flock, divide them up with a discriminating eye, and reaffirm the visual power of colonial Anglicanism. It was quite an occasion. Although many of Good's Sunday services attracted people from throughout his district, it was only the Bishop's arrival in town that appeared to be universally appealing. For days in advance of the principal examination services, various Native bands would gather around Good's central premises, each group of tents flying the Mission flag.[107] Each day Good would hold preparatory services in the open-air, his Church simply too small to accommodate all at once. Hills rarely traveled to Lytton alone, and his companion for the trip in 1877, Archdeacon Wright, had some brief reflections on the kind of ordered spectacle that would surely have engrossed a passer-by: "The chiefs were gathered together near to the tents on the right hand, and below them their men; the women were on the left, all forming a charming picture."[108]

This kind of ritualized gathering was repeated year in, year out, it seems, and it was in the context of these ordered scenes that the annual examinations took place. The process of conversion, in other words, was grounded within a formulaic, structured ceremony. Wright's words only hint at a fraction of this spectacle, however, and they divulge only one component of the local geography of power. As the following passage from Good indicates, this time with respect to Hills' 1874 visit, the system of surveillance had many levels. Although the chiefs were placed above their own 'men' and 'women', and were thus able to look down upon them, they were still not located at the zenith of the visual hierarchy. Like Wright, Good spoke of the careful "grouping of the Indians under their respective chiefs," but this was only part of the broader vista. Set above the Nlaka'pamux was an all-seeing, European eye:

A more wonderful and astonishing spectacle was, perhaps, never presented in the annals of any missionary history than met one's gaze wherever the eye turned ... At night almost a romantic halo seemed to be cast over the scene. Let any of our readers imagine themselves

107 For details see Hills, Diary, May 1st 1874.
108 Columbia Mission Report, 19, 1877, p.27.

standing with us on the verandah of the Mission Home, and let them glance at the pleasing scene depicted before their eyes.[109]

It was exactly this kind of ritualized, ordered scene which Good tried to shift into his Church for the examinations themselves. These were often long, arduous affairs, with candidates for enrollment right through to communion all eager to advance, and all wanting to be attended to before the Bishop returned to Victoria. He would not be back for another year, of course, and with Christian rank ostensibly providing a vital facet of communal distinction, the opportunity to leap the next sacramental hurdle was not one to be squandered. On the day of the exams, Hills and Good would usually be faced with huge numbers of aspirants. On June 10th 1872 there were only two Church services — the previous day there had been six — but the first of these, when Hills examined those who wished to be baptized, lasted a staggering six hours! A year later, the same mass of work awaited them, for these were the glory days of the Mission. On Sunday June 1st 114 Nlaka'pamux were baptized, and the whole day's services spanned from 7.30 am until "past 10 o'clock" at night.[110] Whatever else one says about colonial missionaries, it is very hard to doubt their zeal.

These were <u>huge</u> occasions, with some single services drawing as many as 800 to the Mission premises. But it is the ritualized nature of these events which is most intriguing. Turning to the structured geography of the exam services themselves, and Good's description thereof, we can begin to see what I am getting at. My principal question would be this: "with the Bishop seated in the midst, the clergy at his side, the chiefs in a circle forming the Council, and the watchmen surrounding the whole, maintaining order" — with this remarkably spatial manifestation of power displayed in front of them, and all around them — <u>is it really surprising</u> that "one by one these once pagan dwellers in darkness, turned by God's grace into other men, declare their allegiance

[109] <u>ibid.</u>, 16, 1874, p.2.
[110] Hills, Diary, June 10th 1872; June 1st 1873.

to the Cross and Church of Christ"?[111] Or, to phrase the question another way, was it really 'God's grace' that was turning them into 'other men', or did the practice of conversion in fact have more to do with the encroaching presence, and interminable gaze, of the Bishop, clergy, chiefs and watchmen? I am not sure that there is an easy answer to this question, but the question is certainly one worth posing. For as Good's words illustrate, here the processes of normalization and surveillance finally locked together. The judgmental gaze belonged not to the pastor alone, but was instead a diffuse and manifold gaze that permeated the Native hierarchy. And of course this was a hierarchy enforced and molded by the Anglican Church, a Church that advanced and encouraged individualization and distinction, but with a mutual teleology in mind — wholesale conversion to Christianity. In the annual examination service, we can witness not just normalizing judgment and hierarchical observation, but a thoroughly normalizing gaze.

This ritual of power was admirably described by the missionaries themselves. The first set of baptisms in St.Paul's Church took place in June 1872, just days after it was officially opened, and of these 26 admissions (among them Spintlum), Good noted that "a most searching examination & investigation of character & repute" had been necessary.[112] This was one of Good's more brief analyses, but in a succeeding letter to the Society he reported much more fully on the surveillance that invariably met his baptismal candidates:

> every individual and accepted Candidate has been required to avow his or her desire and intention, in the presence of a great congregation — every such [an] one being for the time the cynosure of all eyes, the subject of an unsparing and searching criticism and investigation as to habit and practice.[113]

Surveillance was not just a matter of the clerical gaze, but was publicly constituted by 'all eyes' in the house, a fact reiterated by the Bishop when he described the examinations of

111 Columbia Mission Report, 16, 1874, p.2.
112 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1872, USPG, E Series, Vol.27, 1871-2.
113 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1873, USPG, E Series, Vol.28, 1873.

June 1st 1873: "The questions were carefully explained — & the answers intelligently given. ... Each case was watched silently — all eyes were gazing upon the person baptized."[114]

This same brand of public examination was invoked at the other stages of Christian acceptance, when 'all eyes' were similarly deployed to garner the desired effect. In 1868, long before the move to the new site, and well in advance of any baptisms, Hills' visit was no less important, for the acceptance of 'catechumens' was no light matter. The Bishop was in Lytton in late-May, and after an evening service on the reserve attended by some 500 Nlaka'pamux, "a most interesting ceremony" ensued:

> Four catechumens were accepted after a public examination, and a penitent who had been removed from the list of catechumens was readmitted. There were two men — one had been a notorious Sorcerer, & steeped in crimes — he was slightly grey headed, & on his knees in the presence of the people renounced his errors & expressed penitence. A number of questions were asked him & the people were desired to say if they approved of his admission into the number of Catechumens.[115]

In this way the Lytton examination procedures differed markedly from the more 'confessional' modes of penitence studied by Foucault. Certainly there was an element of confession involved, but Hills' insistence that Good discourage the confession of specific sins demonstrates that the system was not, at heart, confessional.[116] The striking feature of all the above descriptions, as I have tried to suggest, is that the gaze was <u>not</u> limited to the pastor alone, and that personal avowal occurred in an explicitly <u>public</u> forum. This was not a system whereby a one-on-one relationship between pupil and pastor encouraged an "analytical, verbal confession of the different faults and their circumstances." Instead Good relied on a collective ceremony, where conversion was tied not to a personal power

[114] Hills, Diary, June 1st 1873.
[115] Hills, Diary, May 27th 1868. Good described the acceptance to catechumenship in similar terms: anyone "desiring admission is told to come forward and in the presence of the Congregation, upon his knees to answer certain questions, somewhat analogous to our baptismal interrogatories." Good to the Secretary, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
[116] See Hills, Diary, June 10th 1872.

relationship, but to a "complex public ritual." This decision was perhaps a pragmatic response to the limits to European power, perhaps a result of the Anglican equation of confession with Roman Catholicism. But in any case, it meant that Good's examinations were much more akin to the public régimes of penitence of the early, pre-fifth century Christian era, described by Jean Delumeau, than the strictly confessional régimes which arose from the fifteenth century onwards.[117]

This public gaze therefore served to ensure the individual's will to convert; it acted as an imposing incentive to take the examination process seriously. It is such highly visible relations of power that "make it possible to extract and constitute knowledge" of the subject.[118] But without a second set of assurances, a means by which it could be ensured that at least some individuals would give the 'correct' answers to the Bishop's questions, the requisite march towards social conversion might still be halted in its tracks. The production of some sort of individual knowledge was pretty much guaranteed by the normalization of the gaze, but the constitution of Christian truth demanded a further degree of ritualization.

To this end, it was paramount that certain safety mechanisms be built into the examination process, mechanisms that might allow for desirable answers to be squeezed out of the individuals in question. Of course a number of candidates were invariably rejected,[119] but the Church had to ensure that Hills' visit was not entirely in vain. One way in which this was done was to allow a lengthy period for reply, the Bishop rejecting all

117 See Jean Delumeau, Le péché et la peur: la culpabilisation en Occident (XIIIe — XVIIIe siècles), Fayard, 1983, p.219. (I am indebted to Lynn Stewart for this reference.) For a wonderful summary of some of the differences between these two different Christian régimes, which he refers to by the ascriptions <l'exomologèse> and <l'exagoreusis> respectively, see Foucault's "Du gouvernement des vivants." The two quotations come from this piece, p.125. Whereas my concern is primarily with the former régime, Rafael's study of 'conversion' in the Philippines focuses upon the latter; and a principal difference between these social and individual forms of examination is indicated by Rafael's remark that, for the Tagalogs, a "virtually invalid motive for confession is the prospect of social censure." This motive was of course encouraged by Good. See Rafael, Contracting colonialism, p.99.

118 Foucault, Discipline and punish, p.185.

119 For details, see Hills, Diary, May 2nd 1874.

inadequate responses until the Native examinee was able to come up with the expected answer. Here is Wright on the sacramental ceremony of September 1877:

> The examination of fifty-seven for confirmation and twenty-two for baptism occupied a long time. The Indian deliberates carefully before speaking, and great patience is necessary. By allowing time for thought we always secured a sensible answer.[120]

Given Wright's comments, it becomes increasingly difficult to think of a 'converted' individual as one who has chosen to adopt a new faith of his or her own free will. Good's mission system simply did not allow for individuals to discover and enunciate a new set of beliefs in a free, unfettered context. Rather, Natives were socially induced to adopt new convictions, and Wright's words suggest that the 'proof' of these new beliefs was then procured and secured within a massively ritualized and ordered setting.

In spite of this ritualization, however, Wright insisted on the fact that these Native responses be taken as evidence of conversion, as unassailable confirmation of "the reality of this great work." 'Reality' was a favorite word used to describe Good's missionary enterprise, and invariably it was these Native examination testimonies that were invoked as the requisite proof. Another visitor to Lytton, Archdeacon Woods, spoke confidently of his "thorough conviction of the realness of the work"; and in listing numerous such responses in one of their annual reports, the editors of the Columbia Mission claimed similarly that the "examination and answers of the Thompson River catechumens are surely satisfactory proof of the reality of their conversion."[121]

The 'reality of their conversion': these are powerful words, and their persuasive force has undoubtedly underscored the persistence of the traditional conversion narrative, a humanist vision to the very core. But it seems to me that the disciplinary normalization of

120 Columbia Mission Report, 19, 1877, p.30.
121 ibid., p.35; ibid., 11, 1869, p.33 (original emphasis); ibid., 14, 1872, p.7. Bishop Hills, similarly, listened to Nlaka'pamux testimonies and declared that "the clear & earnest statements of truth were strong proof of the realness of the good work." Hills, Diary, June 11th 1872.

missionary power, and its enforced ritualization in the examination process, makes a mockery of this conflation of reported 'conversion' with 'real' spiritual change. The only way in which these Native testimonies can be regarded as adequate 'proof' of conversion is by ignoring the context within which they were produced. This context, as I have stressed throughout, was shot through with relations of power. And as Foucault fittingly reminds us, "power produces; it produces reality."[122] Not just any reality, but all reality, including the Christian colonial 'reality' evoked and eulogized by the likes of Wright and Woods. If there was any 'reality' to the conversions among the Nlaka'pamux, and doubtless there was some, it was a reality bred not purely of spiritual vacillation, but of the constitutive relations of missionary power.

These relations were not, of course, the binary relations of sovereign power, but instead were hierarchical and diffuse, and were distributed throughout Native social structures. Of course there had to be individual differences — some people had to 'know more' than others — if the dialectics of normalization were to work effectively towards their eventual (and inevitable) synthesis. This was one reason why Good strove to confirm and maintain the authority of Native leaders;[123] the project of social conversion demanded individualization and distinction, as we have seen. This aspect of differentiation was itself played out in the mission's examination services, most obviously on May 29th 1868 when Spintlum rose to speak after Hills had heard the massed candidates provide answers that were, on the whole, deemed inadequate. Their leader came to the rescue: "The people had not answered well. They knew a good deal. He would speak for them. He would tell me what they knew."[124] Like Wright's comments, the Bishop's recollections have the same effect of shattering any lingering image of the Nlaka'pamux as free-thinking subjects. If their conversion really was a 'reality', as the missionaries would have us believe, then that

122 Foucault, Discipline and punish, p.194.
123 See his comments in his letter to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.
124 Hills, Diary, May 29th 1868.

reality was forged out of a carefully-crafted ritual of power: the annual examination ceremony at Lytton.

Spintlum's interruption is a good example of how the drive towards communal conversion could be stepped up a gear. Here, where individual ignorance (or indifference) appeared to stand in the way of a normalizing power, some one intervened in order to help the process along. But it is doubtful that it always worked like that. To conclude this chapter then, it is worth sounding another note of skepticism. And yet again, as when I discussed Good's use of certificates, the source is Alexander Garrett. For it seems to me that in its need to individualize, to place some people above others in a Christian hierarchy of rank, Good's pedagogic system ran considerable risks. One of its central assumptions was that those who climbed the sacramental ladder most rapidly were then willing to look down and see their compatriots coming up to join them. But is it not possible that some people liked their privileged Christian status, and that they were not as keen as Spintlum to accept that Christianity was, in the last instance, a homogenizing religion? Garrett, for one, seemed to think so; the following passage refers to a group of Natives he encountered in 1861 at Anderson Lake, midway between Pemberton and Lillooet, while traveling through the interior with Hills:

> They hung upon the Bishop's words and strove to catch our meaning. I am afraid a slight shade began to pass over the face of 'Hospolow'. He was standing prominently forward, handing down, as it were, to his benighted subjects the light which he received from us. He, however, began to see that they were learning as much as he knew, and that, in the sight of God, all stood upon a level, none righteous, none worthy. This, I fear, did not suit his taste.[125]

The point of this cautionary note is to reiterate that missionary power was not invariably effective — that it was always susceptible to the idiosyncrasies and unpredictable motives of human social life. In that respect it was no different from other forms of colonial power.

125 Columbia Mission. Occasional Paper, Rivingtons, London, 1861, p.7.

But in many other ways, as I have been trying to demonstrate throughout this chapter, it was literally worlds apart.

Chapter 5: Conversion

In 1884, an anonymous article appeared in the Churchman's Gazette, published in New Westminster, under the title of 'Secular Schools'. A candid denunciation of public educational provision in British Columbia, its Anglican author suggested that a purely secular school system was of little value to the province's youth. The most important element of modern pedagogy was moral instruction, the prescription of strict ethical codes that could not be imparted, the author claimed, by an educational system based upon frail secular foundations. The teaching of children had to be sectarian to be properly suffused with moral intent.[1] No good argument is complete without an example to back it up, and to this end the author went after a discipline regarded as epitomizing this lapse into amoral secularism — geography. Conjuring up for the reader an imaginary courtroom, the author described a hypothetical defendant. He was a man of estimable background, but his abundant education had always lacked a Christian edge. And it was in these nonsectarian roots that the author located the seeds of the defendant's downfall. He was found guilty of his unnamed crime. Reiterating in no uncertain terms that the putative 'freedoms' of secular thought are no substitute for the ethical rectitude of a Christian upbringing, the author concluded: "He had learned his geography, no doubt; but there is no moral law conveyed in the latitude and longitude of Hongkong."[2]

[1] Bishop Hills expressed this sentiment thus: " 'unsectarianism' leads to laxity of morals." Hills, Diaries, August 21st 1865. This concern that secular schooling failed to provide the necessary moral instruction informed a sustained Episcopal critique of state educational provision. In 1865 the province's first 'free school' was set up, the pioneer institution in a system ostensibly devoid of religious pedagogy (see Hills, Diaries, August 1st 1865). There is an irony to this critique, however, since secondary research has suggested that the supposedly secular and non-sectarian system was in fact neither, but in effect Protestant Christian: the Bible and prayers employed were almost invariably Anglican. See Joan Helen Townsend, "Protestant Christian morality and the nineteenth century secular and non-sectarian British Columbia public school system," unpublished MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974.

[2] The Churchman's Gazette and the New Westminster Diocesan Chronicle, 4(1), April 1884, p.7.

This anecdote is replete with irony, for it attacks a scholarly tradition within which numerous contemporary proponents are now appealing to precisely this question of morality. Not the dogmatic Christian morality invoked by this article, certainly. But nevertheless, a morally-informed geography is regarded by some as a politically-viable option, a means of eluding the perceived relativism of postmodernism.[3] Geography is no longer the discipline it once was, and an avowed engagement with questions of power and knowledge has replaced the putative objectivity of spatial science. A modern geographer, in fact, would probably read this 1884 article and dispute its disciplinary assault. An initial rejoinder would point out, perhaps, that latitude and longitude were (and are) the totalizing reference points of an enveloping cartography, and as such they underscored and rationalized the expansion of the British Empire.[4] And of course it is impossible to discuss the politics of imperialism without addressing its own highly questionable moralities.

Indeed, as I pointed out in chapter 2, Anglican imperialism was a fundamentally moralized enterprise, one predicated on certain moral 'laws', which gauged its own success by its ability to apply those laws to the colonial realm. In this chapter I discuss how the importance of such moral codes was played out in the context of Good's work among the Nlaka'pamux. My basic argument is that conversion to Christianity did not entail just the adoption of new beliefs, and the enunciation of those beliefs before the diocesan bishop. Equally important was the adoption of a new lifestyle governed by very specific ethical demands. Natives would not be baptized until they backed up their new convictions with substantive proof located in the morality of the body. Often Good insisted that he required evidence of a "changed life"; action spoke louder than words, and for that reason he felt unjustified in baptizing the Nlaka'pamux "upon their merely saying they believe."[5]

[3] Witness the sessions on 'A/moral geography' held at the Annual Meeting of the Institute of British Geographers, University of Northumbria, January 3rd 1995.
[4] On some of the many links between European imperialism and the discipline of geography, see Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, eds., Geography and empire, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994.
[5] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1; original emphasis.

Conversion was a thoroughly moralized transition, and the "determination of ethical substance" lay primarily in an individual's marital status.[6] Good's perennial nemesis was polygamy, and as a result the ethics of conversion were basically a quantitative concern. The principal moral code of colonial Anglicanism, as I claimed in chapter 2, was built around heterosexual, marital monogamy: the missionary position.

Conversion was therefore dependent upon a specific sexual etiquette, and in this aspect of the conversion process we can detect one of the main impacts of colonial Christianity on Nlaka'pamux life. Good's wrestling with individual moralities had a profound effect on Native social relations. The observation that discourses and practices of sexuality are implicated in relations of power, knowledge and subjectivity is not, of course, new. This insight, gleaned most directly from Foucault, is ensconced at the heart of an expanding literature on the history of sexuality. To that extent, this chapter is located at the intersection of two academic traditions, of which this recent development in the history of sexuality is the first. The second is a diffuse literature on Christian colonial conversion.

However, I want to suggest that both of these literatures, in their own ways, are marred by certain silences and exclusions, gaps which overlap in such a way that no apparent platform is provided for a study that would examine conversion as itself a sexual discourse. For while the first literature, that on evangelical colonialism, tends to ignore the body, most histories of the body in turn overlook colonialism.[7] In trying to draw the two

[6] The phrase is Foucault's, and refers to the way in which an individual is impelled to constitute a certain element of their being as the "prime material" of their moral conduct. Questions of temperance, gambling and medicinal choice were also important ethical considerations for Good's mission, but it was invariably sexuality which defined moral rectitude, and which thus formed the dividing line between good and bad, convert and heathen. See Michel Foucault, The use of pleasure: the history of sexuality, vol.2, trans. Robert Hurley, Vintage Books, New York, 1990, p.26.

[7] The Comaroffs' book on southern Africa is only the latest of a whole string of studies that tend to prioritize the 'Native mind' when studying the politics of conversion: "in our attempt to understand the Southern Tswana past and present, we kept being drawn back to the colonization of their consciousness and their consciousness of colonization." Jean and John Comaroff, Of revelation and revolution, p.4. There is little mention of sexuality, and certainly no suggestion that bodily behavior might have been among the criteria for an individual's conversion. (Although see their more recent essay, "Home-made hegemony: modernity, domesticity and colonialism in South Africa," in Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed.,

together, by investigating missionization in terms of sexual morality and the regulation of individual bodies, I hope to be able to lend each set of material a more expansive geographical sensibility — the first literature with a more broadly conceived 'human' spatiality, and the latter with a less exclusive territorial scope. My aim can thus be stated simply: to infuse the body into the analysis of Christian colonialism, and to infuse the colonial into histories of the body.[8]

African encounters with domesticity, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1992.) On the other side of the equation, not only have historians of empire played little part in recent reconstructions of the history of sexuality, but those histories themselves fail to locate sexuality in a colonial world. On the former omissions, see Ronald Hyam, Empire and sexuality: the British experience, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990, pp.4-5. In terms of the latter, the historical collection edited by Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur is indicative of the general trend. The essays in this collection are exclusively concerned with the politics of bodily representations within Europe, and the subjects of discussion — ranging from Benjamin and Baudelaire to Malthus, Mayhew and William Wilkie Collins — conform with our prevalent images of European literature and high culture. The making of the modern body (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1987), in other words, deals solely with a European body, and thus conflates the 'modern' with Europe. Nineteenth century modernity is rendered entirely free of its colonial make-up, a significant oversight in light of Said's claim that imperial concerns are "constitutively significant to the culture of the modern West." See his Culture and imperialism, p.78.

[8] Of course, not all recent work on colonialism and on sexuality has suffered from these silences, and one analysis which I regard as an exemplary example of the type of history I would like to work towards is Richard White's study of the Great Lakes Region in the late-1600s. In a rich section of his book, White discusses the efforts of French Jesuit missionaries to disseminate notions of sexual propriety to the local Native population. White's analysis is located right at that juncture of power and knowledge which is informed by, and constituted through, particular discourses of sexuality. The essence of his argument is summed up thus:

> Jesuit teaching among the Illinois in the 1690s stressed the cult of the Virgin Mary, and with it came a heavy emphasis on chastity and virginity. This stress on a powerful female religious figure, whose power, like that of the Jesuits, was connected with sexual abstinence, attracted a congregation composed largely of women, particularly young women and older girls.

The influence of the Jesuits was therefore divided along gendered lines, and, at least for a brief period, "no matter how repressive Catholic morality may appear in retrospect, it could be used to buttress women's influence over their lives." For some women, the presence of discourses and practitioners of strict Roman Catholicism enabled them to be " 'masters' of their own bodies." In this chapter I suggest that the situation was vastly different in British Columbia some two centuries later, for the Reformation thoroughly revised Christian sexual dogma, and Protestantism (as I noted in chapter 2) urged a femininity which was not based upon virginity, but on reproduction. The export of this discourse to the Empire, along with the monogamous marriage contract within which it was enshrined, had ramifications which differed markedly from the consequences of Jesuit moral pedagogy

Returning to the article in the Churchman's Gazette, then, a more progressive rejoinder might suggest that although geography cannot pretend to divulge the moral 'laws' sought by the author in question — and surely would not wish to in any case — it does nonetheless have a role to play. For when a small group of English Anglicans exported just such a 'moral law' to British Columbia, and imposed it upon a Native people to whom it made no reasonable sense, the resulting moral dilemmas were both confusing and, in many cases, disabling. To begin to come to terms with these issues, and transcend the respective limitations of the existing literatures, I would argue that only a spatially-sensitive analysis will suffice.

The question of conversion

It should be quite clear by now that the notion of 'conversion' is at best slippery. First, as we have seen, the spiritual change implied by the term says nothing of the ways in which such change was influenced and effected by social conditions. And second, such a singular concept disguises the fact that conversion implied different things for different 'converts' and also for different missionaries. Indeed, such is the variety hidden beneath this terminological veil that the word comes dangerously close to losing its meaning altogether. It was for this reason that Good himself was highly skeptical about using it. Of course, writing to the mission authorities back in England he felt obliged to speak in a familiar tongue, one which would also appeal to the interested public. But he made no secret of the fact that 'conversion' was a problematic concept, and to this end would often add a caveat to his text. Writing from Nanaimo, for example, and noting how his Native charge appeared to be progressing, he added that "in common parlance [they] are really

'converted to God'."[9] The point being, of course, that this was only 'common parlance', with Good apparently feeling obliged to simplify matters for a non-specialist audience. Perhaps this did a disservice to his readers; either way, Good's somewhat patronizing gesture suggested that beyond the confines of the text, a good deal more was going on than met the eye.

The reason for Good's ambivalence was quite simple. The Bishop's annual visits may well have been the highlight of the mission calendar, and the Native testimonies secured on those occasions were undoubtedly of great import — but in and of themselves, they were inadequate. Certainly baptism required the expression of new-found beliefs, and a clear indication that the central tenets of Anglicanism had been carefully studied. But neither Good nor Hills took these verbal renditions as satisfactory proof of conversion. Good's adamance that "we have to depend upon the exhibition of character as well as upon professed belief" stemmed from two considerations.[10] First, the imperial role of the missionary was manifold. Preaching the 'pure Word of God' was never far from the missionary's most immediate concerns, but proselytization is not synonymous with evangelization, and Good would probably have accorded his work the former, more expansive, ascription. He was in British Columbia "not only to evangelize but to civilize," and even if the preaching of the Gospel was the essential medium in both cases, confirmation of success came in many forms.[11] Second, there were more mercenary concerns. Aside from his religious idealism, Good had no immediate reason to believe his Native flock when they assured him of their conversion. Despite his efforts to acclimatize, both at Nanaimo and, more obviously, in the Canyon, Good was always a stranger among

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identified by White. Power and knowledge were brought together in an entirely distinct configuration, one which predictably had very different implications for women. See Richard White, The middle ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, pp.67,72.

9 Good to the Secretary, SPG, May 3rd 1864, USPG, E Series, Vol.16, 1864.

10 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70; original emphasis.

11 Good to the Secretary, SPG, June 6th 1863, USPG, E Series, Vol.14, 1863.

Native people, a man steeped in an entirely different historical tradition. He would probably have been the first to admit this, and he always sensed that Nlaka'pamux interest in his work was only partially spiritual. So like a good Anglican cynic, he refused to believe that those of another culture had 'converted' as rapidly as their testimony suggested. The dangers of baptizing someone who had not been properly prepared were glaringly obvious — he always insisted that "a heathen's responsibilities are indefinitely increased after his reception into the Ark of Christ's Church and that sin after Baptism is not the same as sin before"[12] — and Good felt, therefore, that it would be far better to err on the side of caution. As a Christian Good might trust God, but he was simply too much of a realist to place equal faith in human nature.[13]

Therefore evidence of conversion had to be sought outside of Native avowals — they were necessary, but never sufficient. Like many of his contemporaries, Good adopted the criterion of moral righteousness; not only did it accord with his 'civilizing' endeavor, but he also felt that he probably could believe an individual who actually changed the way he or she lived. A changed lifestyle would lay his skepticism to rest, and would confirm that Native testimonies came from the heart. This would be a slow process, for altering established social patterns was no mean feat, but Good evidently felt the enterprise worthwhile. Moral rectitude, in the last instance, indicated the 'reality' of conversion:

> an effectual moral change of Heart & Feeling & an eradication of all superstitions and heathen fancies, with, of course, an outward abandonment of all old forms & ways that are positively antagonistical to moral & spiritual growth & development, are considered

[12] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70; original emphasis.

[13] Good's cynicism was by no means exceptional among members of the Columbia Mission. When Hills visited Lytton in 1871, he argued that the Nlaka'pamux appeared to be more than willing to accept Christian doctrine — "this with the mind all accept gladly" — but that this enthusiasm was not matched by their accordance with "the start standard of morals." The suggestion being, of course, that a lot more was on the line when bodily morality was at stake. Hills, Diary, October 18th 1871. Robert Lundin Brown was even more emphatic, and insisted that what Natives said had no immediate link with how they acted: "Hearing and doing are different things; and moral living is no more necessarily associated with religious believing in the Red Indian, than of old it was in the Greek or Roman, mind." Columbia Mission Report, 11, 1869, p.71.

conditions absolute, so far as man can judge, before a Candidate is counted worthy of the haven of regeneration: & the consequence is, years are some times expended in preparing a few only for Baptism.[14]

Good's summary of these non-negotiable conditions makes a mockery of accounts that equate conversion with a politics of consciousness.

By now it should be clear why Good, in general, disliked the term 'conversion'; it did not begin to convey the diffuse and varied nature of the missionary's demands. But the precise roots of his objection are also increasingly obvious. As it was traditionally understood, 'conversion' implied the acceptance of Christian beliefs, a learning process based upon the missionary's preaching of the Gospel. For Good, however, this process was only a means to an end. In its strictly evangelical sense, conversion was deemed a stepping-stone to a more fundamental and more 'truthful' transition, for in the colonial realm — and not for linguistic reasons alone — the Word simply could not be trusted to speak the truth. "To preach Christ," Good once wrote, "as revealed in his Word ... must be our first purpose." Evangelization was not Good's exclusive mission — it was only a first step, on the heels of which "all the rest will follow."[15] Good was quite clear about this: real conversion did not reside in the enunciation of new convictions. In the final reckoning 'error' was a moral problematic, not a conceptual one. And by the same token, so too was Christian Truth.

But what was the exact moral locus for this interface between 'truth' and 'error'? In the rest of this chapter I want to suggest that the principal domain for the 'determination of ethical substance', recalling Foucault's words, was human sexuality. To this extent Good's mission constituted sex as a matter of "truth and falsehood,"[16] for the ultimate

14 Good to the Secretary, SPG, December 28th 1863, USPG, E Series, Vol.14, 1863.
15 Columbia Mission Report, 18, 1876, pp.27-8.
16 Foucault, The history of sexuality, p.56. It is vital to point out some qualifications here. Foucault sketches out a series of important historical shifts in the discursive constitution of sexuality, suggesting that by the nineteenth century science had more or less taken over the role previously performed by Christianity, with the result that now sexual discourse "would not derive from morality alone but from rationality as well" (ibid., p.24).

distinction between heathenism and righteousness — a juncture occupied by the sacrament of baptism — was determined by an individual's sexual propriety. Conversion to Christianity was a complex process, both socially and spiritually, a transition that ideally implied all-round, holistic reform. It was not limited to one element of human experience. Hence my argument that the traditional notion of 'conversion' is a limited one — and hence Good's criticisms too.

Colonial nonsense

In his reminiscences, Good explains how and why the emphasis on marital monogamy had come to assume a central role in his mission enterprise. He tells the story of a Nlaka'pamux man named 'Peter Shako' who, in the early-1870s, had left his "proper spouse" to live with another woman. As a result of this moral indiscretion Good informed Shako that, unless he returned to his wife, he would be "excommunicated from the Church and the congregation would treat him as an outcast." It appears that for some time Shako stood firm, but that before long the weight of social and spiritual censure became an unbearable burden. Interrupting one of Good's evening sermons on the reserve, Shako appeared on the scene with his original partner, and proceeded to beg the missionary's forgiveness. This he duly received, and Good later recalled with evident satisfaction: "The restoration was complete." The recollection of this incident lulled Good into a pensive mood, and he went on to conclude that "the custom of concubinage and polygamy as

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This was plainly not the case in terms of the sexual discourses of imperial Christianity, where it was morality alone — and not a scientific rationality — which provided the tools with which 'truth' and 'falsity' could be distinguished. That said, however, I would obviously not want to subscribe to a clear-cut science/religion dualism, a dichotomy which much recent scholarship has shown to be unsustainable. For a useful example of this argument, see Himmelfarb, "The Victorian Trinity"; and for an intriguingly contextual assault on this dichotomy, see Stephen Jay Gould's "Knight takes Bishop?", a revisionist account of the infamous 1860 'dispute' between Samuel Wilberforce (a familiar figure, of course) and Thomas Henry Huxley, in his Bully for Brontosaurus: reflections in natural history, W.W.Norton & Co., New York, 1991.

practised by the Indian tribes had come to the front with us and caused us no small trouble and perplexity."[17]

Over the next decade, issues of sexual moralism would indeed be at the forefront of Good's concerns, and in this section I discuss the demands he placed on the Nlaka'pamux, and speculate about the impact of these policies. The case of Peter Shako is a useful starting-point, not only because it seems to have so engrossed Good. First, as Shako's fate indicates, certain Native practices were regarded as intrinsically inconsistent with Anglican morality. One's entrance into the Christian fold and ability to stay there depended upon conforming to a set of specific ethical injunctions. As I stress over the next few pages, Native polygamy presented most problems for Good's enterprise of moral conversion. Second, Shako's case suggests that the reformation of social relations had substantially different consequences for men and women. Good, of course, had claimed that the 'restoration was now complete' when Shako re-entered the Christian fold. But this suggestion of historical closure, the argument that everything was now back to the original "happy state of affairs,"[18] ignored the fate of the unnamed woman who had been taken up by Shako and then, in accordance with the missionary's demands, rejected. She is effectively written out of history, precisely because she is redundant to a moral master-plan, a societal vision that required the gendered symmetry of heterosexual monogamy. Christian teleology demanded a genealogy of singular 'holy households', to use Roper's phrase, and the social exclusion of those women deemed surplus would be mirrored by their denial within the realms of white, Christian history. Good's reminiscences are a standing testament to this deafening historical silence.

Clearly, discourses of sexuality represent a principal site for the negotiation and reworking of relations of power and subjectivity, an insight deeply embedded within a Foucault-inspired literature on sexuality. But the question remains of whether it holds true

17 Good, "The utmost bounds," pp.88-9.
18 Good, "The utmost bounds," p.88.

when the politics of sexuality are analyzed in a colonial realm. In other words, what happens when we infuse the colonial into the history of sexuality? I would argue that the question becomes much more complicated, for problems of cultural difference and translation do not allow for a coherent 'site' of negotiation, a common ground where the reworking of these relations can occur in a logical, mutually-consistent fashion. Cultural incongruence renders this site inherently problematic. Theoretical insights need to be rethought and fine-tuned. How else, for example, can one rationalize the case of a Native woman who, having lived with three different white men, claimed with pride to Bishop Hills that she was three times the Christian of the monogamous white woman in whose house she worked?[19] Such ethical confusion was not a social anomaly. Within the wider spheres of Anglican colonial engagement, there was little clarity, no definitive truth, and much perplexity. This was not due to individual ignorance, European or Native. It resulted from the strange twists taken by Christian moral pedagogy in the imperial realm.

Although polygamous relations were common among the Nlaka'pamux when Good arrived in Lytton, it is hard to gauge their precise extent. Good spoke on the matter with the missionary's customary hyperbole, and his comments tend to provide an inflated view of the situation. That said, however, James Teit basically confirmed Good's general point some twenty years later, while providing a number of useful qualifications. The ethnographer pointed out that polygamy was never entirely pervasive among the Nlaka'pamux, and alluded to the impact of mission reformation on Native social life:

> Polygamy flourished, very many men having from two to four wives, sometimes all sisters, and not a few having as many as seven or eight; yet there were a large number of men who had only one wife. For a man to have several wives was indicative of wealth. Very few men of the tribe have now more than one wife.[20]

[19] Hills, Diary, January 23rd 1861. The line between 'conversion' and 'heathenism' was thus very fine indeed.
[20] Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," p.326.

Throughout the Empire Protestant evangelists regarded Native polygamy as a major barrier to their 'civilizing' mission, finding it impossible to reconcile polygamy with the Christian requisite of marital monogamy. There was a basic discrepancy of numbers — no more, no less.[21] For this reason, fully-fledged Native conversion required the termination of these particular sexual and social relations. Good began his own determined assault while in Nanaimo,[22] but it was not until he arrived at Lytton that the campaign against polygamous relations assumed the form of a carefully calculated enterprise. The chosen strategy was not dreamed up overnight, but was distilled out of conversations between the missionary and his diocesan bishop, discussions which eventually produced a more-or-less coherent mission policy.

The subject was first raised in 1868, soon after Good's work among the Nlaka'pamux had begun — and already he was beginning to show signs of concern. He did not doubt that polygamy should be condemned, that it flew directly in the face of Christian morality. But he was becoming increasingly convinced that strict Anglican laws were somehow inappropriate in his mission field. For all its abstract virtue, he urged the Bishop, an unwavering emphasis on monogamy was simply not practical. It was on account of this uncertainty, then, that Good suggested a reworking of mission policy. The original plan, assumed from day one, had been that no one be admitted into the Christian fold if in any way involved in a polygamous relationship. This uncompromising criterion for baptism unsettled Good and, offering up a revised proposal for his colleague's attention, he entreated Hills to reconsider. While no man already attached to the mission, he argued, should be allowed to take a second wife, men who already had more than one

21 Hyam claims that "the demand for monogamy was indeed the most serious obstacle to the adoption of Christianity in Africa." See his Empire and sexuality, p.183. Felicity Nussbaum provides a useful commentary on both secular and missionary attitudes towards polygamy in her "The Other Woman: polygamy, Pamela, and the prerogative of empire," in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds., Women, 'Race,' and writing in the early modern period, Routledge, London, 1994.

22 For details, see Good to the Secretary, SPG, May 3rd 1864, USPG, E Series, Vol.16, 1864.

partner should be allowed to enter the mission community. In other words, Good suggested that the Christian law "should be carried out prospectively, but not retrospectively."[23]

It is important to point out that Good did not see this conciliatory gesture as an abdication to the Nlaka'pamux. He was a sly character, and this rethinking of ethical demands was part of a much broader tactic. He was well aware that an immediate frontal assault on Native culture and society would not win him any admirers, and that a more profitable strategy would be to appease his target population. In this way he could retain their interest in his work, but at the same time clarify his long-term intentions. His proposal to Hills was a fine example of this. By tacitly endorsing those polygamous relationships which predated his arrival, he demonstrated a modicum of respect for Nlaka'pamux social life. But by insisting that, henceforth, only monogamous alliances would be sanctified, he made quite clear the direction in which Native society was heading under Christian pastoral guidance. In the following passage, written in 1870, Good speaks to this combination of cunning moderation on the one hand, and focused historical intent on the other:

> Had I for instance attacked Polygamy in the first instance and violently sought to rid individuals of what I might consider their superfluous household appendages, before they were full Catechumens even, much less baptized subjects of the New Kingdom of Light & Purity, I should, I feel sure, have killed the whole gravitating motion towards us and raised at once an insuperable barrier against our progress. But by laying down the rule to begin with, that all former contracts were to be respected and only subsequent matrimonial engagements were to be regulated by our own standard, I at once satisfied a sense of natural equity most keenly yet intensely regarded & upheld by this independent and clear sighted people, and at the same time prepared the way for the eventual extinction of the entire system.[24]

But in spite of the obvious force of Good's claims, Hills stood firm. The Bishop was very different from the Lytton missionary. His contact with Natives was sporadic.

[23] Hills, Diary, June 1st 1868.
[24] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70; original emphasis.

Based in his middle-class neighborhood in Victoria, and mixing with the upper crust of the white colonial population, he never experienced the unceasing exposure to Native culture that so affected the views of missionaries like Good. Periodically the Bishop was updated on local conditions, but he could afford to remain somewhat aloof. His annual visits to the diocese's various missions were certainly important to him, but after a few weeks in the mission field, he would always return to the familiar haven of Victoria's white society. It was this peculiar experience, at once a missionary and an administrator, that allowed Hills to retain his faith in dogmatism, when those more embroiled in the material struggles of the mission encounter were beginning to doubt their own. With respect to the nagging question of polygamy, Good's intermediary proposal was informed by local knowledge. The Bishop's firm riposte was a result of his own stolid colonial detachment, a faith in totalizing dogma sustained by his ignorance of the locale. The moral laws of Christianity, he stressed, were universal, and were not to be diluted according to historical or geographical circumstance. Good's plans were thus shot down, and this is how he later recalled the Bishop's decision:

> The Bishop, following the recommendation of the Church at large, laid down as an absolute requirement that any one seeking Holy Baptism must content themselves with one wife, which union was to be solemnized after by a proper service and certificate binding them to live together until parted by death.[25]

Good was no fool, and knew that he had no choice but to follow orders. Hills was an imposing figure, and Good was not about to question his authority — to do so might have jeopardized his whole career. As Alexander Pringle noted soon after his own arrival in the colony, the prospect of incurring the Bishop's wrath was not pleasant: "His faith, zeal & determination are great incitements, but any man who w[ould] <u>not</u> carry out his

25 Good, "The utmost bounds," pp.89-90. Joan Weir cites other examples of dispute between Hills and his clergy over adherence to Anglican canons, and claims that the Bishop's stubbornness was likely informed by "fear of censure from the church at home." Weir, <u>Catalysts and watchdogs</u>, p.43.

views, I take it w[ould] find his berth an uncomfortable one. — I am anxious to do my best to meet his wishes."[26] Good felt the same way, it seems, and at least in the early years of the mission, no space was given for moderation and accommodation. The law was the law.

That said, a certain amount of compromise was eventually allowed — but never enough to satisfy Good. Back in 1868, when the issue was first raised between the two of them, Hills had reminded Good of the basic ethical qualification for baptism: a man would be accepted only if he had one partner. Moreover, that woman had to be his first wife, not a subsequent partner. Indeed, this adamance that the first partner was a man's only 'real' wife had led the Bishop to mock one Native leader, a man who had "offered to put away his present three [wives] if only he might have the last love!"[27] This was plainly unacceptable. But four years later this mission rule was relaxed slightly, and it was decided that a male candidate for baptism should be able to choose which wife he wished to retain. The Bishop had a dual rationale for this partial concession. First there was an appeal to pragmatism. It would be difficult to insist on this element of the 'law', he argued, since in reality Good could not be expected to identify the original, 'true' wife. Second, he claimed that such discrimination would itself be superfluous, for this 'real' wife had probably "been the wife of several husbands before & some of whom were living!"[28] The Bishop's judgment was obviously a grudging one, and smacks of a barely-disguised disdain for Nlaka'pamux culture. But as Good surely realized, this small adjustment to mission policy would enable St.Paul's to procure more members, while straying only 'so far' from the straight and narrow path of dogmatic Anglicanism.[29]

[26] Pringle to Mary Louisa Pringle, June 4th 1860, BCARS, Add. MSS 369; original emphasis.
[27] Hills, Diary, June 1st 1868.
[28] Hills, Diary, June 10th 1872.
[29] A certain amount of laxity was also introduced into regulations controlling the acceptance of women engaged in extra-marital relations with whites. The Bishop noted the following concession towards the end of Good's tenure at Lytton: "A woman the wife of Roberts a farmer had come regularly year by year to the Services, but our rule had been not to Baptize Indian women living with white men unmarried. Yet she had lived with him 20

A decade after his arrival among the Nlaka'pamux, Good felt that the shift towards a monogamous society was well under way. In a letter written during the summer of 1879, he referred to a large group of natives, numbering some 70 couples, who were at the time preparing for marriage. These people he described as

> the first fruits opening the way for an entire change eventually in the domestic relationships. I regard such a step as under God fraught with incalculable blessing in purifying and elevating the private life and of rendering them constant to one another unto the end.[30]

However, despite the evident 'success' signified by such marriages, he could not help but feel that the institutional insistence on strict moral 'laws' had been a thorn in the side of his mission. The concessions of 1872 had been no more than a token gesture, so far as he could tell, and the Bishop's stern ordinance continued to rile him.

For a man so absorbed by Nlaka'pamux society, the essences of Christianity began to take on new meaning, and Good even began to wonder whether apostolic doctrine <u>really did</u> exclude polygamists from baptism.[31] Hills would have been dismayed to learn of such vacillation from one of his favored missionaries. But Good was increasingly hesitant, and came to regard the monogamy ruling as one of many "paralyzing dogmas."[32] These 'moral laws' had been formulated in another place, at another time, and Good found it tough to retain faith in their immediate, local relevance. In other words, Good's views were no longer quite those of a student raised on dogmatic 'truths' at St.Augustine's. He was beginning to detect a massive disjuncture within the heart of the mission enterprise: the

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years, with a family & so far as she was concerned [was] his true wife. She was anxious for Baptism & the rule was relaxed & she was baptized & her baby & truly went on her way rejoicing." Hills, Diary, September 10th 1877.

30 <u>Columbia Mission Report</u>, 20, 1878, p.40.

31 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1874, USPG, E Series, Vol.29, 1874.

32 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.

universalizing pretensions of Christianity paid scant heed to the vitality of cultural difference. Thus he lamented in a pained statement

> how much mental distress and doubt has been occasioned me by the ruling of our Diocesan excluding Polygamists from Baptism except they are first willing to reduce themselves to the status of Monogamists: notwithstanding to do so may outrage every feeling and habit in which they have been nurtured. The Bishop believes however that the general Consent of the Church is in support of his ruling and as [?] duly bound I bow to his decision and yet it is very hard to see good men dying before one's eyes unbaptized who could not persuade themselves it was right so to put away their wives.[33]

Good's reference to these 'good men' alludes to a growing chasm between his own assessment of individual morality, and the 'moral laws' propagated by the Church at large. As much as anything else, of course, this divide was geographical, and betrayed a troublesome incongruence between local knowledge and global dogma.

Here, then, we can begin to detect some of the problems of Christian sexual discourse in the colonial realm. The attempt to invoke moral 'laws' within a different cultural register caused great anxieties, for missionaries and Natives alike, and many Nlaka'pamux men were not prepared to sacrifice their contemporary condition for the vaunted benefits of Anglican communalism. To this extent Good regarded dogma as paralyzing, and later recalled with evident bitterness:

> I had more than one case of a polygamist for years anxious to be baptized but could not bring himself to dismiss those who had entered into conjoint marital relationships with him in accordance with the custom of the tribe by exchange of gifts; and, who, in the end, died without such desire being fulfilled.[34]

Paralyzing dogma had thus stood in the way of cultural conversion. This, at least, was Good's claim, and he probably would have had something to say about Hyam's recent suggestion that "Victorian missionaries seldom stopped to enquire what structural function

[33] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1874, USPG, E Series, Vol.29, 1874.
[34] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.90.

the practices they objected to so often performed in ensuring the cohesion of traditional societies."[35] As the quotation from his reminiscences indicates, Good did recognize the social functions of polygamy — and realized too that it was this socialization of sexuality which, amongst other things, prevented a more substantial conversion. It was not his own ignorance that limited him, but the blind moral discipline of Anglican authorities.

Good was not the only missionary to arrive at this conclusion. Time and again his contemporaries were reminded of these problematics of cultural difference, the fact that a rigid Christian morality appeared to have no relevance in Native society. Alexander Garrett was probably more aware of this than most. For a start, his linguistic skills gave him an enviable access to Natives, one which most missionaries could only dream of, and a striking incident in Victoria certainly drove the issue home. The context was a public meeting convened by Arthur Kennedy, at which the Island's new governor beseeched the assembled Natives to listen closely to Garrett, and to follow his moral injunctions to the letter. Monogamy was emphasized, at which point one Native leader responded thus:

> As to the conduct, he did not think the advice was good. Had he but one wife, one side would be cold all winter, and the great chief knows that would be bad for his health. Again had he but one wife, his potatoes would run short, his salmon remain uncured, his berries would not be gathered and for this reason he and his family would starve. With many wives, there was always warmth and plenty in the house.[36]

In such a social context, Anglican moral codes were always going to face an uphill battle.

Clearly the politics and pragmatics of colonialism present several pressing concerns for a history of "the way in which individuals are urged to constitute themselves as subjects of moral conduct." In spite of his reservations, Good did his utmost to enact mission policy as it was laid down, and individual Natives were asked searching questions about whether, and to what extent, they were willing to live their lives in accordance with Anglican ethical codes. A history of this engagement must deal therefore with both "codes

[35] Hyam, Empire and sexuality, p.182.
[36] Garrett, "Reminiscences," p.25.

of behavior and forms of subjectivation" — with the nature of individual reaction to moral 'laws', in addition to the formulation and articulation of those laws themselves.[37] I have discussed these laws at some length. Now I want to turn to various instances of this individual 'subjectivation'. In suggesting that the monogamy/polygamy issue turned on questions of culture and identity, I am trying to demonstrate that the colonial encounter not only confused the moral laws of Anglicanism, but also created massive turmoil as individuals tried to position themselves with respect to the missionary's ethical demands. The mediation between 'codes of behavior' and 'forms of subjectivation' was precarious, problematized by stubborn misunderstandings of cultural difference.

Take the case of Sashiatan, the Nlaka'pamux leader who made the initial approach to Good at Yale, and whose devotion to the mission cause was being lauded within a matter of months.[38] The rhetoric surrounding this "earnest uncompromising thirsty reforming Christian" was unabating.[39] However it was not a simple rhetoric, and declarations about his contemporary ways were almost invariably accompanied by a litany of his former sins. Ethical rectitude was seldom invoked without reference to its historical antagonist — morality and immorality were played off against one another. Thus Bishop Hills described Sashiatan in two broad brush strokes: first as the man who "attacked the Hudson's Bay

[37] The quotations both come from Foucault, The use of pleasure, p.29. Foucault goes on to distinguish between those moralities where the emphasis should be placed on the code — authoritative moralities where the individual is given little room for maneuver, and where submission is paramount "at the risk of committing offenses that may make him [or her] liable to punishment" — and those where the 'strong' factor lies in practices of the self, and the codes are themselves rudimentary. It is a useful distinction, up to a point, but where I would disagree is in the categorization of Christian morality. I would argue that, at least in the case of Anglican missionization, the codes were fundamental, but Foucault claims it would be "quite incorrect to reduce Christian morality ... to such a model." This is odd, if only to the extent that this account of Christianity appears to grant the subject a much greater 'freedom', more room for self-expression, than had been allowed by the strict anti-humanism of his earlier discussions of power-knowledge. I lean in the direction of this earlier work, for as I illustrate below, moral codes were vital at Lytton — they did not give space for self-discovery. The insistence on monogamy turned out to be a crippling influence on individual subjectivities. See ibid., p.30.

[38] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1867, USPG, E Series, Vol.23, 1867-8: "his attachment to us increases daily."

[39] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending March 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.

Company train at Nicolai Lake," and second as having "a fine, manly, intelligent countenance, with a gentleness of expression now which contrasts favorably with his former life."[40] Once a warrior of great repute, now a respectable Christian. Here the Bishop outlined a staggering leap from 'falsity' to 'truth'. This was obviously an idealized conversion, an individual teleology enacted and evoked through a thoroughly moralized transition. In this case the temporal dualism was constructed along the lines of differential masculinities — barbarian on the one hand, gentleman on the other.

But when the ethical demand of monogamy was leveled at Sashiatan, this straightforward dualism of Christian conversion fell apart. In the domain where the 'real' distinction between heathen and convert was negotiated, the possibility of such a simple transition was denied. Sexuality, for the missionary at any rate, was a matter of 'truth and falsehood', but the problematics of cultural difference rendered this shift both awkward and troublesome. Like many others, Sashiatan was ultimately unable to reconcile his own desires and responsibilities with Good's insistence on monogamy. However intense his interest in Anglicanism, conversion had its limits. Good blamed institutional dogmatism. Hills criticized the individual in question:

> Sachiatan had been one of the foremost in inviting Mr. Good to Lytton but had three wives & would not set himself right by putting away two, so he died unbaptized having gone back to enchantments & died a miserable death.[41]

Sashiatan was always a welcome and zealous member of Good's mission community, but ended up outside of the Christian fold. If we are to believe the mission record, this was not through a flaw in his spiritual commitment. It was simply a matter of bad fortune, for the issue on which he could not come to terms with Anglican morality was the issue on which, essentially, the question of conversion turned.

[40] Hills, Diary, June 1st 1868.
[41] Hills, Diary, September 10th 1877.

What I am suggesting then, is that in the specific context of Nlaka'pamux social life, Anglican moral codes were devastating. Perhaps the possibilities for 'subjectivation' were intended to be more generous but, consciously or otherwise, Good's ethical demands had severe consequences. In the colonial realm, an "implausibility of conversation and commensurability" unsettled the sexualized discourses of falsehood and truth described by Foucault. The problem was cultural difference. Thus Good's system produced not so much assured 'converts', but the figures of uncertainty and doubt described by Homi Bhabha. In an immensely useful passage, in which he discusses evangelical Christianity in India, Bhabha captures precisely these consequences of colonial confusion:

> With the institution of what was termed 'the intellectual system' in 1829, in the mission schools of Bengal, there developed a mode of instruction which set up ... contradictory and independent textualities of Christian piety and heathen idolatry in order to elicit, between them, in an uncanny doubling, undecidability. It was an uncertainty between truth and falsehood whose avowed aim was conversion, but whose discursive and political strategy was the production of doubt; not simply a doubt in the content of beliefs, but a doubt, or an uncertainty in the native place of enunciation; at the point of the colonizer's demand for narrative, at the moment of the master's interrogation.[42]

Like the missionaries described by Bhabha, Good consistently pronounced upon the disjunctures of cultural difference. At every opportunity, he reminded his Native charge of the basic contrasts between Native 'heathenism' and Christian righteousness. To my mind at any rate, this rhetorical tactic served to render cultural difference a sort of ad hoc mixture, made up of distinctions both historical and enunciatory.[43] Thus Good articulated the existence of two ostensibly incompatible cultural 'truths', the 'contradictory and independent textualities' referred to by Bhabha. The putative aim of this discursive ploy, as Bhabha indicates, was the production of a desire to convert. But in the long run it did

[42] Homi K.Bhabha, "Articulating the archaic: cultural difference and colonial nonsense," in his The location of culture, pp.126, 133 (my emphasis).
[43] Bhabha stresses the component of colonial articulation here, arguing that the vital issue is to "see the cultural not as the source of conflict — different cultures — but as the effect of discriminatory practices — the production of cultural differentiation as signs of authority." See his "Signs taken for wonders;" p.114; original emphasis.

not work out like that, for Natives were not roundly willing to forego the 'idolatry' of which they were accused.

So what were the consequences of all this? Bhabha's point, it seems to me, is that this strategy, whatever its original intent, thoroughly destabilized the Native response. Asked a vital question about their allegiance to the mission, a question that centered on their sexuality, individual Natives could not offer a coherent, consistent reply — precisely because of this problematic of cultural difference. For Sashiatan the principal 'moment of the master's interrogation', and the moment at which he was finally brought up short, was when he was asked to leave two of his wives. At this point Good demanded he enunciate himself, and confirm the exact nature of his contemporary subjectivity. But Bhabha's principal claim is that in the very same moment that this demand was made, Good denied Sashiatan a rational answer. The missionary's sexual discourse had formulated a "space of contradictory and multiple belief."[44] This space was riven with ambivalence and contradiction, and within its fractured terrain Sashiatan could not locate a single place free of ambiguity. Whichever way he looked, righteousness was accompanied by irresponsibility, and reason was tempered by sin. The upshot was a crippling doubt. This resulted from the confusion created when moral discourses of sexuality entered the colonial realm.

To use the favored terminology of the missionary enterprise, it was 'truth' that was ultimately denied. By placing the individual subject in a space that is "neither one nor the other," and thus denying a singular place of response, Good's mission effected "a coercion of the native subject in which no truth can exist."[45] No unqualified truth, at any rate, and this was the great historical irony — an irony that Bhabha labels colonial nonsense. A religion claiming the Truth, and espousing conversion, legitimized neither. Baptism enabled one putative 'truth', but simultaneously banished another. And outright rejection

[44] Bhabha, "Articulating the archaic," p.134.
[45] ibid., pp.134,135.

of Christian subjectivity offered no greater solace; the power of normalization saw to that. Native subjectivation involved not access to an absolute 'truth', then, but instead an enforced ambivalence, an unavoidable partiality. Asked about their moral integrity, their willingness to forsake a familiar lifestyle, individual Natives would often be faced with great doubt. This doubt, it seems, plagued Sashiatan from the moment Good arrived in Lytton.

Sashiatan was evidently not alone, and numerous other cases demonstrate the same sort of anguished response, the same kind of vacillation. In 1874, Good wrote of a "minor Chief" from a village near Lytton who, like Sashiatan, had always been "a constant attendant on our ministrations." This man not only made long journeys to promote the mission cause among the Nlaka'pamux, but was also centrally involved in the supervision of village life. However, there was one mitigating factor: "he was a polygamist." Like Sashiatan he had three wives, and with each of these women he had had several children. He was obviously keen to be baptized, but the Bishop's intransigence meant that his initial candidacy was stymied. This put him between a rock and a hard place: desiring Christian acceptance, but equally insistent on his present marital state, he was left floundering. Each option seemed to offer both incentives and drawbacks. Eventually he made the same decision as Sashiatan, but this choice was neither easy nor unambiguous:

> He could not however reconcile this voice of the Church with the voice of his inner consciousness, with his sense of right & obligation to his wives & children. He knew that those whom he publicly put away would be made conspicuous objects of shame & a prey to the vicious — and so tho' a believer, he barred himself from being admitted into the visible Household of Faith.

Good was bitter about this episode, bitter to the bone, and it was one of many cases that served to heighten his skepticism of abstract moral laws. He pushed the issue home by informing his sponsors that the man had recently died of a "pulmonary disease." On his death-bed he was still a polygamist, but in Good's view also a righteous Christian, and he described him "holding before his dying eyes the copy of the New Testament he had

previously procured from me."[46] Strict moral codes, and a fractured space of subjectivation: paralyzing dogma indeed.

There were other doubtful individuals too. Upon visiting Lytton in the spring of 1874, Hills discovered a number of cases of 'discipline' that needed to be dealt with during his stay. One of these involved a man named 'Tosias Noe-kin-a-anaskut'. Tosias had taken as a partner a woman named Nicola, a woman already married to another man who, according to Nicola, had previously deserted her. Good immediately told Tosias and Nicola to separate, and "he go away on a long hunting expedition" until Hills arrived in town to resolve the matter. The Bishop agreed with the resident missionary, and confronted Tosias with his judgment: "My decision was that Nicola could not be his wife & he must give her up to her husband. He was asked what he had to say." Well, what could he say? He was a baptized member of the Church, but his own moral intuition did not accord with institutional strictures. He was in an intractable position. In the end, his own answer to the 'master's interrogation' was necessarily partial, necessarily a lie of sorts. It was as difficult for him to make as it was for Sashiatan — and although he lurched in the opposite direction, the doubt and disablement were the same. He eventually agreed with the Bishop, admitting that he must conform with Church discipline. But speaking directly to the crippling politics of colonial nonsense, he added that "what he was about to do" in leaving his partner "was the cutting off [of] his right arm."[47]

Patriarchal plurality?

All these individual histories share one notable feature in common. Peter Shako had received Good's reprimand, and was forced to choose between his original wife and his new partner. Sashiatan had to decide between one wife or three. In the other two cases,

[46] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1874, USPG, E Series, Vol.29, 1874.
[47] Hills, Diary, May 4th 1874.

similarly, the moral injunctions of Anglicanism demanded a male response. The linking theme, clearly, is gender. "It was an ethics for men: an ethics thought, written, and taught by men, and addressed to men."[48] Not only were the mission's moral codes developed and disseminated by men, but it was men who were granted the exclusive opportunity of engaging with those codes as best they were able. Subjectivation thus involved male subjects, and women were consigned to the ethical sidelines — objects in a tortuous numbers game where the only legitimate players were Native men.

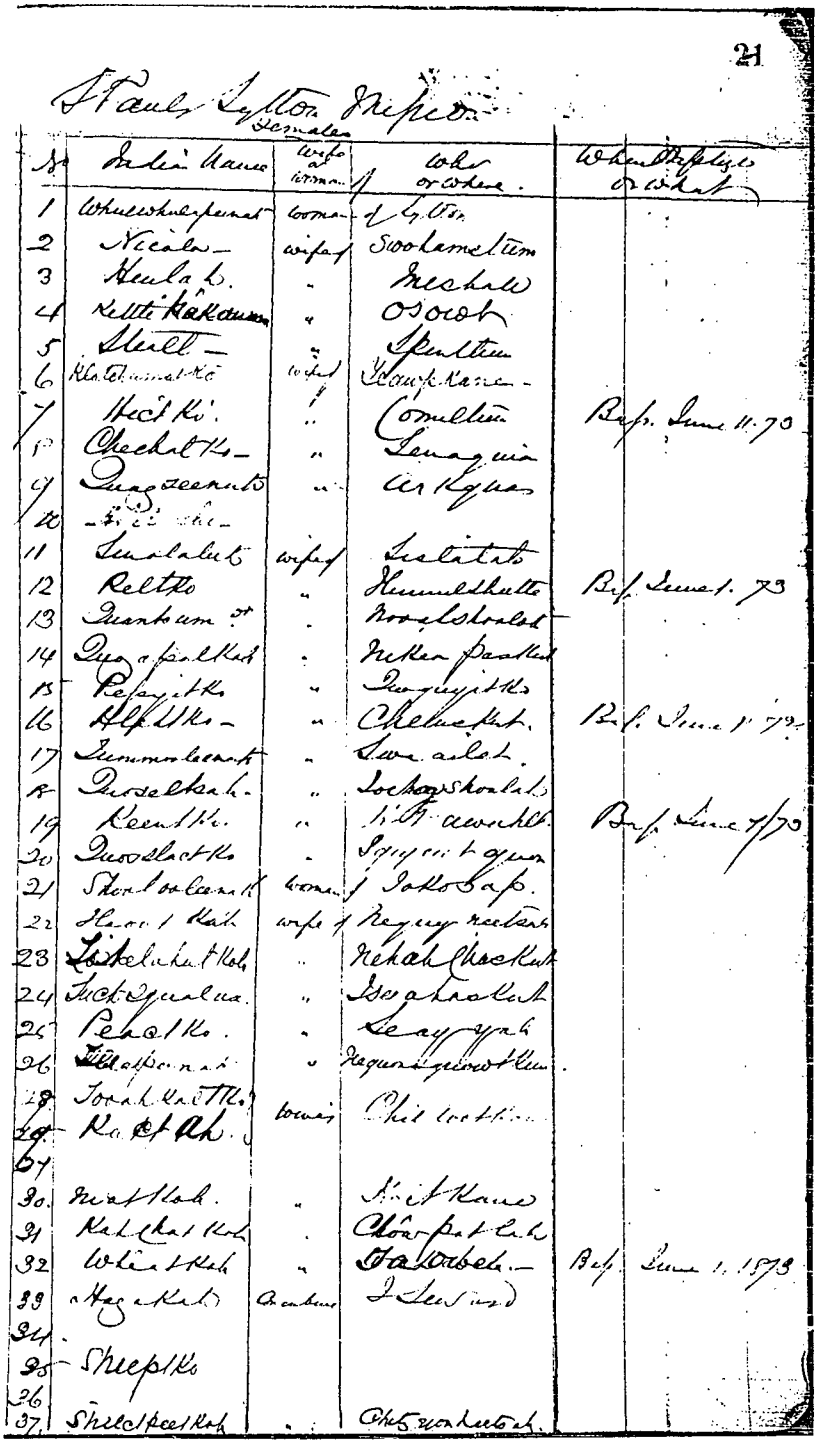
As I have already pointed out, this gendered asymmetry of the missionary encounter had profound ramifications. In the first place, women branded 'surplus' to contractual monogamy were written out of the historical record, literally 'disappearing' from the scene. As a result they became 'people without history', at least within the domain of the white mission memory. But ironically enough, the same historical fate also awaited those women who, as partners in relationships deemed worthy of Christian sanctification, were accepted into Good's flock. Their individual subjectivities were similarly effaced. The procedure was different, but the result was the same. For Good's parish register did not inscribe married women on their own terms, but as partners, as assets, as the secondary element in a monogamous relationship. As Good noted towards the end of 1867:

> We are now beginning to lay hold of the wives and mothers amongst the tribes, and to inspire them with courage to profess their allegiance to CHRIST along with their husbands, and this enables us to inscribe their names in our social registry, reserved for bonâ fide catechumens only, and to take the first step towards associating their lives with the sanctifying restraints of Christian obligations and fellowship.[49]

Female subjectivity was erased as women became locked together in the historical record with their male partners — figure 15 demonstrates this quite clearly, with married women defined solely in terms of their husband's identity ('wife of whom ...'). Whether retained

[48] Foucault, The use of pleasure, p.22.
[49] The Mission Field, 14, 1869, p.225.

Figure 15. Female catechumens of St.Paul's Mission.



21

St Paul's Lytton Mission.
Females

No.	Indian Name	Wife or woman	Tribe or where.	When Baptized or Admitted
1	Whitewhalepenuet	woman	Lytton	
2	Nicola	wife of	Spoolamcheen	
3	Neola b.	"	Nicola	
4	Nellie Kakaumen	"	Osoyoos	
5	Nicola	"	Spuzzum	
6	Klatchumaskie	widow	Kamloops	
7	Nicola.	"	Comelem	Bapt. June 11. 70
8	Checkalks	"	Lemaquin	
9	Quaqueenuts	"	Cayuse	
10	[illegible]			
11	Swalakuts	wife of	Sustatuts	
12	Nellie	"	Nicomekeetle	Bap. June 1. 73
13	Quantum	"	Boothroyds	
14	Quaquaskeet	"	Nicola Paskeet	
15	Nesquitks	"	Quaquitks	
16	Alphonse	"	Chelucheet	Bap. June 1. 73
17	Quamcheenuts	"	Swamalak	
18	Quaselkaks	"	Lochaquaskaks	
19	Keenuks	"	Kitsawuckle	Bap. June 7/70
20	Quoolactks	"	Squiyeetlequa	
21	Skootsalamuk	woman	Lytton Capt.	
22	Skoo / Kah	wife of	Nequaquaskaks	
23	Tsikelakut Kah	"	Nekah Chackah	
24	Tuck Squalua	"	Squahaalah	
25	Pekal Ks	"	Lequayah	
26	Tillaspenuk	"	Nequaquaquoot Kum	
28	Tonah Kah Tks	woman	Chilcotin	
29	Kah Kah			
30				
30	Nuat Kah	"	Nicola Kamloops	
31	Kahkal Kah	"	Okanagan Lake	
32	Wlia Kah	"	Talarbeh	Bap. June 1. 1873
33	Hagen Kah	Quaalum	Lillooet	
34				
35	Sheep Ks			
36				
37	Sheelspeel Kah	"	Chuckanutah	

Source: Lytton Mission Register

or rejected, included or excluded, Native women were ultimately denied by the inscriptions of colonial Anglicanism. Either way, "the figure of the woman disappears."[50]

Thus while on the one hand the category 'woman' was ingrained within the moral imagination of English Protestantism — a carefully-crafted femininity which I discussed at length in chapter 2 — on the other hand the missionary encounter tended to render 'women' silent, obsolete, and surplus. An important task for the historian, but one fraught with evident dangers and difficulties, is to reject strains of thought "which in saying that 'woman' is fictional are silent about 'women'."[51] The Church's suggested femininity must be interrogated and deconstructed; but at the same time the material impact of mission morality on the lives of Native women must not be elided. Good's ethical demands had massive implications for women involved in polygamous relationships.

Yet Native women were not passive 'victims' with no immediate control over their lives. In focusing on structures and discourses of white colonial power, of which missionization was just one form, there is always a very real danger of minimizing 'resistance'. Certainly Good's demands were directed at men, at least primarily, and to that extent Native women were objectified; but a revisionist historical analysis, while acknowledging the production and reproduction of these iniquitous power relations, cannot maintain women as enframed objects, thus denying their historical agency.

The fact that Native women were not a mute prey was swiftly appreciated by the colony's white male settlers. A case in point was a man who Bishop Hills had encountered while at Fort Rupert in 1863. This Englishman had been in the colony since 1850, but in

[50] The phrase is Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's, in her "Can the subaltern speak," in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., Marxism and the interpretation of culture, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1988, p.306. As she clarifies elsewhere in the same paper: "This legally programmed asymmetry in the status of the subject, which effectively defines the woman as object of one husband, obviously operates in the interest of the legally symmetrical subject-status of the male." ibid., p.303; original emphasis.

[51] Denise Riley, 'Am I that name?' Feminism and the category of 'women' in history, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1988, p.4. Riley here refers to 'women' as a discursive sense of collective identity, but I think her injunction applies with equal force to a history which would examine not 'women' as discursive subjects, but women as historical beings.

spite of the fact that he had had a number of children with his long-time Native partner, was yet to marry. The Bishop found this highly unsatisfactory. But what is interesting here is the man's rationale for remaining unwed — not mere apathy, and not even a familiar colonial contempt for Christian sanctity. Rather, he was concerned about his partner's ability to manipulate their relationship if that relationship was granted legal recognition. As the Bishop noted in his journal, he

> objected to marriage because if she knew he was legally bound to her she would probably fall back into her old habits & perhaps cohabit with Indian men & expect him to be home to keep her notwithstanding, he said this had happened in several cases when men had married.[52]

And this man was probably right, as the Bishop would learn a number of years later. At Lytton in 1868 to witness Good's early endeavors among the Nlaka'pamux, he noted that of the many white men living 'in sin' with Native partners, at least one had suffered the consequences of his partner's initiative. This man, a miner-turned-farmer, "was lately left by his Indian wife who had had two children by him. He now says everything bad of her. He confesses having sown the wind he has reaped the whirlwind."[53] A whirlwind indeed, for he surely did not expect such an outcome. The point begs reiterating. Native women did not passively accept their allotted functions — desired one minute, repudiated the next. As Hills demonstrated in describing his 1861 meeting with a Lytton store-keeper, this colonial hypocrisy was on occasion mocked by Native women who were unwilling to comply with an unseemly objectification which switched from lust to derision. "There was the impudent squaw of whom he was ashamed & whom in vain he tried to get away out of our sight. She would not go."[54]

Given these caveats, however, it is clear that Good's ethical demands had a huge impact upon the lives of many Nlaka'pamux women. Here Good's designation of

[52] Hills, Diary, April 7th 1863.
[53] Hills, Diary, May 27th 1868.
[54] Hills, Diary, June 26th 1861; my emphasis.

'paralyzing dogma' is especially appropriate, for the insistence on strict moral codes gave women little room for maneuver. Men were given an ethical option, however unattractive that choice may have appeared; women were not even granted this dubious privilege, and throughout Good's tenure, their well-being played a distant second fiddle to abstract Anglican mandates. When in 1868 the subject of polygamy first became cause for serious discussion, Hills had been adamant that Good toe the line in every respect. Good countered that this would cause endless social problems, not least the uncertain fate of those women suddenly deemed 'surplus'. But the Bishop was not to be swayed. He agreed that this ruling might cause "disappointment," to men and women alike, but that such worldly considerations were trivial when the vindication of institutional dogma was at stake. This was his rationalization of the pain that might be caused to partners rejected by a man seeking baptism: "If however it is a fact that the first wife only is the true wife — & that the others are not wives — better that the poor creatures should be undeceived." Better that they should be undeceived: for the real deception, he went on, the real crime to these women, "is not in being put away, but in being kept in an unlawful state."[55]

This is an amazing example of imperial hubris and arrogance. Invoking an abstract ethical code, mission morality prioritized a misplaced legality over and above social welfare — a somewhat ironic displacement for an ostensibly humanizing religion. But if missionaries were to produce 'good' Natives, worthy members of a 'proper' colonial society, monogamy had to be demanded. It was to this extent that the missionary enterprise made of polygamy a public problem, no longer the private Native 'ritual' ignored or romanticized by earlier colonists.[56] It was this socialization of sexuality, the colonization of the Native body, that demanded the deployment of rigid legal doctrine. With the marriage contract at hand, missionaries transformed ritual into crime, private into

[55] Hills, Diary, June 1st 1868.
[56] Nussbaum notes that in Africa, polygamy was treated fairly benignly by most colonial agents, and that the only real exception to this rule was missionaries. See her "The Other Woman," p.143.

public, and thus linked the ethics of the body to the constitution of 'Society' at large. That this colonial bio-power was predicated upon a politics of gender is clear in the Bishop's argument about social 'deception': Native men were guilty of a much greater sin if they retained several partners out of wedlock, than if they shunned responsibility for those women in favor of Christian absolution. In effect then, Good's mission was avowedly 'protecting' Native women from their polygamous male partners, and the moral guardianship of women thus "becomes a signifier for the establishment of a good society." This is the crucial, insidious slippage. It is Nlaka'pamux social practices which are branded patriarchal, not the procedures of Anglican rectification, and the Native 'woman' is constituted as an "object of protection from her own kind."[57] By labeling Native polygamy a "patriarchal plurality,"[58] missionaries hoped to discount the iniquitous impacts of their own engagement.

And this engagement was intrinsically sexist, not just because it allocated men the principal decision-making role, but because of its indifference to the fortunes of Native women. I do want to stress, however, that the blame should perhaps not be placed at Good's door, for as one who strove to accommodate Anglican pedagogy to local circumstances, he displayed undoubted care and respect for Nlaka'pamux social life. Ultimately, however, he was impotent; despite his protestations, 'paralyzing dogma' became the order of the day. Women were set aside and excluded, and their disappearance from 'history' makes it impossible to ascertain their eventual fate. But Good's own recollections suggest something of what befell these women, and also reaffirm his own dismay at Anglican dogmatism:

> It was explained to me that for a man to put away a wife or concubine accepted under certain tribal stipulations of great moment and imposing obligations of the most binding

[57] Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak," pp.298,299; original emphasis.
[58] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1874, USPG, E Series, Vol.29, 1874.

nature, was tantamount to branding her as a harlot, and would most likely drive her either to follow an evil course or to end it by suicide.[59]

The end of an era

Of course it was not only Native women who were written out of history. Think, for example, of the English women who arrived on the bride ships in the early-1860s. In one respect, the archives are brimming with information about them: the reasons for their emigration, their conditions en route, the commotion surrounding their arrival in Victoria. But this material is all anticipatory — information about rationale and preparation, but not about historical fortune. The archival material is ripe for reflections on imperial representation, but detailed analysis of colonial reality is largely precluded. Why? Because once these women have fulfilled their assigned roles, once they have become the anticipated 'wives and mothers', history no longer has cause to worry.[60] They are now integral components of Christian teleology, not conspicuous anomalies to be identified and incorporated, and as such their individual subjectivities can be effaced. Part of idealized colonial 'society', they disappear from written history.

To a degree, the same can be said of Good's own wife. Her husband wrote the letters, and her husband received praise or censure in the colonial and metropolitan media. Expected to display all the rectitude of a 'proper' wife and mother, her own colonial role was defined in relation to that of her husband. Thus while 'John Booth Good' is a recognizable figure, his wife is an appendage. Because of this it is difficult to say much about her life and work. In this concluding section, however, I want to suggest that it <u>is</u>

[59] Good, "The utmost bounds," p.90.
[60] As I noted in chapter 2, it was only those women who <u>failed</u> to get married, and who thus denied their allotted destiny, who continued to appear in the colonial newspapers.

possible to reveal something of her influence, and that this can be done by "measuring silences."[61]

In the mid-1870s, Good's wife moved to Victoria with their children, and she remained there until Good returned to Nanaimo in 1883. When the Lytton mission was experiencing its greatest days, in the early-1870s, Good seldom mentioned his wife. But as things began to fall apart towards the end of the decade, she appears in his correspondence more and more frequently. Left to his own devices, Good could no longer rely on the spousal help and affection he had always taken for granted; and thus began, I hope to show, his mission's demise. His wife's absence was a debilitating factor. The historical silence is therefore telling, for to the extent that her absence underscored his failure, one presumes her presence must equally have nourished his success. Reading between the lines of the text, her omission from history can be rectified, and her historical agency at least partially restored.

That said, however, his wife's departure was not the only reason for the end of Good's mission in the Canyon. For a start, the Nlaka'pamux were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their treatment over the land issue, and were beginning to suspect that Good was of little help in the earthly realm of colonial politics. I discuss some of the reserve issues in my conclusion, but it is worth remembering that a persistent struggle over land provided the context within which Good went about his work. His spiritual worth was never likely to be evaluated in isolation from his temporal assistance, and as the Nlaka'pamux grew disillusioned about Good's worldly value, so he detected that they were becoming "fickle & require constant care."[62]

61 The phrase is Spivak's, borrowed from Pierre Macherey. See her "Can the subaltern speak," p.286.

62 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending October 31st 1878, USPG, E Series, Vol.33, 1878. Good's weakening hold over the Nlaka'pamux was indicated clearly in 1878, when the infamous 'Qualis' appeared on the scene. Qualis was reputedly of Flathead origin, and had rejected Catholicism in favor of Protestantism. But he declared that Anglicanism was an impure faith, and "announced himself as the teacher of a more advanced religious life." Professing to wield "supernatural powers," Qualis sought to win over the Nlaka'pamux to his beliefs. Good later referred to this as an "evanescent

The Canyon was experiencing a period of tumultuous change. By the early-1880s the Canadian Pacific Railway was near to completion, a massive undertaking which required a huge amount of labor. In the fall of 1880 Good informed his sponsors that some 3000 men, most of them Chinese, had been added to the population of Yale in the previous year. This alone transformed the milieu of Good's work, and he worried about the "steadfastness" of his Native charge "under the new & complicated condition of their surroundings." His problems were compounded by the fact that many Nlaka'pamux men were themselves finding work in railroad construction. Good was impressed by their application and enterprise, but this new employment implied a social and spatial estrangement from his mission premises. By the following summer Good was claiming that "this new condition of things" called for a "new distribution of our pastoral and teaching power," and a year later he noted a need "to keep constantly moving." His attempt to confine the Nlaka'pamux to an observable space had always been somewhat in vain, but was finally invalidated by the encroachment of the railway.[63]

There were also institutional reasons for the end of Good's tenure. During his time in Nanaimo he had borrowed significant amounts of money from the Vancouver Coal Company, and accrued a financial burden that remained with him when he moved to the mainland. In his first few years in Lytton, therefore, he was in considerable financial difficulty, especially since the cost of living was proving far higher than on the Island.[64]

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movement," but this arrogant claim belied the real extent of Qualis's impact — for Ditcham earlier noted that Qualis had "gained a vast influence." During the heyday of Good's mission, it is doubtful whether Qualis would have been such a significant factor, albeit a temporary one. See Columbia Mission Report, 20, 1878, pp.37-8.

[63] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th & Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1880, USPG, E Series, Vol.35, 1880; Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1881, USPG, E Series, Vol.36, 1881; Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1882, USPG, E Series, Vol.37, 1882. The first bishop of the New Westminster diocese, Acton Sillitoe, also noted the impact of these changes on Good's work. Pointing specifically to Native employment on the railroad, and to "an extraordinarily prolific salmon season," he claimed that mission teaching had been "much interfered with this last summer by the absence of the Indians from their houses." Sillitoe to Henry W.Tucker, January 4th 1882, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891.

[64] Good to W.T. Bullock, October 30th 1868, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891.

The SPG was adamant that these debts were Good's responsibility, and on a number of occasions reiterated that it had no intention of helping to pay them off.[65] This caused Good no end of consternation — to the extent that he entertained the idea of resigning his post, and even mentioned the possibility to Hills[66] — but he was eventually bailed out by an anonymous benefactor in England.[67]

Over the years, however, Good's financial woes worsened. The debts began to pile up again, and it was only his exemplary ministerial reputation that saved him from public disgrace, as in 1875 the Society went against its principles by granting him further fiscal relief.[68] This short-term palliative was accompanied by firm admonitions about future financial indiscretion, and Bishop Hills was urged to keep a tighter rein on his "zealous but imprudent friend."[69] But the pecuniary anxieties were never banished, and as a consequence his relations with the SPG became increasingly strained. In 1879 Good was still lamenting how frugal he had to be, "not only to provide for daily wants but also to get even with the past," and it seems that the Society's repeated warnings were not heeded.[70] Good was able to get away with his misdemeanors while under the loose supervision of his close friend, George Hills. But after the diocesan shake-up of 1879, and the arrival of Bishop Sillitoe in June 1880, he discovered that the administration was no longer willing to turn a blind eye to his blunders. His acrimonious relationship with Sillitoe drove the final nail into his coffin.

65 Bullock to Hills, July 31st & September 17th 1869, USPG, CLS Series, Vol.107, 1859-1911.
66 Hills to Bullock, September 16th 1869, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891.
67 Bullock to Good, January 4th 1870, USPG, CLS Series, Vol.107, 1859-1911.
68 In mid-1874 the Society's leaders were still insisting that it would set a bad precedent if monetary aid was to be granted by them instead of from within the diocese (see Bullock to Good, July 22nd 1874, USPG, CLS Series, Vol.107, 1859-1911), but by the following winter they had given in, agreeing to make Good's case "an exception to their rule." See Bullock to Good, January 9th 1875.
69 Bullock to Hills, July 22nd 1874, USPG, CLS Series, Vol.107, 1859-1911: "His inconsiderate habits with money make it difficult for us in England to deal with him, however much we may honour his zeal and hard work." In the fall of 1876 Good received a letter reminding him of the "absolute necessity of abstaining in future from indulging [his] good impulses without regard to consequences." Bullock to Good, October 26th 1876.
70 Good to Tucker, August 8th 1879, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891.

Just months after his arrival in British Columbia, Sillitoe wrote to the SPG to give details of his initial impressions, and in these letters we can discern both surprise and dismay — surprise that the countless published reports of Good's 'successes' appeared to bear little resemblance to the actual state of the mission, and dismay that Good had for so long been allowed a free rein. He immediately took all monetary matters out of Good's hands (noting that a missionary's laundry bills should not be paid for with offertory contributions), and in the summer of 1880 filed the following report to the Society:

> I don't hesitate to say that M[r] Good has stood sadly in need of a controlling hand. He has been his own master for too long, and for want of an overseer his energy has begun to flag. I have not yet seen Lytton, but if I may judge from what has been done for the Yale Indians the accounts of his work have been unblushingly overstated.[71]

This condemnation was a foretaste of what was to follow, and over the next two years a running feud between the two of them eventually spelled the end of Good's time in the Canyon. Pre-empting the inevitable, Good resigned his position in July 1882, and returned to Nanaimo in January 1883.[72] "At last the night has passed away," Sillitoe wrote of the Lytton mission in 1884, "and the dawn of a new, and, we will hope, a more prosperous, day has broken."[73]

[71] Sillitoe to Tucker, August 16th 1880, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891.
[72] There was considerable vitriol in the various letters sent to the Society during this period. Not surprisingly, Good informed secretary Tucker (January 24th 1881, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891) that he was "more strongly bound to Bishop Hills" than he was to Sillitoe. He also realized that once Sillitoe had effectively made up his mind, there was only one possible outcome to their quarrels — "in a dispute such as mine the weakest must go to the wall." Good to Tucker, November 16th 1882. Sillitoe's claims about Good were reiterated by the Reverend Horlock, who took over the work at Yale in January 1882. Like the Bishop, he noted that Good had "put hundreds in his own pocket that were collected for the church's work," and he also suggested that rumors of Good's intemperance were not ill-founded: "He has been known to celebrate the Holy Communion after having been seen emerging from a saloon in a state of semi-intoxication." Horlock to Tucker, Christmas 1882. Tellingly, rumors of Good's insobriety had been circulating for at least a decade, but Bishop Hills had suppressed them on account of his faith in the Lytton pastor. As later events demonstrated, he was probably wrong to do so. See his Diary, November 9th, 1873.
[73] New Westminster Quarterly Paper, 2, October 1884, p.11.

Good's mission, so esteemed in the early- and mid-1870s, had effectively collapsed by the turn of the decade. However, lurking behind all of these changes was a steady escalation of domestic problems. As early as 1875 Good was complaining that financial worries had forced him to sacrifice "well nigh all home comforts," and for a second time he wondered whether it might be the right moment "to resign this charge into younger hands."[74] Increasingly, it seems, home and work were proving incompatible, and the strain of looking after 7 children was beginning to take its toll. Inclined to concentrate on his missionary duties, Good felt that he was shirking his duties as a father. These concerns ultimately led to his family's relocation, Good declaring "economical & family reasons" for the departure of his wife and children in the spring of 1876.[75]

Good himself stayed in the Canyon, of course, and although he wintered in Victoria, he felt that he was of most use among the Nlaka'pamux. And, at least initially, this new-found freedom from domestic responsibilities appeared to be just the boost he needed. He had always argued that "volunteers from the ranks of celibacy" were the best candidates for mission life, precisely because the single life would leave them unencumbered by the demands of the household, and now he was putting his ideas to the test.[76] Free from the shackles of the domestic sphere, he enthused, he could devote his entire time to missionization. In the summer of 1876, this renewed vigor was reflected in extensive itinerance throughout his parish.[77]

But with the fall came poor weather and, stranded in Lytton, Good found secluded life little to his liking. His sudden 'freedom' was not as he had envisaged it, and in his solitary musings his wife was no longer the millstone depicted in his brash public rhetoric.

74 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1875, USPG, E Series, Vol.30, 1875.
75 Good to the Warden, St.Augustine's, April 20th 1876, CCA, U88/A2/6/John Booth Good.
76 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.
77 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876.

Now one of the 'celibate' missionaries he had previously lionized, Good wrote contrarily of his "loneliness of spirit and dreary isolation from kindred hearts in this moral wilderness."[78] Without the sustenance and support provided by his wife, Good was distracted and unhappy, and it was in order to ease his domestic problems that he moved to Yale in the fall of 1878. Yale had been amalgamated with the Lytton mission back in 1873,[79] and with Ditcham having just recently left the lower Canyon post, Good could now supervise both Anglican operations. He was quite clear about his rationale for the move: "Here alone we have a suitable Parsonage in which a family could comfortably reside."[80] Having off loaded his family to Victoria because they were deemed an unhelpful burden, just two years later he was planning his future around their imminent return. This turnaround demonstrated that his original decision had been foolish. Indeed Good admitted as much in a letter written the following summer: "it was my too great readiness in past years to undertake more than was prudent, that has cost me & mine more personal discomfort & trial than we should ever care to make known."[81] As this suggests, his wife was not pleased either.

Soon after he moved down the Fraser Good sensed, perhaps for the first time, that his mission work was going awry. He had always allowed missionary fervor to consume his life, but had relocated to Yale essentially for domestic reasons. There was a twofold irony to the move. First, because this tardy recognition of family responsibility was futile (his wife and children remained on the Island),[82] and second, because it was probably this

[78] Good to the Secretary, SPG, November 22nd 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876.
[79] This unification occurred primarily because of a shortage of personnel, and because Holmes had recently left Yale to replace Reece in the Cowichan Valley. See Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1873, USPG, E Series, Vol.29, 1874.
[80] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending October 31st 1878, USPG, E Series, Vol.33, 1878.
[81] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1879, USPG, E Series, Vol.34, 1879.
[82] Indeed his family was never given the option of moving to Yale, Sillitoe scuppering these plans immediately. The Bishop felt that Yale, with its burgeoning population, was now too important a mission to be entrusted to Good, and thus demanded that Good relocate to Spence's Bridge until his long-term future could be decided. It was this

move which, in the final reckoning, put paid to his work with the Nlaka'pamux. No longer in Lytton to supervise his charge, he had no control over their spiritual and social destiny. "I was there two Sundays ago — and I could see in a moment that things were going wrong."[83]

By this stage the seeds were sown, and the ensuing months became an exercise in damage limitation. Good's original unloading of domestic duties, intended to give his mission enterprise a new lease of life, had backfired, for now his domestic problems were his principal constraint. Even Sillitoe recognized that Good's failings could not be blamed on his theological competency, and referred instead to "his isolation and independence, added, perhaps, to the burden of domestic embarrassments."[84] Again, this is all highly ironic, for Good had coveted this very 'independence'. But now Good was finally coming to appreciate family support and assistance, and when the Yale plans fell apart he again put his domestic responsibilities first. There was a vacancy in Nanaimo, and he noted that this seemed an ideal option. He was familiar with the area and his old parishioners, but, more importantly, Nanaimo was "the one place alone in the Colony where my wife would care in years to come to reside."[85] Once deemed a burden on his 'valuable' time, his wife now controlled his immediate future.

In the last instance then, Good was undone by his own masculinist assumptions. Wrapped up in his mission endeavors, he did not stop to acknowledge the sustenance afforded those exertions by his wife's presence in Lytton. The public sphere belonged to the heroic male missionary; the private sphere was an intrusion on the Lord's work. A

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intervention which finally persuaded Good of his dislike for Sillitoe, and he wrote to the Society to complain bitterly of his treatment. Good to Tucker, January 24th 1881, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891.

83 Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 30th 1880, USPG, E Series, Vol.35, 1880.

84 Sillitoe to Tucker, August 16th 1880, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891.

85 Good to Tucker, January 24th 1881, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891. Of course it was another two years until Good finally moved to Nanaimo. He wished to relocate as soon as possible, but Hills and Sillitoe could not agree over where his stipend should come from, and it was this financial dispute which curtailed proceedings such a long time. See Sillitoe to Tucker, January 28th 1881; Hills to Tucker, February 12th 1881.

manufactured 'celibacy', he believed, could regulate this distinction between private and public, and the demands of the latter realm could be freed from the encumbrances of the former. But this false dichotomy came back to haunt him, for personal problems curtailed and, eventually, disabled his mission. The support of his wife, once belittled, was sorely missed, and the distinction between public and private was unraveling. Good regretted leaving the Nlaka'pamux, certainly, but his eyes were now wide open, and he was resigned to his fate: "such is the inexorable force of circumstances, private & domestic, that I see no alternative."[86] Good would never have said that a decade earlier, when evangelization and public endeavor were to the fore. But he was no longer the figure of self-certainty encountered in his published prose. The point is, of course, that to the extent that colonial missionization rendered Native men doubtful and ambivalent, it seems to have done exactly the same to Good himself.

[86] Good to Tucker, January 24th 1881, USPG, CLR Series, Vol.149, 1859-1891; my emphasis.

Conclusion: A history of the present

The Indian land question is as old as British Columbia itself.

Paul Tennant, Aboriginal peoples and politics[1]

The scars of white colonialism permeate contemporary British Columbian society. The pages of any copy of the Vancouver Sun are filled with stories that bear the colonial imprint. This legacy informs not only the content of our 'news', but also the way in which that news is constructed and conveyed — its format, wording, and address. The past six months, for example, have seen a spate of articles concerned with the continuing marginalization of the province's First Nations. Alienation began in the early to mid-nineteenth century, of course, but recent revelations about, for example, the horrors of the residential schools, demonstrate that the impact of colonialism is alive and kicking.[2] Accordingly, the history of colonialism in British Columbia is a history not of the past, but of the present.

This injunction applies with a particular force to the politics of the land. It is difficult to discuss the colonial 'struggle over geography' without referring to current debates over Native 'land claims'. And by the same token, it is impossible to assess these contemporary questions in isolation from their constitutive historical context. As Paul Tennant suggests, the 'land question' is indeed as old as British Columbia, and the land disputes kick started on the mainland by the gold rush, and intensified by white settlement,

[1] Paul Tennant, Aboriginal peoples and politics: the Indian land question in British Columbia, 1849-1989, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1990, p.ix.
[2] On residential schools, see Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and renewal: surviving the Indian residential school, Tillacum Library, Vancouver, 1988. As Haig-Brown points out, media sensationalism has had the unfortunate effect of conflating 'residential schools' with 'sexual abuse', thus neglecting the broader social impacts of this provincial pedagogic enterprise — where the mass confinement of Native children strove to negate their "languages, spiritual beliefs, and entire cultural competencies" (p.11).

are as fraught today as at any time in the province's history. When journalist Jamie Lamb poses the question, "Why do the politics of aboriginal land development always wind up as 'Us and Them' situations?",[3] it seems to me that the answer is clear enough. A colonial insistence on immutable cultural difference, rather than on cultural diversity, continues to underscore white reactionary rhetoric. In this way the reality of Native remonstrations is obscured and violated, Natives are deemed a collective threat to 'white' security, and the politics of geography becomes a myth of 'our' land or 'theirs'. The history of colonialism must be a history of the present, if only because colonial discourse continues to enframe the politics of the land.[4]

Given the persistence of this dualism, what of the role played by those who explicitly rejected such partitioning and antagonism? Missionaries, of course, ascribed to many colonial divides — darkness and light, sin and righteousness — but almost invariably denied the dualisms of earthly colonial politics. Native condemnation of British Columbian land policy is not new — their objection to dispossession was as intense in the 1860s as it is now. So too was white disapproval of Native reproach, but it was from this generalized chorus of colonial censure that the voices of religion tended to stand apart. Missionaries claimed an empathy for the "natural owners of the country we now call our own," and were quick to criticize both colonial and, later, provincial governments for granting reserves regarded as "quite unsuitable and useless."[5] In this way, missionaries like Good denied the distinctions of an 'us' or 'them' scenario, and rebuffed the 'safe' allure of a defensive white monolith.

[3] The Vancouver Sun, March 27th 1995, p.A3.

[4] As Terry Glavin has recently claimed, this conservative backlash against Native mobilization, institutionalized by the Reform party, is peddled most virulently in Melvin H.Smith's book, Our Home or Native land? What governments' aboriginal policy is doing to Canada, David Livingstone, Vancouver, 1995. Providing an answer-of-sorts to Lamb's question, Glavin reiterates this point about right-wing fear-mongering: "By the book's title, Our Home or Native land?, you might imagine that Smith and his friends cannot foresee a future that is anything more than one or the other, us or them, all or nothing. You would be right." The Georgia Straight, July 7th-14th, 1995, p.15.

[5] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1870, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.

In approaching the history of the British Columbian present, then, it is tempting to accord missionaries a particular role of moderation and arbitration. This role was of course self-proclaimed. It spoke to the putative fissures of colonial difference, but immediately rejected their ascriptive dualisms. Thus, before the missionary's singularity could be broached, a crude picture of colonial history had to be presented. This outline narrative was articulated perhaps most vividly by the Reverend William Crickmer. Here is his stunning reflection on his 1860 visit to Lytton where, in the confluence of the Thompson and Fraser Rivers, he visualized the respective fortunes of peoples brought together by colonialism:

> Below the [Lytton] cemetery is the junction of the two rivers, the Fraser and the Thompson: the former, large and discolored; the latter, clear as crystal, — an emblem of the two races of Whites and Indians, now, in God's providence, united. And truly the type stops not here; but, if the truth must be told, the larger, more fierce, rolling and filthy stream of the sinful White, after flowing for a short space apart, gradually pollutes, absorbs, and destroys the unsophisticated children of nature.[6]

It was into the realms of such abstract historical visions that the mission enterprise was rhetorically inserted. It was in the missionary's potential for mediation that the supposed inevitability of such dualistic teleology could be subverted. Neither colonizer nor colonized, the missionary might 'protect' the latter from the violences of the former. Reworking the same fluvial metaphor, Good claimed that the missionary "acts as a 'breakwater' at the point where the Whites & Natives come into contact, preventing, in a great measure, a flow of iniquity & destruction from bursting in upon the weaker side."[7]

That missionaries shielded Natives was a common enough claim, and at first sight it would appear to bear considerable purchase. In British Columbia of the 1860s and 1870s, it was rare indeed that missionary beliefs conformed with the accepted dogma of white settlers and administrators. However, as I argued in the introduction to this thesis, the

[6] "Letter from the Rev. W.B. Crickmer, 1860-1."
[7] Good to the Secretary, December 28th 1863, USPG, E Series, Vol.14, 1863; original emphasis.

kinds of geographical metaphor invoked by Crickmer and Good tend to conceal at least as much information as they divulge. They are ahistorical and thus inadequate. If only for this reason, we should be wary of the humanizing historical pretensions of the Anglican engagement. Certainly, fluvial metaphors occupy a central place in Christian lore. But unlike those multitudes subsumed by the great Flood of Genesis, British Columbia's Natives were not wiped out by a "pervasively efficacious" colonial deluge (witness their continuing struggles).[8] And equally, unlike the Israelites following Moses, for whom "the waters were divided,"[9] the province's First Nations were not preserved by God's agents from the ravages of a sovereign power (again, witness their continuing struggles). In each case the metaphor, however suggestive, is extremely misleading.

A history of the present must therefore be wary of these claims; and, in order to assess the actual reality of the missionary's impact, that impact must be thoroughly historicized. As I claimed in my introduction, this entails a move from abstract metaphor to geographical materiality. This is singularly appropriate in terms of British Columbian history, for the tortuous politics of the land not only provides the most glaring continuity of that history; it was also the most obvious domain within which discord among whites disturbed the political forum of colonialism. In these disputes over the ownership and use of land, it was missionaries who ostensibly provided most support for Natives.

In this conclusion, then, it seems apt to reflect briefly on British Columbia's historical geography, and to do so by speculating about the role played by Anglican missionaries — and Good especially — within that broader conflictual context. There are two particular motivations for this. First, because the secondary literature on British Columbia's missionaries has tended to take their claims at face value, and has thus equated

[8] The quotation comes from Nicholas Thomas, Colonialism's culture, p.15: "A 'fatal impact' has ... been detected in European historiography far more frequently than it actually occurred."
[9] Exodus 14: 21 (my emphasis).

avowed support with actual material assistance.[10] And second, because if indeed the missionary's role within the colonial 'struggle over geography' was not so simple, then there must surely be contemporary ramifications. Today there are numerous British Columbians of European descent who, just like the missionaries of the colonial era, would refute strict dualisms and express their 'support' for Native people. But like missionaries, most of us are still located within the belly of the beast.

Colonial land policy, missionary mediation, and white backlash

In the politics of both colonial and postcolonial British Columbia, land policy has almost invariably occupied center stage.[11] From the moment that the mainland was accorded colonial status in 1858, the government placed great emphasis on the need for white immigration and settlement. Advertisements in colonial and metropolitan newspapers lauded the ostensible attractions of life in the colony. An ephemeral mining population, it was hoped, might eventually be replaced by a stable settlement society. To this end the media described bountiful opportunities for land pre-emption and agricultural development, a utopian rhetoric which gave no hint of what was, on the whole, a rugged colonial territory. "The face of the country in the interior bears in many respects a striking and grateful resemblance to the pastoral portions of England"[12] — with hindsight, such statements would surely have seemed absurd.

And initially at least, this immigration policy was found wanting. Despite countless supplications, the number of settlers for years remained dwarfed by the large mining

[10] On the British Columbian land question, Grant concludes that "missionaries contributed significantly to the native cause," while more recently Weir has attested to the "efficacy of the mediation provided by ... individual clergy." As the next few pages will illustrate, I am not so sure about this. See Grant, Moon of wintertime, p.142; Weir, Catalysts and watchdogs, p.107.

[11] For a useful overview of the development of this policy, especially as it pertains to the province's Native inhabitants, see Tennant, Aboriginal peoples and politics.

[12] The Times, September 21st 1861, p.10.

community. The early colonial period certainly saw disputes between miners and Natives, but on the mainland the land question would only become an acute concern once white settlement began in earnest. In the early-1860s the bulk of the interior remained untouched by European settlers, and to that extent it was easy for the government to elide issues of land ownership and use.[13] This neglect notwithstanding, a coherent colonial policy was in place — it demanded that existing Native settlements be reserved for their exclusive use, and that the location and size of these reserves should be determined by Native people themselves.[14] But a lack of urgency had permitted the department of lands and works a degree of laxity, and in the first half of the decade, very few reserves were set aside in the interior.

As the 1870s approached, however, and on the mainland the immigrant population steadily increased, land policy became considerably more engaged. But, unfortunately for the Native inhabitants of the interior, this policy was now in the hands of men who

[13] The same was not true on southern Vancouver Island, where early colonial settlement had forced Governor James Douglas to confront head-on the question of aboriginal title. It was here, of course, that the infamous 'Douglas treaties' were signed, fourteen cases where Native title was granted explicit recognition under the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and where in consequence this title had to be extinguished before land could be ceded to the Crown. For discussion of these treaties see Fisher, Contact and conflict, pp.66-8; and Tennant, Aboriginal peoples and politics, chapter 2.

[14] Notably, Native title was never granted official recognition on the mainland. Why Douglas now disregarded the Royal Proclamation, having stuck rigidly to its terms before 1854, is a moot point, and has been cause for considerable debate within provincial historiography. Wary of prevailing claims that financial problems informed Douglas's massive oversight, Tennant has advanced the more realistic argument that, by the early-1860s, the Governor no longer saw land title as a relevant issue. More specifically, it was Native title that had lost its relevance, for Douglas envisaged a colonial society in which Natives would be thoroughly 'Europeanized' — in such a scenario, there was no place for a system of legal rights based on ethnic criteria. This vision was shared by many whites, missionaries among them, and was expressed succinctly by Clement F.Cornwall (who was himself appointed land commissioner in the late-1880s): "the probability is that they will be so commingled with, and distributed among, the whites as to lose their individuality." Cornwall to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, March 21st 1879, Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Black Series (RG10 — Western Canada, Record Group 10, BCARS), vol.3611, file 3755. Thus Tennant concludes: "Douglas ignored treaty-making on the Mainland ... because his system anticipated assimilated Indians who, having abandoned traditional communities for their homesteads, would maintain neither Indian identity nor Indian land claims." Aboriginal peoples and politics, p.36.

demonstrated none of James Douglas's apparent integrity.[15] Most obviously it was Joseph Trutch, chief commissioner of lands and works, who molded the new regime, practicing a politics of dispossession and alienation which has scarred the provincial landscape ever since. In the summer of 1869 the governor of the mainland, Anthony Musgrave, visited Lytton with Trutch in tow. With Good mediating, a Nlaka'pamux deputation spoke of their uncertainty and apprehension with regard to colonial land policy, and requested "to have our villages & lands secured to us so that no one can make us afraid." But this solicitation fell on deaf ears. Trutch had no intention of granting new reserves to complement the tiny number that had been allocated in the early-1860s, and the vast majority of Nlaka'pamux territory thus remained available for white pre-emption. It was in this context that Good railed against an atmosphere of "neglect and injustice," and this "in the teeth of gracious proclamations in the name of our beloved Sovereign assuring to all falling under her sway — protection, encouragement and equitable treatment."[16]

Of course, Good recognized that the problems were not immediate. While white settlement remained negligible, the Nlaka'pamux could continue to live where they always had, and the paltry reserves could be treated with the disdain they deserved. But as more and more Nlaka'pamux land became subject to covetous European eyes, such pragmatism would no longer be viable, and reserve-land would become more a constrictive reality than an avoidable colonial insult. Looking ahead to the next decade, Good saw land disputes increasing in frequency and intensity. If and when white settlement reached the levels craved by colonial promoters, the fact that British Columbia's First Nations had not been designated the large reserves common elsewhere in Canada would be cause for a massive

[15] I say 'apparent' because Tennant has questioned those histories, influenced primarily by Fisher, which would have us see the colony's first Governor as a benevolent, caring administrator — a 'friend' to Native people. See ibid., chapter 3.
[16] Good to the Secretary, Report for the quarter ending September 1869, USPG, E Series, Vol.25, 1869-70.

administrative headache. As he pointed out with some trepidation: "Indian settlements dot the country in every direction."[17]

Good did not have to wait long for his first taste of conflict. In the eastern part of his 'parish' several Nlaka'pamux bands lived around Nicola Lake, but the colonial government had never seen fit to secure these settlements. There were no reserves. This fact was of little significance before white settlers began to arrive in the area, but when pre-emption claims began to flood into the magistrate's office, there was obvious reason for alarm. The man on the spot was Peter O'Reilly, and in June 1868 he informed Trutch that not only had six claims already been recorded, but that he had "reason to believe that many more applications are about to be made." Predicting inevitable conflict with Native land use unless action was taken, he recommended that surveys be made and reserves set aside.[18]

Immediately the bureaucratic wheels were set in motion. Trutch understood O'Reilly's concern and, with a view to accompanying the Yale magistrate to Nicola Lake, began preparing for a trip to the mainland. He figured that he could combine the Nicola job with other outstanding work, most notably the inspection (and reduction) of reserves along the Bonaparte River, and informed Governor Seymour of his intentions. But Seymour was not convinced by Trutch's plans, fearing that the operation might entail great costs: "Would not this be very expensive? Could not an officer of less importance than the Surveyor General do the work cheaper?" Trutch tallied up his likely expenses, estimated at some $700, and it was agreed that O'Reilly could probably do the work himself. The Nicola Lake reserves, it seems, were not a high priority, and as on so many occasions since, Native welfare was subordinated to purely monetary considerations.[19]

[17] Good to the Secretary, Report for the quarter ending March 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1. It was in this report that Good spoke most clearly about these concerns.
[18] O'Reilly to Trutch, June 19th 1868, Papers connected with the Indian land question, Richard Wolfenden, Victoria, 1875, p.49.
[19] Trutch to the Colonial Secretary, June 30th 1868, Seymour to the Colonial Secretary, July 3rd 1868, Trutch to the Colonial Secretary, July 6th 1868, CC F1289. It is interesting that this series of correspondence is not included in the Papers connected with the Indian land question collection, which otherwise provides a thorough overview of the Nicola Lake question. These absences are obviously not insignificant, given the content of the letters

With instructions to allocate reserves as he saw fit, but with ten acres per family as a general rule of thumb, O'Reilly traveled to Nicola Lake in mid-August. Here he laid off reserves for two separate bands, doing his best to ensure that these new spaces did not interfere with land pre-empted by white settlers. Indeed, settler interests preoccupied O'Reilly, and as a result he found it hard to come to an agreement with at least one of the bands. Regarding Natives as inferior citizens, he was simply not willing to concede their requests.[20]

Not surprisingly, hostile Native reaction ensued. Initially there was just a simmering discontent, but eventually 'Naweeshistan', a leader of one of the bands, approached Good at Lytton. The missionary was unequivocal in his support and, enclosing a petition from Naweeshistan, he wrote to the new governor to complain that the reserves were highly unsatisfactory and that white settlers were being allowed to claim land and resources previously used by Natives. Condemning O'Reilly's work, he pleaded that the reserves be extended, and white pre-emption halted.[21]

Predictably, however, Good's remonstrations proved futile. When questioned about his work, O'Reilly went on the defensive. He insisted that, contrary to Good's claims, the reserves were quite adequate, and that no changes were necessary. The government accepted O'Reilly's arguments, and informed Good that they were happy with the status quo. This was an outright dismissal of Native feelings, an unambiguous silencing of a restless voice. In his shock, Good reiterated that the reserve-land, as it

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noted above, and represent an important caveat for Tennant's claim that Papers connected with the Indian land question contains a "complete record of the beginnings and early history of the issue." Tennant, Aboriginal peoples and politics, p.x. The record, of course, is not complete.

[20] Trutch to O'Reilly, August 5th 1868, O'Reilly to Trutch, August 29th 1868, Papers connected with the Indian land question, pp.50-1. See also O'Reilly, Diaries, August 21st - 23rd 1868.

[21] Good to Musgrave, with enclosure, December 19th 1870, ibid., pp.86-7.

stood, was utterly useless. In an angry letter to the colonial secretary, he signaled his dismay with the administration in general, and with O'Reilly in particular.[22]

This was not the last time that the Irishman would rankle him, and their mutual antipathy was one of the few constants during Good's tenure at Lytton. O'Reilly's retort was a petulant one, and went so far as to allege that the Nicola Lake Natives had been quite content with their reserves until Good intervened: "It is my opinion that but for Mr. Good's interference from time to time the Indians would long since have ceased to consider they had a grievance."[23] This was a considerable claim, of course, and almost certainly an erroneous one. But nevertheless it was characteristic of a broader, and invariably critical, white response to missionary mediation. The rumblings at Nicola Lake continued undiminished, and as white settlers took over more and more of the land claimed by Natives, they felt compelled to justify their actions. This they did by laying into Good, and in the spring of 1872 seven new residents of the area wrote to the Weekly Standard to condemn his interventions. "The Indians are as well pleased with their reserves to-day, as the day when selected, and would not exchange them for any other part of the settlement."[24] This was prejudiced nonsense, clearly; but nonetheless a critique of missionary 'meddling' was a useful way of legitimizing dispossession and eviction.

Good had come across this kind of reaction before. In 1867 he had petitioned the government on behalf of a Native leader from Cook's Ferry whom he believed unjustifiably imprisoned. The Attorney General investigated and agreed that the man should be released. But he also argued that the kind of solicitation practiced by Good represented an unhealthy tendency:

[22] Colonial Secretary to Good, January 18th 1871, with O'Reilly report of January 12th enclosed, Good to the Colonial Secretary, February 3rd 1871, ibid., pp.88-90.
[23] O'Reilly report, January 12th 1871. Good denied that this was the case: "Lastly, I am charged with inciting the chief to consider himself aggrieved, who would otherwise have remained quiescent. In answer to this, I have to say that the Chief, as soon as he realized his condition, hastened to me, so long ago as the fall of 1868, and with bitter tears and lamentation besought my interference." Good to the Colonial Secretary, February 3rd 1871.
[24] The Victoria Weekly Standard, May 29th 1872.

I take occasion to recommend that the practice of Clergymen of any denomination being the medium of applications to government by Indians should be discouraged — and the Indians encouraged to revert to the old system of making their applications and procuring any favors from the Government thro' the local magistrate of their district. Many dangers ... will be thereby avoided.[25]

If missionaries could be dissuaded from occupying this intermediary role, then colonial society might revert to the safer scenario of 'us' on one side and 'them' on the other. Men like Good were in danger of destabilizing this familiar colonial dualism, and for that reason they had to be checked. Moreover, by arguing that Native discontent was both induced and informed by religious intervention, very real anxieties could be belittled and cast aside. Native objections resulted not from iniquitous colonial policy, but from a peculiarly Christian obstinacy — with the help of this argument a policy of apartheid became entrenched in British Columbian governance.[26]

But despite this backlash, Good had set out his stall. He was not willing to sit back and watch the Nlaka'pamux deprived of land and resources. As the 1870s progressed he hoped that the situation would improve, especially with British Columbia joining confederation in 1871. The land question was no longer just a provincial matter, and Good was confident that federal involvement would imply better treatment of Natives.[27] Initially, however, it did not work out as he anticipated, and things continued in much the same way as before. The overtures of the more liberal dominion government were generally resisted by the conservative British Columbian administration. As Good noted towards the end of

[25] Crease, comments for attention of Governor Seymour, scrawled on letter from Crease to Elliot, July 16th 1867, CC F653/5.

[26] And today, of course, white conservatives pinpoint other scapegoats, new parties to be accused of 'putting ideas into Indian minds'. Here is Tennant's assessment of the links between the 1860s and the 1980s: "In the early period white politicians blamed white agitators, especially missionaries, for giving the Indians new ideas and false hopes. Social Credit spokesmen blamed the federal government." This rhetoric is now the preserve of Reform, and suffuses the discourses of those who, like Melvin Smith, would seek to reinstall the strict cultural dichotomies of colonialism. Tennant, Aboriginal peoples and politics, p.229.

[27] See his optimistic comments in his Report for the quarter ending March 1871, USPG, E Series, Vol.26, 1870-1.

1875, "the conflict between the Local Government & Canada in respect to native rights & titles, leaves those most affected by the dispute, in a state of chronic disaffection and doubt."[28] Good was speaking of the province's Native population, but throughout the 1870s there were also numerous white officials caught in the crossfire. And among these, the most notable casualty was Gilbert Malcolm Sproat.

The first few years of confederation had seen the dominion government putting increasing pressure on British Columbia to rethink its land policy. Canadian officials regarded provincial attitudes as outdated and prejudiced, and after a number of fruitless advances, British Columbia received a visit from Lord Dufferin in 1876. The governor general was outspoken in his condemnation of previous policy, and it was his undaunted veracity which seems to have prompted an administrative response. Following a recommendation of William Duncan, a joint reserve commission was established the same year, its members representing both provincial and federal governments. Of the three men appointed, Sproat would prove to be "the pivotal and most energetic member."[29] Dufferin's stay in British Columbia had only been brief, but among his stops was Good's mission at Lytton, by this stage endowed with a nationwide reputation. Understandably, Good was delighted, and he would later refer to the governor general's visit as an important turning-point in the history of British Columbian land policy.[30] But even more important, perhaps, was the appointment of Sproat, and throughout the remainder of the

[28] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1875, USPG, E Series, Vol.30, 1875. Good's claims were mirrored by other Anglican commentators, many of whom saw the chief problem as this lack of consistency between the two governments. See, for example, The Churchman's Gazette, June 1886, p.310.
[29] Fisher, Contact and conflict, p.189.
[30] Brief details of this visit are provided in Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending September 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876. For Good's later recollections on Dufferin, see his "The utmost bounds," pp.114-5: "It was through his strenuous interposition the native land grievances were righted." As I go on to suggest, this statement gives a false impression of the differences between pre-1876 and post-1876 provincial land policy. Good's attitudes appear to have changed more significantly than the government's treatment of Native land issues.

1870s the Lytton area would be at the heart of his concerns. And it is to Lytton that I return now.

The land question

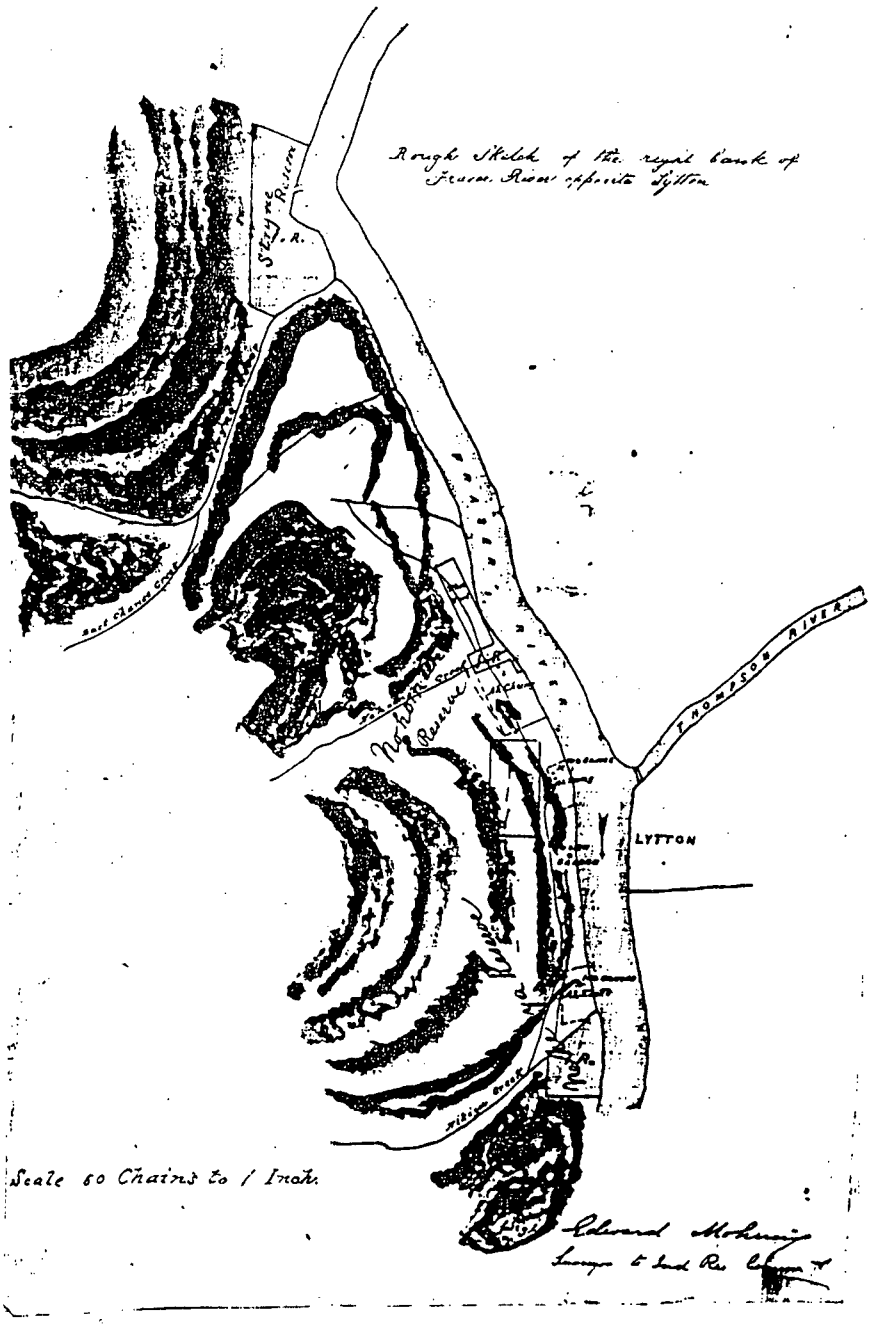
In the neighborhood of Lytton, as elsewhere in mainland British Columbia, the history of the land is a history of Native dispossession. The town of Lytton was a focal point of gold rush society, and for this reason the government had been obliged to set aside Native reserves earlier than it had at Nicola Lake. But these reserves, allocated by Captain Henry Maynard Ball in 1862, clearly did not encompass all the land traditionally used by the Lytton band. They were, in fact, diminutive, with the environs of the river confluence left almost entirely free for white pre-emption. Two reserves of 12 and 14 acres were deemed adequate for 590 people, with an additional reserve of 185 acres some 4 kilometers up the left bank of the Fraser from Lytton.[31]

Not surprisingly, Sproat was appalled when, in the summer of 1878, he arrived in Lytton with reserve adjustments in mind.[32] Elsewhere in the Canyon he felt that a rectification of past injustices was within his grasp, but at Lytton he seemed dumfounded. He had two principal considerations. First, many Native village sites were located outside of the reserves; as a result there was increasing conflict with white settlers, led to believe that any non-reserve land was ripe for the taking. Second, the reserves appeared to have been granted without concern for water rights, an especially significant oversight given the arid Canyon terrain.

As a case in point, Sproat described the small reserve set aside across the Fraser from the Lytton town site (see figure 16). This 30 acre site had been added in 1870, the

[31] Sproat, "Field minute on the Lytton Subgroup of the Lytton group of Nekla. kap. a. muk. Indians," July 24th 1878, RG10, vol.3666, file 10,176 (2).
[32] For an account of Sproat's work in the Canyon that summer, see Cole Harris, "The Fraser Canyon encountered," BC Studies, 94, Summer 1992, pp.5-28; especially pp.15-24.

Figure 16. Rough sketch of right bank of Fraser River opposite Lytton.



Source: Sproat, "Field minute on the Lytton Subgroup"

government allocating the one parcel of river-side land which remained after 11 years of white pre-emption. Predictably this was of poor quality, and Sproat estimated that perhaps only 4 or 5 acres could be cultivated. In addition, it came devoid of water, since the creek which ran through its heart had been "tapped on each side by the ditch of a settler." Basically it was inadequate. The Natives had been robbed of their territory, Sproat noting that "nearly all the good land has been 'gouged out' of the 'settlement' before it was made a 'reserve'."[33]

This distinction between a 'settlement' and a 'reserve' is an important one, for it alludes to a vital component of the 'land question' in British Columbia. The implication of Sproat's comments is that there is a fundamental distinction between the two spatial forms. In other words, the land question is <u>not</u> just about the 'land', understood in terms of its basic physical extant, since the transition from 'settlement' to 'reserve' involves not only a quantitative metamorphosis, but more importantly a qualitative one. When Sproat criticized the policies of his predecessors, he was interrogating the spatial transformations they had legislated:

> An 'Indian settlement' must mean, not only the soil, but, also, its natural adjuncts, and, what is reasonably necessary to fit it for human habitation and industry. The same remark applies to reserves which, simply, are 'settlements' that have been defined by the government. What is essentially inherent in a 'settlement' cannot be removed by its transformation into a 'reserve'.[34]

[33] Sproat, "Field minute on the Lytton Subgroup." The other reserves were no different, and Sproat complained bitterly about their allocation. He wrote to Ball in mid-July, accusing him of contravening all Douglas's cardinal instructions — namely that evidence of Native habitation should override all white pre-emption claims, and that Natives should be party to deciding the location and size of reserves. What really annoyed Sproat was the fact that at 'In. kluk. cheen', the larger reserve upstream from Lytton, the water denied to the Natives was being used to irrigate land owned by none other than Ball himself! Ball had recorded rights to this water in 1864. This was the kind of conflict of interests which Sproat found objectionable, and it was by no means uncommon — many government officials were also landowners. Sproat to Ball, July 15th 1878, RG10, vol.3666, file 10,176 (2).

[34] Sproat, "Field minute on the Lytton Subgroup."

Sproat's point, of course, was that it was removed. If nothing else, what was inherent in a Native settlement was water, the one resource able to impart life to a parched, inert landscape. By removing that source of sustenance, a settlement became an abstracted, impoverished space. An abstracted space because the land was separated from its supporting environment, and an impoverished space because, to all intents and purposes, it was now bankrupt. This space was the space of the reserve.

For this reason, I think it is useful to regard the setting aside of reserves as an exercise in the production of what Lefebvre calls "abstract space."[35] As Sproat's map indicates, reserves were abstract, cartographic constructs. Sproat objected to this formulaic colonial geometry, but he was well aware of it leverage. Working in the Canyon, and coming face-to-face with rectilinear spaces that bore no relation to material requirements, he later reflected with dismay upon the politics of abstraction:

> It is almost incredible, but true, that the two governments, at Victoria and Ottawa, corresponded for years, not without acrimony, as to a bald question of acreage suitable for Indians, when, infact, each mile presented a special case, with specific local conditions.

Sproat found this amazing, especially startling "to men accustomed to deal with realities," since this abstract mathematics entailed an unqualified disrespect for actual needs and conditions. It was on this score that Sproat, in discussing the delimitation of reserves, warned against an indiscriminate application of inflexible criteria. There were certainly a number of essential points to be considered when setting aside Native land, but these should be seen "more as giving a line of direction than as a principle of action to be rigidly or universally applied."[36] Shunning a mandate of colonial abstraction, Sproat appealed not to the totalizing propensities of mental space, but to the physical singularities of palpable place.

35 Lefebvre, The production of space, pp.285-91.
36 Sproat to Captain de Winton, November 16th 1882, RG10, vol.3617, file 4563 (original emphasis); Sproat, "Arable lands: Requirements of the Indians," February 5th 1878, RG10, vol.3657, file 9360.

Sproat was not the first white official to question the government's abstract approach to the land question. Fifteen years earlier, the task of allocating reserves was in the hands of Colonel Moody, the man succeeded by Trutch as the colony's chief commissioner of lands and works. Moody had come to British Columbia in charge of a detachment of Royal Engineers, and as such he was a man interested in spatial order, in measurement and exactitude, and in the rationalization and formalization of the landscape. It was this background which, in the government's eyes, made him the perfect candidate for the task of surveying and setting aside Native reserves. But Moody himself was not so sure. In the spring of 1863, he received word of Governor Douglas's concern that the reserves he had allotted were too small, and did not accord with Native requirements. Instead of defending his work, Moody claimed that he was not, perhaps, the right person for the job:

> I beg leave, earnestly, to move Your Excellency, that some practical measures be adopted in respect to the land as well as to other interests of the Indians, measures that shall effectually guard against any misunderstanding. I do not think that this can be well done by my Department.[37]

This was a vital statement, and to Moody's enduring credit, for he maintained that his formal, analytical training was simply not appropriate. He could deal with the land question, yes, but only if the 'land' was abstracted from other concerns, removed from questions of Native social life, and locked within an unyielding geometric register. This, he felt, was not satisfactory.

Moody's rebuke certainly set a precedent for Sproat's complaints, but the latter's objections were so frequent that, by themselves, they stood as a more-or-less coherent critique of colonial and provincial land policy. Four years after his travels through the Canyon, he reflected that this policy had "entirely failed."[38] His critique invariably focused

[37] Douglas to Moody, April 27th 1863, Moody to Douglas, April 28th 1863, Papers connected with the Indian land question, pp.26-7; my emphasis.
[38] Sproat to de Winton, November 16th 1882.

on this abstract colonial mentality. In effect, he argued, maps like the one shown in figure 16 constituted what Foucault has called a "diagram" of power. Abstraction prioritizes representation, the production of representations of space which (in Lefebvre's terms) pay scant heed to everyday spatial practices. The colonial reserve diagram can be seen as "a map, a cartography that is coextensive with the whole social field. It is an abstract machine." A machine, moreover, that is "almost blind and mute," precisely because of its persistent and inviolate detachment.[39] Sproat ridiculed this abstraction, "the old practice of marking off on a map or after a hasty visit, or short interview, the lands for the Indians."[40] This was a cartographic imagination which severed space from place, and geography from society.

To impress his case upon the federal authorities, Sproat provided many examples of this abstraction. One theme to which he returned time and again was that of Native fisheries. A legacy of white colonialism, he argued, had severely upset the Nlaka'pamux salmon economy. There were obviously many reasons for this, and a history of gold prospecting had not been without consequence. But Sproat highlighted poor land policy. By assigning self-contained reserves, he claimed, his predecessors had ignored the fact that, within Nlaka'pamux society, the economy did not work on the basis of mutually-exclusive geographical units. All places were embedded within a wider array of social and spatial linkages.

> The fisheries of the Indians between Spuzzum and Lytton are used not merely to supply food for the resident Indians but to furnish them with an exchangeable commodity in intertribal traffic. A hundred salmon for a horse is an old Indian tariff.

[39] The quotations come from Gilles Deleuze, Foucault, trans. Séan Hand, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1988, p.34. See Foucault, Discipline and punish, pp.200-9.

[40] Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 9th 1878, RG10, vol.3657, file 9193.

By setting aside land without fishing rights, white officials had not only undermined a local source of subsistence; they had also disturbed a much broader set of connections within Native society. By abstracting space from place, these officials had, in turn, dislodged place from space. This, at any rate, was Sproat's view of things, and it prompted him to conclude that the allocation of enclosed, singular spaces was a foolish policy. However fertile a particular piece of land might be, however useful in and of itself, it would still be a partial solution: the Nlaka'pamux "cannot have assigned them any adequate provision in the shape of land but must depend mainly upon the commerce of the country and their connection with it."[41]

It was at Lytton that Sproat's war with abstraction came to a head, and here, as we have seen, his main concern was water rights. He was astounded that Ball had set aside reserves without granting Natives the water needed to nourish them. He expressed this shock in no uncertain terms: "The Crown, I imagine, would not give land to the Indians, and withhold from them the first necessity in cultivating it." But this was precisely what the Crown had done, through Ball's agency, and the ex-gold commissioner (now a county court judge at Richfield in the Cariboo) was now forced to defend his actions. Replying to Sproat's accusations, he argued that there had been "no wish or inclination on the part of the Indians to cultivate it, therefore no water in connection with the Land was received." Sproat dissented, and claimed that the Lytton band had, "as early as 1860," shown a "disposition to cultivate."[42] It is not so much the details of the debate, but rather the terms of its performance, that are of interest. As this exchange demonstrates, the size and location of the Lytton reserves was determined by a criterion of cultivation. In this way Natives were induced to forsake other forms of subsistence in favor of arable and pastoral

41 Sproat, "Field minute on the Lytton Subgroup"; Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 15th 1878, RG10, vol.3611, file 3755. For comments on Native fishing spots on the Thompson being lost to white pre-emption, see Sproat, "Fishing places," February 4th 1878, RG10, vol.3657, file 9361.

42 Sproat to Ball, July 15th 1878, RG10, vol.3666, file 10,176 (2); Ball to Sproat, July 29th 1878, RG10, vol.3666, file 10,176 (1); Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 15th 1878, RG10, vol.3666, file 10,176 (2).

agriculture. But, through the violence of a massive colonial hypocrisy, they were then denied the possibility of using the land as they had been directed. No water was allowed, the land was abstracted from its environment, and the Nlaka'pamux were left stranded. Harris provides a useful summary of this disabling system: "Against the rhetoric about native agriculture was a simple reality in the canyon: in 1878 natives did not have enough water to farm there."[43]

To this extent, the abstract spatiality of the reserve system was indeed a "space of power."[44] Natives were entreated to change their ways, leave behind their former conventions, and adopt a new way of life. This new life was then denied them, just as the land they had previously relied on was disappearing into the hands of white settlers. Relations of power, in other words, were being coursed through a complex politics of space.

I rehearse this history for a number of reasons, but primarily because the objections raised by Sproat were, in general, shared by Good. Having arrived in Lytton in 1867, just a year later he was voicing his dissatisfaction.[45] With reference to the 14-acre 'Klick. cum. cheen' reserve directly adjacent to Lytton, Good argued that

> it would be advisable for Government to exchange it for some other piece of land capable of irrigation, where we should hope to see quite a civilized-looking native village soon being formed, with gardens and other accompaniments, by which the social as well as physical wellbeing of our converts might be materially changed and promoted.[46]

[43] Harris, "The Fraser Canyon encountered," p.20: "Twenty-seven water records were granted in the Lytton area between 1861 and 1877, none of them to natives." At the same time as Natives were being forced to turn to agriculture, all the while it was recognized that "British Columbia is not an agricultural country in the strict sense of the word." The Victoria Daily Standard, May 23rd 1872.

[44] The phrase is Lefebvre's, in his The production of space, p.51.

[45] In the fall of 1868 he wrote to Ball to lodge a formal complaint about the Lytton reserves. But as with the Nicola Lake controversy, the administration chose to do nothing; Ball passed on Good's letter to Trutch, who replied simply that "it is impracticable to effect any settlement of these reserves at present." Ball to Trutch, October 30th 1868, Trutch to Ball, November 20th 1868, Papers connected with the Indian land question, p.53. Good's initial letter is missing.

[46] Columbia Mission Report, 10, 1868, pp.32-3.

This is a telling statement, for here Good not only distances himself from government policy, but also criticizes its abstract spatial prerogative. The reserve system had effected a division between 'space' and 'society' by severing space from an intricate set of social and physical relations. Good looked in the opposite direction. For him, the real promise of colonial governance lay in the possibility of mediating between society and space, not snapping the linkages between them. A 'proper' space, he insisted, would help to constitute a 'proper' Native settlement. Ostensibly, this vision could not have been more different from the ethereal cartography of the department of lands and works. Good envisaged not an abstract space, but a social space, wherein the physical environment would ideally play a "socializing role." The end-product, he assumed, would be a 'civilized-looking native village' — part-and-parcel of his moral enterprise, this village would be not so much a "socialized space" as a "materialization of 'social being'."[47]

But whatever the merits of Good's idealized scenario, themselves open to debate, his work must be placed within the actual material context of British Columbian land policy. Recall that throughout his time in Lytton, he urged the Nlaka'pamux to adopt sedentary farming practices. Had it not been for the reserve system, combined with the great aridity of the Canyon, who can say what might have transpired. As it was, though, the missionary's constant supplications ultimately doomed his Native charge, because his insistence on agriculture conformed with the strictures of secular land policy. He told them to grow crops, but was unable to give them the water they needed. He placed them in an intractable position. For all his vocal support, he was of no real help. In the last instance, and perhaps 'malgré lui', he was complicitous with the white colonial apparatus that he so loved to chastise. Despite his vaunted project of 'socialization', his mission endeavor

[47] Lefebvre, The production of space, pp.191,190,102. In this context, it is probably not insignificant that in tabling his concerns about the department of lands and works, Colonel Moody had suggested to Douglas that his work might be facilitated if he was accompanied in the field by none other than Alexander Garrett. The presence of a missionary, he felt, would reduce the detachment which characterized early-1860s land policy. Moody to Douglas, April 28th 1863, Papers connected with the Indian land question, p.27.

ended up in thrall to colonial abstraction. If he had been brutally honest with himself, he would have admitted to his own role in the crippling spatial politics recounted so poignantly by Sproat: "Some of the tribes among which I have been working this year have told me that the Queen had sent them seeds, but as they had no land nor water, they could not use them."[48]

The politics of history

Increasingly dissatisfied with their treatment, the Nlaka'pamux came together at Lytton in July 1879 to talk about the future. Leaders were elected, a council formed, and a number of proposals discussed. In sum, these motions represented an effort to formulate an acceptable brand of self-government. The Nlaka'pamux wished to manage their own affairs, but in a way that did not contravene provincial and federal laws, especially the Indian Act of 1876. As such, discussion focused on what were perceived as 'relevant' social issues: education, medicine, land ownership and use, village cleanliness, drunkenness and gambling, trespass laws, the division of labor, and the potlatch.[49]

This list appears strangely familiar, of course, and for good reason; as Cole Harris suggests, "it bears the hand of the Anglican missionary in Lytton, J.B.Good."[50] Indeed, a number of years prior to this gathering, Good had anticipated its basic intent; in 1876 he informed the SPG of the need for Nlaka'pamux "self government."[51] However, despite the obvious importance of Good's work in the Canyon and his long-standing support for

[48] Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 17th 1878, RG10, vol.3611, file 3755.
[49] Details included in Sproat's "Rules and regulations formed by the Nekla-kap-a-muk Council, sitting at Lytton, British Columbia, the 17th July 1879, for their own people," RG10, vol.3696, file 15,316. For a recent assessment of the 1879 meeting, and one which suggests that the Nlaka'pamux were operating within Canadian legal boundaries, see Douglas Harris, "The Nklka'pamux meeting at Lytton, 1879, and the rule of law," BC Studies, forthcoming.
[50] Harris, "The Fraser Canyon encountered," p.24.
[51] Good to the Secretary, SPG, January 1876, USPG, E Series, Vol.31, 1876.

the Nlaka'pamux, the influence detected by Harris was probably very marginal. For a start, Good was no longer based in Lytton, recently sequestered at Yale in his despairing attempt to reclaim family ties. And he did not even travel to Lytton for the July gathering — meetings from which, furthermore, the business of religion was specifically excluded. If the list drawn up by the Nlaka'pamux bore any white hand, that hand belonged not to Good but to Gilbert Sproat.[52]

There were a number of reasons for Good's absence, a Christian dearth criticized sternly in adverse settler reaction to the July gathering.[53] Most immediately, Sproat had made it quite clear that he wanted the event to be a secular affair. This request stemmed from a number of considerations, but in particular from Sproat's concern that Good's attendance might incite inter-denominational strife:

> There is no more reason for introducing church matters into an official Indian Council than into the City Council of Victoria. The attempt would produce jealousies and confusion and do harm to mission-work.[54]

This, at least, was Sproat's official pronouncement, and Good was quick to leap to the commissioner's defense when criticism of the Nlaka'pamux gathering began to fill the editorial columns of conservative white newspapers. It was an "understood rule that the clergy of all denominations should stand aloof," Good noted of Sproat's work with the province's Natives, and he did not see why the events of July should have been any different.[55]

[52] Sproat described the "Rules and regulations" for the dominion government, and summarized these proposals in The Daily Colonist, August 21st 1879, p.3. Good provided a cursory overview of events in his Report for the quarter ending June 30th 1879, USPG, E Series, Vol.34, 1879.
[53] See for example A.C.Anderson, William Duncan, Roderick Finlayson, William J.Macdonald, J.W.Mackay, Archibald McKinlay, W.F.Tolmie, Charles Vernon, Captain James Prevost to George A.Walkem, September 25th 1879, RG10, vol.3669, file 10,691. This group of influential white residents had many objections to the Nlaka'pamux meeting, but stressed in particular their concern that Native mobilization should occur "upon a basis which ignores religious teaching."
[54] The Daily Colonist, September 9th 1879.
[55] ibid., October 12th 1879.

In many ways, Good's affirmation of his support for Sproat was only natural, since the commissioner periodically espoused a reciprocal admiration for mission work. This approval was, at any rate, the thrust of his public rhetoric, and the Lytton mission invariably featured strongly in his flattering remarks. But his private letters disclose a more skeptical assessment of the value of missionization. As he wrote of missionaries in 1882,

> the Indian masks himself to them more than they seem to know. The clerical garb and presence are distinct signs for the Indian to repress his naturalness. I know curious instances of this. Besides, it will be found, that too much is assumed from Church attendances and conformity. I say the above without disparaging much good work, though it be like occasional rain showers on vast barrenness.[56]

Ironically enough, Good was well aware of these problems, his own cynicism manifest in the extraordinarily long probation period which he demanded of his Native charge. But more to the point, Sproat's hesitancy suggests perhaps another reason why he was so keen to avoid Christian involvement, and the presence of Good in particular, in the events of July 1879.

At one level, then, Good's absence can be explained by the prerogatives of the reserve commissioner. But there were other reasons, too, not least of which was increasing Native doubt about Good's worth. It seems likely that the Nlaka'pamux had long regarded the Anglican missionary as a useful medium for their protests, but as the years went by it became more and more obvious that this advocacy in fact amounted to very little. Every fruitless petition must have seemed another hollow promise.[57] With the tangible consequences of appropriation and dispossession overriding Good's lofty humanitarian rhetoric, there was little reason to continue frequenting his services. For

[56] Sproat to de Winton, November 16th 1882. See also Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, August 17th 1878; here Sproat urged that caution be taken in reviewing Good's appeals for money for a Native Training Institution.

[57] The Comaroffs describe missionaries' impotence in terms of "contradictions between the worldview promised by them and the world wrought by the politics of empire, an earthly dominion in which the mission church was anything but powerful." Comaroff and Comaroff, Of Revelation and revolution, p.12. This is, I think, an apt summary.

many Natives he had outlived his welcome. Bishop Hills was quick to appreciate this dwindling interest: his annual visits to Lytton, once so popular, began to attract fewer and fewer attendants. In 1876 he received a congregation far smaller than the previous year, and land grievances appeared to be a principal cause of the reduction:

> It is said also that the land question kept Shemicalsan, a good chief away. Also the Nicola Tribes. There is certainly a strong feeling about the land. Mr. Good told me that Nehewisistan the great chief of the Nicola, refused 500$ in presents from Dr. Powell the Indian Commissioner lest the land question might be compromised thereby.[58]

Given the massive impact of the land question on his spiritual work, it is not surprising that the intransigence of the provincial government, so bemoaned by Sproat, was literally savaged by Good.[59]

If indeed the Nlaka'pamux were, by the late-1870s, justifiably wary of Good's avowed support, then it is not surprising that they should eschew his aid in the month of July 1879. And in spite of numerous protestations to the contrary, Good was fully conscious of his ebbing influence. In days gone by he had been a model of self-confidence, a man without the need or "egotistical desire," as he once put it, "to sound my own trumpet."[60] But by contrast, his 1878 declaration that the Anglican Church should have "a controlling voice in all that is attempted whether secular or civil" betrays a man increasingly aware of his own expendability.[61] When the Victoria newspapers were raging about Sproat's involvement with the Nlaka'pamux gathering (a critique I turn to shortly), Good was flailing about on the periphery of the storm, desperately trying to convince the

[58] Hills, Diary, September 10th 1876.
[59] For one of Sproat's frequent criticisms of the province's stalling tactics, see his letter to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 17th 1878, vol.3666, file 10,176 (2): "I have urged the Provincial Gov^{t} to abandon their inaction and try to give questions that arise prompt consideration." In 1876 Good referred to this "neglect of Government to make a proper settlement with the Indians respecting their reserves" as a "serious drawback to our work." Mission Life, N.S. 7 (2), 1876, pp.458-9.
[60] Good to the Warden, St.Augustine's, February 6th 1867, CCA, U88/A2/6/John Booth Good.
[61] Good to the Secretary, SPG, Report for the quarter ending December 31st 1878, USPG, E Series, Vol.33, 1878.

public that "If anybody is to blame for what was done at Lytton the other day I am that man."[62] In a broader context he was probably closer to the mark than many readers would have given him credit for, but by this time nobody was listening to him — least of all the Nlaka'pamux.

Good's fading influence was often discussed by Sproat. When he visited Lytton in the summer of 1878, he impressed his good intentions on the Nlaka'pamux. They had heard all this before, of course, and have done on several occasions since, but they placed great stock in the reserve commissioner's words. After all, he was the man with his finger on the button, and if anyone was going to address their land grievances, he was the most likely candidate. In any case, he offered more potential than the impotent Good, no longer even residing among them, and for that reason they appeared willing to shift allegiance. Religion would be discarded as a primary signifier of communal identity, and a more prosperous fealty adopted in its stead. This was the message Sproat took from the several bands who gathered at Lytton to seek his attention. Transcending Christian distinctions, they said "some were Catholics and others Protestants, but they wished me to mention to Lord Dufferin that they were all as one for the Queen."[63]

The Nlaka'pamux would now forsake religious aid, in other words, for they knew that aid to be lacking. They were appealing instead to the state, and to Sproat in particular. It is in the context of this shift that we can understand some of the questions leveled at Sproat when he traveled through the Canyon in 1878, for among them was a telling query as to the differences between 'Church law' and the 'Queen's law'. Moreover, certain individuals appeared willing to demonstrate their new allegiance by performing acts of consensus previously reserved for the missionary:

62 The Daily Colonist, October 12th 1879.
63 Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, July 17th 1878, vol.3666, file 10,176 (2); my emphasis.

One old chief, with whom the missionaries have been able to do nothing for 20 years, told me that he was going to be a Jesus Christ man, now that his land questions were settled, and as a proof, he forthwith put away the ugliest of his three wives.

All in all, Good was no longer equated with hope, and the meeting of 1879 was proposed as a means of clarifying Native relations with the state. Passing the idea of the gathering by Sproat for the first time, representatives of the Nlaka'pamux inquired as to whether he might act as their spokesperson, and inform Ottawa of their intentions. Sproat deferred, suggesting that "they should get a clergyman" to do this in his place; but, crucially, they declined to do so — "they insisted that I should be the medium to communicate their wishes." In the end Sproat acceded to their requests, and wrote to the federal administration.[64]

This thesis has been about John Booth Good, but Sproat's handling of the 1879 gathering is part of the same story, for years of reliance on missionary mediation had left the Nlaka'pamux without direct access to the capillaries of colonial power. A legacy of missionary advocacy had accustomed them to a politics of arbitration, and it is clear that their subsequent appeal to Sproat did them very few favors. He spoke confidently of "their independence," but in the same breath seemed to shatter this assertion by noting their wishes that he be "on the spot, when the meeting was held, to advise them what to discuss, and to tell them what was within the law, and afterwards to communicate with Ottawa."[65] Perhaps they really were 'independent', in Sproat's sense of the word, and his own input indeed was minimal; but it would not be easy to persuade a recalcitrant white public of as much. The very idea of the gathering prompted an immediate backlash — Amor de Cosmos (the editor of the Standard) claiming that it "originated with the Commissioner" — and when one year later the Nlaka'pamux initiative was predictably met with "howls of white indignation," one of the recurrent themes of this recoil was Sproat's supposed

[64] Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 6th 1878, RG10, vol.3669, file 10,691.
[65] Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 6th 1878.

'meddling'. The commissioner claimed that this was ignorant censure, and racist nonsense to boot, and was surely right to do so.[66] But nonetheless it was effective censure, for in the end nothing came of the meetings, and the possibility of Native self-governance remained on a distant and foreign white agenda.[67] In the final reckoning Sproat's mediation had not helped, for as with Good's former advocacy, his involvement had enabled reactionary whites to locate the seeds of Native discontent at his own door.

Thus, in terms of both the proposals put forward, and the popular white reaction, there are a number of affinities between the 1879 gathering and the claims being advanced by many First Nations groups today. Given these parallels, one would hope that there are lessons to be learned from history. In the first place, of course, the work of both Sproat and Good demonstrates the tortuous ambiguities of mediation and moderation. Second, both then and now the issue is couched as a case of 'us' against 'them', and Native gains are equated with unwarranted white 'losses'. When the Reform party warns us that "the New Democrats are signing away control over land ... and resources that can never be gotten back through negotiation," we can hear the distant echoes of de Cosmos, holding forth to the ranked masses about the evils of a reserve commissioner who "by a wave of his hand and a flourish of his pen disposes of the lands of the Province." And third, one gets an overwhelming sense of the exclusionary politics of white 'liberalism': while appealing to the individual liberties of the Canadian West, de Cosmos and his successors have been keen to insist that such 'freedoms' be extended only to the chosen few. Just as the editor of the Standard claimed that Nlaka'pamux self-governance would disable colonial

[66] The Daily Standard, November 26th 1878; Harris, "The Fraser Canyon encountered," p.24. For Sproat's most vehement reaction to these accusations, see his claim that these rejoinders belonged to a group of people "whose notion of Indian management is terrorism," and who, having tried their level-best to prevent Native access to land and resources, now had their "race-prejudice stirred to its depths by the simple proposal of the Indians to take steps for educating their children and doing other things connected with the material and social wellbeing of the people." Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, September 5th 1879, RG10, vol.3669, file 10,691.

[67] This vitriolic white response not only put paid to Nlaka'pamux hopes, but also hammered a further nail in Sproat's coffin — by the middle of the next year he had been forced to resign as reserve commissioner. See Fisher, Contact and conflict, p.198.

paternalism, that it would fly in the face of the fact that "Indians are wards of the Crown," so Melvin Smith now complains that today's "governments have abdicated their obligation to govern."[68]

If these are some of the lessons of history, what of historical geography? One possible answer lies in the combined themes of this conclusion, namely the 'land question' and the Nlaka'pamux gathering of July 1879. As I have suggested, the reserve system was predicated upon a politics of abstraction, and part of its violence lay in this detachment of the 'land' from other considerations, the separation of space and social life. But the Nlaka'pamux had far more in mind in 1879 than merely a 'bald question of acreage', as Sproat himself put it. For them the 'land question' was a holistic, all-encompassing concern, and they impressed this on Sproat when discussing their forthcoming meeting. He reported:

> I fancy the discussion would embrace the whole Indian Act — schools, contributions for the poor, presents from the Government, the holding of lands, inheritance, and, infact, everything.[69]

Similarly, Native groups today are not just interested in 'land' as it tends to be commonly understood, but are again placing access to resources, social concerns, and the priority of self-government high on their agenda. But popular discussion tends to focus on areal extent, just as it did in the late-1870s, and in this way Native overtures are misrepresented and misunderstood.

This perversion of Native 'land claims' was typified in a recent Vancouver Sun article entitled 'Staking claim'.[70] With fear-mongering the clear intention, the author argued that the province's First Nations are today laying claim to 111% of British

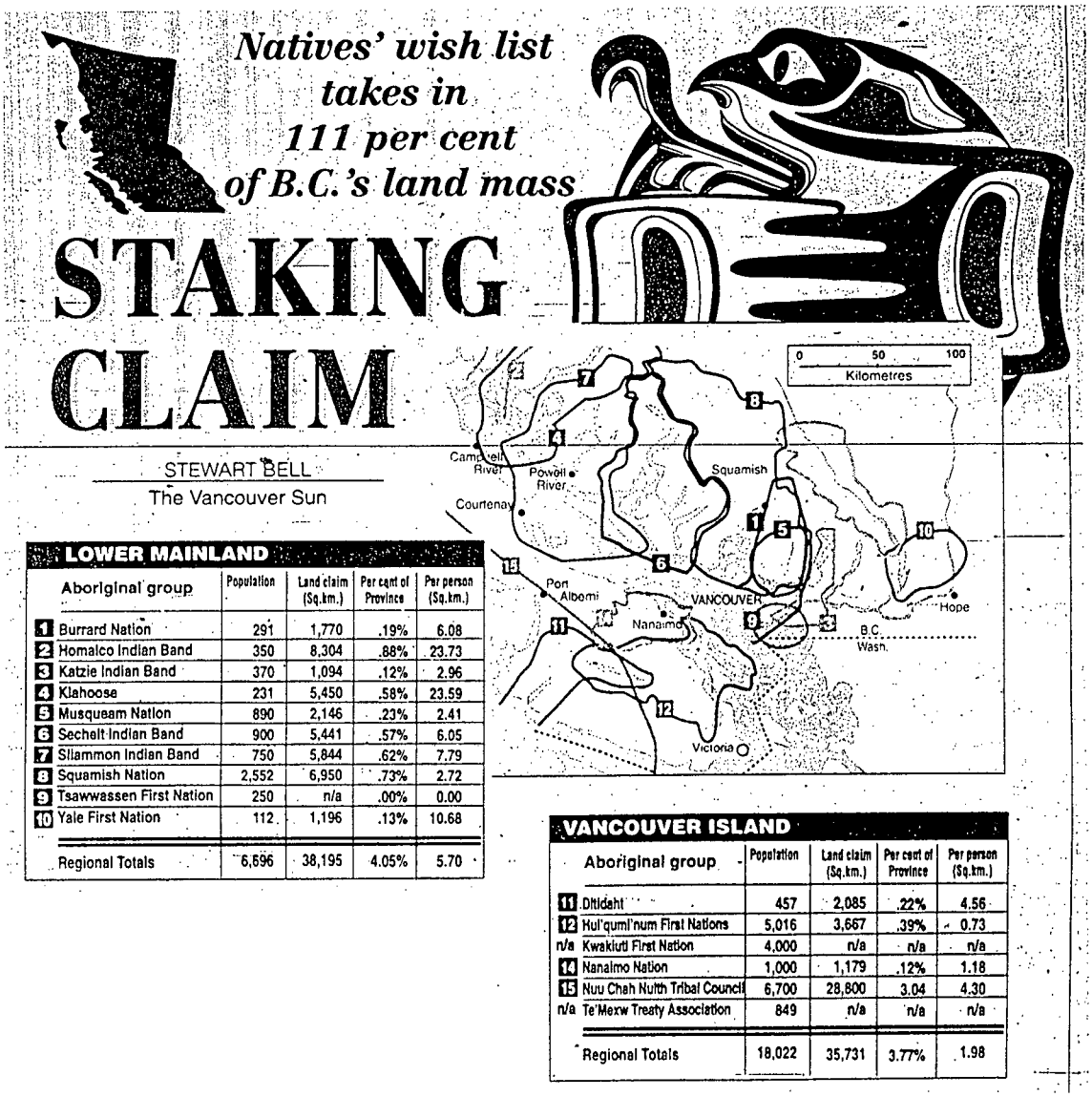
[68] The Vancouver Sun, March 27th 1995, p.A10; The Daily Standard, November 26th 1878; Smith, Our Home or Native land?, cited in The Georgia Straight, July 7th-14th, 1995, p.14.
[69] Sproat to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, November 6th 1878, RG10, vol.3669, file 10,691; original emphasis.
[70] The Vancouver Sun, April 1st 1995, pp.A1,B1.

Columbia's land mass. It is not insignificant that in order to advance this facile claim, he invoked the putative 'authority' of a private cartography group, and provided the newspaper's readers with maps of this impending land-grab (see figure 17). Yet again, in other words, white power is being advanced through the logics of 'abstract space'. Once tools of colonial dispossession, abstract representations of space are now in thrall to a rhetoric of retention and refusal. Recalling the anecdote with which I opened this thesis, I still think it important to stress the 'struggle over geography' at the heart of the colonial encounter. But in their haste to push this claim, geographers should be wary of overstating the case, severing space from society, and thus reinscribing the abstractions of colonialism itself. This, I think, is a lesson revealed by the historical geography of the so-called 'land question' in British Columbia, and by Good's ambivalent involvement. It is a lesson revealed especially clearly by Sproat's work in the late-1870s. For that reason, it seems somehow appropriate to end this thesis by deferring to Sproat himself. He too sought to learn from the past, reading diligently through previous official correspondence before criticizing colonial policy. And I can do no better than mimic the caution he exercised in presenting his historical commentary.

> It has not been an easy task to disinter facts from under a mass of obscure and loose records and I respectfully submit my narrative, under these circumstances, with some diffidence — and subject to the effect of better authentic information, on any point, if anybody possesses it.[71]

[71] Sproat, "Field minute on the Lytton Subgroup."

Figure 17. Staking claim.



Natives' wish list takes in 111 per cent of B.C.'s land mass

STAKING CLAIM

STEWART BELL
The Vancouver Sun

LOWER MAINLAND

	Aboriginal group	Population	Land claim (Sq.km.)	Per cent of Province	Per person (Sq.km.)
1	Burrard Nation	291	1,770	.19%	6.08
2	Homalco Indian Band	350	8,304	.88%	23.73
3	Katzie Indian Band	370	1,094	.12%	2.96
4	Klahoose	231	5,450	.58%	23.59
5	Musqueam Nation	890	2,146	.23%	2.41
6	Sechelt Indian Band	900	5,441	.57%	6.05
7	Sliammon Indian Band	750	5,844	.62%	7.79
8	Squamish Nation	2,552	6,950	.73%	2.72
9	Tsawwassen First Nation	250	n/a	.00%	0.00
10	Yale First Nation	112	1,196	.13%	10.68
	Regional Totals	6,696	38,195	4.05%	5.70

VANCOUVER ISLAND

	Aboriginal group	Population	Land claim (Sq.km.)	Per cent of Province	Per person (Sq.km.)
11	Ditidaht	457	2,085	.22%	4.56
12	Hul'qumi'num First Nations	5,016	3,667	.39%	0.73
n/a	Kwakiutl First Nation	4,000	n/a	n/a	n/a
14	Nanaimo Nation	1,000	1,179	.12%	1.18
15	Nuu Chah Nulth Tribal Council	6,700	28,800	3.04	4.30
n/a	Te'Mexw Treaty Association	849	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Regional Totals	18,022	35,731	3.77%	1.98

Source: The Vancouver Sun, April 1st 1995, p.A1

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Figure 1. The location of British Columbia, 1860.
Source: Columbia Mission. Occasional paper, 1860.